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DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

DC-Cam Quarterly Report: October-December, 2018

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Phnom Penh's First Cathedral

Executive Summary

This is the first quarterly report covering the period from October to December of 2018. During this period, DC-Cam continues to implement the four objectives, listed below, with support from USAID and other donors, including U.S. Department of State/Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, East-West Management Institute (EWMI) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). At the same time, DC-Cam maintains vigorous collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport for genocide research and education in Cambodia, the Ministry of Tourism for the Anlong Veng Peace Center and the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts for the support of the Genocide Museum's research.

The four objectives are:

- ❖ Augment and maintain a publicly accessible historical record of the Khmer Rouge period,
- ❖ Promote justice through support to the Khmer Rouge tribunal process,
- ❖ Increase the Cambodian public's knowledge of the Khmer Rouge period, and
- ❖ Promote human rights, democracy and the rule of law in Cambodia and the region.

On November 20, 2018, the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) released a statement on its website by hailing the November 16 verdict rendered by the ECCC convicted former Khmer Rouge senior leaders Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan of genocide crimes. The statement said DC-Cam "played a critical role in these milestone verdicts."¹

During the reporting period, there were three important events which need to be highlighted.

- **Win Win Monument**

Initiated by Prime Minister Hun Sen in the 1990s, Win Win policy is seen by many as an approach to end internal conflict and civil war in Cambodia by integrating former Khmer Rouge leaders and cadres and their families living along the Cambodian-Thai border in 1998. A Win Win monument was erected in Sangkat Pre Tasek, Khan Chroy Changva and inaugurated on December 29, 2018 in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Win Win policy. According to the Prime Minister, the monument itself, consists of a memorial, a research site, and exhibition hall, costs approximately USD12 million and is not completely finished yet. The Prime Minister planned to allocate some of the national budget to complete it. The policy has been included in the soldier's curriculum and will be included in the public education's curriculum of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. Below are photos of the official opening and selected articles related to the event.

Photos: <https://photos.app.goo.gl/1vyrNaPuTS4C2LES8=>

¹<https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/nov-20-2018-usaid-administrator-mark-green-genocide-convictions-cambodia>

- **Music Propaganda Promoting Khmer Rouge Socialist Identity**

A collection of Khmer Rouge music and songs from the Documentation Center of Cambodia has served as essential information for younger generations, researchers, teachers, students and the general public to understand how music was utilized to indoctrinate people during the Khmer Rouge revolution. There are 130 Khmer Rouge songs available upon request.

- **Genocide against Christian groups**

The question why the ECCC's Trial Chamber did not indict the Khmer Rouge senior leaders for committing genocide against the Christian faith sparked DC-Cam Director's interest. Therefore, he wrote an opinion piece on the subject. According to the article, it is evidenced that a number of Christian churches and many Christians were killed between 1975 and 1979. For example, Phnom Penh's first Cathedral was decimated and the Notre Dame Cathedral was blown up.

The article made people realize that treatment against Christians and the Christian faith is considered genocide. John Turner from Highpoint said he had never considered the religious persecution of KR as it pertained to Christians. It also shows the limitations of the court and how we should preserve the history for the next generations. The article will be used in Professor Alex Hinton's class at Rutgers University this semester.

DC-Cam continues to make considerable progress toward the above listed objectives. This quarter, DC-Cam met the following targets: 568 pages of new documents plus 1,245 pages of new interview transcripts and 443 photographs collected; 120 pre-service teachers trained; 341 pages of new publications; 30 teachers and students toured the Anlong Veng Peace Center; and 24 requests for documents scanned, equal to 6,458 pages, plus requests for reading a total of 2,926 pages of documents; and 473 KR photos provided at DC-Cam.

As always, we are deeply indebted to USAID, DRL, Switzerland, Canada, the European Union, Howard Unger & Caryn Stoll via the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, GIZ and other donors, and the Cambodia Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport and the Ministry of Tourism, for their support financially and institutionally. Without this support, DC-Cam would not be able to achieve its goals.

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Acronyms

DC-Cam	Documentation Center of Cambodia
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
DMC	Department of Media and Communication
DRL	Department of State, Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
EU	European Union
ICSC	International Coalition of Sites of Conscience
KR	Khmer Rouge
KRT	Khmer Rouge Tribunal
GIZ	The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
MMC	Mapping Memories Cambodia
PA	Promoting Accountability Project
PIR	Public Information Room
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VPA	Victim Participation Assistance Project

OBJECTIVE 1: Augment and Maintain a Publicly Accessible Historical Record of the Khmer Rouge Regime

To achieve this objective (Objective 1), DC-Cam works to increase (1) New documentation (oral and text) collection, (2) Public access of archive process, and (3) Sustainability of archives/DC-Cam in its general strategy.

Output 1: New Documentation (Oral and Text) Collection

DC-Cam maintains its significance by collecting new documents, both oral and text, concerning the history of the Khmer Rouge regime, which caused almost 2 million people to die between 1975 and 1979.

For this quarter, there were two major contributions of new documents to DC-Cam. One of the contributors was Ambassador Julio A. Jeldres, while the other source was anonymous. The amount of documents given to DC-Cam was divided into two categories: paper documents and photographs. There were 267 documents, equal to 568 pages, and 443 photographs given to DC-Cam for the purpose of advancing objective 1. Therefore, the last record of the 'D' collection has reached the number D75765.

The PA team also contributed to the new document collection in the form of oral interviews and transcriptions of those interviews. For this quarter, the team did transcriptions of 45 interviews, which are equal to 1,245 pages, and filed them all for possible research.

Doc. Category	# of Doc.	# of Page
New document	267	568
New transcripts	45 interviews	1,245 pages
New photograph	443	n/a

Output 2: Public access to Archives

The documentation team continued their tasks ranging from steps 1 to 7 of the database process, plus digitizing and hosting documentary access lists on the website. For detailed achievements, please see the table below describing the result of each step of the database processing:

Type of Work	# of Records	# of Pages	Notes
Photocopy new documents (step 1 of database)	267 records equal to 568 pages		
Numbering new documents (step 2 of database)	267 records equal to 568 pages (up to D75765)		
Filling in worksheets (step 3 and 4 of database)	267 records equal to 568 pages (up to D75765)		
Key data into CBIB database system (Step 5 of database)	267 records equal to 568 pages (up to D75765)		
Listing Documents	267 records equal to 458 pages (up to D75765)		

Printing out (step 6)	267 records equal to 568 pages (up to D75765)		
Checking spelling (step 7)	9,578 records	44,889 pgs	
Digitize Documents (scanning work)	657 records	32,771 pgs	D41678-D41883 D41930-D41963 D41973-D41974 D42010-D42031 D42149-D42337
Documents online	305 records equal to 1,088 pages		
Public Access to KR documents	341 records	2,926 pgs	n/a
Materials distributed/requested	719 records 473 photos	6,458 pgs N/A	24 requests
Visitor Access to DC-Cam and SRI Contemporary Art Gallery	500 people		

Indicator of IT:

Website visitors from October 1-November 30, 2018: DC-Cam website (www.dccam.org) had 2,469 visitors and Searching for the truth website (www.truthcambodia.com) had 1,541 visitors. Total of both websites was **4,010 visitors**.

For this quarter, DC-Cam's PIR and SRI Contemporary Art Gallery have received 670 requests from researchers, media corps, students and others who came from different fields of study and institutions, including VOA, RULE, RUPP, DMC, USAID, Phnom Penh Post, Ministry of Tourism, Yale Univeristy, NIE, RUFA, VNA TV, Wuhan University, New York Times, Leeds University, GLoBE, VMF TV, Asia Culture Center, Sydney University, Al Jazeera, University of Hamburg, University of Bath, Sida, Sizl ZFD, HTV (VN), PUC, ORAW, VOA, Elan Law School, Long Beach Public Library, and the University of Washington. Topics of interest, among other things, included ethnic and minority groups during KR regime, the Lon Nol regime, childhood interests, KR violence, Cambodia & the cold war, KR dam, DC-Cam archival research, how Cambodian people learn about the KR, etcetera..

Teacher Thun Theara, whose research involves ethnic and minority groups during the KR, suggested "it would be better to put all documents on website enabled download by public with no request to be made".

Anlong Veng Peace Center

The Anlong Veng Peace & Human Rights Study Tour program, involving 30 students as part of our monthly educational program to raise public awareness and to invoke discourse about the history of KR period (1975-1979) coincided with the pronouncement of the final judgement on two former Khmer Rouge (KR) leaders, Khieu Samphan, former President of State's Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea (DK), and Nuon Chea, former President of People's Representative Assembly of DK. Both were found guilty and were sentenced to life imprisonment. Of particular interest to all the participants was a field study which gave them the opportunity to hear personal experiences of former KR members. Participants viewed each villager as a "warehouse of stories" that could be pieced together to understand the complexity of conflict and

genocide in Cambodia. Piseth wrote that: “each village is a great source of knowledge and stories of individuals.” He added that such a study tour offered the best practice of learning process among the Cambodian youths and future educators

Output 3: Sustainability of DC-Cam

The sustainability of DC-Cam’s work of the Sleuk Rith Institute Contemporary Art Gallery for this quarter is as following:

The Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery has, as its aim and mission, to inspire learning about the history and legacy of the Khmer Rouge and Cambodia’s arts and culture through the educational-based programs, designed from exhibition curating, documentary film lectures on the Khmer Rouge History, and the public speaker series. It hosted nearly 500 visitors, coming for a variety of purposes.

DOCUMENTARY FILM SCREENING

In inspiring the learning of the Khmer Rouge history, the Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery of the Documentation Center of Cambodia designs and offers the documentary screening lecture & discussion on various aspects of Cambodia's history embraced by Art & Music. For these three months, the gallery hosted two delegations to the screening. Cambodian students from Hun Sen Sa-Ang High school, led by History Teacher Suon Vichet, and multi-national high schoolers from the International School of Phnom Penh (ISPP) were the visitors to the center. On their first visit to the gallery, they are offered an exhibition curating on “Unfinished” and “War Remnant.” This allows them to gain more understanding of Cambodian history. Afterwards, they are shown the films “Don’t Think I’ve Forgotten: Cambodia’s lost Rock and Roll” and “Children of Cambodia”.

DON’T THINK I’VE FORGOTTEN: CAMBODIA’S LOST ROCK AND ROLL (DTIF) reflecting the twists and turns of Cambodian music into rock and roll, blossoms, that was nearly destroyed, along with the rest of the country. Also, it gives a new perspective on a country usually associated with only war and genocide.



Figure 1: Grade-12 students from Hun Sen Sa-Ang High School in documentary screening (Photo: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

CHILDREN OF CAMBODIA featured the post-Genocide aftermath that led to the struggle for the survival of the Cambodian children left in orphanages. It explained the story of how genocide destroyed the people, but also its legacy continues to spiritually and physically contribute to the suffering of children left behind in orphanages. Children continued their survival by eating tree leaves, insects and any edible thing they could find. When the film was shown to a group of students, the students felt the documentary shows not only an emotional but a spiritual connection to the children in the orphanage.



A hopeless child in the film



ISPP's multi-national high school students

At the end of the film screening, the reflection and discussion are provoked and exchanged in scope of Cambodia's History and Art & Music:

**DON'T THINK I'VE FORGOTTEN:
CAMBODIA'S LOST ROCK AND ROLL
(DTIF)**

Hun Sen Sa-Ang High Schoolers

Q1: Would you share me and your friends of what you think about the documentary film?

