

Reconciliation in Cambodian and German history: Remembrance Policies in evolving democracies

BACKGROUND

During the 20th century, we witnessed the atrocities of Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Pol Pot, Rwanda and other genocides, and even though the 21st century is only 11 years old, we have already witnessed an ongoing genocide in Darfur and the daily horrors of Iraq. This has led to a common understanding of our situation, namely: that modernity has brought us terrible violence, and perhaps that native peoples lived in a state of harmony that we have departed from to our peril.

Democracy is a key to promoting and sustaining peace in the aftermath of violent conflict. It is the basic premise of the reconstruction process. Post conflict democracies building in any cultural context is a complex, time consuming and a long term process. There are many threats to a fledging and evolving democracy. In post-conflict democracies one key threat stems from the legacy of past violence. Even the most perfectly designed democratic system will eventually be undermined if past violence is not addressed through justice, reconciliation, acknowledgement.

One of the biggest challenges to a new or restored democracy is to establish structures and processes for the future society: Systems of economy, politics, justice, including the design of the most suitable electoral system, the adoption of an appropriate legislature, appropriate levels of autonomy and devolution, the formation and management of political parties and so on.

But those structures will be all the more difficult to develop if the relationship between the communities involved is not rebuilt too. Without functional social relations, the structures will remain hollow. Democracy and reconciliation are interdependent.

Reconciliation first entered the international vocabulary in the aftermath of WW II. But the challenges of reconciliation between France and Germany are different from internal challenges faced in the aftermath of oppressive regimes (Peru) or a civil war (Liberia, Sierra Leone), where the relationships to be rebuilt are not between distant governments but between communities, neighbors and individuals.

Reconciliation is not simply a means of justice vital though that is, reconciliation is a long term, inclusive process combining all ingredients of justice, relationship building truth and acknowledgement, healing, reparation and co-operation.

Reconciliation and democracy can only be meaningfully developed from within. The international community cannot do this from the outside but it can offer some guidance and exchange of experience from their own histories of reconciliation and about the challenges they have faced.

The **Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial** (German: *Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen*) is a museum and memorial located in Berlin's north-eastern Lichtenberg district in the locality of Alt-Hohenschönhausen, part of the former borough of Hohenschönhausen. It was opened in 1994 on the site of the main prison of the former East German Communist Ministry of State Security, the Stasi.

Unlike many other government and military institutions in East Germany, Hohenschönhausen prison was not stormed by demonstrators after the fall of the Berlin Wall, allowing prison authorities to destroy evidence of the prison's functions and history. Because of this, today's knowledge of the functioning of the prison comes mainly from eye-witness accounts and documents sourced from other East German institutions.

In June 1945, at the conclusion of World War II, the Soviet Secret Police took over the Hohenschönhausen area of Lichtenberg and transformed it into a detainment and transit camp, called Special Camp No. 3. The camp served as both a prison and transfer point. Over 20,000 people passed through Special Camp No. 3 on their way to other Soviet camps, including one at the former Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen

Living conditions in the camp were deplorable, with death from malnutrition, disease, or cold common. Although official statistics list 886 deaths at the camp between July 1945 and October 1946, independent estimates put the toll as high as 3,000. Bodies were disposed of in local bomb craters.

The camp was closed and prisoners relocated other camps in October 1946.^[2] After the closing of Special Camp No. 3, the Hohenschönhausen compound served as a Soviet prison during the winter of 1946-1947. The former cafeteria was converted to the underground prison area ("submarine") by prison labor.

Stasi Prison

The prison was reopened by the East German Ministry of State Security (MfS), also known as the Stasi, in 1951. The Stasi added a new prison building (using prisoner labor) in the late 1950s. The new building included 200 prison cells and interrogation rooms. After the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the prison was primarily used to house those who wished or attempted to leave the GDR, although political prisons were also held there. The prison was used until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and officially closed on October 3rd, 1990.

