



"Friends of R2P – Cambodia"

LISTENING TO VOICES OF THE KHMER ROUGE CADRES AND THE LOCAL RESIDENTS



Field trip to Anlong Veng Peace Center

Peacebuilding and Mass Atrocities Prevention Study Tour

1-3 SEPTEMBER 2017

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Cover Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center

Back Page Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center View from the Hill

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"ការឈឺចាប់របស់កម្ពុជាមានភាពជ្រាលជ្រៅណាស់។" ព្រះមហាយោសានន្ទ

"The suffering of Cambodia has been deep"
-- Preah Moha Ghosanada

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

"Friends of R2P - Cambodia" is a network of individuals and institutions that aspires for a society without genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. The primary motive of our field trip to visit the Anlong Veng Peace Center - the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge - is for the "Friends of R2P - Cambodia" to be exposed to and to build awareness of the past atrocities that occurred in Cambodia during the genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge. Participants gained a first-hand opportunity to interact directly with former Khmer Rouge cadres to discuss their personal experiences during the regime and its aftermath. Participants also visited selective historical sites and learned about the process of reconciliation of the brutal past. It is through dialogue, education, and mutual respect that together we can come to terms with the dark past and achieve reconciliation between Khmer and Khmer.

This field trip to Anlong Veng Peace Center would not have been possible without the kind and generous support of numerous inividuals and institutions. "Friends of R2P-Cambodia" would like to express our sincere thanks to the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (APR2P) for the financial backing for this study trip and the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM) for their valuable support to host our group at the peace center. Our deep appreciation goes directly to Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang, Director of Anlong Veng Peace Center, Mr. Christopher Dearing, Legal Advisor and Educational Consultant of DC-CAM, and his three colleagues for exposing us on the Anlong Veng history and Anlong Veng Master Plan. We have learned a great deal about the dedication of the center in the promotion and encouragement of peace studies and genocide education.

A debt of gratitude also goes to the Khmer Rouge cadres and the local residents who kindly shared their time, personal stories, experiences, and insights in random face to face interviews. They demonstrated courage and honesty in speaking the truth and told their stories of struggle to fight and to protect Cambodia from foreign invasion. We will never forget their testimonials which may serve as an additional foundation for national reconciliation and the peacebuilding process.

Finally, special thanks go to all participants for their willingness to engage with the Khmer Rouge cadres who might be considered as the enemies of the people. The

results of the interactions were surprising and opened their eyes and their hearts for empathy and compassion. Without their commitment to learn from the perpetrators' perspectives, this challenging study tour would not be possible and those voices might not have been heard and recorded.

Friends of R2P- Cambodia



Group Photo at Ta Mok House, Anlong Veng

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INTRODUCTION

The study tour organized by CICP facilitated by the the support of APR2P was completed successfully in early September 2017, with the participation of twenty-four individuals representing a diverse cross-section of local civil society. Participants included members of the media, academics, and most importantly university students and young professionals. This field trip, which was proposed after the "2nd National Dialogue on R2P and Atrocities Prevention" in August 2017, fittingly built directly on the outcomes and recommendations as to "next steps" from that event as regards building support for R2P in the kingdom. It is the last group mentioned above, the younger generation of Cambodians who in most cases have little to no memory of the realities of the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge regime, who are especially vital for the future institutionalization of the R2P norm in Cambodia and comprised the majority of participants.



Prof. Pou Sovachana, Deputy Director of CICP, briefly presented the overall objective of this field trip to participants. Photo: In Siem Reap

Over the course of the three days, the tour met the two main objectives set out in the initial concept paper presented: (i) direct interaction and face to face interviews with former Khmer Rouge cadres and (ii) improving capacity in Cambodia to work successfully in the future on questions of memory, justice, reconciliation and peace.

Regarding the first of these, participants were able to interview former cadres and as noted in the reflections and notes of the participants, many were deeply impacted by the realities they discovered in Anlong Veng. Several noted their deep amazement at the positive views of the Khmer Rouge regime in general and leaders Pol Pot and Ta Mok in particular maintained by those with whom they interacted.

Participants consistently noted their surprise at the continued, regular veneration of the cremation spot of the remains of Pol Pot by members of the local community – bringing home the realities of the challenges that continue to confront Cambodia for true reconciliation to be achieved throughout the country. The success of this initial study tour depicts how the approach, itinerary, and follow-up taken here can be utilized as a model for CICP and other organizations seeking to enhance knowledge among younger Cambodians of the Khmer Rouge era and thereby creating a firm foundation for the institutionalization of R2P nationally. This can be understood as ensuring that the "cart is placed behind the horse." Before the importance of R2P can be more recognized nationally, deeper understanding of the events of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s is required.



Participants posed with the guards (also former Khmer Rouge cadres) at the Pol Pot Cremation Site.

Photo: Anlong Veng

The successful completion of the second objective stems both from the time spent in the field as well as through both formal and informal discussions held among participants throughout the trip, building new relationships and discussing the question of reconciliation and R2P from a diversity of perspectives. The group's meeting with the DC-CAM staff shed new light on the realities of both contemporary Anlong Veng and brought to the surface the deep challenges that this particular region of Cambodia continues to confront if it is to be successfully reintegrated into the broader Cambodian community. Building on these outcomes as well as the conclusions reached during the "2nd National Dialogue on R2P and Atrocities Prevention," several future projects are envisioned. These are set out in the conclusion of this report and CICP hopes APR2P will find these to be of interest as Cambodia seeks to take a leading and very timely role in the promotion and advancement of R2P and mass atrocities prevention in Cambodia and the ASEAN region.



Dr. Ly Sok-Kheng, Director of Anlong Veng Peace Center, presented the history of Anlong Veng community to participants. Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center

To understand and appreciate the importance of this field trip at the last Khmer Rouge redoubt, we begin by recognizing that a brief history of the Anlong Veng community is a solid starting point for anyone seeking to learn and comprehend about the final chapter in the Cambodian communist movement. Additionally, we would like to highlight the hard work of the Anlong Veng Peace Center and its contribution to peace studies and genocide education. The voices of the Khmer Rouge cadres and the locals will be heard and recorded to understand their opinions of the peace process, national reconciliation, justice, desires and challenges for a better life. The participants' reflections on what they learned from this experience will also be shared. We conclude that there is a need for greater work for peace in Cambodia and to continue to ask questions, to seek greater understanding between groups involved in conflict, and to develop further opportunities to engage the Khmer Rouge inhabitants in the peace process.



Participants prepared for discussion and dialogue.
Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ANLONG VENG COMMUNITY

Anlong Veng is one of the five districts of Oddar Meanchey Province. The district is located in the Dangrek mountain area in the far north of Cambodia near the Thai border, 426 km from the capital city Phnom Penh and 125 km from Siem Reap. The primary town in the district is also called Anlong Veng. The population of the district could not be counted during the 1998 census of Cambodia due to ongoing conflicts at the time of the census. Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang, Director of Anlong Veng Peace Center, estimated in his presentation to "Friends of R2P- Cambodia" on 2 September 2017 at the center that out of a total population of 50,000 people, eighty percent are former Khmer Rouge cadres and their families



Photo: On top of Dangrek Mountain, Anlong Veng

Owing to its unique geography and the strategic dynamics of the conflict, Anlong Veng was the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge and only came under government control in 1998. The final chapter of the Cambodian communist movement was

written with the death of Pol Pot in April of that year and the district remains his final resting place.

The history of the region is most thoroughly discussed in *A History of the Anlong Veng Community: The Final Stronghold of the Khmer Rouge Movement* written by Dy Khamboly and Christopher Dearing. Between 1867 and 1907, Anlong Veng was part of the Thai Province Siam Nakhon. In early 1907, French cartographers recognized the community as part of Cambodia when they were demarcating the border between the then French protectorate and Thailand. It is believed that Anlong Veng was settled by Khmer people from upper Thailand and the region was historically known for its remoteness which made it highly susceptible to banditry. In 1941, the region was again ceded to Thailand and became part of Plaek Phibunsongkhran province. In 1946, Thailand returned Siem Reap and Battambang to Cambodia. Since that time, Anlong Veng has been part of Cambodia. Life in Anlong Veng at that time was difficult and isolated – the region lacked roads, communication systems, and most basic infrastructure.

The Khmer Rouge first occupied Anlong Veng in 1970 when local residents were forced, *en masse*, to move out of the town and the surrounding areas into cooperatives (where all members of the community ate and lived collectively). During the Democratic Kampuchea regime, food was scarce, children did not attend school, and the populace lived in suspicion of one another. Villagers were forced to accept a revolutionary Khmer Rouge ideology that attempted to eliminate traditional practices, beliefs, and behaviors. Upon the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in early 1979, the joint Vietnamese and People Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) forces occupied the region. Remnants of the Khmer Rouge forces sought refuge in the Dangrek Mountains. Conversely, other residents either returned to their communities or fled across the border to start a new life in Thailand.

From 1979 to 1989, the Khmer Rouge forces and the local populace of the Anlong Veng area lived in refugee camps or in a series of military bases. With military, logistical, and political support from China as well as the Thai government, which provided sanctuary and facilitated the vast supply of Chinese arms and other aid, the Khmer Rouge had rebuilt these bases and were able to re-capture Anlong Veng in December 1989 through guerrilla warfare against the Vietnamese and PRK forces. Khmer Rouge women and children who remained in the Dangrek mountains and

Anlong Veng were deployed to support the defense of the area by laying traps, producing bamboo spikes, delivering supplies, and producing weapons.

After Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia in 1989, the Khmer Rouge agreed to the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement, which required the parties to comply with the ceasefire and prepare the country for a free and fair election and a new constitution. However, the Khmer Rouge ultimately refused both to disarm and to participate in the election. After the 1993 election, the Khmer Rouge began to lose strength due to the ending of foreign assistance, causing fresh conflicts and distrust among the remaining, senior members of the Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot, Son Sen, Noun Chea, Khieu Samphan, and Ta Mok). On the evening of 9 June 1997, the powerful Son Sen, Third Deputy Prime Minister of Democratic of Kampuchea and Minister of National Defense, was executed with his wife as well as his entire family by Pol Pot's commander Sareoun. Ta Mok retaliated by arresting Pol Pot and sentencing him to life imprisonment. Subsequently, Ta Mok became the most senior leader of the Khmer Rouge movement. Senior generals and forces under Ta Mok were demoralized and began to defect; while the remaining Khmer Rouge could only hold out for a few months. In December 1998, the remaining Khmer Rouge forces under Ta Mok agreed to end their struggle. On 9 February 1999, a formal reintegration ceremony was held in Anlong Veng, Ta Mok was placed under house arrest and eventually jailed in a military prison in Phnom Penh where he died on 21 July 2006 at the age of 80. A large funeral ceremony was held in Anlong Veng and a memorial stupa was built in Srah Chhouk in his honor.



Photo: Courtesy of DC-CAM. Formal Integration ceremony in 1999 in Anlong Veng

This brief history reminds us of the constant threat of conflict, the structural violence and the deprivation of human security that marked daily life in the final stronghold of the Khmer Rouge. Existence was physically, emotionally and mentally harsh and often incomprehensible. It was not possible for the community to enjoy a normal life. While the Khmer Rouge leadership managed to provide sufficient provisions for daily life in Anlong Veng during the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, the populace lacked basic human rights, i.e., they were not free to talk, travel, or live as they pleased. Rather, they were fully committed to the re-capture of Cambodia from the invading Vietnamese. Families were forced to live with continuous threats of war and national struggle. Children only received a minimal education with a curriculum centered on hatred, anger, and revenge towards the invading Vietnamese enemy. The separation of the soldiers from their loved ones contributed to further suffering. All aspects of life were based on the commands of the Khmer Rouge leadership which had prioritized the dispatching of military units and community members to work in the interior of the country to engage in propaganda activities and to prosecute a guerilla war against the Vietnamese/PRK forces. These people were lost in their struggle for survival and for over a decade did not know what their future would hold as they performed what they perceived to be patriotic tasks which they understood to be essential to the defense of their community against the Vietnamese occupation.

Due to the region's tragic past and its enduring struggle, the historic site of Anlong Veng provides an excellent starting point to learn about the complex history of the Khmer Rouge and how its members lived during that time. It is vital to learn and understand their perspectives, their experiences, their desires and the challenges of the reconciliation process in order to prevent a return to the mass atrocities and political failures of the past.