You Hai.: It tells me about Cambodia's history, particularly in the period of the 1950s and 1960s in which the country rested in peacefulness and Cambodians enjoyed the way of life ... of music. This documentary film also inspires me to know more about the past history as an outreach lesson after I have learned all about it in class. This is good.

Q2: What part of the film interests you? Thavy Huot: Well ... I heard a song of "Oh ... Phnom Penh." It touches me, for I am connected with my history. I think a song has a role as a reminder of what the people suffered in its meaning.

Q3: Do you find yourself struggling during the screening?

Sambath: Not ... it has a lot of music, which, to be honest, makes us not bored. Chenda: Of course, this documentary film has integrated 77 old songs and one of the songs, your friend just mentioned, Oh ... Phnom Penh, shed light on producing this moving documentary film. Sambath: Umm ... it is a long film. But I like it.

CHILDREN OF CAMBODIA

ISPP's Multinational High Schoolers

Q1: Where were those children placed after the genocide?

A1: Well ..., after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, the children were left orphanage of the loss of their parents and put in the instantly-created orphanage center in Phnom Penh and other provinces. It's the place that gave them a shelter.

Q2: Who filmed it?

A2: It was filmed by the Vietnamese troops who arrived in Cambodia.

Q3: Why was the film screened in Eastern Europe? What connection?

A3: It was in the context of the cold war, and part of this, it was to be screened just in the Eastern Europe.

Q4: Why did the children in the film eat tree leaves?

A4: Hmm ..., no food to eat. After the end of the Khmer Rouge regime, they faced a difficult livelihood daily, particularly to the lackness of food. To get rid of starvation, they found anything eatable to fill up their stomach.

Q5: How did the Khmer Rouge come to power?

A5: It is a long story to tell, but we have a publication on it ... A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) by our Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) for self-reading and -understanding.

Q6: What was the majority of the people then?

A6: Men were targeted, killed and died; therefore, from 70% to 75% of the survivors are the women and children.

Q7: How was the children's education during the KR regime?

A7: During the Khmer Rouge regime, school and other educational institutions were destroyed and through part of the vision to engineer a new society, the Khmer Rouge allowed the children to get education and learn under a house of the villagers. Of course, the education at that time was politicized, just indoctrinating their ideology to the children.

Q8: I have heard of the forced marriage and how was it like?

A8: During the Khmer Rouge regime, the people reaching the adolescent age were arranged and forced by Angkar (KR Organization) to get married as the couple did never face-to-face meet each other.

AN EXHIBITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY AND AN EXHIBITION IN HISTORY & THE ARTS

Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery, in collaboration with Photo Phnom Penh Association and the Applied and Visual Arts School, Phare Ponleu Selpak, hosted an Artwork Exhibition in Photography.

On the 5th of October, the Photo Phnom Penh Association launched their Photography Arts Exhibition entitled “The Shooting of Birds as opposed to the Photography of shooting birds” in the Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery. This exhibition attracted more than 150 visitors. The purpose of the Exhibition was to increase awareness in the public of the harmfulness of killing birds instead of photographing them.



On Friday, 30 November, 2018, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) collaborated with the Visual and Applied Arts School, Phare Ponleu Selpak, and

launched the exhibition entitled “What If No War and Genocide in Cambodia”. It was attended by 125 visitors, most of whom were pedagogical students in the National Institute of Education. This is an Art Education Program initiated and designed in an effort to inspire the creation of unique and creative artwork.



Phare Ponleu Selpak's Arts Team led by Loukrou Srey Bandaul and visitors at Exhibition Launching on “WHAT IF NO WAR AND GENOCIDE IN CAMBODIA”

PUBLIC SPEAKER SERIES

Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery of the Documentation Center of Cambodia offers a public lecture series given by various distinguished faculty who are invited to showcase their noteworthy research and publications. It encourages the opportunity for sharing insights and informative discussions that the public, especially the students, find inspiring and meaningful. For this quarterly period, the gallery, in collaboration with the Center for Khmer Studies (CKS), hosted four Public Speaker Series:

- 1- Testifying to Trauma: Narrative Therapy and Cultural Models in Cambodia, presented by Elena Lesley, Phd Candidate in Psychological Anthropology, Department of Anthropology at Emory University, US , September 27th, 2018
- 2- Khmer Rouge History Lecture on Cham Oral History & Dominant Narrative by So Farina, Documentation Center of Cambodia, November 15th, 2018 to a group of 25 students from Department of Media and Communication
- 3- "The Interpolator, the Body-Archive, and the Spectral observer," featured by Professor Eric Galmard, Lecturer in Faculty of Arts of Strasbourg University, November 20th, 2018
- 4- "Multiple Displacements: Cambodian Deportable Refugees and the (Re) Acculturation Process," lectured by Jennifer A. Zelnick, Phd Candidate in sociocultural anthropology at the University of California, Irvine, December 13th, 2018





DC-Cam received another request from MuyHong, project manager for MMC project at the Department of Media and Communication, for a guest speaker for a training which was designed for young producers of multimedia production skills that focus on KR history. In response to the request, Farina So spoke to the group on November 29 at DMC addressing the three questions below:

1. Who are the survivors versus the perpetrators? What does victimhood mean? And how to process the information?
2. Why does dialogue on KR history need to continue?
3. How to talk about KR history to young Cambodians?

PUBLIC RESPONSE

In this three-month period, nearly 500 visitors came to the Sleuk Rith Contemporary Art Gallery for variety of events; the majority of the visitors were pedagogical students, while the rest were high schoolers, artists, and the general public. All in all, this number of visitors increases the public's knowing the gallery and seeking to understand their history.

OBJECTIVE 2: Promote Justice through Support to the Khmer Rouge Tribunal Process

On November 16, the Trial Chamber delivered a summary of judgement on Case 002/2. For the first time, the Khmer Rouge senior leaders were convicted of genocide against the Vietnamese and the Cham by the Khmer Rouge tribunal.

On November 20, 2018, the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) released a statement on its website, by hailing the November 16 verdict rendered by the ECCC,

convicting former Khmer Rouge senior leaders Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan of genocide crimes. The statement said DC-Cam “played a critical role in these milestone verdicts.”²

In relation to this judgement, DC-Cam received a great number of requests for an interview from TV channels and newspapers. Below are the selected interviews.

- George Wright from Aljazeera interviewed Farina So on November 6 ahead of the verdict and the article was published on November 14, 2018.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/40-years-khmer-rouge-leaders-face-genocide-verdict-181112070442390.html>
- DW-TV interviewed Farina So on November 16 at 3:20 p.m. The interview focuses on the following questions:
 1. What does this verdict mean to you and other survivors?
 2. The court had faced criticism for political interference from the government.
 3. Do you think this could lead to other Khmer Rouge commanders facing trial?
- Director Youk Chhang was interviewed by Matt Surrusco on November 16 and he viewed that verdict as the affirmation of justice.
<http://www.dpa-international.com/topic/conclusion-cambodia-genocide-trial-affirmation-justice-181116-99-835395>
- George Wright interviewed Director Youk Chhang and the article is available at <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Hun-Sen-s-Cambodia/After-40-years-Cambodia-s-Khmer-Rouge-leaders-face-genocide-verdict2>
- On November 16, Reza Haider from the Phnom Penh Post interviewed Farina So for the video clip on Case 002 judgment. It is available in both Khmer and English in the links below.
English: (<https://www.facebook.com/ktribunal/videos/2174343056153232/>)
Khmer: (<https://www.facebook.com/PostKhmer/videos/708762312833272/>)
- <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-16/khmer-rouge-last-surviving-leaders-found-guilty-of-genocide/10502758>
- Farina So was filmed by Khmer Mekong Films (KMF) for a TV series entitled “Facing Justice” joint collaboration between KMF and Handa Center on November 7. The video was broadcast on CTN and MyTV on November 27, December 1 and 2 and also made available on youtube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2IL4z9wNDg&feature=youtu.be>
- <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-11-16-khmer-rouge-leaders-found-guilty-of-genocide-in-landmark-ruling/>

²<https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/nov-20-2018-usaid-administrator-mark-green-genocide-convictions-cambodia>

- <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/11/16/asia-pacific/crime-legal-asia-pacific/sense-closure-khmer-rouge-leaders-face-genocide-verdict-first-time-troubled-tribunal-wraps/#.XCWb-lwzaUk>
- On November 18, RFI interviewed Youk Chhang and Farina So on the verdict. <http://en.rfi.fr/asia-pacific/20181116-khmer-rouge-trial-genocide-Nuan-Chea-Khieu-Sampan-cambodia-trial>
- Erin Handley, Freelance Journalist, interviewed Farina So on November 17. The story was published on November 19. While the World Looked Away <https://insidestory.org.au/while-the-world-looked-away/>

OBJECTIVE 3: Increase the Cambodian Public’s Knowledge of the KR Period

For this quarter, there are 4 outputs DC-Cam has designed to achieve this objective: They are (1) Mapping the killing fields as a new approach, (2) Genocide education memorial, (3) Pre-service teacher training, and (4) Public outreach, media publications, and scholarship. The ultimate goal of this work is to preserve the memory of the Khmer Rouge genocide by educating the younger generations about this.

Output 1: Mapping the Killing Fields as a New Approach

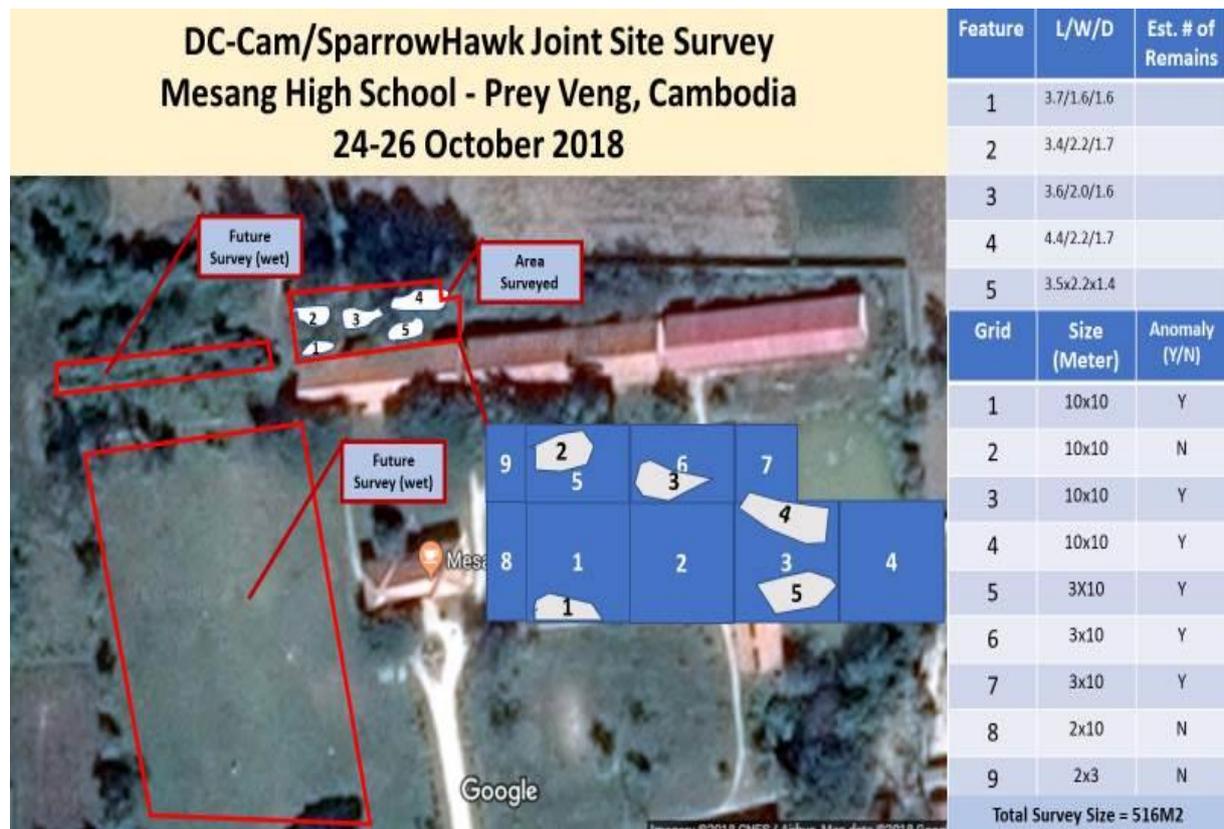
While many students, since 2011, have been learning important events of the history of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) through teaching and telling by their teachers and parents/grandparents, new findings of physical evidence at Mesang high school’s killing site becomes additional lesson of the killing field in Cambodia during KR regime.

