

## Internal and External Enemy: The Vietnamese Experience During the Khmer Rouge Period

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The Vietnamese minority in Democratic Kampuchea (DK) remains an understudied population. The academic community has provided some brief, macro-level information about the Khmer Rouge's policies towards ethnic Vietnamese in DK, but the subject has rarely been the main focus of scholarly investigation. Considering the specially charged historical, political, and racial relations between Khmer and Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese community in DK warrants closer examination. This paper aims to carry out two functions related to sharing the Vietnamese story: (1) to present the existing literature about the Khmer Rouge's relationship with the Vietnamese government and people, and (2) to share the personal stories of seven Vietnamese families who lived under the Khmer Rouge regime.

### Historical Background

Vietnam and Cambodia share a tightly intertwined and tumultuous history. Scholars have discussed the many past injustices perpetrated by both Khmer and Vietnamese leaders. In one incident in 1751, the Khmer king commanded his subjects to carry out the mass murder of all Vietnamese people in Cambodia.<sup>1</sup>[1] In another incident, Vietnam's Nguyen Dynasty emperor, Ming Mang supposedly "bur[ied] [Khmers] alive and allow[ed] only their heads to show to be used as a stand for their braziers."<sup>2</sup>[2] Centuries later, the Khmer Rouge wrote about the atrocity in their September 1978 publication of *Black Paper: Facts and Evidences of the Acts of Aggression and Annexation of Vietnam Against Kampuchea*.<sup>3</sup>[3] The document referred to Ming Mang's act as a "barbarous crime" and the Vietnamese as "Yuon torturers."<sup>4</sup>[4] Such derogatory terms as "yuon" to describe the Vietnamese appeared throughout *Black Paper* and exposed the Khmer Rouge's lingering resentment towards Vietnamese past wrongdoings.

Kampuchea and Vietnam have also engaged in territorial disputes over the Vietnam Mekong Delta, a region Cambodians believe Vietnam stole from Kampuchea.<sup>5</sup>[5] The Khmer Rouge addressed this thievery in *Black Paper*, recalling the Vietnamese seizure of Prey Nokor (now Saigon) and the lower Mekong area (Kampuchea Krom) as evidence of the Vietnamese acting as the "aggressor, annexationist and swallower of territories."<sup>6</sup>[6] According to Southeast Asia scholar, Alex Hinton, such territorial disputes eventually led

1[1] Kiernan, Ben. "External and indigenous sources of Khmer Rouge ideology," The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972-79 2006: 186-206, p. 189.

2[2] Jackson, Karl. Cambodia 1975-1978 Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 154.

3[3] Thion, Serge. Mahder, William. "The Ingratitude of the Crocodiles The 1978 Cambodian Black Paper," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Vol. 12, 1980.

4[4] Democratic Kampuchea. 1978. Black Paper: Facts and Evidences of the Acts of Aggression and Annexation of Vietnam Against Kampuchea. Phnom Penh: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 9.

5[5] Kiernan, Ben. The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79 New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 58.

6[6] Democratic Kampuchea, p. 2.

Khmer nationalists to render the Vietnamese as the “evil ‘other, and “While both the Thai and the Vietnamese had ‘swallowed’ Cambodian lands, the Vietnamese were perceived as particularly dangerous.”<sup>7[7]</sup> Eventually, Cambodians came to view the Vietnamese as the “historic enemy.”<sup>8[8]</sup>

The historical migration and settlement of Vietnamese people into Kampuchean territory also led to class tensions between Khmer and Vietnamese residents. Some Vietnamese people in DK worked as financial lenders, an occupation that some Khmer people associated with the exploitation of the poor.<sup>9[9]</sup> Many ethnic Vietnamese also served as prominent leaders in the Kampuchean government and army, which further deepened class divisions between Vietnamese and Khmer people.<sup>10[10]</sup> The Vietnamese minority in Cambodia even faced state-sponsored massacre. In the years prior to Khmer Rouge rule, ethnic Vietnamese suffered several attacks at the hands of the Lon Nol government. From March through April of 1970, Lon Nol executed pogroms that specifically targeted ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia and resulted in four thousand deaths.<sup>11[11]</sup> According to Norodom Sihanouk, former king of Cambodia, “In 1969 there were more than 400,000 ethnic Vietnamese in Kampuchea. After [Lon Nol’s 1970] coup [that deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk], Lon Nol and his supporters eliminated or banished to South Vietnam at least half of these Yuons.”<sup>12[12]</sup> Indeed, the Khmer-Vietnamese relationship was marred by distrust, hostility, and violence.

### **Political Relationship Between the Khmer Rouge and Vietnam Workers’ Party**

The Khmer Rouge and Vietnam Workers’ Party (VWP) also shared a tumultuous political relationship. With Cambodia and Vietnam both under the control of communist parties, there seemed to be hope for an Indochinese alliance. Even before the Khmer Rouge rose to power, VWP Central Committee Secretary Hoang Anh expressed an interest in Cambodia and announced at a 1971 committee meeting, “We [the VWP] should strengthen the revolutionary base in Cambodia and guide this country along the path of socialism. Here is the policy of our party.”<sup>13[13]</sup> Anh’s statements reflected the VWP’s desire for a strong partnership between Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge. The VWP wanted to develop an Anh-Em, or “Older brother-Younger brother” relationship with the Khmer Rouge, in which it could act as the Khmer Rouge’s older brother. Khmer Rouge leaders and their CPK organization (Communist Party of Kampuchea) seemed to share in the VWP’s hope. Speaking at a 1975 meeting of Vietnamese journalists, Pol Pot declared:

“Only when such a friendship and solidarity [between Democratic Kampuchea and Vietnam] are strong, can the revolution in our countries develop adequately. There is no other alternative. That is why, honoring these principles, we [the Khmer Rouge] consider that both parties and we personally should aspire to maintain this combat solidarity and brotherhood in arms and make sure that they grow and strengthen day by day.”<sup>14[14]</sup>

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7[7] Hinton, Alexander. *Why Did They Kill?* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. pp. 215-216.

8[8] Vickery, Michael. “Democratic Kampuchea—CIA to the Rescue,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* Oct. Dec. 1982: 2-23. 45-54, p. 9.

9[9] Verdeja, Ernesto. “On Genocide: Five Contributing Factors,” *Contemporary Politics* 1 Nov. 2002: 10-13, p. 9.

10[10] Jackson, p. 153.

11[11] Jackson, p. 154.