(Sources: "A History of the Anlong Veng Community: The Final Stronghold of the Khmer Rouge Movement", "Guidebook for Tour Guides" by DC-CAM, and Wikipedia)



Photo: Courtesy of DC-CAM. Most remote teacher training, Trapeang Prasat High School, Oddar Meanchey Province on September 22-28, 2017

ANLONG VENG PEACE CENTER

The group arrived in Anlong Veng in the morning, and its first stop was the Anlong Veng Peace Center. We received a warm reception by Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang, Director of Anlong Veng Peace Center, Mr. Christopher Dearing, Legal Advisor and Educational Consultant of DC-CAM, and their three colleagues. The group listened to Dr. Sok-Kheang and Mr. Christopher Dearing discuss the history of the region as well as the goals of the Anlong Veng Peace Center. They mentioned the importance of the center's location in Anlong Veng as "the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge." With the full support of the Ministry of Tourism (2001 sub-decree) and other ministries, the goals of the center are to preserve Anlong Veng as an historical tourism site and to conserve 14 other historical sites relating to the Khmer Rouge (see appendix: Map of Anlong Veng Peace Tour). The government has also mandated that the center conduct research and documentation in order to improve understanding of the area in support of memory, justice, reconciliation, and peace. In support of these goals, DC-CAM has published two books: 'A History of the Anlong Veng Community: The Final Stronghold of the Khmer Rouge Movement' and a 'Guidebook for Tour Guides' which will be used as training materials for tour guides selected from among the local community.



Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center

Concerning the Anlong Veng Peace Center, Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang elaborated that "the center is the former meeting house and command center of General Ta Mok, located on the top of a steep hill within the Dangrek mountain group. The center produced a history tour book by interviewing around 600 former KR cadres. The center was established in 2014, however work to develop the center began in 2001. Located at border post number 2, Thai soldiers have encroached into the vicinity several times. In addition to historical preservation and the training of local tour guides, the center also works to restore the lost forests by planting more than 400 trees, e.g. the Kranhung and Thnong species, around the center. The center worked with the Ministry of Tourism and DC-Cam to ask for the approval for this center to be established. The geographical site of the center has now expanded from the Ta Mok Meeting House (Ta Peuy) to the O'Smach Cambodia-Thailand border. The length of the rough road from the Choam International Border Checkpoint to the Ta Mok commanding center on the hill is about 3-5 kilometers, and it is just 200 meters from the Thai border.

Dr. Kheang's greatest concern are the delays in the development of the Anlong Veng Peace Center, particularly the lengthy, time-consuming approval process required by the government. He also noted issues related to the architectural plans for the construction of a waterway from the lower plains to the top of the hill in order to provide fresh water access at top of the mountain to sustain the livelihood of the community. The cost of this endeavor will be in the millions of dollars. In addition, the center also faces continued personnel challenges.

At present, the center has only two staff members. Mr. Dearing directs educational activities at the center and works with the ministry of tourism. He also works with public transportation officials, local authorities, the Prime Minister's office, and the Ministry of Interior. He set out to the group the center's programming. With regard to the materials prepared by the center: "The booklet is a history of the communist movement and is used as a guide to the area's history from 1975-1979. The center also created the Student-Teacher training center and used the historical tour book for the purpose of training at the student-teacher trained center as well. The Anlong Veng Peace Center has been involved in genocide education for several years and this work continues today." He pointed out that the tour book can serve as a model

for history texts for every community throughout the country: "One community, One history. One village, One history".

In summary, the Anlong Veng Peace Center offers peace study tour programs during which open dialogue can be held with former Khmer Rouge cadres to bridge the divide between differing interpretations of history. In order to advance the process of reconciliation in Cambodia in general and in this Khmer Rouge dominated region in particular, it is essential to engage in open minded dialogue in order to better grasp the views of the perpetrators in Anlong Veng. The tour guide program allowed us to interact directly with the Khmer Rouges cadres as well as other local residents and to visit various Khmer Rouge historical sites such as the cremation site of Pol Pot, Ta Mok's House, Ta Mok's bridge, etc.

These tours enable both ex-KR cadres and the regime's victims to reflect more deeply on the events that have transpired since 1975. Furthermore, these interactions and direct conversations focus on enhancing personal narratives in order to validate the lived experiences of all participants. There can be no reconciliation without both this type of individual validation and education. The group thanked Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang and his colleagues for their warm hospitality. The subsequnt afternoon session was spent interviewing Khmer Rouge cadres and visiting historical sites of the Khmer Rouge.



THE VOICES OF THE KHMER ROUGE CADRES AND THE LOCAL RESIDENTS

During this field trip, the group had the unique opportunity to interact with Khmer Rouge cadres and other local residents. The group was divided into four 'listening' teams and conducted face to face interviews with a prepared questionnaire (see appendix). Each team approached the Khmer Rouge cadres and local residents randomly and asked politely if they were willing to share their stories, opinions, and experiences of justice, reconciliation, and peace both during the regime and in its aftermath. This approach serve to create a relaxed environment and also avoided seeking permission through formal channels. It is through dialogue and storytelling that one can gain insights into history that help to provide new perspectives on the realities of life during the Khmer Rouge era.



Participants interviewed the guard of the Pol Pot Cremation Site (also the former Khmer Rouge cadres). Photo: Anlong Veng, Pol Pot Cremation Site

The voices from the frontlines of conflict cadres should be heard, understood, and included in the national reconciliation and the peace process in order to understand their concerns and needs. It is important to note here that there are several limitations to this study. First, the number of Khmer Rouge cadres that shared their opinions was inadequate to constitute a complete sample and to fully depict the perspectives of the community. Second, the group observed the reluctance of the local community to share conversation. Third, this study was the first time many members of the group had engaged with the Khmer Rouge cadres and many might have negative perceptions (of the cadres). Further research with a greater number of former Khmer Rouge cadres is an important next step and the group needs to be more prepared to engage in listening conversation with research subjects. In total, we were able to conduct face to face interviews with six Khmer Rouge cadres (one female and five male Khmer Rouge soldiers) and two local residents. A good number of those approached did not want to speak with us. Below are the voices of those with whom the group engaged:

Q: What was your involvement with the Khmer Rouge regime (brief background, and role during the Khmer Rouge regime) How old were you? How did you initially come into contact with the Khmer Rouge? What did you think about their mission and vision for Cambodia? Did your thoughts about the Khmer Rouge change after they came to power and began to kill people?

- I am currently affiliated with the Ministry of Tourism, serving as the guard and ground keeper of the Pol Pot Cremation Site. I entered the Khmer Rouge force in 1969 in Region 33, Kompong Speu province. I was involved in 3 or 4 clashes during my term in the army. I remember that from 1970-1973, liberated forces began under the leadership of Hu Yun, Hu Nim, and Khieu Samphan. At that time, Sarlot Sar (aka Pol Pot) was not in power yet. This liberated movement had successfully defeated the Lon Nol regime in 1975 but then, Hu Yun and Hu Nim were disappeared. After that, I only knew that Sarlot Sar (aka Pol Pot) came to power as the Prime Minister of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Regardless of what Pol Pot did in the past, he was a good leader of the Khmer Rouge regime and he deserved better recognition by having a more respectful cremation site.
- ➤ I am thirty-four years old and I am not a former cadre, but I was a kid during the Khmer Rouge Regime. My parents were Khmer Rouge soldiers. The

Khmer Rouge Regime was good without putting any pressure on its people. However, I understand that millions of people were killed during that regime, but I think that the Khmer Rouge leaders were not the main leaders to command this killing, and they were innocent as they could not kill Khmer - their own Khmer blood. I think it was just a political ploy.

- ➤ I live in Ondong Krongong village near the Anlong Veng area. I moved to this area in 1998. My father used to be a soldier in the government. I have been living here a long time since the time when there were only very few families here. I used to handle a small project. In this area, amongst all of the people, around 70% 80% are former Khmer Rouge cadres. They belong to two factions: Ta Mok's soldiers and Pol Pot soldiers. There was an internal conflict among these two factions.
- ➤ I believe that Pol Pot was not a perpetrator and also that Khmer did not kill Khmer. Instead it was a political tactic employed by neighboring countries.
- ➤ My role in the Khmer Rouge regime was to obey the Angkar. If they ordered me to do something, I would do it with no question asked. If I disobeyed the order, I would be killed like others.



Participants interviewed the local resident. Photo: Anlong Veng

Q: Memory: Would you mind sharing some of your memories (good, bad, optimist, regretful, ...) with me about your past?

- ➤ I had never been ordered to kill somebody because I was shifted to mobile force in 1976. But I heard that during 1976 and 1977, there was a mass killing upon the order of Angkar (we never know who had ordered it exactly).
- ➤ During the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (under King Sihanouk) and Lon Nol periods, I noticed that there were more freedoms, the respect of law was better, and there were less oppressions than in the current society. Indeed, people and the rulers were quite close and respected one another.
- ➤ If I were to say, at that time, Vietnamese troops helped fight the war and so we thought it was all because of Vietnam, just like the old saying: Khmer never abandon the rule and 'Youn' (a derogatory term for Vietnam) never abandon their lies (he then recalled the bitter story during the nineteenth century when the Vietnamese emperor buried three of Khmer neck-high in the ground and used their heads as a cooking platform for a large brazier. The repeated phrase noted as "do not spill the master tea"). Look at Hun Sen's rule [after the liberation in 1980s] with the "K5 Plan", there were no Khmer Rouge who planted mines, only the Vietnamese did to safeguard their fortress. When we went, it was okay but when returned, people always lost their legs. Then Vietnam carried bullets to their troops on top of the mountain. Every time, Vietnam always has bad intentions.
- ➤ At the time, we did not know which faction the Vietnamese troops were from, either from 'Youn" Hanoi, North or South Vietnam, we did not know. For Lon Nol, after the coup d'etat successfully overthrew Prince Sihanouk, the Vietnamese were killed the day after, not a single child was tolerated. Then Prince Sihanouk formed a resistance movement, known as the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK), and called upon his supporters to join the movement in Marki forest during 1970-73. I joined in 1973. I did not know anything; Pol Pot was nowhere to be found at that time.
- ➤ The Khmer Rouge was formulated by the king (Norodom Sihanouk). Nevertheless, I would say that the Khmer Rouge had used the Prince. The

thing is the Khmer Rouge was led by Khieu Samphorn. The Prince formed the group during Sangkum Reastr Niyum period with Khieu Samphan, without Lon Nol knowing it. It was not called "Khmer Rouge" back then; the King called upon the people to join the resistance movement in Marki forest.

- ➤ When we travelled from the O'smach border to the Ta Mok meeting house or Ta Mok commanding center we notice that were were in the land of Thailand three times. This is confusing because there is no official new demarcation between Cambodian and Thailand in the Choam Commune.
- ➤ I believe that the Khmer Rouge ideology is still alive.



Participants interviewed the local resident. Photo: Anlong Veng

Q: Justice: Do you think the present government provides you and the other Khmer Rouge cadres justice? What should be done in order to help you and others in your position today? Explain.

- During the Khmer Rouge regime, there was no justice because the high-ranking officials were always full while the rest of the population had nothing to eat, and were worse off due to the expense of harsh labor. For me, the only thing that was good about the Regime was that there were no social classes or discrimination. For me, justice means being honest, unbiased, no corruption, and cause no harm to others for the sake of personal interest.
- ➤ I think the trial of the Khmer Rouge leaders has brought about justice to fellow Cambodians, but to trial only Noun Chea and Khieu Samphan was not enough since the case also included with many other people including the late King Norodom Sihanouk (who founded the liberated force movement during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum period) and Mr. Hun Sen (Battalion Commander during the Khmer Rouge regime) among many others. For me, to reconcile and for national unity, Cambodians and the current leaders should refrain from taking revenge, hatred, and coloring one another.
- ➤ I think the Khmer Rouge leaders were good because they were simple and provided justice to us. I met Ta Mok at school. He was a nice person. He came to school for regular visits. I have no resentment about the bad and difficult lifestyle at that time.

Q: Reconciliation: Please share your thoughts on how you can reconcile with your past and with all the people around you? Do you still think back about those times? How often? Do you suffer from nightmares or feelings of confusion and guilt? What has been the main thing/coping technique that has helped you to find meaning and happiness in your life today?

- ➤ I do not think so because every faction has fully united and reconciled already. Especially, the current Prime Minister has full control over the military and thus no war will occur. I trust the contemporary leadership and I do not think there will be any change toward the upcoming election.
- ➤ There are few dissatisfactions nowadays. The problem is the local-level officials usually oppress us and how can the top leaders such as Samdech Hun Sen knows what is happening at the grassroot level when those officials always report positively? All the provincial governors across the country

always say that the condition is good, people are prosperous. Even if there is lack of water usage, they all report that everything is fine. So how can Hun Sen be aware of these difficulties? Like in a family, we cannot be fully aware of each and every member and so not to mention Hun Sen when he has to look over millions of the population.