In cultural and traditional aspects, the finding will be more helpful. The dead bodies were found without worrying about digging the grave. Skulls and bones were not disturbed. After 40 years of KR collapse, many people believe that people who died under the leadership of KR still need not only justice, but also peace and education for younger generations in Cambodia.

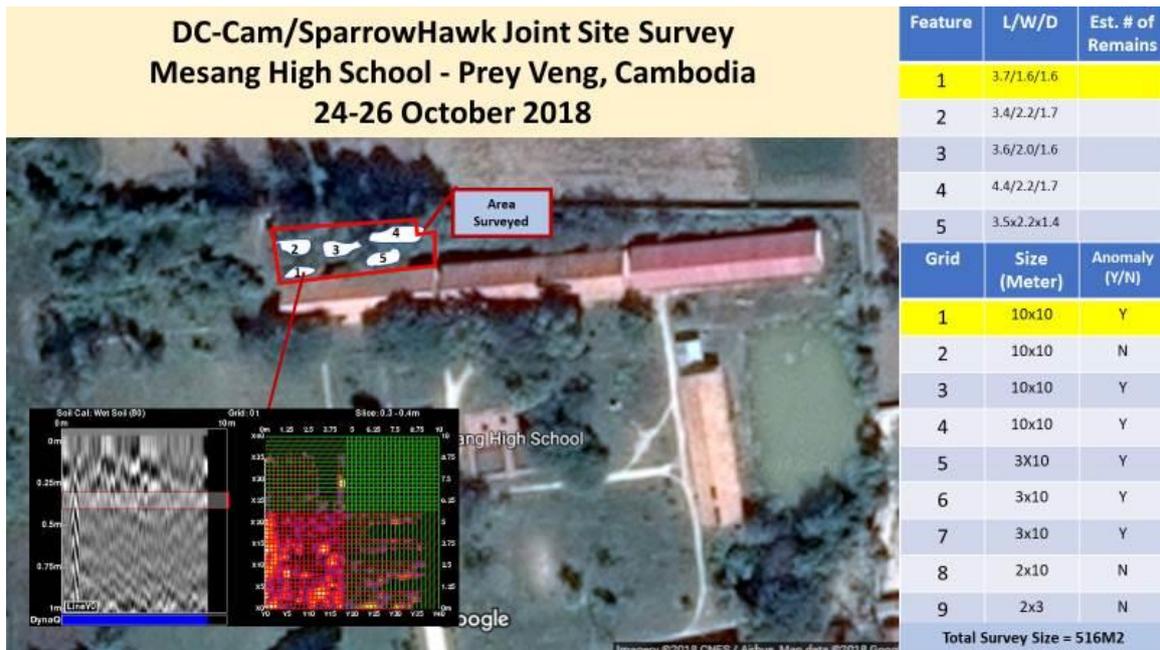
The ECCC will be closed soon with unsatisfied justice for KR’s victims, even if DC-Cam sent all kinds of documents stored at DC-Cam’s archives. To fill a gap of collecting justice for the victim, this new approach will serve as a very important lesson using modern technological research, collaborating between DC-Cam and SparrowHawk Far East Company.

The New Approach to discovering the under-ground mass graves by using the ground penetrating radar (GPR) at Mesang High School, Chy Phoch village, Chy Phoch commune, Mesang district, Prey Veng province is significant. The Documentation Center of Cambodia and SparrowHawk Far East offers the latest in ground penetrating radar (GPR) technology with advanced features, such as Depth Slices and Line Views, allowing the user to review slices of the subsurface at different depths for locating an underground anomaly with a clarity never seen before. GPR works to display an image map of underground features.

SparrowHawk Far East, PLC is an American-owned company based in Phnom Penh. It is the Asian subsidiary of SparrowHawk Global, LLC which is headquartered in the United States. Its managing director, Mike Henshaw recently opened the local office to provide underground utility locating services for the fast-paced construction market in and around Phnom Penh. The company is also using its advanced technology to assist DC-Cam in their Killing Fields Mapping Project by locating specific grave locations, determining their size and depth, and providing an estimated number of genocide victims interred in each grave based on historical disinterment data.



Grid sizes, Surveying areas and future survey areas



Displaying GPR's scanning results of sub- surface

The result from the analysis illustrated that mass graves were identified in Feature 1- 4 with Feature 1 and 2 having two layers of burials separated by layers of soil. The experts calculate total approximate number of remains located: 130 (around down 130.21). See the following detail:

- Feature 1= 33.12 bodies
- Feature 2= 44.93 bodies
- Feature 3= 21.27 bodies
- Feature 4= 30.89 bodies
- Feature 5= 0

The research was observed by a number students, teachers and residents. Moreover, they help us to identify the place of KR's killing sites in the compound of the school and to clear jungles and surfaces of the grave sites in order to operate the scanning machine. The research took place over 3 days, starting on October 24.

Reactions from people

Some people who observed said, "This research is good for the younger generation to learn about Cambodia's history, and it proves evidence and brings a closeness of what happened during the Khmer Rouge period."

Many students told us that they know the place of killing sites during KR time, but they could not understand more about this location. They claim to see exact evidence from this location. Because of this, the school director and a few history teachers sent DC-Cam a letter to request a scientific research on the killing site.

There are different opinions when we ask the question, "What do you think about digging graves and using a scanner"? For teachers and students, they agree that the

radar scanning technique is better than the digging of graves. This is because they think that digging is a disruption of death (belief of the Cambodian people). Moreover, the excavation damages the original geographic surfaces and features of the burial site, which was the main evidence of the killings during the Khmer Rouge era. However, if we ask the villagers nearby, we found that he or she wants to see the excavation of the graves, rather than using a scanning machine because he or she is less familiar with technology and has never seen such exploration before. Therefore, DC-Cam will present the results of research and set up the installation panels next to those sites, so locals and students can learn and visit by themselves. It is also important to promote the idea of people to do research on the history of Democratic Kampuchea.

This first experiment has faced many challenges and we think it will improve the next time this research is done.

- Operation: the machine needs a clear and plate surface to operate it. This requires a longer time and cost expense on this stuff. Fortunately, many students have been helping us.
- Equipment: the company has purchased an external GPS or DGPS to get a greater accuracy and can be used for Google Earth overlays. The team also identified the need for additional components, such as additional battery, a toolkit and extra odometer pins. Moreover, we also need chalk-link markers and additional hand tools for clearing sites.

Technical and software: SparrowHawk used the vendor's software to collect and interpret the data. We realized that the software on the GPR unit was not updated and would not produce the ".gpz" file. Additionally, the version of the Ekko project software provided by the vendor did not allow for full manipulation of the data using the Report Generator feature.

Output 2: Genocide Education Memorial



The installation of 26th anti-genocide slogan at Anlong Chrey High School, Tbaung Khmum province, provides people, teachers and students with knowledge of genocide prevention through their deep understanding of the history of Democratic Kampuchea, national unity, building peace and reconciliation among family and the nation. Anlong Chrey village is located along the Cambodia-Vietnam border in the Eastern Zone, which

was a conflict zone before and during the KR regime. The result shows that many students and teachers feel happy to have this slogan inside their school and they added that they will use this slogan to be their teaching and learning material about the KR history. Findings also show that both students and teachers understand that building peace, reconciliation, reunification, and tolerance are important tools to prevent genocide in Cambodia.

Keywords: peace, reconciliation, reunification, tolerance, genocide prevention.

Introduction:

On November 14, 2018, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), in collaboration with the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport (MoEYS), held a commemorative event at Samdech Chakrei Heng Samrin Anlong Chrey high school in Anlong Chrey Village, Kakk Commune, Ponhea Krek District, Tbaung Khmum Province, to mark the unveiling of a genocide education memorial and distribution of school textbooks on the history of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) and other Khmer Rouge-related documents. This was the 26th genocide education memorial to be installed and inaugurated at the secondary school level across the country. The construction of the memorial was funded by the Chino Cienega Foundation. The event was presided over by Her Excellency Ton Sa Im, Undersecretary of State of the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport, Mr. Ka Vachana, Deputy Head of Tbaung Khmum Provincial Education Office, who also participated as a guest of honor. Speeches were also given by Mr. Pheng Pong-Rasy, Director of DC-Cam's Prey Veng Documentation Center and Genocide Research and Education in Cambodia. The event closed with a question-and-answer session between students and Mr. Pheng Pong-Rasy, followed by the distribution of textbooks.

The purpose of the opening ceremony for the inauguration of two panels of anti-genocide slogans, which were installed in a compound of a high school near the Cambodia-Vietnam border, was to understand the participants' knowledge of the slogans and their opinions of the built slogans, in an effort to fill a gap in the education of Cambodia's youth on the nation's history of human rights abuse and the importance of tolerance, reconciliation and education for the future. What follows is the report of that activity:

History of Anlong Chrey

Anlong Chrey is the hometown of National Assembly President Heng Samrin. 7 years, Anlong Chrey and Thlok Trach villages were claimed to be part of Vietnam's territory. Not many people were living in these villages at that time. His Excellency Va Kimhong, former senior minister in charge of the Cambodian Border Affairs Committee, was quoted by local Newspapers, saying that the government would have to compromise to keep Thlok Trach and Anlong Chrey villages, as part of the border demarcation

process.³“We have still kept both the villages the same, but we have an obligation to find any area in Kampong Cham province to give back to Vietnam.”⁴ In a reply to H.E. Va Kimhong, Sean Penh Se, who was president of the NGO alliance Cambodia Border Committee said from France, and cited by the Phnom Penh Post, that any exchange would be unacceptable without consulting those who stood to lose land from such a deal.⁵

Recently, many people have come to live in Anlong Chrey and this population increases every year. According to a village chief, most of them come from nearby provinces such as Svay Rieng and Prey Veng. Nowadays, some beautiful buildings have been built and at least a hundred houses have already been built for people. The Village chief said that these buildings are at or along the border of Cambodia-Vietnam. Some villagers added that the houses have been given to people to live in and that they will protect the border from invasion by Vietnam.