The main prison also included a hospital wing, built in the 1950s and expanded in 1972. The hospital treated prisoners from all three Berlin prisons and sometimes from regional Stasi prisons as well. The hospital had up to 28 beds (in cells), an x-ray ward, treatment and operating rooms, a laboratory, a morgue, and outdoor exercise cells (called "tiger cages" by prisoners). In 1989, shortly before its close, the hospital was run by Dr. Herbert Vogel with 28 full-time MfS staff.

Political Oppression

Hohenschönhausen was a very important part of the GDR's system of political and artistic oppression.

Although torture (including Chinese water torture) and physical violence were commonly employed at Hohenschönhausen (especially in the 1950s), psychological intimidation was the main method of political repression and techniques including sleep deprivation, total isolation, threats to friends and family members, and the use of water cells.

Memorial

The Hohenschönhausen Memorial (*Gedenkstätte*) was founded in the early 1990s by former inmates. The prison was listed as a historical site in 1992 and welcomed its first visitors in 1994. The Foundation is funded equally by both the German federal government and the Berlin state government.

The Foundation was initially headed by Dr. Gabriele Camphausen, then by Mechthild Günther, who served as provisional director until September 2000. **Dr. Hubertus Knabe** has since served as Executive Director.

Draft Program for Dr. Hubertus Knabe in Cambodia

19. - 26. January 2012

Organization

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Thursday, 19.01.12 Arrival of Dr. Hubertus Knabe

Pick up at the Airport and Transfer to the Hotel
by: **Mr. Chhim Van**
Flight No.: PG 0933
Time: 14:50

Hotel: Villa Lanka Hotel

17:00 Meeting at KAS Office Cambodia,
Briefing and Introduction to the Program and the latest
Modifications by **Denis Schrey**, KAS Country Representative
in Cambodia, followed by a Welcome Dinner

19:00 Welcome Dinner
Venue: Malis Restaurant (No. 136, Preah Norodom)
Participants: Dr. Hubertus Knabe
Mr. Denis Schrey

Friday, 20.01.12 Program with the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DCCAM)

08:00-12:30 **Visit of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DCCAM)**

Guided tour of the Centre followed by an expert meeting

**Target Group: 7-10 participants
(DCCAM management and staff, one Representative of
the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education)**

Mr. Youk Chhang, Director of DCCAM
Dr. Hubertus Knabe, German Expert
Dara P. Vanthan, Deputy Director of DCCAM

And selected DCCAM staff members

On:

- Education and Remembrance: Effective Methodologies for supplementary/creative Teaching Materials (Methodologies on Khmer Rouge History for primary and secondary Education - Experiences and Recommendations from Germany)
- Preventing future Global Human Atrocities – Time for a German Cambodian Pilot Project?
- Presentation of the comprehensive Memorial Museum Project of DCCAM and the Cambodian Government – Specific Potential Areas of Cooperation (Digitalization, Family tracing....etc.)

12:30	Lunch with Ms. Theary Seng (tbc), Remembrance and Reconciliation Activist
14:00	Transfer to the Tuol Sleng Museum
14:30-15:00	Visit and Guided Tour with a Witness to the History of the Tuol Sleng Museum by: Mr. Hang Nisay , Tour Guide
15:00-15:30	Meeting at Tuol Sleng Museum Participants: 10–20 pax Venue: Tuol Sleng Museum Input Statement by: Mr. Him Vibol Phal , Director of Toul Sleng Museum Mr. Chey Sophearum , Deputy Director Mr. Denis Schrey , Country Representative, KAS
15:30-15:50	Input Statement by: Dr. Hubertus Knabe , Scientific Director of the Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial

15:45-17:00	Meeting Discussion
	Requested Topics on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human Resource Management - Documentation - Educational Dissemination - Preservation of models and witnesses
18:00	Dinner at the Hotel
Saturday, 21.01.12	Visit of the Killing Fields Memorial/Museum and the Toul Sleng Prison/Museum
08:15	Pick up at the Hotel and Transfer to the Killing Fields Memorial and Museum
09:00-10:00	Visit and Guided Tour with a Witness to History of the Killing Fields and Guided Tour of the Museum
	Meeting with the Director and Selected Staff of the Killing Fields Memorial
10:00-10:20	Introduction by: <p>Ms. Ros Sophearavy, Director of the Killing Fields Museum</p>
10:20-10:30	Input Statement by: <p>Dr. Hubertus Knabe, Scientific Director of the Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial</p>
10:30-12:30	Group Discussion
	Requested Topics for the Working Session <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education in a memorial/museum – How to use the museum as a public space for discussion and exchange - How to improve the set up/of current museum exhibitions from a methodological perspective/improve visualization of samples - Collect Ideas for museums extension and extension of the exhibition on Cases 002 and 003 - How to integrate videos/short documentaries/witness reports as part of the exhibition - Potential areas/fields of future cooperation between Berlin-Hohenschönhausen and the Killing Fields Museum - Preservation of models and witnesses
12:00	Joint Lunch
14:00	Transfer back to the Hotel, Afternoon for free Disposal

18:00 Dinner at the Hotel

Sunday, 22.01.12 Day for free Disposal

Monday, 23.01.12 Visit of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)

08:00 Pick Up at the Hotel and Transfer to the ECCC

09:00 **Participation in a ECCC Public Hearing followed by a Guided Tour**

10:30-11:15 **Introduction to the History, Working Procedures and current political Developments at the ECCC**

Simon Meisenberg, German Legal Advisor at the ECCC

11:15 Meeting with **Lars Olsen**, Spokesperson of the ECCC

12:00-12:30 Meeting with **President Nonn Nil**, President of the ECCC

12:00-13:30 Informal Lunch Meeting with

Ms. Claudia Fenz, International Judge at the Trial Chamber
Dr. Hubertus Knabe
Mr. Simon Meisenberg, GIZ Expert and Legal Advisor at the ECCC
Venue: ECCC

15:00-17:00 **Meeting with Youth for Peace(YFP)**
Introduction of Youth for Peace Activities and Discussion

Mr. Long Khet, Director of YFP
Ms. Sonja Meyer, Advisor Civil Peace Service Cambodia
and selected YFP staff

17:00 Return to the Hotel

19:00 Dinner with

Mr. Andreas Selmecci, Former ZFD Program Coordinator
"Versöhnung und Gerechtigkeit im Umfeld des Khmer Rouge
Tribunals" (**tbc**)
Mr. Christoph Sperfeldt, former Employee at the ECCC,
Victims Support Section
Mr. Marcos Smith, Civil Peace Service Coordinator
Ms. Sonja Meyer, Advisor of Civil Peace Service Cambodia
of GIZ to YFP
Venue: Le Duo restaurant (#17, Street 228)

Tuesday, 24.01.12 Work with the Legislative (National Assembly and The Senate) in Cooperation with CIM

07:00-07:55

Registration

08:00-12:00

"Reconciliation policies, a precondition for Good Governance in evolving democracies - A German and Cambodian perspective"

08:00-08:10

Welcome Remarks

H.E. Mr. Leng Peng Long, Secretary General of the National Assembly

Key Remarks

Mr. Denis Schrey, Country Representative, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

08:20-08:40

Input Statement I

Historical Reconciliation, Prosecution, Victims Commemoration in Germany after World War II – Challenges and Opportunities

Dr. Hubertus Knabe, Scientific Director of the Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial

08:40-09:00

The Cambodian Perspective on reconciliation and remembrance, H.E. Ms. Ton Sa Im, Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Education Youth and Sports

09:00-10:00

Questions and Answers, moderated by H.E. Mr. Mom Chim Huy

10:00-10:30

Coffee Break

10:30-11:15

Panel Discussion

Challenges for Nations to cope with the Dilemma of Rejection and Support for Reconciliation Processes