- ➤ The Buddhist monks/monastery do not play any important roles in the reconciliation process. The thing is that they are facing problems. There is not much support for the monks to live here. So, they focus on their living first. But during New Year's days and Pchum Ben days the people of this area go to the pagoda to celebrate religious and ritual practices. But the monks helped to renovate this road. Before it was in very poor condition.
- ➤ People were not scared of this center. They don't fear it at all; yet they are glad to see it moving in. The center makes this community active and lively, more people are coming in as researchers, tourists and so on. The community is not quiet any more. I believe this has benefit people a lot. I know the Anlong Veng Peace Center and DC-Cam very well. When DC-Cam came here to establish its center office, I helped them a lot. DC-Cam also knows me. Before, there was a high-ranking official visiting this place and I used my tent as a carpet for his meal at Ta Mok's house.
- ➤ The former Khmer Rouge cadres believe it is okay that Pol Pot killed a 'bad' person to make the country better.
- ➤ During the Pol Pot regime, there was no plundering and no corruption. We lived in a society of more equals.

Q: Peace: What is your meaning of peace? Do we have peace now in our country? Explain your answer.

➤ For me, peace means the absence of revenge, allegation, killing of one another and that all are united to develop the country. I think we have peace nowadays but there are still many people who are not yet satisfied with the current society because those who have power usually oppress the vulnerable poor.

- ➤ I believe in the Khmer Rouge revolution because the leaders did it for the good of the people and the nation.
- ➤ I want to see Cambodia developing in every sector, sustain peace, have sufficient electricity to use, and enough food supply for everyone.
- ➤ We have peace as long as people live in prosperity.
- ➤ Thailand always wanted to take our land. It encroached on our land near the border. Last time, Thailand did not allow us to use the road based on the excuse that the road is too damaged to be traveled along. Time by time, we don't use this road. Now it belongs to Thailand. Currently, I am concerned about this area. I would like to call for any sponsor and charity group to build the concrete gate of the school located here. If Thailand gets our land, at least we would still have the concrete gate as evidence that this was our land.
- ➤ To me, peace means no argument or quarrels. The government is responsible to provide peace.
- After sacrificing our lives to protect our country against the Vietnamese forces and devoting our lives to the good of the nation, we lost everything. We are now the victims.



Photo: Warning sign of "DANGER" on top of Dangrek Mountain

INSIGHTS FROM THE PARTICIPANTS

Asking questions of the Khmer Rouge cadres posed numerous challenges and opportunities for our Friends of R2P group to reflect upon. As the history of the brutal past of Khmer Rouge regime through the perspective of its victims, it is necessary to overcome negative perceptions, anger and prejudice in order to develop a sense of empathy and compassion. For many participants, this was the first time they had engaged directly with Khmer Rouge cadres. Group members were asked to give their insights on what they have learned from this field trip. They shared the following reflections:

- This field trip has opened my eyes and my heart to the numerous challenges which confront the current state of community building that the Khmer Rouge cadres and local residents face in terms of reconciliation, justice, and the peace process. I learned about their difficulties to gain the basic needs for daily life and their challenges in reintegrating into our society. When I met them, I saw that they are not the cruel murderers which they have so often been portrayed as. I also learned that by looking back to what happened to my family and the other victims of the genocidal regime that we (the survivors) are the victims of what the Khmer Rouge cadres did before. Yet now they expressed to me that they did bad things and they are remorseful. They explained that they simply followed 'Angkar' (the Khmer Rouge Organization). But after sacrificing their lives protecting their homeland, they lost everything. They shared, "We now are the victims." I realize that I have a lot to learn and understand about the depth of their suffering as well. I believe more than ever the future of Cambodia will depend on how well we work together, reconcile our differences and stay committed to our conviction to learn and understand from one another in order to build long-lasting peace and prosperity for all. More than anything we need people who are willing to listen and people who care.
- ❖ I had always thought of the Khmer Rouge as something of the past. Regardless of the fact that there are political figures in the present with ties to the dark past, I never thought people still agreed with the Khmer Rouge ideology. Visiting Anlong Veng and seeing the burial site of Pol Pot opened my eyes to a present I never believed. The mass of incense/joss sticks

honoring the ashes spoke enough to me, let alone hearing the grounds-keeper talk about how he wished there was a grander monument for Pol Pot. I recognize the legitimacy of the sentiments that ex-cadres may harbor against the systems of modernity, capitalism, and corruption that continue to exploit them. But that recognition only extends so far, especially when the Khmer Rouge has not been publicly vilified and society has yet to participate in that moment of healing and validating their past. Speaking with the ex-cadres and visiting Anlong Veng has made me aware of the fact that there is still so much left to do in our process of reconciliation, including reconciling with our own Khmer people.

- ❖ I was very impressed to see the situation of the last stronghold at the Anlong Veng area. Cambodians must go there to see, feel and rediscover what happened in Cambodia. Many secret things are still unrevealed to the public. Frankly speaking, I think the government is careless with this area and its residents. There is no genuine reconciliation process from the government at all, except for the Anlong Veng Peace Center. Enough is enough. These Khmer Rouge cadres are the victims of Angkar by systematic, undeniable commands (they committed the bad deeds out of their own will) during the Khmer Rouge times, and they are still the victims of the regime that followed, including the current one. Their lives are miserable and very pitiful.
- ❖ On the way up to the mountain, I saw some big trees covered with Buddhist monk robes (ordination). Besides that, the forest is empty with small bushes. I believe Buddhism could play a much more important role in protecting, preventing suffering and assisting with reconciliation for these people. Without this Buddhist tree ordination, the trees might be cut down illegally. I

do not know to what extent Buddhism has played a role in this area, but I feel that it needs more attention, not only building the roads by monks, but many other things like a Buddhist base education such as the dharma talk and other social activities.



❖ I was fortunate to visit some historical sites, such as Ta Mok's place, Pol Pot's residence, as well as the center where Ta Mok used to discuss his work. It was very moving to stand right where the powerful leaders had once stood. I also had the opportunity to interview people there who had gone through this painful experience. Many people in the area like and respect Ta Mok. They believe that he was not "the bad guy" in this whole situation, as he treated the people there very well. His people were living with a full stomach, and their houses were provided with bags of rice, regularly. On the other hand, a couple expressed their favor of Pol Pot saying that his actions were in good faith, as he wanted to promote equality and prosperity for the nation. They believed that it was the neighboring country that was behind the whole show.

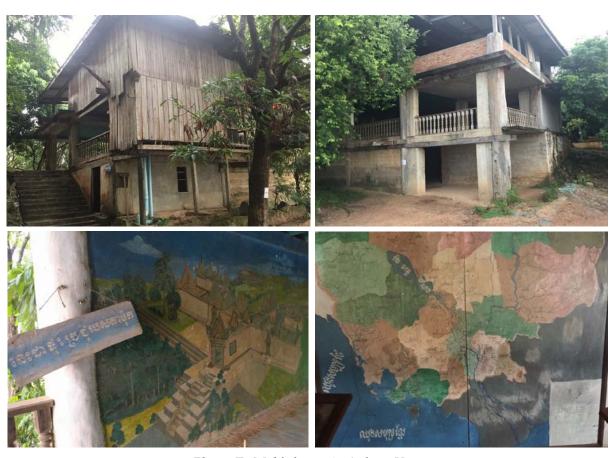


Photo: Ta Mok's house in Anlong Veng

❖ The study trip to Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge regime, was unquestionably instructive and a unique opportunity to get a deeper insight of the lesser known reality of the people who contributed to

the perpetration of the 1975-1979 genocide. From the point of view of a foreigner, who knew little about Cambodia before landing in the country, I can say that after this study trip I had the feeling of having met two different Cambodians. One, well embodied in Phnom Penh, lively and friendly, with smiling and kind people. On the other, embodied by Anlong Veng, surrounded by a dark halo, where the widespread suspicion of the locals is palpable together with the sensation that time has not really moved compared to 40 years ago. Because history needs to be known in order to avoid genocides and other mass atrocities will be committed again in the future, in Cambodia and worldwide, then it is essential to let people know not only the viewpoint of the victims but also that of the perpetrators, which is very often overlooked. In effect, only by gathering the different perspectives of those who had lived firsthand in the crime, both victims and perpetrators, the facts will be preserved to the posterity in the most complete and reliable way.



Photo: Participants posed on top of Dangrek mountain in Anlong Veng

❖ As a scholar of post-conflict societies who has been in and out of Cambodia for 17 years, visiting the former Khmer Rouges stronghold in Anlong Veng with CICP was perhaps the single most eye-opening experience I have ever had here. Observing firsthand the current state of the community we visited and the challenges that it continues to confront as regards reconciliation fundamentally altered my perspective and my framing of the issue of reconciliation in Cambodia and the potential future paths forward. I was

deeply inspired by the work currently being done in the region to further reconciliation, to such an extent that I am planning to research the topic and the state of the region to help improve understanding of the reconciliation process in Cambodia and the challenges it confronts from a political economy perspective. Additionally, the experience underlined the salience of the Responsibility to Protect doctrine and the deep importance of institutionalizing R2P both formally and informally in Cambodia, throughout the ASEAN region, and ultimately across the globe. Finally, the opportunity to establish new relationships and to get to know Cambodian counterparts who are similarly passionate about R2P and hear their perspectives was incredibly valuable and I hope more Cambodian youth will have this sort of amazing opportunity.



Photo: Participants concentrated on the presentation made at Anlong Veng Peace Center

❖ There was a brief interview with a man who claimed to have been living, as a youth, with Ta Mok from 1993 onwards. All of this reminded me of our tragedy, of the atrocities that were inflicted on our people and the destruction of our society under the Khmer Rouge. When that man told me that Ta Mok was a kind and gentle man, enjoying popularity among villagers living in the area under control and among his subordinates, I was wondering why and how such a man could be that cruel. And he was not unique. Other Khmer Rouge cadres, including Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan, I had met before, were or appeared to be also kind and gentle. We could and should draw

lessons from our history of atrocities to develop measures to prevent such atrocities in the future: exposure to past atrocities such as field trips; education to exercise self-restraint and avoid extremism (the middle way in Buddhism, use of dharma to restrain greed, anger and delusion, "nothing in excess" in ancient Greece), education in as a means to peaceful settlement of conflicts, impartiality/equanimity (Buddhist metta, karuna, mudita, upekkha); punishment in this world for bad deeds: Son Sen's and Pol Pot's ignominious deaths; the court punishments of Duch, Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan; and institutionalization of restraints to prevent and punish abuses, etc...

❖ During the field trip, I had a chance to experience, learn, and understand deeper on the dark ages of Cambodia, which was the Khmer Rouge Regime. I have never visited historical sites such as Ta Mok's house before. Therefore, it was a whole new exploration for me. In addition, I got a chance to interview a villager who was born during the regime, and he was grateful enough to let us ask some questions reflecting on his memories as a kid during that time. Listening to his speech, I could get to know his point of view on the regime and current situation, especially on how powerful memory can be. This urges me to do more interviews with those who have experienced the regime. One of the activities that is memorable for me was the small charity event at the orphanage. Seeing how those kids smiled, how innocent they were, I was touched and sincerely hope that we can do more for them as their older generations.



Group Photo: Participants were engaged in a small charity activity at the TranformAsia [Orphanage] Organization in Anlong Veng district.

- ❖ Education is difficult for children; at the top of the mountain, they have only one school and the teachers do not regularly come to class, so their parents have to bring their children to the foot of the mountain. There is a good school about 7 km from the top. The Khmer Rouge families live at Krahnoung village, Trapaing Prey commune, and Anlong Veng District. The speaker said again and again of being pitiful with the children of the Khmer Rouge families, especially girls.
- ❖ This site-visit to Anlong Veng shaped my way of thinking, especially regarding peacebuilding in Cambodia. I believe it is a longer peace process that needs everyone's contribution to make it happen. I hold onto a strong belief that our society needs more



understanding of nonviolent behavior for a better world using genocide regimes as an experience for peace education, specifically conflict transformation. Meeting with the former Khmer Rouge cadres provided me additional information about the Khmer Rouge regime with the interactive conversation I had with them that allowed me to reflect on the conflicting time they had been through. Thus, I was able to acknowledge human conflict to convey my understanding of their experiences. I had an eye-opening experience with the Anlong Veng Peace Centre, which reflects our past bitter story of violence during the Khmer Rouge regime. I wish to gather youth to draw their attention more in exploring this area to foster reconciliation, conflict resolution, conflict transformation as well as empathy between our people, undeniably, the former Khmer Rouge cadres and Cambodia's young generation.