Reported by a local newspaper, Daem Ampil, writing that Anlong Chrey used to be a place where a movement of Anti-Khmer Rouge was formed in the late 1970s.⁶ Mr. Heng Samrin said on the 24th of May that the anti-Pol Pot movement was formed in Anlong Chrey village, Kok commune in Ponhea Krek district of Kampong Cham province in 1977.⁷ According to Heng Samrin, Anlong Chrey was a target of American bombing during the Lon Nol regime to destroy the Khmer Rouge (Khmer liberation) movement in the early 1970s and was also a place where a movement of anti-Khmer Rouge was created to fight against the Khmer Rouge regime in late 1978. In a speech on the 24th of May, Heng Samrin said that Anlong Chrey was a village which received the heaviest destruction during the American bombings that killed 12 villagers, a historical birthplace of the "United Front for National Salvation" and a significant base of the anti-Pol Pot movement where many nationalist leaders were based.⁸ He said: "*Anlong Chrey is a village where all the anti-Khmer Rouge forces gathered and planned their strategy to topple the Khmer Rouge regime. The creation of the armed movement in order to form a "national front" was supported by the people from Anlong Chrey to as far as Snuol district. After the armed movement was formed, there was a universal declaration of the creation in Snuol district (of the United Front for National Salvation of 2nd December, 1978).*"⁹

³ Meas Sochea, *Cambodia to cede two villages to Vietnam*, Phnom Penh Post (June 18, 2012), <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/cambodia-cede-two-villages-vietnam>

⁴*Id.*

⁵*Id.*

⁶ Khmerization, *Heng Samrin: Anlong Chrey village was the birthplace of Anti-Khmer Rouge movement*, Deum Ampil, (May 28, 2009), <http://khmerization.blogspot.com/2009/05/heng-samrin-anlong-chrey-village-was.html>

⁷*Id.*

⁸*Id.*

⁹*Id.*

METHODS

The inauguration ceremony was held at 8 a.m. with about two hundred participants which were students, teachers, school principal and high education officials from the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport (MoEYS) and the Provincial Office of Education. First, a speech by deputy director of Tbaung Khmum Provincial Office of Education Mr. Ka Vachana was read to the participants, reporting on overall education sectors around the province. A number of teachers, students and schools were mentioned in order to give detailed information to Her Excellency Tun Sa-im as well as participants.

Second, Mr. Pheng Pong-Rasy, director of DC-Cam's Prey Veng Documentation Center and Genocide Research and Education in Cambodia, spoke to the participants, explaining the purpose of installing the anti-genocide slogans, along with a brief explanation of the Prey Veng Documentation Center's activities in 2019 and some projects of the Genocide Research and Education in Cambodia.

Third, H.E. Tun Sa-im came to the stage and talked more about the most recent educational system in Cambodia and explained the meaning of the two slogans to the participants. At the end of her speech, she proposed that all history teachers in Anlong Chrey high school should join DC-Cam's village history project which has been working since last year and will continue for another 5 years. She also thanked DC-Cam for working on the installation of the anti-genocide slogans, not only at Anlong Chrey high school, but more schools in Cambodia.

Fourth, the official opening of the curtain covering the slogans was made by H.E. Tun Sa-im, and DK textbooks and other Khmer Rouge-related documents were distributed to all participants. Next, a Q&A session ensued. At the beginning of this event, every chapter of the DK history from the DK textbook was summarized for the participants. This lasted about half an hour. After that, more questions were asked by the students. All the questions were answered.

Last, 24 survey sheets were distributed to 24 selected teachers and students. The survey contains 7 questions. The questions are not multiple choice questions, but open-ended questions. The purpose of the survey is to explore students and teachers' knowledge of the slogans and their reflections on the slogans. Please read the answers to the questions in the "Result" section.

RESULT

The Ceremony was completed successfully. All attending participants stayed from the beginning until the end of every activity. Some teachers who attended the Ceremony said that they gained more knowledge about the Khmer Rouge history through the presentation of this history. Some added that the slogans will help them in teaching and will become a guide for students to create a space for their own conversations with families at home after school. The school principal, Mr. Horn, was happy with this program. Using these slogans, he will encourage his teachers to let the students read, think and analyze the slogans.

13 teachers and 11 students were selected to answer 7 questions organized in a survey sheet. An office of the school principal was used as a place for the selected teachers to

fill in the survey, and the space outside the office was for students to work on this. All had more than 30 minutes to fill in the survey and then they gave the survey to us before they went home at 11:20 a.m. on the same day.

The 7 questions are detailed below, and the answers from both teachers and students are typed under each question.

1. Have you heard about Khmer Rouge regime before you join the Ceremony?

All 24 said “yes” to this question with some explanations. Because most of the teachers who filled in the survey were born after the Khmer Rouge regime, they said the same as their students, that they know this history from their parents, grandparents, communities, schools, news and other social medias.

2. Are you satisfied with this anti-genocide slogans installation at your school?

All said “Yes”. There is no explanation to this question.

3. Please explain how can this installation of the anti-genocide slogans help you?

Teachers:

- Understand the Khmer Rouge history and feel pity to the lives of people under this regime.
- Encourage [people or students or teachers] to remember what happened during the past and prevent the atrocity during the Khmer Rouge [regime].
- Serve as an evidence for students to believe what happened in the past in Cambodia and encourage them to study hard of their own history in order to build the country away from genocide.
- Serve as a message to the students to build unity, reconciliation, and tolerance. The study of this history is to prevent this history happening again in the future.
- Understand the leadership of Khmer Rouge and will never teach students how to follow this leadership. This serves as an experience that every leader has to learn in order to lead the country away from genocide.
- The slogans train the younger generation to love nation and country.
- This serves as additional teaching materials while teaching this history with students.
- This encourages me to search more information about this history so that I can use the finding as my teaching material with the students.
- Become a slogan that encourages students not to create an environment of discrimination against each other.

Students:

- Remind me of what happened in the past and this slogan is to educate younger generation to tolerance and prevent this regime happening again in the future.
- This slogan helps younger generation to build social unity and reconciliation and to speak about this regime.
- Help me to understand more about Khmer Rouge history.
- From this slogan, I understood that the lives under Khmer Rouge regime were so difficult.
- Encourage me to study more and more about this history and push me to do more research on this history.
- The slogans tell me that Khmer Rouge regime committed atrocity and many people died of this regime.

4. How do you understand the slogan "Talking about experiences during the Khmer Rouge regime is to promote reconciliation and to educate children about forgiveness and tolerance"? Please explain.

Teachers:

- Build good communication with each other by understanding each other, thinking critically about what happened in the past, and giving away a thinking of discrimination against each other.
- A key message to let younger generation to understand that the reconciliation and unity are important for them to build the country.
- I understand that the slogan provides me an idea to integrate how to build reconciliation, peace with students while teaching in the actual classroom.

Students:

- I agree with the slogans. It reminds me that the Khmer Rouge regime prohibited people's rights from their natural rights and did not allow people to live freely. People received a lot of difficulties and struggled for lives. It is a slogan, educating the next generation to understand and struggle with all their problems.
- The slogan above is to educate and encourage younger generation to understand that solidify, love each other, build a nation, and never return to the Khmer Rouge regime are important for anyone.
- I think that this slogan is really meaningful because this slogan shows us about the living conditions of people in the Khmer Rouge period, the bitter suffering of that era, and killing. This slogan educates children to build love, understanding, and reconciliation...etc.

5. How do you understand the slogan "Learning about the history of Democratic Kampuchea is to prevent genocide"? Please explain?

Teachers:

- Of course, knowing this history can make Cambodian people aware of the bitterness, massacre of that era, and how to prevent it from happening again.
- Study to analyze every event deeply. Thus, this history would not be appeared again.
- The study about the DK history is a study of painful experience and leadership of top Khmer Rouge leaders that would leave the younger generation dare not to commit acts of inhumanity and turn to love, to unite and to gain peace in society.
- The slogan means that the study of this history is to build the spirit of the next generation to be united.

Students:

- The study of Democratic Kampuchea's history tells us about the injustice of killing innocent people, and this is a lesson for students to judge that doing so is inhumane, so all Khmer children must respect each other. No one can tolerate this injustice anymore.
- Understand more and more about this history.
- Understand the immoral and injustice of crime committed with people.
- Understand the hardship of people during the Khmer Rouge regime.
- Understand the way to prevent genocide.

6. Please describe your interest to the slogans installed in your school and location?

Teachers:

- I'm very happy to have this slogan in our high school to help with the next generation.
- I think the slogan reminds many teachers, students and people who come in and those who are close to here are getting more memory about the genocidal regime.
- Increasing students' knowledge of building tolerance, and avoiding conflicts and war in the future.
- I think the slogan is good sentence because it helps us to see the true history of Democratic Kampuchea and helps us to be tolerant and to prevent the return of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.
- I'm happy to have the slogan so that students, teachers and people remember their past and prevent this from happening again.
- I am delighted with the slogan at this high school, which will give the next generation knowledge and inspire children to protect and love the nation.
- We are very pleased to receive these two slogans, and they make us more aware of the Khmer Rouge regime.
- These two slogans can be useful, can help alert the student's spirit and help to prevent such behavior.
- I feel happy and proud to receive these slogans in my school, it reminded us all to remember this regime and to prevent it from happening again.
- Feeling so happy because never have such the slogans before.
- In my view, it is good for the entire society, students and school because the slogans show us a meaningful and educational words and sentences.
- Make students understand the history of leadership in the Democratic Kampuchea regime, teach the students to abhor the brutal regime, show or reinforce students 'in-depth studies, improve students' further broader research. And make the school community more awareness.
- I think it is best to have this slogan in school because the students will know and remember this horrible regime.
- I am very satisfying. These slogans will help remind every Khmer child not to forget, but build sympathy and tolerate among each other.

Student Interests:

- I'm so happy that my school has the slogan because it encourages students and people who come to see the slogan to remember this bitter history.
- For the slogan in my high school, I understand that teachers and students know about the Khmer Rouge regime.
- I feel that learning the slogan is really good for the younger generation to know about the hardships of the past, and I am also grateful to those who manage and install the slogan.
- I am thrilled and excited about putting the slogan.
- I'm proud to have learned these slogans because it has taught me a great deal about history.
- For my interests, I am honored to see the slogan as it will help my future success.
- Let us know more; and when we come to school, we see the slogan, we want to keep in mind that the Khmer people lived so hard and no rights.

- For my interest to the slogan in high school, I can help my next generation of schoolchildren to remember the fall into the history of Democratic Kampuchea and to build the country for progress and more advanced development.

7. Do you have anything to add to the activity you have seen in the moment?

- Helps disseminate information about KR history to people who live in the most remote areas.
- Extend genocide education nationwide through more training or workshops.
- In my opinion, relevant curriculum materials should be kept for further research by the teacher.
- Request more important discussion on KR history, leading by historical experts, and more photos and documentary films about KR.
- I would like to request the organization to provide other materials to the school as a research material for students as well as teachers.
- Field visit/study to the ECCC.
- Encourage more outreach to motivate students to work harder.

I'd like team work on this return to my school again.