12[12] Jackson, p. 45.

13[13] Mosyakov, Dmitry. “The Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese Communists: A history of their relations as told in the Soviet archives,” *Genocide Studies Program*. Connecticut: Yale University Press, p. 14.

14[14] Mosyakov, p. 28.

Despite such optimistic projections for an Indochinese brotherhood, relations between the VWP and Khmer Rouge broke down during the years of the Khmer Rouge rule. Resentful of their Vietnamese “anh” and his seemingly paternalistic agenda, the Khmer Rouge sought an independent revolution for DK. 15[15] Pol Pot fervently argued that the “interests of ‘Vietnamese brothers’ should not dominate in the determination of CPK policy.” 16[16] In fact, Soviet Union archival documents reveal that Pol Pot only made his 1975 promising speech to the Vietnamese journalists in order to “relieve pressure” from Vietnam loyalists in the CPK and to “fool” the Vietnamese into believing the Khmer Rouge would follow their command. 17[17] The Khmer Rouge’s plans for self-determination became clear to the Vietnamese in early 1977, when Pol Pot refused to attend a Cambodian-Vietnamese leaders’ meeting suggested by Vietnamese Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Hoang Van Loi. 18[18]

Political strife soon turned into armed conflict. In mid-1977, mutual border attacks broke out between DK and Vietnam. Although border skirmishes had occurred for many years before, the border dispute in 1977 escalated into a large-scale battle between Vietnam and DK. By May 1978, DK leaders made a public radio announcement urging “Khmers to kill thirty Vietnamese [soldiers] for every fallen Cambodian.” 19[19] The Khmer Rouge also used propaganda literature to broadcast their anti-Vietnamese campaign, such as in their 1978 paper entitled, *Black Paper; Facts and Evidences of the Vietnamese Acts of Aggression and Annexation Against Kampuchea*.

Although the border dispute dealt a powerful blow to the already crippling DK-Vietnam relationship, the Khmer Rouge maintained that it was the VWP’s “annexationist” intentions that ultimately caused the breakdown:

“The cause of the conflict between Kampuchea and Vietnam is not an ordinary border problem. The root of this conflict lies in the policy of expansion and annexation systematically carried out by the Vietnamese who have used all kinds of methods: seduction and peaceful method by grasping the party, the army and the State power, and cruel and barbarous military method, like those they are carrying out at present in Kampuchea.” 20[20]

The Khmer Rouge’s statements revealed their long-felt suspicion that the Vietnamese were using the guise of an Indochinese Federation to invade Cambodia and oppress it. Pol Pot warned that an Indochinese Federation would bring “hundreds of thousands” of Vietnamese swarming into Cambodia and diminish the Khmer population to a “national minority.” 21[21] A Khmer Rouge document voiced the same concerns, writing “The Vietnamese will bring in one or two million of their people into our country every year, and then we shall lose our territory and our race will be completely swallowed up.” 22[22] From such statements, we see the tremendous urgency the Khmer Rouge felt to protect both its border and its race.

Eventually, the Khmer Rouge’s tensions with Vietnam abroad translated into paranoia within its own CPK party. Fearing the possibility of Vietnamese infiltration into the CPK, the Khmer Rouge began to purge many of its “pro-Vietnamese” and suspected

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15[15] Mosyakov, p. 15.

16[16] Mosyakov, p. 8.

17[17] Mosyakov, p. 28-29.

18[18] Mosyakov, p. 32.

19[19] Kiernan, 2006, p. 190.

20[20] Khmer Rouge. Far Eastern Relations. Cambodia, DC-Cam document, p. 13.

21[21] Chanda, Nayan. Brother Enemy: The War after the War. New York: Collier Books, 1986, p. 95.

22[22] Far Eastern Relations, p. 3.

renegade party members.<sup>23</sup>[23] Other victims included people “who had professional training, extensive residence overseas, or contracts with non-Khmers.”<sup>24</sup>[24] The Khmer Rouge even conducted background checks on their current and incoming party members.<sup>25</sup>[25] In a 1978 statement to the Communist Workers Party of Denmark, Khmer Rouge Deputy Secretary Nuon Chea explained that such extreme party cleansing was a top priority for the Khmer Rouge. Chea announced, “We are not worried about the external, military aggression. We worry most of all about the enemy inside.”<sup>26</sup>[26]

Paranoia reached a climax during the 1978 Eastern Zone massacres. Prior to the massacres, the Khmer Rouge were facing continual Vietnamese attacks along the Eastern border. The losing battle against Vietnam eventually provoked Angkar (a term used to refer to the Khmer Rouge organization) to accuse the Eastern Zone officers of colluding with the Vietnamese. According to Pol Pot, “The Eastern Zone units collaborated with the Yuon and allowed the Yuon to enter. So, only after we make war in the rear to purify ourselves will we be able to win the war at the front. Anyone and everyone who collaborate with the Yuon must be arrested.”<sup>27</sup>[27] To punish the Eastern Zone officers for their betrayal, Angkar carried out a massive purge of the 1.5 million Eastern Zone people who were deemed to have “Khmer bodies with Vietnamese minds.”<sup>28</sup>[28] The purge resulted in countless arrests and deaths, as well as many Khmer Rouge fleeing to Vietnam.

### **Vietnamese Minority in Democratic Kampuchea**

The political tensions between the Khmer and Vietnamese people presented problems for the ethnic Vietnamese living in DK. When the Khmer Rouge came to power in April 1975, it orchestrated the mass purge of over 150,000 ethnic Vietnamese from Cambodia.<sup>29</sup>[29] The purge brought thousands of Vietnamese refugees into the Dong Thap, An Giang, and Tay Ninh provinces.<sup>30</sup>[30] By September 1975, the regime had successfully rounded up most of the Vietnamese living in Cambodia and deported them to Vietnam. In *Black Paper*, Angkar rationalized their purge of the Vietnamese people by writing that “Vietnamese nationals had secretly infiltrated into Kampuchea and [were] living in hiding [among] the population.”<sup>31</sup>[31] Southeast Asia scholar Ramses Amer sets the Vietnamese population after the 1975 purge at 30,000, whereas Alex Hinton believes only 10,000 Vietnamese remained in DK.<sup>32</sup>[32] The few ethnic Vietnamese people left in DK most likely remained because they wanted to stay with their Khmer spouses or didn’t want to leave the country where they were born and grew up their whole lives.<sup>33</sup>[33] These people were subsequently subjected to Khmer Rouge targeting and abuse.

