DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA YOUK CHHANG: STRATEGIC VISION FOR 2017-20

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The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) envisions a new future for Cambodia. Cambodia has struggled for decades to come to grips with its past, not only on a personal and community level, but within its institutions—civil, cultural, and religious. Such transitions are never easy. Genocide and mass atrocities impact a society for generations. But post-conflict societies are not inevitably chained to their past. Proactive citizens can positively affect their circumstances, direction and future. Every new day brings new opportunities to mature and grow, but only if individuals, communities, and the nation are informed of and given the opportunity to discuss and reconcile themselves to their past.

A country must deal with its past if it is to move forward. It is a struggle that is faced by every post-conflict society regardless of politics, culture, or circumstance. Indeed, to move forward, we must boldly research the past, commemorating human achievement, sacrifice, and resilience but also investigating and learning from humankind's mistakes, failures, and evils.

## Cambodia will **never escape** its history, but it does not need to be enslaved by it. *—Youk Chhang*

Between 1975 and 1979, Cambodia was ruled by a brutal genocidal regime, Democratic Kampuchea (DK), led by the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge deployed racism, xenophobia, and totalitarian oppression to legitimize horrific mass atrocities. Urban residents, intellectuals, and the wealthy were branded enemies of the regime. Vietnamese, Cham Muslims, and others were viewed with deadly suspicion. Minority social, cultural, and religious groups were herded into hard-labor camps where they were starved, persecuted, and in many cases executed.

Over a forty-four month period, nearly two million people died as a consequence of forced labor, mass starvation, torture and mass murder among other crimes perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge regime. Adhering to an extreme agrarian interpretation of communism, the regime transformed the country into a nation-wide compulsory labor camp. Those whose lives were not lost at the hands of an executioner died from the prolonged effects of chronic hunger, disease, and sheer exhaustion. The intense psychological trauma still resonates in the minds of the generation that lived during that era of mass atrocity crimes. Many survivors



Despite decades of war, genocide, and suffering, Cambodia has not lost its spirit for life and it's yearning for a better future. The struggle is not over. It has only just begun. Cambodia's future will not only depend on our consideration of our past and present troubles, but also our courage to face the difficulties that lie ahead. Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara. Caption by So Farina

still have no information on the fate of family members or spouses who simply disappeared into the killing machine. Their pain and suffering are passed on to successive generations who ask their parents what happened and why.

Proceedings now underway at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC – known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal) exemplify Cambodia's struggle to confront its controversial history. In 2003, the United Nations and the Cambodian government reached an agreement to establish the ECCC, which was tasked with prosecuting alleged perpetrators for alleged crimes committed during the Khmer Rouge regime. Although the ECCC has made progress toward establishing a historical record on what happened and why during the Khmer Rouge regime, it has engendered great struggle and compromise. The court has been plaqued by an array of challenges such as funding, legitimacy, corruption and internal discord, a powerful example of the struggle to face one's past and bring mass atrocity criminals to justice after nearly four decades. To date, the court has completed the trials of a security center leader and other senior DK officials. The ECCC's proceedings—both its process and judgments-have immense symbolic importance for Cambodia's struggle to comprehend this horrific period. The ECCC's important work notwithstanding, much remains to be done to achieve reconciliation.



Khmer Rouge S-21 prisoner photograph number 3, Penh Leang Oun (DC-Cam archives). The Photo was donated by Nuon Maly on August 9, 2012. According to DC-Cam's Biographic Database, (I09310), Penh Leang Oun was a young female who worked at Textile Factory (T3). Penh Leang Oun was a chief of a section of Textile Factory (T3). She was arrested and sent to S-21 on August 12, 1976 and then executed on September 16, 1976 by the Khmer Rouge. At DC-Cam, we store around 12,000 'biographies', many of which were penned in captivity and at the behest of their captors.

Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives. Caption by Long Dany

Cambodians continue to grapple with the painful legacies of genocide, torture, and mass atrocities. Although they are a resilient people accustomed to hardship, bitter political disputes continue to cloud Cambodia's national identity, and questions persist about the impact and legacy of the transitional justice enterprise. Although we must not dilute our commitment to justice in the name of political or practical necessity, we should also be realistic in our vision. We must recommit ourselves to progress even when our high hopes and expectations of political institutions are sometimes unmet. We must be pragmatic in seeking opportunities to give the words "Never Again" real practical significance.

That means engaging constructively with institutions that are stakeholders in national reconciliation and post-conflict development, and actively seeking out openings that stand ready for movement. Rather than surrendering to the position that violence, oppression, or injustice are part of the human condition, DC-Cam encourages the international community to seize the moment afforded by the ECCC process—and similar accountability processes elsewhere—to facilitate further historical inquiries and promote survivors' reconciliation with their shared past.

National reconciliation requires the renewal of language. It requires one's

commitment to rediscovering the civilized discourse of peace, forgiveness, and respect. The language of hatred, animosity, and intolerance must be abandoned and new terms for self, community, and national identity must be established. In sum, language renewal equates to cultural change, and cultural change is never accomplished by a distorted or shallow investigation of the past.

Post-conflict societies often struggle with a basic understanding of who they are and how to function. Even the more mature post-conflict societies suffer from cognitive dissonance. There is a latent urge to use violence to solve problems, even though universal human rights may dominate public discourse. Indeed, this problem is not unique to any post-conflict society; but precedent should never be accepted as excuse, and it is up to civil society actors to challenge political and social institutions to represent the people both in name and act. In essence, post-conflict societies desperately need a new national consciousness, and more often than not, it is civil society that must lead the way.

Since its inception as a civil society advocate, DC-Cam has pioneered documenting the myriad crimes and atrocities of the Khmer Rouge era. Although DC-Cam has historically focused on compiling evidence of genocide and mass atrocity crimes to establish an historical record, today its efforts extend to a wide variety of other related projects and programs that fall within the rubric of building a legacy of justice and memory. Justice and memory are crucial elements that underlie national reconciliation. Justice cannot be achieved without remembering the victims, and the memory of victims cannot exist without the light of truth. Truth, justice, and memory are the core concepts of DC-Cam's mission in Cambodia. They are the timeless pillars of a peaceful, prosperous, democratic Cambodia, and by proactively pursuing them, we will achieve this ultimate end.

From 2017 through 2020, DC-Cam will proactively pursue its long-standing mission of promoting memory, justice, and reconciliation. We will compile further evidence of genocide and atrocity crimes and, in the process of doing so, educate Cambodians on the historical facts regarding the Khmer Rouge regime. Our work will focus on Cambodian people—victims and their descendants—who collectively reflect the country's past, present, and future. DC-Cam also will reach out to and support the Cambodian diaspora scattered around the world. This summary Strategic Plan outlines our plans to create enduring mechanisms to minimize the shadows of Khmer Rouge terror, to transition to a country that serves as a global icon demonstrating that post-conflict societies can mature and evolve into thriving democratic states.

### I. A LEGACY OF MEMORY

### **RESEARCH & DOCUMENTATION**

Documenting Khmer Rouge atrocities will remain a core priority of DC-Cam over the next four years. Many regime survivors are dying of old age and memories are fading. Survivor stories are the foundation to the nation's history. Myriad documents have disappeared and numerous research gaps persist. Voices of former Khmer Rouge members will also be heard through our Promoting Accountability project, which continues to interview former Khmer Rouge officials to obtain a deeper understanding of the regime's command structure during its rise and fall. We continue to research how former Khmer Rouge members currently live and cope with their disastrous legacy. We plan to conduct more interviews with survivors as well as collect documents from individuals, private institutions and former communist state archives.

Documentation and research activities at DC-Cam go hand-in-hand. Our expanding collections serve as a resource for both domestic and international researchers. In the next two years, we will conduct studies of the lower-echelon Khmer Rouge rank-and-file and their organizational structure. The results improve our understanding of the history of this period and how mass atrocity and genocide policies were interpreted and practically implemented in those ranks of the Khmer Rouge administration.