Output 3: Pre-Service Teacher Training

DC-Cam, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport conducted the Pre-service teacher workshop at Takeo RTTC in Takeo provincial town. The workshop entitled “Integrate History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)” and consisted of three days. There were a total 120 pre-service teachers (73 female) from four provinces (Takeo, Kampot, Kep, and Sihanoukville) who attended this intensive workshop program. There are currently second year students training in English-Khmer, ICT-English, Khmer-Moralities, Math-Physic, Physic-Chemistry, and Biology-Earth subject. The workshop program consisted of:

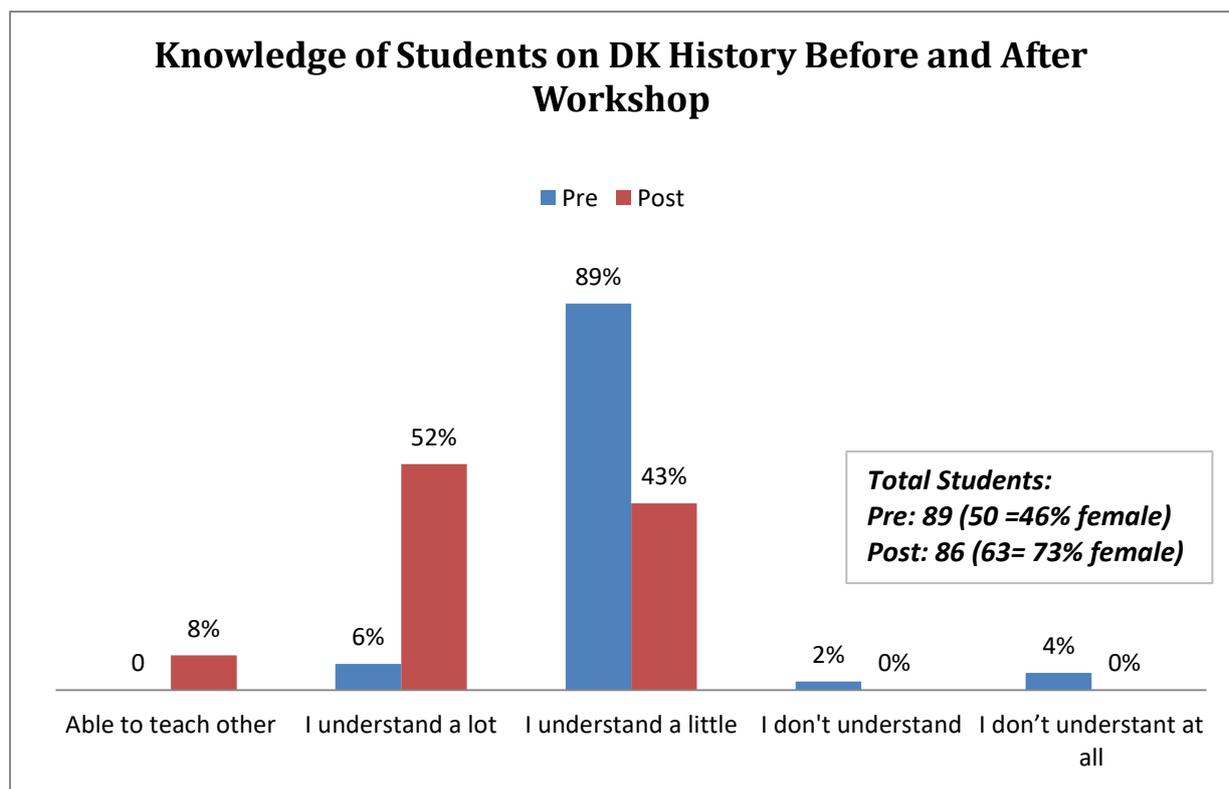
- Lecture on 12 Chapters of the History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) textbook by using student-centered approaches
- The presentation of participants on the chapter that assigned.
- Documentary film screening
- Civil party session on life during KR period by Mrs. Sao Lun
- Session on how to integrate KR history in their classroom

This program was originally designed as a six-day training. We shortened the program from six days to three days due to having no history teachers among the group. So, the program on the KR history demonstrates that DK history can be integrated into school subjects aside from history. To ensure the quality of the workshop, DC-Cam invited two national trainers from Kampong Cham and Kampong Chhang provinces to share their experiences on KR history and student-centered approaches. DC-Cam team also conducted the pre-and post-survey to evaluate the knowledge of participants before and after the workshop. On the third day, DC-Cam and Takeo RTTC held the closing ceremony and certificates of attending the program were handed out to participants by Under Secretary of State of MoEYS. We were able to make the following observations in regard to the impact of our workshop on the pre-service teachers:

There are moderate increases of 2.40 average points in the actual understanding of the DK history. The average points in pre-assessment are 72.1 and 74.41 in post-assessment. In both pre- and post-assessment, we have 20 basic questions on DK history. Some among the participants were able to get almost full marks.

Pre-service teachers from subjects mentioned above were able to generate ideas on how to integrate KR history into their classes. Their ideas involve interviewing people in villages, inviting survivors to their village in order to share their experiences in class, KR video screenings, and teaching students to search KR documents through modern technology tools such as the internet, google etc. The Pre-service teachers were able to identify their challenges and solutions to integrate KR history in their classes, such as using existing resources, including inviting elders from villages or using school computers.

In the post-assessment, the preservice teacher's actual understanding on DK history significantly increased to 52% (I understand a lot), while percentage of those who understand a little (I understand a little) decreased to 43%. On the other hand, 8% of the overall pre-service teachers believed that they are able to teach other.



Output 4: Media Productions “Searching for the Truth Magazine”



DC-Cam published 34 articles, totaling 161 pages, out of its 3 Issues this quarter in the local Reaksmei Kampuchea newspaper. These articles were published online by this newspaper as well.

Media Productions & Scholarship	# of page	Notes
Online/journal publications	341 of pages	180ps for 3 magazines and 161 for local newspaper.

In addition, there were three articles related to the family tracing section of the magazine, as following:

Letter From Jan Wagner



SemVanny in 1970s

I am writing to you with a request. It may seem like a strange request. Therefore, first I will provide a little background information.

I was in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in 1970. I was 20 years old at that time. I had a military draft deferment due to childhood health problems which is why I was not

drafted into the US military and sent to Viet Nam like the rest of my out-of-school male friends at that time.

Consequently, I took advantage of my situation and went on a “backpacking” trip around the world. After traveling in Europe and North Africa for a few months I ended up in SE Asia. While traveling in Thailand I met a Thai school teacher who suggested I also visit Cambodia. She had friends in Cambodia, Vanny and Kanya, who were teaching english to children at a school in Phnom Penh. They were sharing a living space there too.

To keep this short, I will just say that I ended up in Phnom Penh living with Vanny and Kanya for awhile in 1970. We became close friends. There were many strange and intense but also interesting things going on in and around Phnom Penh that year. I went with Vanny when she was teaching her classes. I loved the people there. I met many of her friends. I went to a beautiful wedding. Vanny taught me about Cambodian history and current politics. We walked everywhere and talked all of the time. That spring Prince Sihanouk had been removed from power and Prime Minister Lon Nol had invoked emergency powers becoming the effective head of state. Occasionally a body could be seen floating down the Mekong River. The word on the street was that the Khmer were advancing into some areas closer to the city. Consequently, people were often nervous and there was a feel of some underlying fear and anxiety.

I often went to the daily military briefings that were being held in an upstairs room at a local hotel in order to determine if it was safe to continue staying in Phnom Penh. Generally those who attended the meetings were government officials and military people. There were also a handful of international journalists who attended those meetings. One day when the fighting between Lon Nol's troops and the Khmer intensified unexpectedly close to the city the military issued a warning: "either leave Cambodia immediately or stay and potentially not be able to leave". Sadly, I left Phnom Penh. For the next few months I tried to stay in touch with Vanny. Miraculously, some of our letters managed to get through. I received two of her letters.

Now, almost 50 years later and after much searching, I was able to find Vanny's letters. I have attached them below so that you can read them.

These letters are personal. It is emotional and very sad for me to read them now. However, I'm not overly shy about sharing them. I hope that by sharing them with you, especially so that you can see the original contact information, eventually a new pathway of understanding into what happened to them might occur. The news I received back home in the US about Cambodia during the mid-1970s was mostly about the large amount of bloodshed and chaos. With that news my hope for their survival diminished. However, my strong desire to know what happened to Vanny and Kanya still persists.

Is there any way your organization can help me either locate her or at least find out her status? If not, do you know of an organization in Cambodia doing this kind of work who could help me with this search? I will be traveling to Phnom Penh on November 5th.

Thank you!



Letter From Monica Tran

My grandparents and parents have to escape from Cambodia during the Khmer arrival in Phnom Penh in 1975. They lost my uncle when leaving Phnom Penh, the day the Khmer rouge arrived in the city and rushed people into the countryside.

My family is now leaving in France in Paris but my grandfather is still hoping to find my uncle one day.

Could you please let me know whether the Red Cross could help us in this research? We do have a photo of my uncle.

We are also planning to come to Phnom Penh in February. This would be the first time my grandfather will come back to Phnom Penh since he was forced to leave.

Many thanks in advance for your help

Looking forward to hear from you soon.

Letter From Keo Marlee

Keo Maylee and her mother



I am in search of my mother's parents who have been separated from her after 79-80s.

Choun Chan Sovanna was born in Takeo in 1953 (age 65) and Chao Chan was born in Châu? (before Vietnam, this was in Cambodia) in 1945 (age 73). My mom was born Takeo in 1969. They had 4 children together.

Before the Pol Pot regime, mom's family lived in Takeo. They left Takeo to Phnom Penh but then moved to Banteay Meanchey province, more precisely Preah Netr Preah district because the regime. After Pol Pot, mom was in the Svay Sisophon Hospital, known in Serei Saophoan today.

Mom lost contact with her parents in 1979-1980, and only her mother knows that my mom's brother and her 2 sisters died because of the Pol Pot regime. My mom said that she has met a man that met her father in Svay Sisophon/Serei Saophoan to bring him to Phnom Penh back and forth, around the end of 1979-1980. The last time they've met was in Battambang.

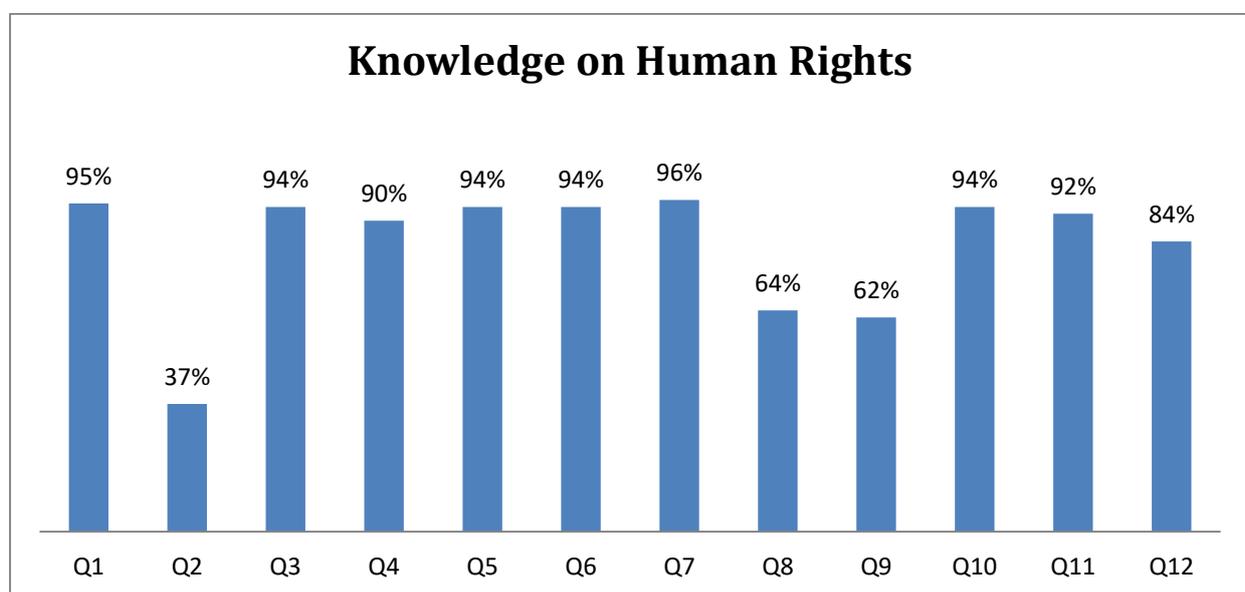
I have attached their pictures my mother has kept of them. I have also included a picture of my mother and me, because we all look similar to my grandmother. I am in Phnom Penh until the 14th of January. I can come visit your headquarters also.