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<sup>23</sup>[23] Chandler, David. Voices from S-21. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup>[24] Chandler, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup>[25] Chea, Nuon. CPK Statement of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Communist Workers Party of Denmark July 1978, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup>[26] Chea, Nuon, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup>[27] Vannak, Huy. The Khmer Rouge Division 703. Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2003. p. 114.

<sup>28</sup>[28] Kiernan, Ben. “The Original Cambodia,” New Internationalist Issue 242, April 1993.

<sup>29</sup>[29] Kiernan, 1996, p. 296.

<sup>30</sup>[30] Chanda, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup>[31] Hinton, p. 219.

<sup>32</sup>[32] Amer, Ramses. “The Ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia: A Minority at Risk?” Contemporary Southeast Asia. 16.2 (1994): 210-238. and Hinton, p. 219.

<sup>33</sup>[33] Stuart-Fox, Martin. The Murderous Revolution: Life & Death in Pol Pot’s Kampuchea Chippendale, N.S.W: APCOL, 1985, p. 34.

Starting in mid 1976, Angkar forbade Vietnamese people from leaving the country.<sup>34</sup>[34] When the border conflict began in mid 1977, the Khmer Rouge intensified their policies against ethnic Vietnamese in DK and eventually “launched a campaign to eradicate the remaining Vietnamese.”<sup>35</sup>[35] On April 1977, the Khmer Rouge issued “Directive from 870.” The order called for the arrest of “all ethnic Vietnamese, and all Khmers who spoke Vietnamese or had Vietnamese friends.”<sup>36</sup>[36] Ethnic Vietnamese also faced the threat of death. The Khmer Rouge carried out mass executions of whole Vietnamese communities and families. In one massacre at Kompong Chhnang Province in mid May 1977, about 420 Vietnamese adults and children were murdered.<sup>37</sup>[37] In another massacre at Kratie in 1978, the Khmer Rouge targeted anyone with Vietnamese blood, family members, or any Vietnamese association.<sup>38</sup>[38] The Khmer Rouge even commanded husbands to kill their Vietnamese wives.<sup>39</sup>[39]

### **Personal Stories\***

As discussed above, ethnic Vietnamese faced serious dangers while living under the Khmer Rouge regime. Considering their unique circumstances, research organizations such as the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) have undertaken projects aimed at shedding light on the ethnic Vietnamese experience. Although most Vietnamese died or escaped DK during the Khmer Rouge period, DC-Cam has been able to conduct dozens of interviews with Vietnamese survivors or their surviving Khmer family members and friends. The majority of DC-Cam’s interviews were conducted in Pochen Dam village of Svay On Torng commune, Prey Veng district, Prey Veng province. Located in Eastern Cambodia along the Cambodia-Vietnam border, Prey Veng province was home to many ethnic Vietnamese people during the Khmer Rouge period. In August 2008, I conducted some follow-up interviews with the Pochen Dam families. In addition to the Pochen Dam families in Prey Veng province, I was also able to locate additional Vietnamese survivors in Svay Rieng province, also located in eastern Cambodia. In this section, I share the personal stories collected through both DC-Cam’s and my own interviews.

#### ***Sum San***

In a 1998 interview with DC-Cam, a Khmer man named Lach Ny shared the story of his Vietnamese wife, Sum San. Ny remembered that in July of 1977, the Khmer Rouge began to investigate who was Khmer and who was Vietnamese in his village. At that time, his wife, his seven children, and he lived in Pochen Dam village. Ny explained that although his wife was ethnically Vietnamese, she had lived in Cambodia for such a long time that she could speak Khmer fluently and with a perfect accent. Despite this, Ny believed that the Khmer Rouge knew his wife was Vietnamese (he suspected that San’s light skin made her look Vietnamese and someone from his village informed the Khmer Rouge). Ny tried to persuade the Khmer Rouge that his wife was Chinese, but they didn’t believe him. In fact, the Khmer Rouge tried to separate Ny from his family by arresting him and putting him in prison for nearly two months in another village.

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<sup>34</sup>[34] Kiernan, 1996, p. 296.

<sup>35</sup>[35] Hinton, p. 219.

<sup>36</sup>[36] Kiernan, 1996, p. 297.

<sup>37</sup>[37] Kiernan, 1996, p. 297.

<sup>38</sup>[38] Kiernan, 1996, p. 424.

<sup>39</sup>[39] Kiernan, 1996, p. 296.

\* Bibliography of all Personal Stories appear at the end of this paper.

After Ny was released, a relative told him that the Khmer Rouge had captured his wife and children. DC-Cam's interviews with Sin Chaorn, (a man who worked as a horse cart driver for the Khmer Rouge in Pochen Dam village), Chum Chhean (a woman who worked in the same unit and group as San), and Lach Nakk (San's sister-in-law) shed some light on what happened to San and her children. They remembered four Khmer Rouge district military officers coming to San's house during a work break. The officers told San that she and her children needed to be reeducated at another location. At that time, San's in-law family didn't oppose the Khmer Rouge's order, because they trusted the Khmer Rouge and were too scared to argue with them.

The Khmer Rouge was adamant about bringing San's children with her. At the time, San's oldest daughter was working and living in another village. Instead of leaving the oldest daughter, the Khmer Rouge ordered her to return to Pochen Dam village so she could join her mother and siblings. The Khmer Rouge then put San and her children in a horse cart, banded their hands behind their back, and drove them away. Ny later heard from the village chief, Loek Chhem, that the Khmer Rouge's determination to get San's oldest daughter reflected their unique policy towards the Vietnamese people. Ny said that in his village, the Khmer Rouge killed Vietnamese children of Khmer-Vietnamese couples based on which parent was Vietnamese. If the father was Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge killed the father but spared the children. However, if the mother was Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge killed both the mother and children.