❖ I have learnt a lot about the Khmer Rouge regime through interviewing many people who were directly involved in Pol Pot's forces. Through these interviews, I was told many hidden things behind this regime. One of the interviewees told me how the Pol Pot regime started. Actually, Pol Pot's force

was not so big, they had lived in the forest for a long time. How Pol Pot's forces came to overcome Lon Nol's force, she told me, was because Pol Pot's forces were so determined and loyal in attacking. This was the main reason why Pol Pol won over Lon Nol's force. She further told us that when the Pol Pot regime was over, Pol Pot and Ta Mok had arguments with each other, especially over the case concerning Son Sen's murder. Thus, my knowledge regarding Khmer Rouge regime has been enhanced remarkably. In conclusion, participating in this trip was an amazing experience because I have learnt something new regarding the Khmer Rouge regime and, especially, I have built new friendships from various backgrounds.

❖ We have left our footprints that contributed to the completion of our fieldwork as a simple guiding light to Friends of R2P in fact-finding and opened the road forward to the fulfillment of raising awareness and building knowledge which are the powerful keys to draw attention to the younger generation like us to prevent this cruel regime from happening again. I am hopeful that when we are again together, we will be able to raise these issues and achieve the desired goal, even in our simplest way. It is best expressed with an African saying: "If you want to go fast, you go alone; but if you want to go far, we go together". Like Prof. Sovachana said during the meeting at the Anlong Veng Peace Center, "Education is the key to reconciliation". Thanks Friends of R2P to walk together atop of Dangrek Mountain and I look forward to walking with you more and farther. I am fearful of the Khmer Rouge and I fear today if we ignore the past atrocities.



Participants walked up the top of Dangrek Mountain where Anlong Veng Peace Center is situated. Photo: Anlong Veng Hill

❖ I was so grateful that I had a chance to visit the historical place where the former Khmer Rouge used to live such as the cremation site of Pol Pot and Ta Mok's former residence, etc. Overall, this was a meaningful trip and we should engage with Friends of R2P further.



Photo: On top of the Dangrek Mountain

CONCLUSION AND OPPORTUNITIES

Emerging from a series of protracted wars and conflicts from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the Anlong Veng community has undegone a complex and challenging process of post conflict peacebuilding and recovery after the last Khmer Rouge defection of close to two thousand soldiers to the formal integration to the Royal Government Armed Forces in February 1999. After suffering terribly from the persistent threat of conflict and fear, displacement, forced labor, cooperative living, restriction one's personal freedom, people were very happy to start anew, reunite with family members, set up new business and build new houses. They have freedoms to travel and live as they individually pleased. Moreover, their children can attend school regularly. They were grateful to the government and felt in some way satisfied with the present regime.

However, after almost three decades of conflicts that have destroyed the area's socio-economic infrastructure and the socio-fabric of the residents, the Anlong Veng community continues to live from the constant threat of national struggle and grave human insecurities ranging from social injustice, human rights abuses, unequal development, land grabbing, poverty, re-integration, class divides, reconciliation to disillusionment. To prevent a return to the mass atrocities and avoid a return to political failures of the past, the state has the primary responsibility to protect its population and empower them to develop to their full potential in order to overcome structural violence – the social, political, and economic structures of the country. Addressing risks and root causes of insecurities using comprehensive approaches that stress the need for cooperative and multi-sectoral responses to security, inclusive development and human rights will help diminish the fears, the wants, and the dignity of this disadvantage community and individuals to produce lasting peace and stability.

CICP is deeply grateful for the support received from APR2P for the implementation of this study tour as well as its other activities in support of R2P in Cambodia. The successful accomplishment of the tour's primary objectives further strengthens the foundation for the vertical and horizontal expansion and institutionalization of R2P in country. At the same time, this project has also exceeded the initial expectations and parameters set out in the concept paper in that the tour has made clear to CICP some of the outstanding issues, particularly the case

of Anlong Veng, which Cambodia will need to resolve as it moves forward down the path of reconciliation.

Meetings with the Documentation Center's Anlong Veng Peace Center were particularly fruitful and CICP has completed a review of DC-Cam's initial research on the community. While it has always been known that the population of this region is heavily (roughly 80%) comprised of former Khmer Rouge cadres and their families, the fact that an estimated 40% of that group continues to live in accordance with the institutions established in Anlong Veng during Pol Pot was unknown to CICP. In our view, three next steps to build on the success of this project are strongly worth noting here. First, further dissemination of the "Listening to Voices of the Khmer Rouges Cadres and the Local Residents" model to other civil society groups working in this area in Cambodia. Second, the conduct of future study tours by Friends of R2P with particular focus on the younger generation of Cambodians and monks – a positive externality of this focus on the youth sector is this group's extensive use of social media; i.e., the sharing of their experiences in Anlong Veng with others, reaching an exponentially larger audience than those actively participating in the event.

Finally, and most ambitiously, CICP sees the need to complete a much more in depth study of the realities on the ground in Anlong Veng. We will be preparing a concept paper along these lines. This project will focus on sending young researchers (capacity building) to the field to conduct a survey of this 'intricate' community, their contemporary mode of life, and their exposure to the Khmer Rouge cadres and their perception of their current (seemingly semi-autonomous) existence in the region. CICP sees this as data-driven approach as essential to the continued promotion of reconciliation in that region as well as providing the possibility of greater national attention to the issue which can further draw attention to the realities of the Khmer Rouge era to the younger generation of Cambodians.



Group Photo with DC-CAM staffs at Anlong Veng Peace Center. Photo: Anlong Veng Peace Center

EPILOGUE

This peacebuilding and mass atrocities prevention field trip to Anlong Veng Peace Center has touched our lives and our conscience in many ways. What we have learned most is that history of the Anlong Veng community and the political failures of the past should be understood in order to avoid future mass atrocities in Cambodia. It is essential to understand not only the viewpoint of the victims but also that of the perpetrators, which is very often overlooked. What happened inside the country must be learned, experienced, and understood from both sides. After interacting directly with the former Khmer Rouge cadres, we realize that these perpetrators are normal and share our values. They were not 'evils' or 'monsters'. They are human beings like all of us who have suffered endlessly from the state's failure to protect them and to empower them to participate in solutions as to ensure human security for themselves and others. It is important to acknowledge their experiences and to listen to their voices in order to understand the mindset of soldiers and others caught up in an inhumane regime. It is important for us to get the whole sense of what was going on, what happened, and why during the Khmer Rouge regime and its aftermath.

After this fied trip, we were better equipped to draw lessons from our history of atrocities, to develop measures in order to prevent a return to these catastrophic crimes in the future. Exposure to past atrocities such as field trips; exercise self-restraint and avoid extremism, use the middle path and dhamma in Buddhism to restrain greed, anger and delusion; education to learn about the dark past and use history as the reflection to overcome the past Khmer Rouge atrocities are necessary to heal the wounds and foster peacebuilding. By working closely with the local community, schools, and tourism officials, the Anlong Veng Peace Center plays a key role to learn and understand about Cambodia's brutal past through dialogue, discussion and education to bridge the divides between the former Khmer Rouge and the younger generation.

Finally, by listening to voices of the Khmer Rouge Cadres and the local residents, we undertand more deeply about their struggle to have a better future and to live free from fear, free from want, and free from indignity. We also realize that the road for reconcilation, justice, and peace is still long, ardous, uphill and most often under construction, paved with hardship and long term commitment to peacebuilding. We have come to terms that there is still so much left to do, so much hills to climb, so much challenges to overcome in our quest for reconciliation, including reconciling between Khmer and Khmer people.

However, when we reach the top, the view of having peace, justice, and reconciliation between generations and across the social divides is spectacular.



Photo: Panorama view on the top of Dangrek Mountain

APPENDIX

CONCEPT NOTE

Objectives

The main motive for this field trip is for the "Friends of R2P - Cambodia" to be exposed to and to build awareness of the past atrocities that thrust upon Cambodia during the genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge. We often learn the history of the Khmer Rouge through the victims' perspective but a study tour to the *Anlong Veng Peace Center* - the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge - would ideally enable the participants to get a first-hand opportunity to interact directly with former Khmer Rouge cadres of their personal experience during the regime and its aftermath. Participants will visit selected historical sites, learn about the process of reconciliation of the brutal past and better understand the reintegration of this community back into society. It is through dialogue and education that together we can come to terms with the dark past and reconcile with each other. It also aims to elevate capacity-building mechanism among members of the network about memory, justice, reconciliation, and peace as well as to seek to promote the R2P norm to a wider audience at different levels of the society.

Friday, 1st September 2017

Participants leaving from Phnom Penh to Siem Reap at **7:00AM SHARP** Meeting place: CICP Office (see the map attached)

Lunch at Prey Pros

Arrive and stay overnight in Siem Reap at Kiri Residence: Gather at 3:00PM at the hotel swimming pool to brief about the field trip by Pou Sovachana and Pich Charadine, cultivate bonds between Friends of R2P-Cambodia, strengthening friendship, sightseeing and touring the ancient city, and leisure activities. Dinner gathering at Mondial restaurant at 7:00PM.

Saturday, 2nd September 2017

Participants leaving from Siem Reap to Anlong Veng at 7:00AM

Arrive Anlong Veng: Study Tour

- 09:00 –10:30: Presentation on the Anlong Veng History and Anlong Veng Master Plan by Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang, Director of Anlong Veng Peace Center
- 10:45 11:45: Former KR members shared his/her personal experience during the Khmer Rouge history and the civil war period (1979-1998).
 Presented by a former KR cadre.

Lunch break

- 13:30 15:30: Visiting selective historical sites (Pol Pot's cremation site, Pol Pot's trial place, Son Sen's grave, Ta Mok's Museum, Ta Mok's hospital and Ta Mok's School...etc.) guided by a former Khmer Rouge cadre.
- **16:00 16:30:** Visiting School/Community for donations

Stay overnight in Siem Reap at Kiri Residence

Dinner gathering at local restaurant at 7:00pm

Sunday, 3rd September 2017

Participants leaving from Anlong Veng to Phnom Penh at 8:00AM

Lunch at Prey Pros

Arrive in Phnom Penh

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

During this field trip, Friends of R2P – Cambodia will have a firsthand opportunity to interact directly and ask questions with former Khmer Rouge cadres relating to their personal experience during the regime and its aftermath. We seek to learn from them and deepen our understanding about memory, justice, national reconciliation, and peace. It is through direct dialogue and understanding that we can come to terms with the dark past and reconcile with each other through this interaction. Here are the samples of the questionnaire to ask the Khmer Rouge cadres. Feel free to include other questions. To get genuine answers from the Khmer Rouge cadres, it is crucially important to make your interviewees feel very comfortable and receptive before you ask any questions. The time requires for the interview is approximately 45 minutes to one-hour max. Remember to respect their rights if they do not want to answer your questions.

* Introduce yourself and explain to them why you are here, then proceed with the questions. Talk about where you come from, why you are interested in their memories and impressions and how this will assist you.

Key Questions

- 1. What was your involvement with the Khmer Rouge regime (brief background, and role during the Khmer Rouge regime) How old were you? How did you initially come into contact with the Khmer Rouge? What did you think about their mission and vision for Cambodia? Did your thoughts about the Khmer Rouge change after they came to power and began to kill people?
- 2. **Memory:** Would you mind sharing some of your memories (good, bad, optimist, regretful, ...) with me about your past?
- 3. **Justice:** Do you think the present government provides you and the other Khmer Rouge cadres justice? What should be done in order to help you and others in your position today? Explain.

- 4. **Reconciliation:** Please share your thoughts on how you can reconcile with your past and with all the people around you? Do you still think back about those times? How often? Do you suffer from nightmares or feelings of confusion and guilt? What has been the main thing/coping technique that has helped you to find meaning and happiness in your life today?
- 5. **Peace:** What is your meaning of peace? Do we have peace now in our country? Explain your answer.

Additional Questions

- 1. In your opinion, who is most responsible for the tragic atrocities (the state, the people, the external factors, the neighboring countries? Explain.
- 2. How did you cope with the conflicting emotions you felt as a cadre? Did it affect your sleep, eating? What were the thoughts or internal self-talk that you had that allowed you to continue with your duties day to day?
- 3. What do you feel are the key things to be aware of or to avoid in society in order to not have genocide?
- 4. What was the thinking or attitude of those who gave you orders?
- 5. Could you share any stories of other cadres or victims that you can recall to help me better understand what happened at that time?
- 6. Repeatedly people in Cambodia continually ask, "How could Khmer kill Khmer?" How would you answer this question?
- 7. From your observations and experience, how were those who gave orders able and willing to witness the cruelty and suffering of their fellow people?