You may call me at 077 486 503 or reply to this email. Thank you!

OBJECTIVE 4: To Promote Human Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law

Indicators of human rights issues were collected through a teacher training workshop conducted recently in Takeo province. 12 questionnaires which related to human rights were designed and used during the workshop. Participants in the workshop were able to read and think critically about each answer and question.

The chart below describes the knowledge of participants on human rights.



See more detail in output 3 above.

Conclusion

It is the last quarter for the year of 2018. DC-Cam is proud of its significant achievements the staff has made throughout the year. DC-Cam's leaders and staff believe that in the next year the organization will continue to achieve significant accomplishments and will move forward in its commitment to its mission, to advance memory, justice and healing.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Genocide Prevention Questions

Genocide Prevention Questions

1. Which response below is the best definition of genocide as stated in the

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide?

- a. Killing members of a political group with the intent to destroy the entire group because of their political agenda.
- b. Arresting leaders of a religious group with the intent to undermine the practice of religion.
- c. **Deliberately starving an ethnic group with the intent to destroy the people.**
- d. Killing enemy soldiers who are shooting at your soldiers during a war.

2. Which response below reflects circumstances that support violence and possibly future genocide in a community?

- a. Students engaged in peaceful protest against a school policy.
- b. **Local leaders requirement to force members of a religious group to live separate from the rest of the community.**
- c. Police arresting persons who trespass on government property.
- d. Immigrants from another country seeking to settle in a community.

3. Which response below reflects circumstances that support violence and possibly future genocide in a country?

- a. **Religious leaders who describe members of another religion as “sub-human” and “worthy of death.”**
- b. Religious leaders who encourage their members to pray for members of another religion.
- c. Political leaders who encourage everyone to vote.
- d. Individuals who petition their government leaders to adopt a policy.

4. Which response below is the best description of the impact of genocide on individuals?

- a. Individuals suffer as a result of lower wages and job growth.
- b. **Individuals mourn the loss of family and friends who were tortured and/or killed.**
- c. Individuals are not impacted by genocide. Genocide only affects groups of people.
- d. Only children are impacted by genocide by the loss of parents.

5. Which response below is the best description of the impact of genocide on families and communities?

- a. Individuals suffer during genocide but generally families and communities are unharmed.
- b. Only poor families ever suffer during genocide. Rich families never suffer during genocide.
- c. **Genocide can impact families and communities in many ways for generations.**
- d. Genocide impacts communities but families can always escape by fleeing to another country.

6. Which response below is the best description of the impact of genocide on countries?

- a. Countries are not impacted by genocide.
- b. Countries can be impacted by genocide but the world is too big to be impacted.
- c. Countries suffer from genocide only when it is occurring. They can rebuild quickly.
- d. Countries can be impacted by genocide for generations.**

7. Which response below is the best description of an important strategy that individuals can do to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Individuals can ignore violence when it occurs because there is nothing they can do.
- b. Individuals can prevent violence by attacking their enemies before they are attacked.
- c. Individuals can prevent violence by staying quiet and not criticizing violence.
- d. Individuals can prevent violence by speaking against such violence.**

8. Which response below is the best description of another important strategy that individuals can do to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Individuals can encourage violence against their enemies.
- b. Individuals can encourage victims to be silent because speaking out against violence will only encourage more violence.
- c. Individuals can denounce violence and encourage peaceful solutions to conflicts.**
- d. Individuals can encourage perpetrators to commit their violence without public attention, which only aggravates the situation.

9. Which response below is the best description of an important strategy that communities can implement to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Communities can protect the individual rights of all community members, regardless of religion, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, political opinion or other characteristics.**
- b. Communities can protect the individual rights of the majority group at the expense of minorities in order to preserve peace, order and stability.
- c. Communities do not need to protect individual rights; rather, they must always seek to maintain peace, order and stability.
- d. Communities do not need to protect individual rights because this is always a state responsibility.

10. Which response below is the best description of another important strategy that communities can implement to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Communities can prevent violence by identifying minorities and requiring them to live separate from the rest of the community.
- b. Communities can prevent violence by teaching youth to appreciate human diversity through education about different cultures, religions, and communities.**
- c. Communities can prevent violence by teaching youth to appreciate their own culture and identify ways to protect it from outside influence.
- d. Communities can prevent violence by teaching youth how to protect themselves and their communities through self-defense training.

11. Which response below reflects an important strategy that countries can implement to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Countries can prevent violence by censoring information and news.
- b. Countries can prevent violence by attacking enemies before they are attacked.
- c. Countries can never prevent violence but they can assist in peaceful resolution.
- d. Countries can prevent violence through education and diplomacy.**

12. Which response below reflects another important strategy that countries can implement to prevent and avoid circumstances that are supportive to violence and possibly future genocide?

- a. Countries can identify and publicly denounce circumstances that support genocide.**
- b. Countries should never denounce other countries because it will weaken future diplomacy.
- c. Countries should only denounce enemies that support violence or genocide. Countries should never denounce allies involved in genocide because they are allies.
- d. Countries should only help people who deserve to be helped. Some genocides are necessary to preserve peace and order.**

Human Rights Questions

1. What are human rights?

- a. Human rights are the basic standards by which human beings in wealthy countries are able to live life.
- b. Human rights are the basic standards human beings need to live life with freedom and dignity.**
- c. Human rights are laws that are often used to attack political opponents.
- d. Human rights are laws that discourage progress, peace, and security.

2. What are some examples of human rights?

- a. Human rights include fundamental economic and financial rights, such as the right to have a job, the right to earn a lot of money, and the right to buy and sell anything that one owns on one's property.
- b. Human rights include fundamental rights related to personal liberty such as the right to do whatever one wants to do, or go wherever one wants to go. Human rights means the freedom to live without restriction.
- c. Human rights include fundamental civil and political rights, such as the right to free speech, to freedom of religion, and the right to participate in government. Human rights also include essential economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to education, to work, and to health care.**
- d. Human rights include the right of a police officer to arrest you when you have broken the law. Human rights include the right of a property owner to defend his property when it is threatened. Human rights also include the right of parents to restrict their children from doing anything immoral.

3. How can individuals support human rights?

a. By recognizing and seeking to change behavior that restricts people from enjoying their human rights.

B. By encouraging victims to remain silent to avoid further abuse.

c. Individuals should not support human rights because it undermines peace and security.

d. Individuals should support human rights only when they are personally threatened.

4. How can communities support human rights?

a. By isolating people to prevent relationships and preserve the peace.

b. By encouraging people to leave the community to avoid conflict.

c. Communities cannot support human rights. Human rights are strictly a personal matter.

d. By recognizing and seeking to change social and cultural patterns that deprive people of their human rights

5. How can governments support human rights?

a. Governments cannot support human rights. Human rights are strictly a personal matter.

b. By recognizing and seeking to change laws and political norms that deprive people of their human rights.

c. By isolating people in their communities to prevent unnecessary movements or relationships between communities.

d. Governments only need to support human rights during a war.

6. What is discrimination against women?

a. It means acting in ways that protect women from outside influence, abuse, or exploitation.

b. It means any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex, which has an effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis equal to men.

c. It means the distinction and division of good women from bad women, and the education of all women for the betterment of themselves, their communities, and society.

d. It means to question, seek to improve, and protect the morals of women and men to ensure the improvement of social and religious morals.

7. What is an example of discrimination?

a. Women encouraged owning land.

b. Women encouraged to work.

c. Women discouraged to obtain higher education.

d. Women encouraged obtaining higher education.

8. Choose the following answer that best describes the purpose of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Human Rights Declaration.

a. To help establish a framework for human rights cooperation in the region and contribute to the ASEAN community building process.

b. To enforce human rights laws in all countries through an international human rights court.

- c. To help establish a framework to monitor human rights violations around the world.
- d. To help establish a human rights police force for Southeast Asia.

Scenarios.

Directions: Read the following scenario and describe what human right was violated.

9. A local businessman wants to buy a neighbor's land. The neighbor refuses, and the businessman is angry. The businessman asks his uncle, a police officer, to arrest his neighbor. His uncle/police officer beats the man and arrests him. What human right was violated?

a. No person can be prevented from buying another person's land, and no offer to buy land should be refused.

b. No person shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, search, detention, abduction or any form of deprivation of liberty.

c. There was no human right violated.

d. No person has a right to his land if a business offers to buy the land for a reasonable price.

10. A public school principal dislikes Muslims, and he refuses to allow Muslim children to attend the public school.

a. Every person is entitled to the same rights and freedoms as other people, regardless of race, gender, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic status, birth, disability or other status.

b. Every person is entitled to refuse anyone they do not deem to be equal in education and background.

c. There was no human right violated.

d. Every person has a right to private school but no one has a right to public school.

11. A journalist publishes an article about how a local owner of a factory beats his workers and requires them to work long hours with no extra pay. The article is true and supported by many different sources. The businessman pays a police officer to harass the journalist. The police officer beats the man and issues him a warning to not publish any more articles about the factory.

a. The journalist violated the businessman's right to be free from public embarrassment.

b. The journalist violated the businessman's right to treat his employees however he wants.

c. Every person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, including freedom to hold opinions without interference.

d. There was no human right violated.

12. A man earns money by finding young teenagers to work as prostitutes. He usually looks for teenagers in poor villages. He promises good pay if they will work for him. He transports the teenagers to the city where he manages his prostitution business.

a. There was no human right violated.

b. The teenagers' right to good pay may be violated if he does not actually pay them well.

c. No person shall be held in servitude or slavery in any of its forms, or be subject to human smuggling or trafficking in persons.

d. The man needs to obtain approval from the city to transport them. If he receives approval then no right will be violated.

Appendix 2: Win Win Monument

Win-Win Policy taught to pupils

Wed, 26 December 2018

[Voun Dara](#)

A ministry of National Defence official confirmed on Tuesday that the study of Prime Minister Hun Sen's landmark Win-Win Policy has been included into military education programmes, and he anticipates it will soon also be added to the national education curriculum.

"We have included it into the soldier's curriculum already, while for the civil education sector of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, I believe that the ministry will include the study of the Win-Win Policy at higher or secondary education level," Nem Sowath, who is the ministry's General Department of Policy & Foreign Affairs director-general, told The Post on Tuesday.

Explaining the addition of the Win-Win Policy into the curriculum, Sowath – who also headed the team charged with constructing the newly completed Win-Win Monument – said via his official Facebook page that it held a deeper meaning than just aggrandising the prime minister.

"It does not only represent the history of Samdech [Hun Sen], the construction of this monument will also fill a historical gap and give a further understanding about that time in Cambodian history."

"It is a significant event and it should have been included in the curriculum a long time ago," Sowath said.

He said the General Command and Training Division of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and the University of Defence have already instigated a curriculum for soldiers that features the study of the Win-Win Policy, while an inclusion into the national curriculum was on the horizon.

The Win-Win Policy was an initiative pursued by Hun Sen in the late-1990s, allowing Khmer Rouge holdouts to keep their military positions in exchange for defecting to government forces, ending decades of civil war.

The prime minister's official Facebook page on Tuesday hailed the completion of the new Win-Win Monument, which will be inaugurated with a three-day ceremony chaired by

Hun Sen starting on Saturday – the 20th anniversary of the policy.

