

Chapter 1 : Democracy in Cambodia Â« World Without Genocide -

"Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia" is an insightful and illuminating look at the real facts behind the emergence of the Khmer Rouge, their atrocities, their defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese and their subsequent supporters in the international community UNSC).

Over the year period, the vast majority of civilian deaths were caused by the Khmer Rouge regime, but significant numbers of civilian casualties also resulted from earlier violence during the U. To capture the changing dynamics over time, we have separated the case study below into two periods, the U. These disputes readily became armed contests characterized by shifting alliances, regional struggles for dominance including the US, Soviet Union, China and Vietnam , and Cambodian efforts to assert different varieties of militant nationalism whether royalist, communist or otherwise. The result for civilians was devastating. In , Cambodia officially cut ties with the U. Nonetheless, his policies allowed Vietnamese communists to use border areas and the port of Sihanoukville. Between and , the U. The pace of bombing increased in , as U. B carpet-bombing began, in support of the slow pullout of U. The coup government made a drastic change in Cambodian policies, deciding to counter the North Vietnamese, in support of the South Vietnamese and U. The Vietnamese Communists widened and intensified their actions in Cambodia as well, working with insurgent Cambodia communists. However, extensive bombing forced the Vietnamese communists further west and deeper into Cambodia, and ultimately radicalized Cambodian citizens against the government An alliance of royalist, Cambodian and regional communist forces fought against the Lon Nol government, US and South Vietnamese forces, and, despite many internal rifts, expanded their areas of control quickly. By , writes Kiernan, the Lon Nol government was secure only in the towns and their outskirts. In some places, this effort resulted in heavy fighting between ostensible allies. Bombing Our research indicted a rough low estimate of , people during this period. Johnson and ended in under President Gerald Ford. More than 10 percent of the U. Secretary of Defense gave him an estimate of 50, deaths in Cambodia due to the bombings from Demographer Patrick Heuveline [ix] has produced evidence suggesting a range of , to , violent deaths from to In an article reviewing different sources about civilian deaths during the civil war, Bruce Sharp [x] argues that the total number is likely to be around , violent deaths. He argues that several factors support this range: Sharp addresses some reasons why discrepancies may appear in various interview-based sources. Second, deaths calculated in relation to reporting by family members requires that a family member survive and bombs would have high clustering of mortality, potentially killing entire families. Third, the areas heavily targeted by the U. Among the influences and populations targeted for elimination were: The KR goal was to create an agrarian communist state by controlling family relations, restructuring agriculture, re-organizing the political, legal, and military institutions of the state, and collectivizing economic production and consumptionâ€”in short, to establish complete control over society. Many attempts have been made to count or estimate the scale of deaths under the KR. Demographic analysis has been undertaken by many parties including the US Central Intelligence Agency [xviii] and a variety of historians. One of the more thorough demographic studies, conducted by Patrick Heuveline, also attempts to separate out violent civilian deaths from a general increase in mortality caused by famine, disease, working conditions, or other indirect causes. He does so by grouping deaths within different age and sex brackets and analyzing treatment of these age and sex groups by the Khmer Rouge and violent regimes in general. His conclusion is that an average of 2. Through this method, Cambodia scholar Ben Kiernan originally estimated that 1. In the early s, the PRK attempted to quantify deaths by interviewing Cambodians at the household or village level throughout the country. They estimated that 3,, people lost their lives under the KR. Although this method of estimation is complicated by the difficulty of determining cause and time of death, in , DC-Cam estimated that their ongoing investigations had uncovered 20, mass graves containing the remains of roughly 1. Several skirmishes occurred along the Cambodian-Vietnamese border beginning in , escalating to large-scale battles by early This announcement was followed by a second invasion on Christmas day of International support for the KR continued long thereafter, both in the refugee camps in Thailand and in international diplomatic arenas. The