"មិត្តមេស់ អ ឆូ គី R2P- ម្រនេសអម្ពុថា" ខំណើរឧស្សនៈអិច្ច នៅអាត់មខ្លាមឈ្នាលសន្តិភាពអន្លច់ខែច ថ្ងៃនី០១-០៣ ខែអញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧

អំខេសំឈ្លារងំរួ

កំឡុងពេលដំណើរទស្សនៈកិច្ចនេះ មិត្តរបស់ អ ធូ ភី R2P- ប្រទេសកម្ពុជានឹងមានឱកាសមុនគេ ក្នុងការធ្វើសកម្មភាពរួមគ្នាដោយផ្ទាល់ និង លើកសំណួរទៅកាន់អតីតសម្មមិត្តខ្មែរក្រហមទាក់ទិន ទៅនឹងបទពិសោធន៍ផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនរបស់ពួកគាត់នៅក្នុងរបបនោះ និង លទ្ធផលបន្ទាប់នៃសម័យនោះ។ យើងសុំសិក្សារអំពីពួកគេ និង ស្វែងយល់អោយស៊ីជម្រៅជាមួយនឹងការចងចាំ យុត្តិធម៌ ការផ្សះ ផ្សារជាតិ និងអំពីសន្តិភាព។ វាជាការឆ្លងកាត់មួយដោយការសន្ទនាផ្ទាល់តាមរយៈការធ្វើសកម្មភាព រួមនេះ។ នេះជាកំរងសំនួរគំរូ សម្រាប់សាកសួរកម្មាភិបាល/សមមិត្ត ខ្មែរក្រហម។ សូមធ្វើការបន្ថែម សំណួរ ប្រសិនបើ លោក លោកស្រីមាន។ ដើម្បីទទួលបានចម្លើយមួយដោយភាពស្និទ្ធិស្នាលពី កម្មាភិបាល/សមមិត្ត ខ្មែរក្រហម ដូច្នេះ នេះជាចំនុចមួយដ៏សំខាន់ណាស់ ដើម្បីអោយការធ្វើបទ សម្ភាសន៍នេះប្រកបដោយភាពរាក់ទាក់ និង ស្មោះត្រង់ ដោយយើងធ្វើការចងក្រងតារាងសំណួរគំរូ នេះ។ បទសម្ភាសន៍នីមួយៗនឹងត្រូវប្រើពេលតែ ៤៥នាទី ឬក៏ត្រឹម១ម៉ោងតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ ថា យើងត្រូវគោរពសិទ្ធិរបស់អ្នកទទួលបទសម្ភាសន៍នេះ ប្រសិនបើគាត់មិនចង់ឆ្លើយ តបនឹង សំណួរណាមួយ។

សំណួរខម្ប១

- 9. ការណែនាំខ្លួន និងធ្វើការពន្យល់ទៅកាន់ពួកគាត់អំពី គោលបំណងអ្នកមកទីនេះ បន្ទាប់មកអ្នក អាចចាប់ផ្ដើមលើកសំណួរ។ សូមនិយាយអំពីខ្លួនអ្នកធ្វើការនៅទីកន្លែងណា ឬក៏មកពីស្ថាប័នណា ថាតើហេតុអ្វីអ្នកចាប់អារម្មណ៍ជាមួយនឹង ការចងចាំ/អនុស្សាវីយ៍របស់ពួកគេ និង ចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍ នានា ក៏ដូចជាថាតើ សកម្មភាពទស្សនកិច្ចនេះ នឹងជួយអ្វីទៅដល់លោកអ្នក។
- ២. តើអ្នកបានចូលរួមធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះ កំឡុងពេលរបបខ្មែរក្រហម (សូមធ្វើការឆ្លើយត្រួសៗអំពីប្រវត្តិរបស់ អ្នក និង តួនាទី) តើអ្នកអាយុប៉ុន្មានកាលនោះ? តើអ្នកចាប់ផ្តើមចូលរួមទាក់ទងជាមួយខ្មែរក្រហម ដោយដូចម្តេច? តើអ្នកគិតថាយ៉ាងម៉េចអំពីបេសកកម្ម ក៏ដូចជាទស្សនវិស្ស័យរបស់ពួកគេចំពោះ

ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា? តើគោលគំនិតរបស់អ្នកស្ដីអំពីខ្មែរក្រហម បានមានការផ្លាស់ប្ដូរទេបន្ទាប់ពីពួកខ្មែរ ក្រហមបានកាន់កាប់អំពាចហើយពួកគេក៏ចាប់ផ្ដើមសម្លាប់ប្រជាជន?

- ៣. ការចងចាំ: ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមិនយល់ទាស់ទេ សូមចែករំលែកអនុស្សាវរីយ៏ខ្លះ (ដូចជា រឿងរ៉ាវ ល្អៗ រឿងណាមិនល្អ សុទិដ្ធិនិយមក្តី ឬក៏ វិប្បដិសារី...)
- ៤. យុត្តិធម៌: តើអ្នកគិតថាអ្វីដែលរដ្ឋភិបាលសព្វថ្ងៃផ្តល់អោយអ្នក និងសម័យខ្មែរក្រហមផ្តល់ អោ យអ្នក តើទាំងនោះយុត្តិធម៌ឬទេ? តើត្រូវធ្វើដូចម្តេចទៅ ដើម្បីបានជួយអ្នក និង អ្នកផងទាំង ឡាយ ចំពោះកាលះទេសះរបស់អ្នកសព្វថ្ងៃនេះ? សូមផ្តល់ការពន្យល់។
- ៥. ការផ្សះផ្សា: សូមផ្ដល់មតិយោបល់អ្នកថាតើត្រូវធ្វើដូចម្ដេចដើម្បីអាចផ្សះផ្សាជាមួយនឹងរឿងរ៉ាវ ពីអតីតកាលរបស់អ្នក ជាមួយនឹងអ្នកទាំងឡាយជាញាតិជៅ មិត្តភក្រ័ជុំវិញខ្លួន? តើអ្នកនៅតែគិត អំពីពេលវេលាដែលកន្លងហួសមកហ្នឹងដែរឬទេ? ញឹកញយទេ? តើអ្នកបានឈឺចាប់នឹងសុបិន្ត អាក្រក់នេះទេ ឬក៏មានអារម្មណ៍វង្វេងវង្វាន់ និង ទុក្ខព្រួយចំពោះកំហុសឆ្គង? តើអ្វីដែលជាគន្លឹះ ដែលបានជួយអ្នកអោយស្វែងរកឃើញនូវអត្ថន័យជីវិត និង សុភមង្គលសម្រាប់ជីវិតអ្នកមកទល់ សព្វថ្ងៃនេះ?
- ៦. សន្តិភាព: តើអ្នកអោយនិយមន័យ សន្តិភាព យ៉ាងដូចម្ដេចទៅ? តើយើងមានសន្តិភាពទេ សព្វ ថ្ងៃនេះ? សូមពន្យល់។

សំណួរមន្ថែម

- ៧. តាមយោបល់អ្នក តើនរណាទទួលខុសត្រូវធំបំផុតនូវអំពើសោកនាដកម្មនេះ (រដ្ឋ ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ សម្ពាធខាងក្រៅ ឬប្រទេសជិតខាង)។ សូមពន្យល់។
- d. ដោយធ្លាប់ជាសមមិត្ត ឬកម្មាភិបាលខ្មែរក្រហម១រូប ថាតើអ្នកទប់ទល់នឹងអារម្មណ៍រំជួលវិវាទ ដោយដូចម្ដេច? តើវាបានប៉ះពាល់ដល់ដំណេកអ្នក ឬក៏ការបរិភោគទេ? តើនោះជាគំនិត ឬក៏គំនួច ក្នុងចិត្តដែលអ្នកមាន ដែលអាចបណ្ដោយអោយអ្នកបន្តភារកិច្ចពីមួយថ្ងៃទៅមួយថ្ងៃ?
- ៩. តើអ្នកគិតថា អ្វីទៅជារឿងសំខាន់ដែលជាការជ្រោងចំណេះដឹងដល់សាធារណជន ដើម្បី បញ្ជៀសអំពើប្រល័យពូជសាសន៍?
- ១០. តើអ្នកដែលបញ្ហាអ្នកនោះពួកគេគិតអំពីអ្វី ឬក៏មានអត្តចរឹកយ៉ាងដូចម្ដេច?

- 99. តើអ្នកអាចចែករំលែករឿងរបស់សមមិត្តផ្សេងទៀត ឬក៏ជនរងគ្រោះណាម្នាក់ដែលអ្នកអាច រំលឹកឡើងវិញ ដើម្បីជួយអោយខ្ញុំងាយយល់ជាងនេះនូវអ្វីដែលបានកើតឡើងកាលនោះ?
- ១២. មានពាក្យគេនិយាយដដែលៗរហូតមកដល់ថ្ងៃនេះ នៅតែសួរតៗគ្នាថា "ហេតុអ្វីខ្មែរអាច សម្លាប់ខ្មែរទៅរួច?"
- ១៣. តាមការសង្កេតរបស់អ្នកក៏ដូចជាបទពិសោធន៏ ថាតើអ្នកណាជាអ្នកផ្តល់នូវបទបញ្ជា និងអាច មានឆន្ទៈធ្វើជាសាក្សីស្តីអំពីអំពើយោរយៅ និង ការឈឺចាប់ចំពោះពលរដ្ឋគ្នាឯង?

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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All participants are kindly asked to write a personal reflection (English or Khmer, no more than 300 words and send to Ms. Charadine at <u>pich.charadine@gmail.com</u>, no later than the 6th of September) about your visit to historical sites and moving experiences interacting with the [former] Khmer Rouge Cadres.

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ANLONG VENG PEACE CENTER



Cover: Koh Ker temple lies approximately one hundred and twenty kilometers northeast of Siem Reap. Cover Kon Ker tempie use approximately one fluidince and invently knometers normeast of stem reap. It is reached by road and footpath, and it is surrounded by rivers that flow from nearby mountains. The area is associated with the reign of Jayavarman IV (928–941 A.D.), who left the Angkor capital in 921 A.D. to install his sect of power in Chok Gargyra, now known as Koh Ker. Upon his death, his sort successor Rejendravarman II reinstalled the capital at Angkor, leaving Koh Ker obandoned at the end of the nineteenth century. (From Koh Ker temple to Anlong Veng is 186 Kilometers. Photo by Ouch Makara)

Above: Angkor Wat in Cambodia is the largest religious monument in the world. It was built by the Khmer King Suryavarman II in the early 12th century in Yasodhrapura, the capital of the Khmer Empire. (Fram Angkor Wat to Anlong Veng is 129 Kilometers. Photo by Meng Kimlong)

Robert Bosch Stiftung

















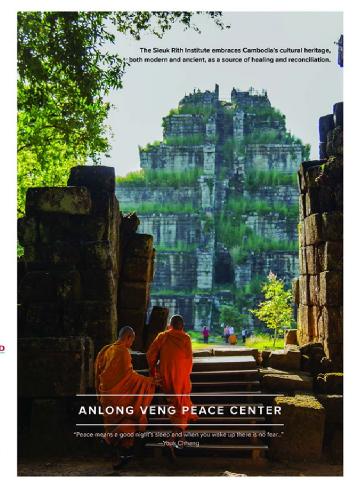


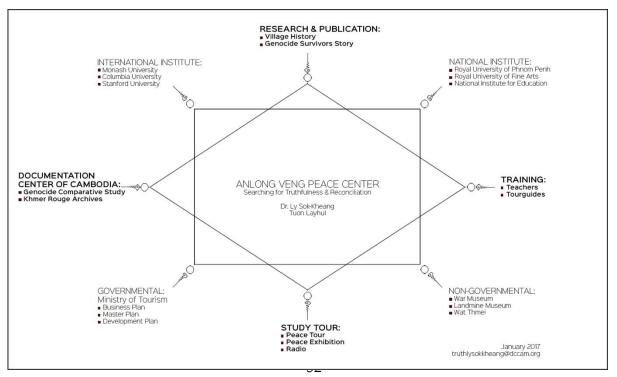
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1 December 2015









មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលរៀតសាវតម្ពុជា DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA





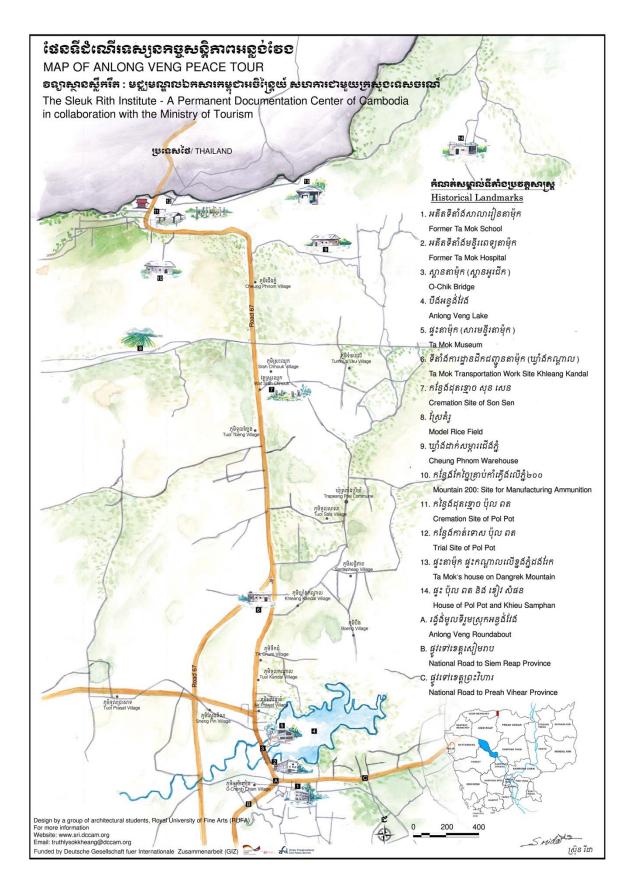




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ANLONG VENG WALKING MAP



Article by Mr. Hul Reaksmey/VOA Khmer, 22 September 2017

Former Khmer Rouge Stronghold Becomes Center of Peace and Reconciliation Learning



Incense stick holders stand at the cremation site of late Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot in Anlong Veng, a former Khmer Rouge stronghold, about 305 kilometers (190 miles) north of Phnom Penh, Friday, April 11, 2008. (AP Photo/Heng Sinith)

Anlong Veng was occupied by the Khmer Rouge and suffered under the grim agrarian administration that oversaw purges, arrests, and mass killings.