Moderator: **Matthias Wagner**, Advisor to the National Assembly, CIM Expert

Pannelsits

N.N., Member of the National Assembly

N.N., Ministry of Education Youth and Sports

H.E. Mr. Ouk Bunchhoeun, Senator

Simon Meisenberg, GIZ Expert and Legal Advisor at the ECCC

11:15-11:20	Respondent: Dr. Hubertus Knabe , Executive Director, Hohenschönhausen Memorial
11:20-12:00	Questions and Answers
12:00	Conclusion Denis Schrey , Country Representative, KAS
12:15	End of the Workshop
12:15	Lunch at the National Assembly
13:45	Transfer to the Ministry of Education
14:00-15:00	Meeting with Representatives at the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports H.E. IM SETHY , Minister of Education, Youth and Sports
15:00-17:00	Meeting with 3-4 Representatives of the Ministry in Charge for Screening and Monitoring Curriculum Development, Teaching Materials on the Khmer Rouge History Exchange of Experiences on Teaching Methodologies, Curricula and Training Materials and discussion on potential cooperation
18:00	Dinner with 12 selected Journalists and selected NGO Representatives in Cooperation with CCJ – The role of Media in Promoting Remembrance policies in Germany and Cambodia Input Statement by Dr. Knabe Input Statement by Mr. Puy Kea , Reporter and Representative of Kyodo News followed by an informal Discussion <u>Venue:</u> FCC
20:00	Transfer back to the Hotel
Wednesday, 25.01.12	Work with NGO's: Reconciliation in German and Cambodian History – Remembrance policies in evolving Democracies
08:30-12:00	Time for free disposal, Preparation for the Afternoon Seminar
13:30-17:30	<u>Venue:</u> Sunway Hotel Global Efforts on Reconciliation and Remembrance

Policies – Experiences from Germany and Cambodia

- 13:30 Arrival of the Participants and Registration
- 14:00 **Welcome Remarks**
- Representative of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
- 14:10-14:30 Moderator: **Mr. Christoph Sperfeldt**, Former Coordinator Civil Peace Service, Cambodia
- Input Statement:
German Efforts on Reconciliation and Remembrance Policies
- Dr. Hubertus Knabe**, Scientific Director Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial
- 14:30-15:00 Questions and Feedback
- 15:00-16:00 **Civil Society Contributions for Remembrance and Reconciliation Processes in Cambodia**
- 15:00-15:15 Memorialisation Approaches,
Mr. Tim Minea, Project Coordinator
International Center for Conciliation (tbc)
- 15:15-15:30 Defending Victims of Sexual Violence
Ms. Beini Ye, Senior Advisor
Cambodian Defenders Project (tbc)
- 15:30-15:45 Psychological Support for Civil Parties
Ms. Judith Strasser, Psychology Advisor
Transcultural Psychosocial Organization
- 15:45-16:00 Legal Support for Civil Parties
Ms. Nadine Kirchenbauer, Legal Advisor
ADHOC (tbc)
- 16:00-16:20 Key Reconciliation Activities in Cambodia YFP
Mr. Long Khet, Director
Youth for Peace
Mr. Heng Monychenda, Director of BFD
- 16:20-16:35 Coffee Break
- 16:35-17:20 Questions and Answers
- 17:20 Conclusion
Mr. Christoph Sperfeldt, Former Coordinator Civil Peace Service, Cambodia
- 17:30 End of the Workshop

- 18:00 Transfer to the Meta House and Dinner with **Mr. Nicolaus Mersterharm**, Director of the Meta House
- 19:00-20:30 Presentation of the Movie «**Zentrale des Terrors**» at the Meta House
- Moderator: **Sonja Meyer**, GIZ, Advisor, Civil Peace Service Cambodia
- Followed by a discussion with **Dr. Hubertus Knabe** and the audience
Venue: Meta House

Thursday, 26.01.12

Evaluation and Follow UP

- 07:00-08:00 Evaluation Breakfast with Mom Saroeun and Sosatra Tat at the Hotel
- 08:00 Pick up at the Hotel and Transfer to the Airport
By Mr. Chhim Van
- 09:55 **Departure to Bangkok by PG 932 at 09.55am**