DC-Cam's mid-term plan is to completely digitize its archives to provide global internet-based access to our archives. First, we will scan our remaining documents in-house in accordance with industry archival standards. Second, we will recruit local and international IT experts to acquire optical recognition tools, powerful search engines, and voice-recognition software.

### GENOCIDE EDUCATION EDUCATION ON THE KHMER ROUGE GENOCIDE IN CAMBODIA

Genocide education is crucial to preserving the memory of Cambodians who perished under Khmer Rouge brutality, particularly in the minds of successive generations of young people. Such education is essential if Cambodians are to understand why and how the genocide happened, appreciate the effects of the tragedy, and address the many continuing challenges that flow from the genocide.



A Cambodian woman, harvesting hay in Kampong Thom province, is one among several million survivors who survived the atrocity of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Under the regime, almost two million lives were lost to starvation, forced labor, torture and execution. Those who survived the atrocity continue to suffer from the prolonged effects of this trauma, resulting in chronic physical and mental illness. *Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara. Caption by Sirik Savina* 

In collaboration with the Ministry of Education and academia, DC-Cam has developed a core curriculum on genocide and other mass atrocity crimes against humanity. It has been introduced to Cambodian classrooms as well as the higher education community and professional continuing education for professions such as the military, the police, and teacher service academies. Together with local and international experts, we have provided in-depth training to several thousand Cambodian officials and teachers in all provinces in Cambodia. Our work, however, is far from complete.

Our curriculum and training program revolve around DC-Cam's history textbook– The History of Democratic Kampuchea—and our associated teacher guidebook. It has received plaudits from around the country and the world. It is the first of its kind. After three decades of relative silence on this history in Cambodia's schools, DC-Cam, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, has educated Cambodian youth in every province and district of Cambodia. Our curriculum has been praised for its sensitive, yet candid, depiction of DK history–balancing intimate portrayals of horrific crimes with a solemn respect for the dignity of victims. Maintaining this balance between truth and sensitivity is an important quality of DC-Cam's education program, which aims to not only educate but also remember. Effective genocide education is a key instrument of social empowerment. The program seeks to liberate the surviving victims of Khmer Rouge terror and transform them into leaders in the global quest for human rights and dignity.

DC-Cam's genocide education program will not be confined to Cambodia. We also envision a robust genocide education program for all countries in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

### **ASEAN PEACE & HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION**

DC-Cam envisions a peace program that complements ASEAN's Declaration on the Global Movement of Moderates, and other universally accepted conventions, such as the United Nations Convention on the Prevention of Genocide and ASEAN's Human Rights Declaration. It will jointly confirm the member states' commitment to human rights and address the population most vulnerable to radicalization—our youth.

Cambodia's experience with genocide would also serve as a critical reference to this Program. DC-Cam anticipates a core facilitative role in this ASEAN Peace & Human Rights Program by organizing, coordinating, and providing technical expertise.

If established, the Program will be innovative and sustainable. It will serve as a model for other countries and regions response to and prevention of terrorism, mass atrocities, violent extremism, and radicalism.

### ANLONG VENG PEACE CENTER

The Anlong Veng Peace Center, formally established in 2015, provides community education and reconciliation programs focused on bridging the divide and isolation between the former Khmer Rouge in their last stronghold (Anlong Veng) and Cambodia's younger generations. The program also provides an educational platform for the mitigation of human conflict and encouraging greater civic engagement.

The project will bring students to the last Khmer Rouge stronghold of Anlong Veng for a four-day visit encompassing daily educational activities requiring critical

thinking, reflection, and debate, and opportunity to interact with and question former KR officials and victims residing in the area. The program promotes critical understanding of Cambodia's violent history in the context of competing theories of conflict resolution and transformation. The tour meets its objectives through interactive discussions, guided tours of local historical sites, and a curriculum that uses individual stories to convey historical and moral lessons.