ANLONG VENG — Researchers and survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime have called for a new generation of Cambodians to seek a deeper understanding of their history following a visit to the former regime stronghold of Anlong Veng.

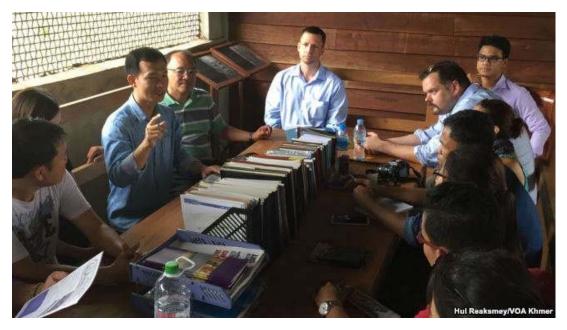
The group visited the Anlong Veng Peace Center, which opened in 2014, in early September - the final holdout of regime leaders Pol Pot and Ta Mok.

Hoy Sochivanny, president of NGO Positive Change for Cambodia, told VOA Khmer while taking a walk near the center that such initiatives could ensure that Cambodians do not repeat the mistakes of the past.

"The remembrance of the Pol Pot regime and the killing during the regime is the memory of how Cambodians suffered from this regime and how the next generation can learn or let the next generation of Cambodians build inner peace," she said.

"Building peace from the heart and feeling among them and preventing them from having hot tempers and minds and a violent heart between groups ... war was a huge dispute that we learned in the past."

Sochivanny, who serves as a peace ambassador to other Asian countries, said although it took a long time for the center in Anlong Veng to be established, it was not too late for the next generation to benefit from studying the reconciliation process.



Ly Sok Kheang, director of Anlong Veng Peace Center, speaks to a group of visitors the center, Anlong Veng, Cambodia, September 2, 2017. (Hul Reaksmey/VOA Khmer)

The settlement of Anlong Veng was recorded by French cartographers as early as 1907 while they were demarcating the modern Cambodian state, according to a 2014 book, The Anlong Veng Community, authored by Dy Khamboly and Christopher Dearing.

The region has historically shifted between Thai and Cambodian control until the arrival of the French Protectorate and the formation of a political movement led by then Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1955. Created out of the province of Siem Reap, Anlong Veng was occupied by the Khmer Rouge and suffered under the grim agrarian administration that oversaw purges, arrests, and mass killings.

On June 9, 1997, the execution of Son Sen, previously a party stalwart, marked the beginning of the end of the Khmer Rouge movement. After Sen's execution, factional disputes erupted and eventually led to the arrest and trial of Pol Pot, in July of that year. By 1998, the remaining Khmer Rouge forces had been integrated into government forces following a series of negotiations.

Ly Sok Kheang, director of the Anlong Veng Peace Center, told visitors that peace-building requires time and planning. "It's about education and we use history to reflect on. When people learn about their history, people will not always repeat the same footsteps that we took in the past," he said.

"So that's why we try to influence and show the younger generation, and our leaders as well, when you commit a crime, there's going to be a trial in the future. You know in our country, without trials, people will not understand," he added.

The peace center, an initiative of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), is housed in the former headquarters of Ta Mok's faction, perched high atop the Dangrek Mountains near the Thai border. As well as serving as an educational resource, the center is working to preserve 14 historical sites in Anlong Veng district.



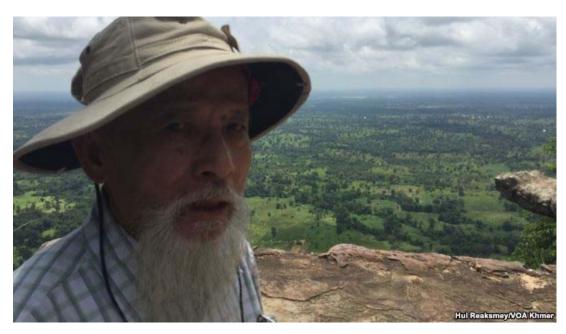
Pol Pot (front left), Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) Secretary and Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea (DK); Noun Chea (behind Pol Pot), Deputy Secretary of the CPK and DK President of the People's Representative Assembly; Vorn Vet (front right), Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Economy; Chhit Choeun aka Ta Mok (behind Vorn Vet), Chief of the General Staff, Revolutionary Armed Forces of DK. (Courtesy of Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives)

"Now, many students come every day," says Sok Kheang. "At first we ask them to meet the people in Anlong Veng region. They made their interviews into articles that have been published in [local newspaper] Rasmei Kampuchea and Seeking the Truth magazine for others to understand the history of each person who went through the Khmer Rouge."

"When they start to understand, there will be a push for mutual understanding, tolerance, and reconciliation."

Born in 1926 in Takeo province, Ta Mok saw Anlong Veng as its own country, according to Khamboly and Dearing, who described in their book how he organized the villages and named them according to nearby natural resources, such as Tuol Tbeng, named after a local timber plentiful in the area. Ta Mok died of disease in 2016.

Pou Sovachana, deputy director of the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), told VOA Khmer that if politicians saw continuing to learn from this history as important, "real peace can surely take root when we know how to ... build real peace and harmony."



Lao Monghay, an independent analyst, encourages reconciliation and peacebuilding at the former army-commanding headquarters of Ta Mok, Anlong Veng district, Cambodia, September 2, 2017. (Hul Reaksmey/VOA Khmer)

Lao Monghay, a veteran political and social analyst who accompanied the group, said visits to the center could help bridge the gap between young Cambodians and those still nostalgic about the days of the Khmer Rouge.

"Our ideas can be different from others whose ideas could be different from ours, but the idea that relies on truth could be in everybody's joint interest. We must listen to such ideas," he said.

Like many sleepy Cambodian villages and towns, life in Anlong Veng still resonates with an ethos of collectivism and a deference to independent living. Residents value the space that comes with living on the periphery of Cambodian society and there is an air of pride in the community's ability to look after themselves.

Sok Kheang, the peace center director, said that the center's role goes far beyond the preservation of history, as it is also working on restoring the local environment, which has been devastated by deforestation and surging development.

This article is available at: https://www.voacambodia.com/a/former-khmer-rouge-stronghold-becomes-center-of-peace-and-reconciliation-learning/4040255.html

អន្លខ់ខែខ អតីតតំបស់ប្រយុន្ធចុខគ្រោយរបស់ខ្មែរគ្របាន គ្លាយបា តំបស់អតិរត្យ ដើម្បីអារផ្សះផ្សាសិខអារតសាខសន្តិភាព

ក្រុមបញ្ញវន្តថ្លែងថា សន្តិភាពអាចបន្តបានជានិរន្តនៅកម្ពុជា ប្រសិនបើមេដឹកនាំ និងអ្នកជំនាន់ ក្រោយមិនយកចិត្តហិង្សាមកដឹកនាំប្រទេស ហើយចេះទទួលយកគំនិតផ្ទុយគ្នាសម្រាប់ស្ថាបនា ប្រទេស។

ស្រុកអន្លង់វែង ខេត្តឧត្តរមានជ័យ — អន្លង់វែងដែលជាទីតាំងការពារខ្លួនចុងក្រោយរបស់ពួក ខ្មែរក្រហមបានក្លាយជាកន្លែងទីមួយសម្រាប់ស្វែងយល់អំពីដំណើរការផ្សះផ្សា និងការកសាង សន្តិភាពក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។ ក្រុមបញ្ញវន្តថ្លែងថា សន្តិភាពអាចបន្តបានជានិរន្តនៅកម្ពុជា ប្រសិនបើមេដឹកនាំ និងអ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោយមិនយកចិត្តហិង្សាមកដឹកនាំប្រទេស ហើយចេះទទួល យកគំនិតផ្ទុយគ្នាសម្រាប់ស្ថាបនាប្រទេស។

អ្នកសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ និងអ្នកធ្លាប់រងគ្រោះក្នុងសម័យខ្មែរក្រហម បានអំពាវនាវឲ្យកូនខ្មែរជំនាន់ ក្រោយប្រឹងប្រែងស្វែងយល់អំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃជម្លោះផ្ទៃក្នុងរបស់ផងខ្លួន ដើម្បីរក្សាសន្តិភាព នាពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ន និងបន្តទៅអនាគត។

ការលើកឡើងរបស់ពួកគេធ្វើឡើងកាលពីដើមខែកញ្ញានេះ បន្ទាប់ពីការទស្សនាមជ្ឈមណ្ឌល សន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង ស្ថិតក្នុងស្រុកអន្លង់វែងដែលជាទីប្រយុទ្ធចុងក្រោយរបស់កងទ័ពខ្មែរក្រហម ដឹកនាំដោយ ប៉ុល ពត និងតាម៉ុក។

អ្នកស្រី ហូយ សុជីវណ្ណី ប្រធានអង្គការបម្លាស់ប្តូរជាវិជ្ជមានសម្រាប់កម្ពុជា (Positive Change for Cambodia) ថ្លែងប្រាប់ VOA នៅពេលដើរចាកចេញពីមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង ដែលជាកន្លែងរំឭកដល់យុគសម័យនៃការកាប់សម្លាប់ក្នុងរបបខ្មែរក្រហម។

«ការរំឭកឡើងវិញ (Remembrance of Pol Pot Regime) អំពីការកាប់សម្លាប់សម័យ ប៉ុល ពត រំលឹកឡើងវិញថា ការឈឺចាប់របស់ប្រជាជន ដែលបានរងគ្រោះដោយសម័យ ប៉ុល ពត នោះ ឈឺ ចាប់ប៉ុណ្ណា? ហើយឲ្យក្មេងជំនាន់ក្រោយរៀនសូត្រ ឲ្យក្មេងជំនាន់ក្រោយហ្នឹងគិតថា ធ្វើយ៉ាងណា កសាងសន្តិភាពផ្ទៃក្នុង កសាងសន្តិភាពពីបេះដូង ពីអារម្មណ៍គ្រប់ៗគ្នា កុំឲ្យមានចិត្តក្ដៅគគុក កុំឲ្យមានបេះដូងហ្នឹងហិង្សា រវាងក្រុមនិងក្រុម រវាងស្ថាប័ននិងស្ថាប័ន ដែលជាជម្លោះមួយកកើត ដល់សង្គ្រាម។ នេះគឺជាជម្លោះដ៏ធំ ដែលយើងបានរៀនសូត្រកន្លងមក»។ អ្នកស្រី ហូយ សុជីវណ្ណី ដែលជាអ្នកនាំសារសន្តិភាពពីកម្ពុជាទៅកាន់បណ្តាប្រទេសជាច្រើនក្នុង តំបន់អាស៊ី និងប្រទេសផ្សេងទៀត បានលើកឡើងថា ការស្ថាបនាមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង មានភាពយឺតយ៉ាវបន្តិចក៏ពិតមែន តែមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះនឹងផ្តល់ឱកាសឲ្យអ្នកសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ និងមេដឹកនាំកម្ពុជាជំនាន់ក្រោយបានស្វែងយល់ពីដំណើរនៃការផ្សះផ្សា និងកសាងសន្តិភាពនៅ កម្ពុជាចាប់ពីឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨មក។

«ក្នុងប្រទេសយើង អ្នកដឹកនាំប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ក៏ដូចជា អ្នកដឹកនាំជំនាន់ក្រោយៗទៀត រៀនសូត្រ ថា ធ្វើយ៉ាងម៉េចនោះ យុវជននឹងអត់មានហ្មងបេះដូងក្ដៅ អត់មានហ្មងបេះដូងសង្គ្រាម អត់មាន ហ្មងបេះដូងជម្លោះ ដើម្បីអំណាច ដើម្បីត្រួតត្រាគឺអត់មាន។ ហើយគិតថា អ្វីដែលជាចំណុចខ្វះ ចន្លោះ យើងគួរតែរួមគ្នាកសាង កែលម្អធ្វើយ៉ាងម៉េចឲ្យចំណុចទាំងឡាយ ដែលប្រជាជនកំពុង តែមានហ្នឹង បានដោះស្រាយឡើងដោយសន្តិវិធី និងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍។ នេះជាទស្សនៈរបស់ខ្ញុំ»។

តំបន់អន្លង់វែង មានប្រវត្តិស្ថិតក្រោមការគ្រប់គ្រងដោយរដ្ឋបាលប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងប្រទេស សៀម រហូតដល់ការចូលមកដល់នៃអាណាព្យាបាលបារាំង។ ហើយនៅពេលបង្កើតរបបសង្គម រាស្ត្រនិយមរបស់ព្រះបាទ សម្ដេច នរោត្ដម សីហនុ ទើបតំបន់នេះបានស្ថិតក្រោមការគ្រប់គ្រង ជាអចិន្ត្រៃយ៍របស់កម្ពុជា។ របបសង្គមរាស្ត្រនិយម បានបង្កើតខេត្តមួយចេញពីខេត្តសៀមរាបគឺ ខេត្តឧត្តរមានជ័យ ដែលមានតំបន់អន្លង់វែង ដែលពេលនោះជាភូមិមួយ។ ក្រោយមកតំបន់ដែល នៅជាប់ប្រទេសថៃនៅភាគខាងជើងនេះ បានក្លាយជាស្រុកមួយនៃខេត្តឧត្តរមានជ័យ។ នេះបើ យោងតាមសៀវភៅប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រស្ដីពីសហគមន៍អន្លង់វែង ដែលជាទីកន្លែងការពារខ្លួនចុងក្រោយ របស់ចលនាខ្មែរក្រហម។

សៀវភៅនោះក៏បានបញ្ជាក់ឲ្យដឹងទៀតថា ស្ថិតក្រោមការគ្រប់គ្រងរបស់ខ្មែរក្រហម តំបន់អន្លង់ វែង មានរដ្ឋបាលច្របូកច្របល់ និងមានរឿងរ៉ាវជាច្រើន ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងការបោសសម្អាតផ្ទៃក្នុង ការ ចាប់ខ្លួន និងការប្រហារជីវិត។

អតីតមេដឹកនាំជាន់ខ្ពស់ខ្មែរក្រហមមួយរូប គឺ សុន សេន និង ក្រុមគ្រួសារ រួមទាំងនារសារ និង អ្នកបើកបរថយន្តទាំងអស់ចំនួន១១នាក់ ត្រូវបានប្រហារជីវិតជាមួយគ្នា នៅខែមិថុនាឆ្នាំ១៩៩៧ ក្នុងស្រុកអន្លង់វែងនេះ។ ការសម្លាប់ផ្ដាច់ផ្ដិលពូជដ៏គួរឱ្យរន្ធត់នេះត្រូវបានគេចាត់ទុកថា ជា សកម្មភាពចុងក្រោយរបស់ចលនាខ្មែរក្រហម។ ក្រោយការសម្លាប់សុន សេន ជម្លោះរវាងតាម៉ុក និង ប៉ុល ពត បានកើតឡើងរហូតដល់ ប៉ុល ពត ត្រូវបានកម្លាំងទ័ព និងប្រជាជនសាមញ្ញស្មោះ ត្រង់នឹងតាម៉ុក បង្កើតតុលាការមហាជនកាត់ទោស ប៉ុល ពត ឲ្យជាប់ពន្ធនាគារអស់មួយជីវិត ពី

បទសម្លាប់សុន សេន និងប៉ុនប៉ងសម្លាប់តាម៉ុក និងការបំផ្លាញកិច្ចខិតខំផ្សះផ្សាជាតិនានា។ មក ដល់ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨ កម្លាំងសេសសល់របស់ខ្មែរក្រហមបានធ្វើសមាហរណកម្មជាមួយរដ្ឋាភិបាល ក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ហើយក៏ជាទីបញ្ចប់នៃចលនាខ្មែរក្រហម។

លោក លី សុខឃាង នាយកមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង បានថ្លែងប្រាប់ក្រុមនិស្សិតអ្នក សិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ និងមន្ត្រីនៃអង្គការសង្គមស៊ីវិល ដែលបានទៅសិក្សាស្វែងយល់ពីមជ្ឈមណ្ឌល នោះថា ដំណើរនៃការកសាងសន្តិភាពគឺជាការប្រើប្រាស់ពេលវេលាបង្កើតក្របខណ្ឌ និងស្រាវជ្រាវ ពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ រួចផ្តល់ការអប់រំ ដើម្បីបង្ការជម្លោះផ្សេងៗដែលធ្លាប់កើតមានឡើងពីអតីតកាល មិនឲ្យកើតមានឡើង ទៅថ្ងៃខាងមុខ ក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។

លោក លី សុខឃាង ថ្លែងថា៖

«លទ្ធផលគឺអាស្រ័យលើពេលវេលាក្នុងការធ្វើកិច្ចការហ្នឹង និងក្របខណ្ឌការងារដែលយើងកំពុង ធ្វើវា។ កិច្ចការនេះនិយាយអំពីការអប់រំ ហើយយើងប្រើប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រជាការឆ្លុះបញ្ចាំង។ នៅ ពេលប្រជាជនបានរៀនសូត្រអំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្ររបស់យើង ពួកគេនឹងមិនធ្វើរឿងច្រំដែលចាស់ៗ ឡើងវិញ ដូចនៅមុនសម័យខ្មែរក្រហម ក្នុងអំឡុងពេលនៃសម័យខ្មែរក្រហម និងក្រោយពី សម័យខ្មែរក្រហមទេ»។

លោកបានថ្លែងបន្តថា ការបង្កើតតុលាការកាត់ទោសខ្មែរក្រហមក៏ជាចលករសំខាន់ក្នុងការទប់ ស្កាត់មិនឲ្យមេដឹកនាំកម្ពុជា យកលំនាំតាមរបៀបរបបដឹកនាំដូចក្នុងសម័យប៉ុល ពត ផងដែរ។

«ដូច្នេះ អ្វីដែលខ្ញុំអាចនិយាយបាននោះគឺថា យើងបង្កើតតុលាការ ដើម្បីដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម ដោយ សារតែវាជាសារសំខាន់ផងដែរ សម្រាប់ការដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម និងការមានតុលាការ។ នៅពេលអ្នក ប្រព្រឹត្តបទឧក្រិដ្ឋ មិនយូរមិនឆាប់ ឬក៏អ្នកដឹងទេថា វាអាចស៊ីពេលច្រើនរាប់ឆ្នាំ ដើម្បីនាំយកមក កាត់ទោស សម្រាប់ស្វែងរកយុត្តិធម៌ម្តងទៀត។ ដូច្នេះវាជាបញ្ហានៃការដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម វាជាបញ្ហា នៃការស្រាវជ្រាវ និងការអប់រំ។ ដូច្នេះហើយទើបបានជាយើងព្យាយាមធ្វើឲ្យមានឥទ្ធិពល និង បង្ហាញយុវជនក្មេងៗជំនាន់ក្រោយ និងមេដឹកនាំរបស់យើងផងដែរថា នៅពេលអ្នកប្រព្រឹត្តបទ ឧក្រិដ្ឋ តុលាការមួយនឹងកើតឡើងទៅថ្ងៃអនាគត។ អ្នកដឹងទេថា នៅក្នុងប្រទេសយើង បើគ្មាន តុលាការនេះទេ ប្រជាជននឹងមិនបានដឹងអ្វីនោះឡើយ»។ មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង ដែលជាគំនិតផ្ដួចផ្ដើមរបស់មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលឯកសារកម្ពុជា បានចាប់ ដំណើរការតាំងពីឆ្នាំ ២០១៤។ មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះ ត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើងនៅក្នុងទីបញ្ជាការប្រយុទ្ធ ចុងក្រោយរបស់តាម៉ុក ដែលស្ថិតលើខ្នងភ្នំដងរែកជាប់ព្រំប្រទល់កម្ពុជាថៃ។ កិច្ចការសំខាន់ៗ របស់មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះ គឺការផ្ដល់ឱកាសស្រាវជ្រាវដល់អ្នកដែលចង់យល់ដឹងអំពីប្រវត្តិសម័យ ប៉ុល ពត ឬខ្មែរក្រហម និងអភិរក្សតំបន់ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រចំនួន១៤កន្លែង ក្នុងស្រុកអន្លង់វែងដែល រួមមាន កន្លែងដុតខ្មោច ប៉ុល ពត ផ្ទះតាម៉ុក និងបឹងអន្លង់វែងជាដើម។ ការិយាល័យធ្វើការរបស់ មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែងក៏ស្ថិតក្នុងតំបន់ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនេះផងដែរ។

លោក លី សុខឃាង ប្រាប់ VOA បន្ថែមថា មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែងកំពុងក្លាយជាទី ប្រមូលផ្តុំសម្រាប់ការស្រាវជ្រាវ។

«ឥឡូវនេះ យើងមានកូនសិស្សមកច្រើនណាស់ជារៀងរាល់ឆ្នាំ។ ដូចជាឆ្នាំ២០១៦ហ្នឹង យើង មានកូនសិស្សមកប្រហែលជាជិត៣០០នាក់ ដែលមកពីសាកលវិទ្យាល័យផ្សេងៗ។ ហើយអ្នក ទាំងអស់ហ្នឹង តំណាក់កាលដំបូងនេះ គឺថា យើងតម្រូវឲ្យគាត់ជួបជាមួយនឹងបងប្អូនអ្នកភូមិ យើងនៅក្នុងអន្លង់វែងយើងនេះ។ ហើយគាត់បានប្រែក្លាយពីការសម្ភាសរបស់គាត់ហ្នឹងទៅជា អត្ថបទ ដើម្បីចុះផ្សាយនៅក្នុងកាសែតរស្មីកម្ពុជា ក៏ដូចជាទស្សនាវដ្តីស្វែងរកការណ៍ពិត ដើម្បី ឲ្យអ្នកផ្សេងទៀតយល់ថា រឿងរ៉ាវប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្ររបស់មនុស្សម្នាក់ៗ ដែលឆ្លងកាត់ជំនាន់ខ្មែរ ក្រហមកន្លងមកហ្នឹងគឺថា មានការលំបាកផ្សេងៗគ្នា ដើម្បីឲ្យគាត់យល់»។

លោកបានថ្លែងបន្ថែមថា៖

«ការយល់ហ្នឹងហើយដែលជំរុញឲ្យមានការយោគយល់គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក។ ការអត់ឱន ហើយនិង ការផ្សះផ្សា ហើយចុងក្រោយគឺថា យើងជំរុញឲ្យមានការកសាងសន្តិភាពទាំងអស់គ្នា ពីព្រោះ ពាក្យសន្តិភាពនេះមិនមែនមានន័យថា ម្នាក់ ឬក៏ពីរនាក់ដែលធ្វើបានទេ គឺថា ត្រូវការទាំងប្រជាជន មូលដ្ឋាន ស្ថាប័នផ្សេងៗ អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល ជាពិសេសរដ្ឋាភិបាលនិងអង្គការអន្តរជាតិផ្សេងៗ ដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ»។

សៀវភៅប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រស្តីពីសហគមន៍អន្លង់វែង ដែលជាទីការពារខ្លួនចុងក្រោយរបស់ចលនាខ្មែរ ក្រហម បានឲ្យដឹងបន្ថែមថា តាម៉ុក ដែលមានឈ្មោះពីរផ្សេងទៀតគឺ អ៊ុង ជឿន ឬ ឈិត ជឿន បានហៅតំបន់អន្លង់វែងជាប្រទេសមួយ។ នៅចុងឆ្នាំ១៩៩០ និង១៩៩១ តាម៉ុក និងមេដឹកនាំ កំពូលខ្មែរក្រហម នៅអន្លង់វែង បានបង្កើតភូមិជាច្រើន ដោយផ្នែកលើធនធានធម្មជាតិ និង