The horse cart driver carrying San and her children later told Chaorn that the Khmer Rouge directed him to drive the family to Ou Kon Dol pagoda. When the driver dropped them off at the pagoda, the Khmer Rouge ordered him to immediately return to the village. Since that time, no one knows what happened to San and her children. Ny believed his family was transferred from Ou Kon Dol pagoda and killed at Krang Kor. He said that during his time in prison, he overheard Khmer Rouge cadres talk about Krang Kor as the killing field where they caught and tortured Vietnamese people. Ny said that Krang Kor was one of the Khmer Rouge's security centers and had executed between 40,000 and 50,000 Khmer and Vietnamese people. Ny visited the site after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, and recalled that each mass grave contained at least 20 or 30, and sometimes up to 50, dead bodies. Ny remembered witnessing many murders at a killing site called Dey Klein in Pursat province and said he believed his family was killed in the same way the Khmer Rouge killed Dey Klein victims. At Dey Klein, the Khmer Rouge dug a massive hole in the ground. They then lined their blindfolded and hand-bound victims along the edge of the hole and used an iron stick to hit people behind their necks until they fell. Once the victims fell into their graves, the Khmer Rouge buried them, regardless of whether they were dead or not.

The last image San's family and friends held was the image of the Khmer Rouge hauling San and her children away on a horse cart. Nakk said that after the third day San hadn't returned, the family assumed she and her children were dead. Nakk also recalled a village meeting where the Khmer Rouge tried to dismiss people's concerns about the disappearance of Vietnamese people. At the meeting, the Khmer Rouge told the people not to worry because the Vietnamese situation had nothing to do with "us," meaning the Cambodian people. The Khmer Rouge made their resolve clear by saying that even the smallest child with Vietnamese blood would not be given any pity and would be killed in order to eliminate the bad blood from Cambodia.

### *Chuy and Ngam*

Chuy and Ngam, both 100% Vietnamese men living in Pochen Dam village, shared similar experiences under the Khmer Rouge regime. Chuy, a former Vietnamese army soldier, settled in Cambodia after marrying a Khmer woman named Doung Oeun. Together, they had a daughter named Kim Va, and two other children from Oeun's previous marriage. Ngam married a Khmer woman named Tech. They had 3 children, two of whom survived the Khmer Rouge regime and one who died during the period. Ngam and his family had lived in Pochen Dam village for more than 20 years before the Khmer Rouge took control. Both Chuy and Ngam spoke Khmer fluently, but one villager remembered that Chuy spoke Khmer with a different accent. When the Khmer Rouge took control, Oeun remembers some of Chuy's relatives advising him to escape to Dey Kra Horn. Sek Kroeung, a Pochen Dam villager, explained that Dey Kra Horn was located in Svay Rieng and was known as a safe place for Vietnamese people to live during the Khmer Rouge period. Kroeung knew someone who had escaped to Dey Kra Horn and was able to avoid Khmer Rouge abuse. Despite friends' and family's advice, Chuy chose to remain in Pochen Dam village.

When the Khmer Rouge took power, they organized people to work and eat together in cooperatives. Oeun's mother, Nut Ao, described a typical day under the Khmer Rouge as difficult because people didn't have enough food to eat. During the period, Chuy worked many jobs, including making manure out of cow waste and helping grow vegetables in the village. Ngam worked in the fields to build a canal and set up an irrigation system for the rice fields. Both Chuy and Ngam maintained these jobs until mid-1977, when the Khmer Rouge led them into the forest and they never returned.

Chuy's and Ngam's family and friends talk about the events leading up to their disappearance. Heng Huy, who had worked in the forest with Chuy and Ngam, remembers that the Khmer Rouge initially treated Vietnamese and Khmer people in the village equally. However, beginning in 1977, the Khmer Rouge began to separate the villagers into different ethnic groups. Vietnamese people lived in the Vietnamese group; Chinese people lived in the Chinese group; and Cham people lived in the Cham group. Huy adds that the Khmer Rouge also divided people into three class groups: the first group included rich and middle class people; the second group included workers; and the third group included farmers. The non-Khmer and upper class groups lived separately from each other and away from the village. Being half Chinese and an upper class group member, Huy remembers living in an isolated area in the outskirts of the village. He also says that the Khmer Rouge purged many unwanted groups of people. In one incident, he remembers the Khmer Rouge transferring several Chinese business families to live in other villages.

Following the ethnic and class segregation, the village chief ordered all his subordinate group chiefs to select one man from their group to work in Tapeou forest in Or Kondol village, Dam Rey Puon subdistrict, Prey Veng district, Prey Veng province. With ten groups in Pochen Dam, a total of ten men were assigned the job. Huy remembers the workers included Khmer, Chinese, and Vietnamese men, including him, Chuy, and Ngam. Ngam's daughter, Ngang Kok, was only two years old at the time and didn't remember how the Khmer Rouge approached her father about working at Tapeou. Chuy's family remembered a cooperative chief named Chhem coming to Chuy's house and politely asking Chuy to work in the forest. Va says that Chuy agreed to go because the Khmer Rouge had acted without force and Chuy and his family trusted them. Ao remembers Chuy packing his clothes the next morning and asking her to please look after his daughter. By 7 a.m. that

morning, Chuy, Ngam, Huy, and the other workers had set off on the 10 km trek to Tapeou forest.

While in the forest, the men developed a working routine. In the morning, they cut wood from the trees. At midday, they cooked and ate lunch. After lunch, they returned to the forest and continued working until evening. The men maintained this routine for half a month, until the day Chuy and Ngam disappeared. On the day of their disappearance, Huy remembers the village chief biking into the forest. The chief instructed the men to return to the village. On the trip back to the village, the chief's bike broke in front of the Or Kondol pagoda. He asked Chuy and Ngam to stay with him to fix the bike, and instructed the rest of the men to continue walking. Huy says Ngam knew how to fix bikes, so it didn't seem odd to Huy that the chief kept Ngam behind. However, when Huy and the rest of the group waited for Chuy and Ngam at Or Kondol village, the two men never emerged from the forest. When the group returned to Pochen Dam, Huy heard about the Khmer Rouge's recent arrest of Lach Ny's wife, Sum San. He heard that the Khmer Rouge arrested San and her children because they were Vietnamese. He then came to believe that the village chief's bike incident in front of Or Kondol pagoda was no accident. Instead, he believes that the chief deliberately isolated Chuy and Ngam and killed them at the Or Kondol pagoda, which the Khmer Rouge were using as security center at the time. Huy believes the Khmer Rouge knew Chuy and Ngam were Vietnamese. Generally, high-level Khmer Rouge officials weren't very familiar with villagers. However, Huy believes the village chief, who lived and interacted with the local people, informed the top Khmer Rouge about Chuy's and Ngam's backgrounds. According to Huy, the Khmer Rouge policy to kill Vietnamese people came from top Angkar leaders, but the information about specific Vietnamese "enemies" came from lower-level officers such as the village chief.