In addition to offering tours, the Center supports scholarly research and national awareness of the history of the Khmer Rouge movement through its various publications, library, and on-going documentation work. The Center's mission, in this regard, is to not only expand the impact of the genocide education program that is already being implemented in Cambodian schools, but also widen the scope of public knowledge about the history of the Khmer Rouge movement that is not within the temporal jurisdiction of the ECCC. The Center's research covers the Democratic Kampuchea period (1975-1979) and the Khmer Rouge movement before it successfully seized power and following its collapse.

Democracy does not always spring forth from town halls, parliamentary buildings, and street corners. Democracy can begin in the classroom as well. Education, and in particular student-centered learning, possesses an inherent tension between the need for change and the need for stability. This tension generates the dialectic that post-conflict societies must aspire to if they are to break from their historic cycles of close-mindedness, repression, and violence. Education, in this sense, can be the channel for a new birth of freedom. The picture shows a group of grade 12 students from Arun Vortey high school—one of the fifteen (15) high schools in Phnom Penh. The students are waiting to receive instruction from DC-Cam staff on the history of Democratic Kampuchea (DK), and their personal copy of the DK history textbook. Textbooks are given to each student during DC-Cam's classroom forums. *Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara. Caption by Pheng Pong-Rasy* 



The representation of the past frames our present and future. Memory makes the past an active force in our life shaping who we are, where we go, and ultimately what we become. The Angkor Wat temple, built in the early 12th century by the Khmer King Suryavarman II, is the largest religious monument in the world. It is not only a representation of Cambodia's past, but a statement on Cambodia's timeless identity, struggle, and vision for the future.

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Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Meng Kimlong. Caption by Chan Prathna

## **II. A LEGACY OF HEALING**

### **BOOK OF MEMORY**

The Book of Memory is another element of DC-Cam's documentation activities. This book is an ambitious plan to collect names and biographical information of people who died or remain unaccounted for under the Khmer Rouge regime. Photographs and other objects that identify these persons are being collected and used for identification.

The Book of Memory project aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the deaths that occurred during the regime by linking statistics to stories. The project will complement DC-Cam's Killing Fields Map of 2007 (which identifies the location of all mass grave sites) by assembling a comprehensive history of the Khmer Rouge genocide through stories of individuals. Finally, the project will organize and analyze the patterns of death under the Khmer Rouge including locations, manner of death, tools used, average age, sex composition, and distribution of death through the years under the Khmer Rouge.

DC-Cam already has approximately one million names of Khmer Rouge victims who perished in its database. The next step will record survivors' names; they are the only source of direct knowledge about their relatives who died under the regime. The project will be completed after approximately two million names are entered.

# OUTREACH & COLLABORATION TO PROMOTE GENOCIDE EDUCATION, HEALING AND RECONCILIATION

DC-Cam works with many international organizations ranging from museums and archives to human rights organizations, filmmakers, and business. DC-Cam views collaboration with governments and civil society organizations as a means for improving not only its own efficiency and effectiveness, but ultimately the advancement of civil society.

DC-Cam works closely with a wide spectrum of individual actors, governments, and organizations. DC-Cam also collaborates with museums such as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. The organization has also facilitated documentation efforts of other countries ranging from human rights organizations in Myanmar/Burma and Thailand to transitional justice and peace-education-related organizations in Syria, Iraq,



A group of architecture students from Royal University of Fine Arts (RUFA) has been working closely with the Anlong Veng Peace Center—a project initiated by the Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DC-Cam). The project's aim is to preserve and develop fourteen historical sites in Anlong Veng, known as the final stronghold of the Khmer Rouge movement. San Roeung, a former bodyguard of Ta Mok, recalls his memory of a former rice field to the students. The students' volunteer work has helped launch the Anlong Veng Peace Tour program, an educational project of which more than fifty students have engaged in so far.

Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara. Caption by Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang

Columbia, and South Korea. DC-Cam works with, and in support of, a global network of organizations dedicated to justice, human rights, and the advancement of democratic society based on the rule of law.