លក្ខខណ្ឌភូមិសាស្ត្រដែលនៅក្បែរភូមិនីមួយៗ។ ឧទាហរណ៍ ឈ្មោះភូមិទំនប់លើត្រូវបានដាក់ ដោយផ្អែកលើទំនប់ទឹកមួយដែលតាម៉ុកបានកសាងនៅក្បែរនោះ។ ភូមិទួលត្បែង ជាឈ្មោះ ដែលខ្មែរក្រហមបានដាក់ ដោយផ្អែកលើធនធានដ៏ច្រើននៃដើមត្បែងក្នុងភូមិនោះ។

ក្រោយរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា បានប្រកាសដាក់ខ្មែរក្រហមឲ្យស្ថិតក្រៅច្បាប់នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៩៤ ក្រុមមេ ដឹកនាំខ្មែរក្រហមនៅអន្លង់វែង ជាពិសេសគឺតាម៉ុក ដែលជាមេដឹកនាំកំពូលនៅតំបន់នោះ បាន ប្រែក្លាយអន្លង់វែងជាស្រុកអន្លង់វែង ដែលមាន១១ឃុំ និង៥៥ភូមិ។ ចំនួនប្រជាជនទាំងអស់ក្នុង តំបន់នេះ ត្រូវបានចាត់ទុកថាជាសហគមន៍យោធា។ តាម៉ុកក៏ផ្ដើមឲ្យមានពិធីមង្គលការឡើងវិញ ហើយបានដាក់ឲ្យដំណើរការសាលារៀនបឋមសិក្សា និងមន្ទីរពេទ្យ។ តាម៉ុកបានបន្សល់ទុក ស្នាដៃនៃការកសាងហេដ្ឋារចនាសម្ព័ន្ធជាច្រើនទៀតនៅក្នុងតំបន់អន្លង់វែង។

យ៉ាងណាក្តី តាម៉ុកបានស្លាប់នៅឆ្នាំ២០០៦ ដោយជំងឺ និងក្នុងពេលលោកត្រូវបាននាំមកកាត់ ទោសនៅសាលាក្តីខ្មែរក្រហម ជាមួយមេដឹកនាំខ្មែរក្រហមនិងអ្នកទទួលខុសត្រូវខ្ពស់បំផុតផ្សេង ទៀត។

បន្ទាប់ពីទស្សនាមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង លោក ពូ សុវចនា អនុប្រធានវិទ្យាស្ថានខ្មែរ សម្រាប់សហប្រតិបត្តិការ និងសន្តិភាព (CICP) បានប្រាប់ VOA ថា របបខ្មែរក្រហមកើតឡើង ដោយសារកំហឹងវណ្ណៈ មាន ក្រ។ លោកថា ប៉ុល ពត បានចងគំនុំនឹងក្រុមសក្តិភូមិ ដើម្បីធ្វើ បដិវត្តន៍បំពេញមហិច្ឆតានយោបាយរបស់ខ្លួន។ លោកបានបន្តថា មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់ វែងនឹងក្លាយជាទឹកសាងសន្តិភាពវឹងមាំមួយទៅថ្ងៃអនាគត ប្រសិនបើអ្នកនយោបាយខ្មែរយល់ពី សារៈសំខាន់នៃមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះ។

«ការរីកចម្រើនរបស់មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះឲ្យមានការរីកចម្រើនបាន លុះត្រាតែអ្នកនយោបាយទាំង អស់គ្នាហ្នឹងគិតថា មានសារៈសំខាន់ណាស់ដើម្បីគន្លឹះ ហើយដើម្បីជាគ្រាប់ពូជមួយ ដែលយើង បណ្តុះសន្តិភាពពិតប្រាកដ ហើយសន្តិភាពពិតប្រាកដកើតឡើង នៅពេលណាមួយដែលយើង ចេះស្រឡាញ់គ្នា ចេះរាប់អានគ្នា ហើយយកជាតិជាទិសដៅ ដើម្បីសន្តិភាពពិតប្រាកដ ហើយ និងដើម្បីការសុខដុមរមនា»។

លោក ឡៅ ម៉ុងហៃ អ្នកវិភាគឯករាជ្យ ដែលបានរួមដំណើរជាមួយក្រុមបញ្ឈវន្តទៅសិក្សាស្វែង យល់មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែងនោះ បានប្រាប់ VOA នៅទីបញ្ជាការយោធាចុងក្រោយរបស់ តាម៉ុកថា ការមិនរម្លឹកពីអតីតកាលជាដំណើរនៃការផ្សះផ្សា និងការរក្សាបាននូវសុខដុមនីយកម្ម រវាងប្រជារាស្ត្រខ្មែរសាមញ្ញ និងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋដែលជាអតីតទាហានខ្មែរក្រហម ឬជនស៊ីវិល ដែលនៅគោរពមនោគមវិជ្ជាស្នេហាជាតិរបស់ខ្មែរក្រហម ដែលរមែងចាត់ទុកជនជាតិយួនថាជា «សត្រូវ»។

«កាលណាយើងមានវត្តមានកន្លែងនេះ គឺយើងថា យើងមានទំនាក់ទំនង មានអីចឹងដែរ ជួយ ទៅដល់តំបន់នេះ គឺទាំងអ្នកស្រុកផងហ្នឹងបាទ។ ហ្នឹងក៏អាដែល ហើយយើងអត់គិតពីរឿងអតីត កាលរបស់គាត់ អីគាត់ទៀតទេបាទ អញ្ចេះ។ ម្ល៉ោះហើយអាហ្នឹង គឺដូចជា គេហៅឲ្យគាត់ហ្នឹង បំភ្លេចអតីតកាលរបស់គាត់ ហើយក៏អាដែលបណ្តុះបណ្តាលឲ្យគិតថា វាមានការជ្រើសរើសទៅ រកហៅថា នំែៗផ្លូវទៅរកសន្តិភាព ទៅរកការរស់នៅសុខដុមរមនាជាមួយគ្នា ជាមួយទាំងអស់គ្នា បាទ។ ម្ល៉ោះហើយអាចរារាំងនូវអាជម្លោះ ហើយនឹងសង្គ្រាម ឬការច្បាំងគ្នាទៅថ្ងៃក្រោយនោះ»។

អ្នកវិភាគរូបនេះក៏បានចាត់ថា ទុកការទទួលយកគំនិតផ្ទុយគ្នាមកដឹកនាំប្រទេសជាវិធីសាស្ត្រនៃ ការរក្សាសន្តិភាព និងបញ្ចៀសរាល់វិវាទទាំងឡាយ ដែលនៅបន្តយាយីសង្គមកម្ពុជា ក្រោយការ រលំរលាយនៃរបបខ្មែរក្រហមដែលមានគោលដៅប្រែក្លាយកម្ពុជាឲ្យក្លាយជាសង្គមកសិកម្ម និង រស់នៅដោយស្មើភាពគ្នា។

លោក ឡៅ ម៉ុងហៃ អ្នកវិភាគឯករាជ្យ បានថ្លែងថា៖

«មនុស្សតាំងពីកើតមក សូម្បីតែកូនភ្លោះ ក៏វាខុសគ្នាដែរ។ ម្ល៉ោះគេអាចមានទស្សនៈខុសយើង។ គេអាចមានរូបរាងខុសយើង។ រួចទទួលស្គាល់ភាពខុសៗគ្នានេះទៅបាទ។ ប៉ុន្តែអាចមានគំនិត ស្រដៀងៗគ្នា ឬក៏រួមគ្នាបាទអញ្ចេះ។ រួចគំនិតយើងក៏អាចខុសគេ។ គំនិតគេក៏វាអាចខុសយើង។ ប៉ុន្តែអាចមានគំនិតផ្ដេកផ្ដួលទៅលើការពិត ហើយអាចជាផលប្រយោជន៍រួមគំនិតហ្នឹងបាទ យក មកប្រើប្រាស់គំនិតហ្នឹង។ រឿងអីក៏យើងថា ទេ! អាដែលដោយសារគេ មិនមែន ដោយសារយើង មិនមែនដោយសារគំនិតយើង បោះបង់ចោលគំនិតគេ ឬក៏ទាត់ បដិសេធចោលទេ! អត់ទេ!»។

អន្លង់វែងមានសភាពស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ដូចបណ្តាភូមិនានានៅតាមទីជនបទនៃប្រទេស។ ប៉ុន្តែជីវិតរស់នៅ ទីនោះ នៅតែមានភាពរស់រវើកជាមួយចិត្តគំនិតសមូហនិយម និងមានគំនិតស្របគ្នាក្នុងការរស់ នៅដោយឯករាជ្យ។ នេះបើយោងតាមសៀវភៅប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រស្តីពីសហគមន៍អន្លង់វែង ដែលជាទី ការពារខ្លួនចុងក្រោយរបស់ចលនាខ្មែរក្រហម បោះពុម្ពផ្សាយដោយមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលឯកសារកម្ពុជា (DC-CAM)។ ខុសពីមនោគមវិជ្ជាដឹកនាំដើមរបស់ខ្មែរក្រហម ដែលផ្ដេកផ្ដួលខ្លាំងលើការរស់ជាសមូហភាព អន្លង់វែងក្រោមការដឹកនាំរបស់តាម៉ុក បានចាប់ផ្ដើមមានកម្មសិទ្ធិឯកជន។ ក្រុមគ្រួសារយោធា ត្រូវបានលើកទឹកចិត្តឲ្យផលិតស្បៀងខ្លួនឯង និងធ្វើជាម្ចាស់កម្មសិទ្ធិដីធ្លីដោយខ្លួនឯង។

លោក លី សុខឃាង នាយកមជ្ឈមណ្ឌលសន្តិភាពអន្លង់វែង បានថ្លែងថា មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលនេះមាន កិច្ចការលើសពីការរក្សាទុករឿងរ៉ាវដែលបានកើតឡើងនៅអន្លង់វែងសម្រាប់ការស្រាវជ្រាវ និងការ ស្វែងយល់អំពីដំណើរនៃការផ្សះផ្សាជាតិនិងសន្តិភាព។ លោកបានបញ្ជាក់ឲ្យដឹងថាមជ្ឈមណ្ឌល នេះបានខិតខំស្ការប្រព័ន្ធបរិស្ថាន ដោយបានដាំដើមឈើឡើងវិញនៅតំបន់អន្លង់វែង ដែលរង គ្រោះយ៉ាងខ្លាំងពីការកាប់បំផ្លាញព្រៃឈើ បង្កើនការអភិវឌ្ឍក្នុងតំបន់អន្លង់វែង និងថែរក្សាតំបន់ នេះជាតំបន់ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ។

លោក លី សុខឃាង បានបញ្ជាក់ឲ្យដឹងថា ទោះបីមានធ្វើសមាហរណកម្មរបស់ចលនាខ្មែរ ក្រហមជាមួយរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជាតាំងពីឆ្នាំ១៩៩៤ ក៏ដោយ ក៏ប៉ុន្តែអតីតទាហានខ្មែរក្រហមនៅ បន្តរស់ជាក្រុម និងរក្សាការគោរពមនោគមវិជ្ជាខ្មែរក្រហម ព្រោះថា តំបន់របស់ពួកគេគ្មានអំពើ ចោរកម្ម និងការប្រព្រឹត្តអំពើពុករលួយជាដើម។ លោកបានបន្ថែមថា អតីតសមាជិកនៃចលនា ខ្មែរក្រហមត្រូវការពេលវេលាច្រើនទៀត ដើម្បីអនុញ្ញាតឲ្យពួកគេលុបបំបាត់ចោលនូវមនោគម វិជ្ជាដែលគេបានទទួលក្នុងសម័យកាលធ្វើបដិវត្តន៍របស់ពួកគេ៕

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"តួនាទីរបស់ខ្ញុំក្នុងរបបខ្មែរក្រហមត្រូវគោរពតាមបញ្ជាអង្គការ។ ប្រសិនបើពួកអង្គការ បញ្ហាអោយខ្ញុំធ្វើអ្វីមួយ ខ្ញុំត្រូវតែធ្វើដោយគ្មានការតវ៉ា។ ប្រសិនបើខ្ញុំមិនស្ដាប់បង្កាប់ ខ្ញុំនឹងត្រូវបានពួកអង្គការសម្លាប់ដូចអ្នកដ៏ទៃដែលត្រូវបានពួកអង្គការសម្លាប់។" សម្លេងរបស់កម្មាភិបាលខ្មែរក្រហមនៅកន្លែងបូជាសព ប៉ុល ពត

My role in the Khmer Rouge regime was to obey the Angkar. If they ordered me to do something, I would do it with no question asked. If I disobeyed the order,

I would be killed like others."

– The Voice of the Khmer Rouge Cadre at Pol Pot cremation site.