After the disappearance of the Vietnamese people in Pochen Dam village, the Khmer Rouge held a meeting with the villagers. At the meeting, the Khmer Rouge tried to reassure people by saying that they had only brought the Vietnamese people to a village with more land. Despite the Khmer Rouge's attempt to comfort villagers, Ao says her family still feared they would become targets for Khmer Rouge abuse. She remembers a villager recommending that Ao change Chuy's daughter's name from Kim Va to a less Vietnamese-sounding name such as Samin. Ao found it prudent to accept the advice, and since then, Chuy's daughter has gone by the name Samin.

### *Seng Huor*

Half Vietnamese from her mother's side and half Chinese from her father's side, Seng Huor was born in Lonng Trea village, Prey Veng province. Her Vietnamese mother, Le Pi Hay, and Chinese father, Seng, worked as tailors and sold clothes. Huor had four siblings, most of whom disappeared during the Khmer Rouge period. The Khmer Rouge arrested Huor's older brother, Seng Van, and his three children in 1977. Van and two of his children disappeared, but one child was able to hide from the Khmer Rouge and survive the period. Huor's older sister, Seng Muoy, also managed to survive the Khmer Rouge period, and today lives in Chbar Om village. Huor's younger sister, Seng Tieng, and brother, Seng Ke, were arrested in 1977. Following the arrest of Tieng and Ke, the Khmer Rouge apprehended Huor, Huor's mother, and Huor's children. In a 2008 interview, Huor's husband, Khun Mon, shared what happened to Huor.

Prior to the Khmer Rouge regime, Huor and Mon lived peacefully in Svay On Torng village, Prey Veng province. Huor met Mon while he was a monk, and the two fell in love.



In 1969, Mon gave up his monkhood, and the couple married. Huor was 17 and Mon was 28 years old at the time. They had 3 children, all boys: Chan Tha (born in 1970), Chan Thu (born in 1973), and Chan Thoeun (born in 1975). According to Mon, his family was the only Vietnamese family living in Svay On Torng village.

A resident of Svay On Torng and Mon's sister-in-law, Chiep Lorn, described living in DK. She said that after the Khmer Rouge took control of Svay On Torng, they began to collect all the Vietnamese and Chinese people in the village to send them back to their own countries. The Khmer Rouge made it clear that this was the last time they were going to give "alien" people a chance to leave. During this time, Huor's mother's family came to Huor and Mon and tried to convince them to escape to Dey Kra Horn. Lorn remembered hearing many people talk about Dey Kra Horn as a safe place for Vietnamese people to live during the Khmer Rouge period. Despite the appeal of Dey Kra Horn, Huor and Mon refused to leave their village and remained in Svay On Torng under Khmer Rouge rule.

At that time, Huor worked in the rice fields and Mon worked in the mobile unit. Looking back on the early years of the Khmer Rouge period, Mon remembers that he and his wife worked separately during the day, but reunited at their home at night. He says that life wasn't so hard, and work was simple: if the Khmer Rouge ordered something, the people would follow the orders and there were hardly any problems. However, in 1976, living and working conditions worsened. The Khmer Rouge forced people to work on the rice fields from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. and didn't provide people with enough food to eat. A former Svay On Torng commune chief, Pek Pach, stated that there was no freedom during the Khmer Rouge period. Family relations broke down because the Khmer Rouge never allowed people to visit their family members. Sometimes, even if one's relative was sick, the Khmer Rouge still denied permission to visit him or her. In 1977, Mon was assigned to work in a different commune. Because of his new job, Mon only saw his family sporadically, sometimes once every ten days and sometimes once every few months. During those visits, he was only able to stay for only three or four days.

Mon remembers that the Khmer and Vietnamese people in his village had good relations with each other. He says that the Khmer Rouge initially treated Huor the same way they treated a Khmer person. Huor worked the same jobs as the Khmer people, and after work she was allowed to go home and live with her family like the Khmer people. However, a shift occurred in 1976. According to Pach, the Khmer Rouge began to round up Vietnamese people and remove them from the village. Even though the Khmer Rouge told their families they were temporarily being sent away for "reeducation" or "work in the forest," the Vietnamese people would never return. Pach explained that using covers such as "reeducation" allowed the Khmer Rouge to easily collect their targets, because people initially believed the cover stories and didn't put up a fight. According to Pach, the Khmer Rouge's hostile policies towards Vietnamese people derived from their belief that the Vietnamese were invading Cambodia. At that time, there were several meetings where the top Khmer Rouge officials informed low-level officers such as Pach that Vietnamese combatants were fighting and chasing Khmer Rouge cadres along the border. Such Vietnamese aggression stirred anger and paranoia within the Khmer Rouge.

Mon believes that the Khmer Rouge targeted his family based on their Vietnamese background. Mon remembers the village chief, named Ta Aok, telling the top Khmer Rouge officials that the Seng family was part Vietnamese. Khun Mut, Mon's oldest sister who was living in Svay On Torng at the time, said the Khmer Rouge made a series of arrests against

the Seng family. First, they took Huor's sister and brother, Tieng and Ke. A few days later, two Khmer Rouge officers named Lim and Chhoeun told Huor and her mother that they needed to attend a meeting at Khlaov pagoda, and subsequently, carted the two women away. Huor, who was 25 years old at the time, left her children with her husband's family and asked them to please take care of the children. After Huor and her mother left, the two women never returned home.

The next day, Mon returned home to the news of his wife's and her family's disappearance. Two more Khmer Rouge, Ta Aok and an officer named Horn, came to his home to collect his three children. His family pleaded with the officers to spare one child but they refused, saying that the children had to follow their mother. After the Khmer Rouge carted the boys away, they were never seen again. Mon believes the Khmer Rouge in Svay On Torng also followed a special policy in which they only arrested and killed children belonging to Vietnamese mothers, but spared children belonging to Vietnamese fathers. Mon says he doesn't know why the Khmer Rouge practiced this policy and to what extent the policy was practiced in other villages. Pok So Khom, a former Khmer Rouge youth chief in Svay On Torng, confirmed that the Khmer Rouge had a policy to kill Vietnamese mothers and children in Svay On Torng. Khom said that the Khmer Rouge targeted the Vietnamese because they viewed them as the enemy.