DC-Cam also continues to document the stories of genocide victims through its Khmer Rouge Oral History Audio Archive. Through this resource, DC-Cam aims to identify genocide victims with diverse experiences in Democratic Kampuchea and to juxtapose their views and experiences with those of individuals who functioned as local Khmer Rouge cadres during the same era. This collection will assemble material from DC-Cam's Promoting Accountability Project and its myriad oral history interview and will comprise a video archive preserved for study by scholars and the general public.

# THE SLEUK RITH INSTITUTE: BUILDING A PERMANENT GENOCIDE RESEARCH CENTER

DC-Cam has begun work on permanent center to expand our efforts and ensure a long-term commitment to human rights and genocide prevention in Cambodia. The Ministry of Education has generously provided us with a large parcel of land in Phnom Penh for that purpose. The land, which totals nearly 4,800 square meters, is situated on the campus of the Boeng Trabek High School, fittingly on the site of a former Khmer Rouge prison. We have enlisted a team of expert architects in London to design a building complex that will house the permanent center. We are working with the government to schedule a ground-breaking ceremony for a new building complex collectively named the Sleuk Rith Institute (SRI). The SRI will feature a museum, genocide and human rights school and research center, library and Khmer Rouge regime document archive, and administrative offices (www.cambodiasri.org). SRI staff will design and implement a diverse programs related to its overall mission of promoting domestic and regional education and understanding to ensure preservation of the history of the genocide and atrocity crimes. The Cambodian government has publicly endorsed the SRI, and, on 10 October 2012, signed an official memorandum of understanding (MoU) with DC-Cam, providing a plot of land in Phnom Penh described above. The terms of the MoU grant DC-Cam all rights to utilize the six- hectare property for a period of 90 years. On 17 July 2014, the Ministry of Education has accredited the SRI as a public institute of higher education. DC-Cam has engaged London-based Zaha Hadid Architects (ZHA) to design the SRI. By February 2015, ZHA had completed conceptual design and half of schematic design for the institute; since that time, the design process has been suspended as fund-raising activity moves forward. Institute progress is summarized in the following chart.

The name "Sleuk Rith Institute" reflects our core objectives, as well as our Cambodian heritage. Sleuk Rith are dried leaves that Cambodian religious leaders and scholars have used for centuries to document history, disseminate knowledge, and preserve culture during periods of harsh rule. They represent both the beauty of knowledge and the power of human perseverance during times of peril. The permanent center will serve three core functions. First, it will be a physical memorial—encouraging visitors to honor and remember departed victims and all those who suffered under the Khmer Rouge regime. Secondly, the center will be an educational hub—enabling current and future generations to learn about Cambodia's harrowing past. Education will ensure that Cambodians never forget those who died and suffered, and it will empower the generations today to understand and identify ways to prevent similar abuses in the future.

Finally, the center will be a hub for research—seeking to become the leading Asian institution focused on genocide studies with connections to leading scholars and institutions throughout Asia and the world.

### **III. A LEGACY OF JUSTICE**

#### EXAMINING THE CRIMES OF LOWER-LEVEL KHMER ROUGE OFFICIALS

DC-Cam seeks to expand the legacy of justice underway at the ECCC. DC-Cam plans to conduct a research study that traces various KR abuses in the less-researched area of crimes by lower-level KR officials. Since 2001, DC-Cam has conducted thousands of interviews of former Khmer Rouge officials and cadres, with support from the Ministry of the Interior. This study will provide victims—some of whom may feel disconnected from the ongoing legal process at the ECCC—with an opportunity to testify about their own experiences, enabling them to come to terms with their past. Like South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the study hopes to focus not on placing blame on particular individuals, but rather giving victims and their assailants a chance to speak and be heard, a crucial step towards national reconciliation and justice.

### **IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS**

DC-Cam will also seek approval from the Royal Government of Cambodia to convene a forum commemorating the passage of key human rights laws. In particular, we intend to highlight the Genocide Convention, the watershed treaty that condemned and prohibited genocide more than sixty years ago. We also intend to draw attention to the recent ASEAN Human Rights Declaration. We hope to lead a forum in collaboration with the Cambodian government, which adopted the Genocide Convention in 1950 and signed the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration in November 2012. The former treaty represents one of the bedrocks of modern international human rights law; the latter expresses a renewed regional commitment to basic human rights and dignity.