“The Win-Win Monument is representative of national unification, independence, solidarity, territorial integrity and the prosperity of Cambodia.

“The monument proves that Cambodia is united and can escape from war, genocide, territorial division, poverty and foreign incitement.

“At the moment, Cambodia is leading its destiny toward the prosperity and peace,” the message read.

The construction of the Win-Win Monument began in February 2016 on 8ha in Chroy Changvar district’s Prek Ta Sek commune in Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Education spokesman Ros Soveacha said national curriculum reforms occur every five years, with an upcoming shake-up scheduled to decide a new curriculum for the 2019-2023 period.

He said the Win-Win Policy will be up for discussion as a potential addition to the next curriculum, and the involved parties would hold bilateral discussions with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport on its inclusion.

“For the Win-Win Policy topic, it might be added to the curriculum. The inclusion of additional topics in the curriculum needs the participation of teachers and has to be done through a study and a trial.

“But we see the potential for the study of historical places such as the Win-Win Monument, which holds a deep meaning in Cambodian history, in strengthening the soft and hard skills of our students,” he said.

Affiliated Network for Social Accountability executive director San Chey warned against the education sector becoming too focused on the achievements of one political party.

“We welcome next generation gaining knowledge for human development. Therefore, anything that contributes to human development is a good thing. But the education sector is an independent institution, and we shouldn’t involve politics in it,” he said.

Officials reminisce over Hun Sen’s win-win policy

May Titthara
December 28, 2018

<https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50563912/officials-reminisce-over-hun-sens-win-win-policy/>

Thousands of soldiers, police officers and spectators will gather in the capital tomorrow to mark the 20th anniversary of Prime Minister Hun Sen’s win-win policy, a move that

brought Khmer Rouge leaders Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan to the table to discuss peace in the late 1990s.

The gathering will not only mark the anniversary, but the inauguration of the Win-Win Monument, a symbol of Mr Hun Sen's achievements and an intended symbol of peace that has been under construction in Chroy Changva district's Prek Tasek commune since 2016.

The 54-metre tall monument will serve as a reminder of the sacrifices made to end civil wars that seemed endless just decades ago.

General Y Chhean, secretary of state with the Defence Ministry and a former bodyguard of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot, says the monument will be an important token for all Cambodians.

"Without concessions made by Prime Minister Hun Sen, the flames of war would never have ended," Gen Chhean says. "He is the man that brought peace to Cambodia – people have to accept that."

Gen Chhean, who defected in August 1996, says at that time he told his close confidant Prum Pat to express desires to negotiate with Mr Hun Sen's forces. On August 5, 1996, Gen Chhean says he personally met with General Tea Banh, who was fighting for peace alongside Mr Hun Sen.

At the time, Gen Banh told Gen Chhean that if Khmer Rouge remnants threw down their weapons and surrendered, Mr Hun Sen promised that they would not be prosecuted and would be allowed to keep their jobs.

Eventually, Gen Chhean met with Mr Hun Sen to discuss the prospect of peace and the internal political situation at the time before reaching an agreement to defect from the Khmer Rouge.

"Everyone needs happiness and peace – they fought each other because they wanted happiness and peace," Gen Chhean says. "So Prime Minister Hun Sen made concessions we needed so the fighting would end. We needed to accept the terms."

"The reason why I trusted Prime Minister Hun Sen is that I learned of his activities, the things he said and his family background," he adds. "I found out that he was an honest person who wanted to rescue the country from the flames of war. I found out that he came from a family of farmers and I decided to join him."

Defecting to the other side made Gen Chhean a target for the remaining Khmer Rouge leadership, who sent Khmer Rouge commander Ta Mok to meet him in Pailin province in July 1996.

"Ta Mok went directly to me and told me to go to Malai district in Banteay Meanchey province, but I refused," Gen Chhean says. "I think Ta Mok would have killed me had I agreed to go because they knew I was negotiating with the government in Phnom Penh."

The war between government forces and the Khmer Rouge was a complicated matter, he adds. It took efforts from both sides to end it.

“One thing that made it much more difficult was bringing people together to reach an agreement,” Gen Chhean says. “But Prime Minister Hun Sen was able to do that.”

The Khmer Rouge carried out a genocide against its own people in the 1970s until a Vietnamese invasion halted their insidious agenda, influenced by the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Their members depopulated cities across the Kingdom and forced Cambodians to march to their deaths for camps located in rural areas.

It has been estimated that about 1.7 million people died under the Khmer Rouge. They executed political opponents, people who were educated and suspected western sympathisers.

General Yim Phanna, a former Khmer Rouge soldier who became deputy commander of an army unit, represented the Khmer Rouge during the negotiations to draft the 1991 Paris Peace Accords.

Today, Gen Phanna says it wasn't easy for him to muster up courage to meet with his former opponents and discuss peace.

“It was hard for me at first because I was afraid that if I failed, they would kill me,” he says. “But I was lucky that Prime Minister Hun Sen was committed to end the war.”

“I thought to myself: if we didn't end the war, we would be losers,” Gen Phanna adds. “Everyone would be losers because every Cambodian was somehow involved.”

He says that even by attending negotiations, he was accused of being a traitor by the Khmer Rouge.

“It was very hard for me during that time,” Gen Phanna says.

However, he believed in Mr Hun Sen's promise that Khmer Rouge cadres would not be prosecuted and would be allowed to retain their positions.

He was also promised that Anlong Veng, the last Khmer Rouge stronghold in Oddar Meanchey province at the time, would remain untouched by government forces.

“I can say that without Prime Minister Hun Sen, the war would never have ended,” Gen Phann says. “I am proud of my decision. Now Anlong Veng has become well-developed.”

“Building the Win-Win Monument is a good decision,” he adds. “Now the younger generation will know the stories of the past and ensure this country's peace.”

Mr Hun Sen wrote in a book commemorating the overthrow of Pol Pot's regime that it was not a resistance carried out in haste, but a carefully crafted one.

“I may ask: was it necessary for us to organise national salvation if situations were like today? National salvation is the backbone of the Cambodian people,” he says in the book. “Back then, we weren't able to campaign for elections, or ask for freedom and democracy.”

“If we could have done that, I would not have organised armed resistance to liberate the country,” Mr Hun Sen adds. “I wouldn’t have had to demand freedom from Pol Pot, let alone the freedom to express, travel, participate in politics, or even the right to life.”

He says in the book that in 1971, people who had sheltered him in what is now Tboung Khmum province’s Memot district, organised a funeral ceremony for him after he had lost a battle against South Vietnamese and American forces.

“I lost my way in deep forest. People thought I was killed. I made it in the end to this place and saw they were organising a funeral for me [because] they thought I died in the fight.”

Mr Hun Sen writes in an inscription on the Win-Win Monument that Cambodians joined to fight together because all Cambodians have an obligation to their country.

“Before June 20, 1977, I was just a soldier who received orders from his superiors,” he writes. “But from then until now, I have been a leader that has ensured Cambodia’s national process forever without taking breaks.”

He notes that it all began with five people, but now there are millions who are fighting with him for the sake of the Kingdom.

“The win-win solution was drafted by victims who were seeking peace for their country,” Mr Hun Sen says.

As for Gen Banh, who is now Defence Minister, he says the monument celebrates Mr Hun Sen’s achievements in winning peace for the nation by bringing Khmer Rouge leaders to the table in the 1990s.

“The Win-Win Monument, is primarily meant to celebrate Hun Sen’s win-win policy that allowed Khmer Rouge cadres to keep their military positions in exchange for defecting to the government, thus ending decades of civil war,” Gen Banh says. “The structure will become part of Cambodia’s heritage for future generations. Prime Minister Hun Sen began his true journey in life after the night of June 20, 1977. He then sought to rescue the nation from Pol Pot’s genocidal regime.”

To ordinary people, war is often a distant thought. Ending a war is not an easy feat.

The Council of Ministers’ Press and Quick Reaction Unit last year produced a 90-minute video entitled “Marching Toward National Salvation” to tell the story of Mr Hun Sen.

The film tells a story of Mr Hun Sen and his four comrades Nuch Than, Nhek Horn, Sou Kimsreang and Va Por Ien.

It begins with the five making their way into Vietnam to ask the Vietnam’s government to organise the resistance for national liberation.

“At that time, I had to make difficult decisions,” Mr Hun Sen says in the film. “To be 25 years old and to be far from the country because of murderers. The tears I shed before I crossed the border were for my country.”

“There I was left with only a handful of choices and suicide was one of them,” he says. “But I would rather do it in Vietnam. I always had twelve needles with me in case I was

seized and sent back to Cambodia.”

General Nem Sowath, director-general of the policy and foreign affairs department at the Defence Ministry, says the story of the win-win policy will be included in future curriculum and that the site will become a national archive.

“This Win-Win Monument represents Samdech Techo Hun Sen’s heroic role in bringing peace and development to the country,” Gen Sowath says. “This place will be a major centre for Cambodian history.”

“Hun Sen is a hero,” he adds. “He risked his life to travel to Vietnam to ask Vietnamese forces to help overthrow Pol Pot’s genocidal regime.”

General Pol Saroeun, Senior Minister, has also penned a book about the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge and Mr Hun Sen’s role.

In the book, titled “The DIFID of Techo Hun Sen of Cambodia”, he says that the Khmer Rouge needed to be divided, isolated and dissolved before its members can be integrated and developed.

He says that though the Khmer Rouge regime, also known as Democratic Kampuchea, were not completely uprooted, the “divide and conquer” plan worked on Khmer Rouge soldiers and even for high-ranking Khmer Rouge cadres.

“This book clearly states that someone who loves peace and seeks peace for the nation can overcome hardships,” Gen Saroeun says. “This DIFID [divide and conquer] strategy created the win-win policy with three main points: ensure survival, protect assets and maintain positions.”

Former opposition party adviser Kong Korm says the policy played a major role in toppling Pol Pot’s regime.

Mr Korm says it allowed Cambodia to hold elections and have multiple parties participating.

“Win-Win Monument commemorates the end of the civil war and the policy completely finished off Pol Pot’s party structure,” he says. “This is a historical lesson for the younger generation. To me, I have to accept the achievements of the Cambodian People’s Party in this regard.”

Youk Chhang, director of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia, says December 29 will mark the end of the Khmer Rouge regime.

“On that day years ago, Khieu Samphan urged Cambodians to let bygones be bygones,” Mr Chhang says. “Nuon Chea said leave the deaths in the history books. This is an old story, just leave it in the past.”

“The past will never die. In fact, it continues to resonate in all of us and what we do,” he adds. “All of us bear a duty to not forget it and the monument is evidence of this legacy.”

Hun Sen's Monument to Himself

Andrew Nachemson

December 31, 2018

<https://thediplomat.com/2018/12/hun-sens-monument-to-himself/>

The Cambodian prime minister inaugurated a monument celebrating his own achievements.

Having arrested his main political rival and transformed Cambodia into a de facto one-party state, Prime Minister Hun Sen continued his authoritarian streak by inaugurating a massive stone monument commemorating his own achievements.

“Cambodia has united from the many factions to two and to one like today,” Hun Sen said, speaking to a crowd of thousands that included soldiers from all branches of the military.

The foundation of the self-congratulatory memorial is a massive pentagon lined with carvings of Hun Sen’s most important political triumphs. Towering in the center is a 33-meter high stone monolith attached to a bunker-like base filled with historical documents.