After the disappearance of his family, Mon remembers the Khmer Rouge coming by his home and trying to collect his wife's belongings. Mon and his family resisted such attempts by telling the Khmer Rouge that his wife and her family hadn't left anything behind. Later, the Khmer Rouge took Mon to Thlav commune, where the commune chief named Chaem tried to reeducate Mon by telling him not to miss his wife or children. Mon lived at the commune for one year until the collapse of the Khmer Rouge. Mon's three sisters, Mut, Samit, and Min were also taken away to be reeducated and told not to remorse the loss of San's children.

Mon never found out what happened to his wife and children. The image of his three boys being hauled away in a horse cart remains his last memory of his family. Khun Samit, Mon's younger sister, recalled how villagers feared the sound of the horse cart at night, because they understood it as the sound of the Khmer Rouge picking up someone to drive to the killing field. Mon later heard rumors that his wife and children were taken to Chamkar Kuoy village. When he asked villagers from Chamkar Kuoy about his family, the villagers said that all the Vietnamese people brought to be Chamkar Kuoy were killed. Later, when the Hun Sen government investigated the area around Chamkar Kuoy, Mon says the investigators found human bodies and bones and concluded that the place was a killing site.

**Lorn recalls the secret manner of the Khmer Rouge, especially their secrecy about targets for execution. According to Lorn, top leaders such as the district chief organized the list of people to kill by gathering information about villagers' backgrounds from subdistrict and village chiefs. The list was kept so secret that not even the horse cart driver who drove the people to the killing field knew the names of the victims in advance.**

### *Meng Sim*

The story of Meng Sim, a woman with some Vietnamese blood, begins in Angkor Yuos village, Preah Anteah subdistrict, Svay Peam Roup district, Prey Veng province. At Angkor Yous, Sim lived with her husband and six children, whose ages ranged from two months to sixteen years old. Sim and her siblings had some Vietnamese blood in them from

a great grandmother, who was half Vietnamese and half Chinese. Sim's ethnic background, however, was mostly Khmer. Despite the relatively dilute amount of Vietnamese blood they had, Sim and all but one of her children had disappeared by the end of the Khmer Rouge period. Only two members of Sim's family, Sim's son, Peou Aong, and her husband, Ie Peou, survived the Khmer Rouge period.

According to Aong, who was about twelve years old at the time of the Khmer Rouge period, there were two incidents in which the Khmer Rouge targeted his family. In the first incident, occurring in January of 1976, Aong remembers hearing rumors that the Khmer Rouge were collecting all the Vietnamese people living in Cambodia and returning them to Vietnam. The Khmer Rouge told Aong's family that they looked Vietnamese and thus, would be sent back to their country. Soon after, Aong's family was taken from Angkor Yuos to Ka-om Kam No village, in Kandal province. The family traveled with five other part-Vietnamese families, each consisting of six to seven people.

After two days of traveling, they arrived at Ka-om Kam No. There, Aong remembers seeing about 100 other people waiting at the border village. Aong remembers there were people of all ages and that most of the people weren't 100% Vietnamese but rather, appeared to be only slightly Vietnamese. The Khmer Rouge had accused them of looking Vietnamese and forced them to the border. After three days of waiting, representatives and military from Vietnam arrived to survey the people. In order to test the people's Vietnamese ethnicity, the Vietnamese military asked the people at the border to speak Vietnamese. When the people couldn't speak Vietnamese, the Vietnamese military said they weren't Vietnamese and refused to accept them into their country. With no place for the people to go, the Khmer Rouge sent all the families back to their respective villages.

When Aong and his family returned to Angkor Yuos village, the Khmer Rouge there treated them as "new people," a term the Khmer Rouge deridingly ascribed to people with wealth and of different ethnic identities. The commune chief re-assigned Aong's two older brothers to the mobile unit and the rest of Aong's family to Thmey village, located three kilometers from Angkor Yuos. There, Aong collected wood for the village and caught mice from eating the village's vegetable plants. Aong and his family lived and worked at Thmey until the Khmer Rouge again targeted his family.

Aong remembers the second incident occurred in early 1977, when the Khmer Rouge gathered his grandfather, Hao, and grandmother, Tab, to be reeducated. Aong says the Khmer Rouge used the term "reeducated" as a cover to secretly remove people from their homes and kill them. Peou remembered the Khmer Rouge then arrested many of Sim's siblings and their families to be reeducated, including her sister (Meng Muoy and her family), brother (Meng Seany and his family), and her three other sisters (Meng Tech and her family, Meng Sea and her family, and Meng Peou, who was single). Fifteen days later, in February of 1977, the Khmer Rouge came for Sim and her family. According to Peou, three Khmer Rouge military officers (named Yos, Sen, and Muon) arrived at his house and ordered his family to be reeducated. At first, the Khmer Rouge picked up Sim and her two older sons around 3 p.m. Three hours later, the Khmer Rouge returned for Aong and his younger brother and sister. Aong believed that the Khmer Rouge followed the same special policy as was mentioned in Pochen Dam and Svay On Torng village. At the time, Peou was quite ill with a swollen stomach, so the Khmer Rouge left him to recover at home. Even when he asked if he could join his family, the Khmer Rouge said that there was no need for

him to go. By the end of the night, the Khmer Rouge had carted away Peou's wife, children, and the rest of the Vietnamese families from his village.

The Khmer Rouge brought Sim and her children to Preh Koam pagoda, which the Khmer Rouge used as a detention center. At Preh Koam, Sim worried about her sick husband being alone and asked Aong and his oldest brother to return to Thmey village. Aong's oldest brother said that he would stay with their mother and suggested that Aong return home to take care of their father. Later that night, the Khmer Rouge called Aong and his siblings to eat dinner, during which Aong slipped past the back door of the pagoda and headed home. Hours after his escape, he heard the sound of dogs barking and knew the Khmer Rouge was searching for him. After traveling ten kilometers, Aong arrived at his father's house. However, Aong didn't dare enter the village for fear that the Khmer Rouge would find him. Aong hid in the forest for three days and three nights. During this time, he remembers starving through the day and, at night, having to dig potatoes from the ground to eat. Finally, Aong felt so starved that he went into his father's house. Peou then sent Aong to live with his aunt at Kampong Russey subdistrict. After 10 days, Peou recovered from his sickness and retrieved his son from Kampong Russey. Together, they escaped to Pochen Dam village, where Peou's brother lived.