### **LEGAL & HEALTH SERVICES FOR 1750 GENOCIDE SURVIVORS**

DC-Cam also seeks support for its plan to establish a legal-assistance clinic and a temporary health care clinic for ECCC's civil parties.

The legal assistance clinic is essential to sustaining (and improving) the ECCC's impact on the rule of law in Cambodia. If established, it will provide a basic

Seventy percent of the survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime were women; most of them were widows. Since the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, women have been a central force in the reconstruction of the nation. They reshaped the nation's economy during the tumultuous decades of the 1980s and 1990s, when civil war with the Khmer Rouge ensued and economic sanctions stunted chances for development. Furthermore, it was through their unwavering efforts that Cambodian culture, education, and traditions—which nearly vanished at the hands of the Khmer Rouge, were reinstituted in the social fabric of daily life. Under these difficult circumstances, the women of Cambodia demonstrated great strength and resilience.

Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara. Caption by Youk Chhang.

package of legal assistance, ranging from expert legal consultation to advocacy before government ministries. The clinic will also provide a limited range of representational services in domestic courts as well as historical family research support. The clinic will be staffed by a team of Cambodian attorneys within DC-Cam and led by Dara Vanthan, a Cambodian lawyer with a graduate legal degree from the University of Notre Dame, a prominent Catholic university in the United States.

The health care clinic will be operated and administered independently in collaboration with other organizations, particularly social and mental health care institutions. The health care clinic will provide a venue for a wide spectrum of mental and social health organizations, leveraging secular as well as faith-based institutions, to donate voluntary counselor and other social health services. Dr. Demy Reyes, a Christian pastor and oncology surgeon, and Késsara Chan, Ph.D in human physiology of Switzerland will supervise this work, by reaching out to other organizations in the country. The primary goal of the clinic is to leverage the wide variety of volunteer work already being accomplished in Cambodia for the purpose of achieving synergy toward improving the mental and social health of victims.

In addition to these services, and if funding permits, the health care clinic will pilot a preventative health care project. Dr. Reyes, a U.S.-trained Filipino oncologist, will supervise this effort. This pilot will offer a basic package of preventative health care and a limited range of curative interventions for 1,750 civil parties and criminal complainants. Over a one year period, the clinic will assess the effectiveness and sustainability of a program that provides basic health care services. The pilot is crucial to identify how to improve the lives of civil parties and, more generally, the overall impact, effectiveness and sustainability of the ECCC's reparations processes. Those processes have been criticized for being overly deferential to activities and projects that are symbolic and non-compensatory to civil parties. The pilot will provide an opportunity to assess the effectiveness and sustainability of a basic health care service for Civil Parties who continue to suffer from access to the most basic health care services.

### CONCLUSION

As post-conflict societies mature, civil society must evolve. DC-Cam envisions a new transition in Cambodia—from the 'land of the killing fields' to something greater. Cambodia can never escape its past. History colors our present and can predict our future. But we have a choice. DC-Cam believes Cambodia is ripe for change, and we look forward to engaging this cause and building a better future for the country, the region, and the world.

We appreciate the tremendous assistance that the International donors and the government of Cambodia have provided and will continue to provide the Center and the Cambodian people in our search for memory and justice.

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COVER PHOTO: A French map dated 1915 describes a rebellion that occurred in northeastern Cambodia, on or near O Preah village, Kratie Province, during French colonial rule. Most of the people in this area were Phnorg ethnic and part of Cambodia's minority populations. Dozens of people lost their lives in the rebellion, and some French soldiers were killed as well. Today, one of the villages where this incident took place is named Baraing Ngaop Village (which literally means a village where the French died).

Source: National Archives of Cambodia. Caption and photo by Ouch Makara

A view from Anlong Veng Peace Center Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives/Ouch Makara.