The entire complex is made from the same stone used to construct Cambodia’s most important religious site – Angkor Wat. But rather than honoring gods, this building honors the man who has ruled Cambodia for 33 years.

The memorial was inaugurated on December 29, the 20 year anniversary of Hun Sen’s most important political stroke – the reintegration of Khmer Rouge soldiers into society and the permanent end of decades of civil war.

Ly Sok-Kheang, director of the Anlong Veng Peace Center, said Hun Sen’s win-win policy was necessary to end an interminable conflict.

“In the Cambodian conflict it was really hard to have one party win an outright victory because we did not have face-to-face warfare; it was more about guerrilla warfare. So the win-win strategy was a good approach for both parties to find common ground to end war,” he said in an interview.

Hun Sen ended the war by guaranteeing that the Khmer Rouge holdouts would be able to keep their military positions and private property.

When asked if a giant monument to himself was an appropriate way for Hun Sen to commemorate the end of the Khmer Rouge, Sok-Kheang declined to comment. He did say that while 20 years of peace was a good start, more still needs to be done for democracy and human rights in Cambodia.

Ear Sophal, a Cambodian-American professor of diplomacy and world affairs at Occidental College, agreed that ending the civil war was a success, but added that the Khmer Rouge were already on the brink of collapse.

“It’s a genuine diplomatic achievement, but not nearly as impressive as he would have us

believe,” he said in an email.

Sophal said Hun Sen is cherry-picking nuggets of history to make himself look better, and his legacy is far from one of a national unifier.

Since taking power over 30 years ago, Hun Sen has ruled Cambodia with an iron grip. His crowning political achievements have for the most part been undemocratic and self-serving.

In 1993, he refused to accept the results of the UN-administered election, forcing election winner Prince Ranariddh to accept a co-prime minister arrangement. Four years later, Hun Sen sent Ranariddh fleeing as he consolidated power through a bloody coup.

In 1998, rising political star Sam Rainsy was targeted by a grenade attack that killed 16 and has been linked to Hun Sen’s chief bodyguard. Hun Sen’s regime has continued to dog Rainsy for decades, forcing him to flee the country to avoid politically motivated prison sentences.

In a recent email, Rainsy said the “crazy monument” distorts history and wastes money.

“In my eyes, Hun Sen’s main achievements are institutionalized nepotism, systemic corruption, massive and destructive deforestation, plundering of state assets by his relatives and cronies, persistent poverty for the vast majority of the Cambodian people, revolting social injustice, serious human rights violations and destruction of the democratic legacy from the international community,” he said in an email.

More recently, the Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP) posed a legitimate electoral threat to Hun Sen’s hold on power. Rather than facing them at the ballot box in the 2018 national election, Hun Sen had the party dissolved and its president arrested for allegedly plotting to topple the government.

While the dissolution of the CNRP and the arrest of Kem Sokha have been blasted internationally as transforming Cambodia into a one-party dictatorship, the move is enshrined in the carvings of the Win-Win Monument. Hun Sen claimed to be resurrecting his Khmer Rouge era win-win policy by urging CNRP members to defect before the dissolution. The situations are hard to compare, however. Hun Sen inherited a conflict with the Khmer Rouge that he then solved, but he created the conflict with the CNRP in the first place.

Under the guise of “preventing color revolution,” Hun Sen now glorifies the destruction of democracy as a “win” for Cambodia.

Sophal said Hun Sen simply uses the excuse of “national reconciliation” to violate human and political rights for his own benefit.

“His primary legacy today is one of undermining democracy and human rights to an extent so great that Cambodia in 2018 is unrecognizable to even 2013, politically,” Sophal said. “Alas, instead of national reconciliation, his legacy will be one of having dissolved Cambodian democracy and any semblance of independent media.”

During the inauguration, Hun Sen also lashed out at his favorite rhetorical enemy: the

United States. The premier has frequently accused the Western superpower of foreign interference and violating Cambodia's sovereignty.

He reminded listeners that the United States overthrew Lon Nol, leading to the power vacuum that allowed the Khmer Rouge to gain control. Hun Sen has remained conspicuously silent when it comes to China's financial support of the Khmer Rouge, however.

Sophal said that Cambodia has only become less independent as it has come to rely almost exclusively on China.

"Cambodia is now more under Chinese influence than it has ever been," Sophal said, calling it the "poster child for Chinese domination."

What's more, Sophal believes that Hun Sen's recent actions have endangered Cambodia's only true success – economic growth – by inviting sanctions from the Western world.

Andrew Nachemson is a freelance journalist based in Southeast Asia.

Appendix 3: Music Propaganda

Music – a propaganda promoting the Khmer Rouge socialist identity

JW Turner

Mon, 24 December 2018

<https://www.phnompenhpost.com/post-life-arts-culture/music-propaganda-promoting-khmer-rouge-socialist-identity>

Shortly after their rise to power in April 1975, the Khmer Rouge sought to change the social identity of the Khmer people.

Through forced relocation, expropriation of possessions and separation of family members, the regime sought to eliminate old identities as much as possible.

But one curious and often overlooked aspect of their re-education programmes is the use of music, as propaganda songs were employed to promote the Khmer Rouge's new, socialist identity.

The strategy of using music to build identity has a strong basis in social science. Social groups form their identity largely through shared experience, and music provides a particularly powerful tool for creating such an experience.

Accordingly, music plays an important role in politics around the world, and has been used by governments and citizens alike for both noble and sinister motives. The collection of Khmer Rouge songs still held in the archives of the Documentation Center of Cambodia

(DC-Cam) provides a particularly valuable resource for understanding this phenomenon.

Studying the Khmer Rouge's songs exposes the contradictory nature of socialist music.

In order to eliminate its citizen's old identities, the Khmer Rouge was obliged to suppress contemporary music, which included popular music from the West.

This left them with primarily old, traditional Khmer music with which to promote the new, modern identity. Like the traditional music they imitate, Khmer Rouge songs were transmitted orally and survive today in the DC-Cam archives primarily in the form of recorded live performances.

Most traditional musicians were put to death by the Khmer Rouge, and those remaining were forced to learn and perform the new regime songs. The accompanying instrumental ensembles frequently resemble those associated with basak and mohori, Cambodia's traditional folk theatre styles.

The general performance style suggests that the traditionally trained musicians simply applied their knowledge to the new repertoire.

Even a brief perusal of the songs reveals clearly contrasting styles. Many songs feature gracefully balanced melodies, but others contain shorter phrases with more melodic variation and a marching-like character.

Still others feature simpler melodies with more extravagant ornamentation. As with the instrumental ensembles, these styles likely borrow from traditional or outside sources in order to complement the lyrics.

The Khmer Rouge's songs, in particular, are remarkable in that they were largely effective. Even Haing Ngor, a survivor of the Khmer Rouge who despised the songs, admitted in his book *Surviving the Killing Fields* that for brief moments, listening to the songs, he believed the new regime had succeeded.

Their persistence is another indicator of their success. For better or worse, several survivors speak of the songs positively in spite of the misery of the life they accompanied.

If studied further, a more complete understanding of the songs could yield valuable insights into the type of "revolutionary culture" the Khmer Rouge sought to instil, as well as further illuminate the role music plays in the formation of social identity.

Still today, the use of music for creating social identity in political campaigns is a common tool. Visceral, engaging and compelling, music has the capacity to connect with people like no other medium, for both good and evil. The Khmer Rouge's exploitation of music is among history's most poignant examples of the latter.

Appendix 4: Genocide Against Christian Group

Opinion: Khmer Rouge Genocide of Notre Dame Cathedral in Cambodia

Youk Chhang

December 24, 2018

<https://www.voacambodia.com/a/khmer-rouge-genocide-of-notre-dame-cathedral-in-Cambodia/4713731.html>

PHNOM PENH — The Khmer Rouge Tribunal judgment in Case 002/02 provides an opportunity to consider the advancement of justice, but we must recognize the significant shortfalls and limits of this tribunal, which have left many victims without a voice.

Genocide is not easy to prosecute. A conviction for the crime of genocide requires clear proof of “mental intent” to kill or displace a people based on national, ethnic, racial, or religious identity. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal – formally known as Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) –has jurisdiction to prosecute the genocide of people based on religion as well as many other crimes.

The ECCC has jurisdiction to try suspects for religious persecution as set forth under the 1956 Penal Code, as well as crimes against humanity for acts committed as a widespread or systematic attack directed against a population for religious grounds.

The tribunal also has the power to bring suspects to trial for the destruction of cultural property pursuant to the 1954 Hague Convention for Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. While circumstances surrounding these crimes were discussed in the ECCC’s judgment as it relates to Buddhists and Muslims, there was no mention of crimes or actions taken against Christians or the Christian faith.

Between April 1975 and January 1979, the Khmer Rouge destroyed significant numbers of Christian churches and many Christians were killed. Phnom Penh’s first Cathedral, the Preah Meada was decimated, and the Notre Dame Cathedral in Phnom Penh, which could hold up to 10,000 people, was blown up. Accounts from this period describe churches being utterly destroyed, and many Cambodian Catholic priests were killed, including Joseph Chmar Salas, the first Khmer Catholic bishop to Cambodia.

Courts are limited in what they can do for victims. Criminal courts ordinarily do not compensate victims, and any reparations they provide are often largely symbolic. One of the most important contributions that courts can provide is the establishment of a record.

The court record provides victims an opportunity to speak to the accused, the public, and the next generation on what they experienced. Even for those victims who could not speak, the record is important, if only for purposes of recognizing collective harm. Recognition of collective harm in courts gives respect to the individual victims and their surviving family members, and it provides historians with one more reference for their

work in describing what happened and why.

But there is always a balance between maximizing the scope of the record of what happened and why, within the limits of court resources. The question is to what extent should we allow the conservation of court resources (or whatever other reason is offered) to effect an under - or misrepresentation of the actual experience of a group of victims.

There seems little doubt that Christians were persecuted. There also is no doubt that Christianity, as it was expressed in architecture, ceremonies, and other relics of the past, largely disappeared during the Khmer Rouge period.

The critical question is whether Christians were targeted **on religious grounds** on the same basis as Buddhists or Muslims. The Trial Chamber found that certain groups were targeted based on religious differences. The chamber found that the Cham suffered under restrictions to their religious practices, and they were persecuted on religious grounds. The chamber also found that Buddhists were also subject to religious persecution. While the chamber found that the Vietnamese were targeted based on race and ethnicity, they chose not to inquire, discuss, or answer any question related to the treatment of their Christian faith.

The history of Christianity in Cambodia dates back hundreds of years. The first missionaries arrived in Cambodia in the 16th century and they contributed or supported charity, good works, culture, and learning. One may say that the lack of attention to the treatment of Christians may be based on the relative small number of Christians that existed in Cambodia at that time. One estimate suggests that, at least in 1970, there were more than 60,000 Catholics in Cambodia.

On December 29, 2018, Cambodia will mark the historical “ending” of the Khmer Rouge movement. On this day, twenty years ago, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea defected from the Khmer Rouge. On that day, Khieu Samphan urged Cambodians to “let bygones be bygones” regarding the deaths of over a million people, and Nuon Chea said, “Please leave this [the deaths] to history. This is an old story. Please leave it to the past.”

The past is never dead. In fact it continues to resonate in all that we know, think, and do. All of us bear a duty to not forget the past. We cannot expect courts to bear the entire responsibility of recording the past. We must take up where the tribunal has left us and make every effort to ensure history, as witnessed through each victim, is preserved for the next generation. Where the court’s record is limited, incomplete, or insufficient, we must take the initiative to preserve this history so the voices of all victims can be heard for all time.