When father and son arrived at Pochen Dam in mid 1977, Peou's brother told the local leaders that Peou and Aong were evacuees from another village, avoiding any mention of Peou's Vietnamese wife. At the time Peou and Aong arrived in Pochen Dam, Peou remembered the Eastern Zone massacres were underway. Because the Khmer Rouge officials in Pochen Dam were so preoccupied with the Eastern Zone massacres, Peou and Aong were able to live in the village without notice. Even when the commune chief later accused them of being "new people" and threatened to send them away, Peou's brother vouched for them and the commune chief dropped the charges. Peou and Aong remained in Pochen Dam village until the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge in 1979. Although Peou and Aong didn't witness what happened to Sim and the rest of their family, Aong says he later heard that the Khmer Rouge transported his mother and siblings to another location where they were killed. Like many disappearances from the Khmer Rouge period, his family's disappearance still remains mystery.

### *Pheng Samai*

Pheng Samai spent the Khmer Rouge period trying to hide from the regime. Samai's mother was 100% Vietnamese by blood, although she was born and raised in Cambodia. Samai's father was 100% Khmer. Her parents divorced when Samai was young, and Samai never knew her father. Growing up, Samai lived with her mother and two older sisters. However, in the years leading up to the Khmer Rouge period, Samai's family was split up. In 1970, the Lon Nol regime forced Samai's eldest sister and her sister's Vietnamese husband to flee to Vietnam, where they lived through the Khmer Rouge period and remain today. Samai's other sister then traveled to Phnom Penh, after which Samai and her mother never heard from her again.

When the Khmer Rouge regime came to power, Samai and her mother moved from their hometown of Ba Daok village to Bung Kak village, Kam Chai Mea district, Prey Veng province. Samai says that her mother never considered escaping to Vietnam because she had lived in Cambodia all of her life. At Bung Kak village, Samai and her mother were able to live closer to Samai's cousin. There, they lived and worked with the other villagers. Samai remembers that initially there was no division between Khmer and Vietnamese people. Even when the local Khmer Rouge began to divide the villagers into different class groups and

labeled Samai and her mother as “new people,” the Khmer Rouge still treated them the same way they treated Khmer people. Samai’s mother job was to feed the village pigs and collect human waste to later be used to make fertilizer. Samai’s mother knew how to speak both Khmer and Vietnamese fluently, but she never dared to speak Vietnamese during the Khmer Rouge period.

Despite Samai’s mother’s attempts at concealing her Vietnamese background, the Khmer Rouge accused Samai’s mother of being Vietnamese in mid 1978. Samai believes her mother’s light skin rose suspicions, and that some village informants exposed her. Later, the Khmer Rouge cooperative chief named Chham re-assigned Samai’s mother to another work location where she would work to make fish paste. At that time, 20-year old Samai had just given birth to her first child, so the Khmer Rouge didn’t approach her about leaving with her mother. Two days after Samai gave birth, the Khmer Rouge transferred Samai’s 58-year old mother to the mobile brigade station and subsequently took her mother to another unknown location. Samai never saw her mother again, but heard rumors that the Khmer Rouge had killed her.

Soon after, the Khmer Rouge returned to the village to search for Samai. Samai successfully evaded their attempts by hiding with her newborn daughter in mounds of hay. The Khmer Rouge continued to look for Samai, returning to her village several times a week and searching for her for up to an hour per visit. Samai remembers how she relied on her close family friend and Khmer Rouge group chief, Muon, in order to elude the Khmer Rouge. Muon and Samai had developed a good relationship while working in the mobile brigade together (Muon was the brigade chief and Samai was a group member). According to Samai, every time the Khmer Rouge sent word to Bung Kak about visiting the village, Muon warned Samai. With Muon’s help, Samai had enough time to hide with her daughter in the haystacks. While they hid in the haystacks, Samai remembers having to breast-feed her daughter to keep the baby from crying. When Samai wasn’t hiding, she resumed her life in the village. She remembers the Khmer Rouge installing loudspeakers to broadcast their town meetings to the public. During one meeting, she heard the Khmer Rouge refer to the Vietnamese as the enemy and invader of Cambodia. From this statement and her personal experience, Samai says that the Vietnamese in DK had to either hide their ethnic backgrounds or escape the country in order to survive the regime.

### *Himh Saman*

In addition to the few surviving ethnic Vietnamese in Prey Veng province, DC-Cam and I were able to locate an ethnic Vietnamese survivor in Svay Rieng province. In a 2008 interview, Himh Saman shared the story of how she and her part Vietnamese, part Chinese family survived the Khmer Rouge period. Saman’s father was 100% Chinese. He came to Cambodia when he was 18 years old and met Saman’s mother, a 100% Vietnamese woman, at Mesar Chhang Aok near the Cambodia-Vietnam border. They married and had four children named Ty, Savun, Savorn, and Saman. During the Khmer Rouge period, Saman’s three older siblings lived apart from the family in the mobile brigade unit, where they helped build dams and canals. Saman and her parents stayed at their hometown of Prasot village in Kandiang Reay commune, Svay Rieng district, Svay Rieng province. Saman’s parents and she spoke fluent Khmer, but Samai said no one dared to speak Vietnamese during the Khmer Rouge period.

Despite the perception that the Khmer Rouge hated the Vietnamese, Saman says the Khmer Rouge in her village treated the Vietnamese people in the same way they treated

Khmer people. She remembers the harsh living conditions both groups endured: people were forced to do strenuous labor; there wasn't enough food to eat; and when people became sick, there weren't any hospitals or medicine to help them. Her father looked after buffalos, and her mother cared for the newborn babies of mothers who worked in the rice fields. At the time, Saman was ten years old and worked in the children's unit. She remembers attending school for three hours in the morning, collecting human waste to use as fertilizer for the rice fields, and grinding rice through the afternoon. According to Saman, the Khmer Rouge assigned each child a quota of 105 kg of rice to grind every day. During the day, her parents and she worked separately, but at night, the Khmer Rouge allowed them to reunite and live in their own home.

Saman says the Khmer Rouge began to treat Vietnamese people differently when DK and Vietnam became embroiled in border disputes in 1977. She heard about cadres in nearby villages who collected and killed anyone with Vietnamese blood. Saman says that the people in her village did not act this way. In fact, even after 1977, the Khmer Rouge in Prasot still treated the Vietnamese and Khmer people equally. Saman believes that Vietnamese families such as hers were able to survive because of their local leaders. Before the Khmer Rouge came to power, Saman's family maintained good relations with the cooperative and village chief, a man named Ta Yeoun. Saman believes that Yeoun did not disclose Saman's family's and other Vietnamese families' identities in order to protect them from outside Khmer Rouge officers. She explains that top Khmer Rouge officials compiled a list of people to kill through information they collected from local leaders. If the local village and cooperative chiefs did not report any Vietnamese families to the commune or district chief, then the Vietnamese residents of those villagers faced very little threat of being targeted. However, if the local leaders did report to the top leaders, then the district chief would send security officers to the village and arrest the Vietnamese people. Saman said Yeoun never spoke to her about protecting her family. However, Saman recalls many times when outside Khmer Rouge officers visited her village and believed her family was Khmer. Yeoun knew that Saman's family was Vietnamese, so Saman believes that he must have withheld the information from the outside Khmer Rouge. As a result, Saman's family and the three other Vietnamese families in Prasot (the Man Sin family, the Seng family, and the Em family) were able to survive the Khmer Rouge period.

### *Common Themes from Personal Stories*

The previous accounts from survivors of DK represent a variety of experiences. Their personal stories give us a glimpse into the day-to-day relationship between the Khmer Rouge and ethnic Vietnamese in DK. From their experiences, we can also draw out recurring patterns. We see that the local Khmer Rouge held tremendous power in their interaction with both Angkar and ethnic Vietnamese villagers. Whereas Angkar operated at the top policy level, local leaders such as the village chief interacted with people at a personal level. Their local knowledge was often utilized by Angkar to locate Vietnamese villagers. In some cases, local leaders may have reported Vietnamese villagers to Angkar, whereas in other cases, local leaders may have withheld Vietnamese people's identities from Angkar. Local leaders could also directly aid or hinder Vietnamese people. Some personal stories spoke about local leaders who arrested Vietnamese families, and other stories talked about local leaders who protected Vietnamese villagers by warning them about an imminent Khmer Rouge raid of the village. Local leaders also held some control over how they implemented Angkar's policies against the Vietnamese. The personal stories from Pochen Dam present an example of how local Khmer Rouge developed their own policy on which Vietnamese children to arrest, depending on whether their mother or father was Vietnamese.

From the personal stories, we also see that the Khmer Rouge often used people's appearances to judge their ethnicity. People with light skin were often accused of being Vietnamese. Some interviewees also mentioned speech as an important signal of a person's ethnicity. People who spoke Vietnamese, or people who couldn't speak fluent Khmer or spoke Khmer with a different accent were also vulnerable to Khmer Rouge targeting. Interestingly, the Khmer Rouge's treatment of ethnic Vietnamese in DK seemed to coincide with the Khmer Rouge's political relationship with the VWP. Many interviewees remembered 1977, when the border conflict between DK and Vietnam began, as a significant turning point in the Khmer Rouge's policy towards ethnic Vietnamese in DK. At that point, many people witnessed ethnic segregation, more Vietnamese disappearances, and more Khmer Rouge rhetoric characterizing the Vietnamese as the enemy. All interviewees who lost a Vietnamese family member or friend during the Khmer Rouge period also shared the common link of not knowing what happened to their loved one. In most cases, the Khmer Rouge used guises of "reeducation" and "arrest" in order to separate people from their families. As such, people generally shared stories about loved ones disappearing, and still today they remain unsure about their loved one's final fate.

### **Conclusion**

From my document and interview research in Cambodia, it's clear that the Khmer Rouge executed a harrowing policy of genocide and ethnic cleansing towards the Vietnamese community in DK. Their genocidal policies were not as overt or large-scale as those of Nazi Germany, but the subtlety does not diminish the horror of the outcome or the tragic plight of the victims. While my paper provides some insight into the Vietnamese experience, further research should be pursued. Further research should focus on Vietnamese people from different regions of DK. Additional research focusing on the western regions of Cambodia would allow us to conduct cross-comparison of western and eastern people's experiences. A closer investigation of Vietnamese survivors from Prasot village in Svay Rieng province (mentioned in Himh Saman's personal story) would also be beneficial. Because ethnic Vietnamese survivors are such a rarity, the Vietnamese survivors from Prasot could contribute a different perspective about the Khmer Rouge regime than people whose Vietnamese family members died or disappeared. Further research should also derive information from both villagers and former Khmer Rouge staff. By representing both sides of the issue, the next study could provide a more comprehensive account of the Khmer Rouge's policy and treatment of ethnic Vietnamese in DK.

Additional research will finally give voice to the Vietnamese minority who lived under the Khmer Rouge regime. Not only will the information address past injustices, but it will also contribute to a broader understanding of the relationship between political and ethnic conflict. Information related to the Vietnamese minority in DK will also apply to the current prosecution of crimes being conducted in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). Perhaps with more information about the Khmer Rouge's systematic targeting and abuse of ethnic Vietnamese in DK, the ECCC prosecution could consider a genocide charge against the former Khmer Rouge leaders who instigated such policies. Indeed, current and future research about the Vietnamese minority in DK will hold implications for the academic, legal, and public communities.

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**DC-Cam Director, Youk Chhang, Noted: 29 Vietnamese families have filed the petitions in 1976 with the Kampuchea-Vietnam Liaisons Committee in Ho Chi Minh city. They asked the Vietnamese government to look for their missing relatives in Cambodia during that time. The cases are being investigated by DC-Cam Research Team in both countries: Viet Nam and Cambodia.**

### Bibliography of Personal Stories

Data for the Personal Stories section of the paper were taken from the author's 2008 interviews and the author's review of interview transcripts and audiotapes from DC-Cam's 1998 interviews.

The bibliography of each personal story is as follows:

#### **Sun Sam**

*Interviews with:*

Lach Ny, 1998  
Sin Chaorn, 1998  
Lach Nakk, 1998  
Chum Chhean, 1998

#### **Chuy and Ngam**

*Interviews with:*

Doung Oeun, 1998  
Sek Kroeung, 1998  
Nut Ao, 1998 and 2008  
Heng Huy, 1998 and 2008  
Ngang Kok, 1998  
Kim Va/Chuy Samin, 1998 and 2008

#### **Seng Huor**

*Interviews with:*

Khun Mon, 1998 and 2008  
Chiep Lorn, 1998  
Pek Pach, 1998  
Khun Mut, 1998  
Pok So Khom, 1998  
Khun Samit, 1998

#### **Meng Sim**

*Interviews with:*

Peou Aong, 1998 and 2008  
Ie Peou, 1998

#### **Pheng Samai**

*Interview with:*

Pheng Samai, 2008

#### **Himh Saman**

*Interview with:*

Himh Saman, 2008