Paris Peace Accords, co-chaired by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of France and Indonesia, four Cambodian parties, and the Secretary General of the United Nations, in addition to many national representatives, culminated in a final agreement signed by 19 governments. The agreement further established the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia to implement the agreements, an ambitious mission with military, civil administration, human rights, policing, repatriation, rehabilitation, and electoral components. Elections were held in May , and a new constitution was promulgated on 24 September . Coding The long period of atrocities ended in international defeat of the primary perpetrators when the Vietnamese invasion overthrew the Khmer Rouge. We also code that initiator of atrocities period, the U. Further, we note that there were multiple victim groups, to account for the different logics of targeting civilians. Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. When the War Was Over: Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge Revolution. A History of Cambodia, 4th ed. The Rise and Demise of Democratic Kampuchea. Quantifying Crimes Against Humanity in Cambodia. After The Khmer Rouge: Inside the Politics of Nation Building. Towards the demographic reconstruction of a decade of Cambodian history “ Why did they Kill?: Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. How Pol Pot Came to Power: A History of Communism in Kampuchea, “ The Pol Pot Regime: Samuel Totten and William Parsons. Routledge, “ Owen, Taylor and Ben Kiernan. The Walrus, October , 62 “ Phnom Penh, Cambodia, July Cambodia “ Notes [i] Owen and Kiernan ,

Chapter 2 : Khmer Rouge rule of Cambodia - Wikipedia

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These texts may be used, printed, and archived in accordance with the Fair Use provisions of U. These texts may not be archived, printed, or redistributed in any form for a fee, without the consent of the copyright holder. This notice must accompany any redistribution of the text. A few of the texts we publish are in the public domain. A very experienced and dedicated person, who since then has worked for many other NGOs in Cambodia, she is still there now, directing the Cambodian Development Resource Institute. In her book, which was written in , Mysliwiec said that "Cambodia is the only Third World country that is denied United Nations development aid. For the last 13 years Cambodia has not received UN development aid. The reason is that Cambodia, under the present government of the State of Cambodia, is not recognized by the UN and most of the Western countries, who are donors of the UN funds. It is this government that ended the suffering and the genocide of the Khmer Rouge KR regime. It is well known that the KR is by far the strongest in this coalition. It is interesting to look at and find out who are those 8 million people that the world and the UN are punishing. I saw a country which was in ruins-- schools, hospitals, government buildings, roads, private homes--were largely destroyed; and people who were shattered psychologically by their experiences in the previous 4 years under the Khmer Rouge leadership. The people I met were mostly women. Their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers were killed by the Khmer Rouge forces or died of starvation and diseases. Women, too, died and were killed, but their menfolk suffered in larger numbers, because they represented more of a threat to the Khmer Rouge regime than the women. With the war continuing for 13 years up to the present, with more men getting killed, we have the situation in Cambodia now where 30 to 40 percent of families are headed by women. The women have to bring up young children and sometimes orphans of friends or relatives as well. It is these women and children that the world community and the UN is punishing. After the Pol Pot period, these women went back to their villages to find their family homes destroyed, their pots and pans and household goods disappeared, farming equipment and draught animals in short supply; and the rice fields unmanageable as a result of the collectivization that took place under Pol Pot. The last 13 years have been tough for Cambodian women. The vast majority 90 percent of the Cambodian population live in rural areas, therefore the bulk of the womenfolk earn a living through farming. The isolation, which includes the denial of the UN development aid and the U. Agriculturally, it meant that equipment ranging from tractors to shovels could not be purchased by or given to Cambodia. Tools, irrigation pumps, draft animals, vaccines for animals and fertilizers are very difficult to come by. So year after year, the women faced the same problems of not having enough fertilizer, insecticide, seed, or other inputs to boost their production. As a result, agricultural production has been low despite their heroic efforts. Still they fight on doing whatever they can to build up their livelihood, while the world watches, almost unmoved. Because of the embargo and the denial of UN aid, Cambodia has become one of the poorest countries in the world. In other fields, too, heroic action has met with limited results. After , throughout the country, teachers and nurses went through training and retraining to fill the positions as educators and care givers. As we know they had been decimated during the Pol Pot time. Schools were reopened in great numbers and by there were more children attending school than even in the Sihanouk time. They considered themselves so lucky to have survived the KR period that they worked tirelessly and were determined to rebuild their country. They worked for very little. The sacrifice was enormous. Civil servants, teachers, nurses were paid enough rice for their family plus a salary equivalent to something like two kilograms of sugar or pork. Like their peasant counterparts, life was tough for them. During that time, the early s, many people left Cambodia. The move was quite understandable because Cambodia was very poor. You could easily die of diarrhoea or fever as there was no adequate medicine supply, and of course the threat of the KR was real. I myself helped sponsor a few refugees to Australia. A dozen or so international NGOs responded to the need of the Cambodians. Against the policy of their

governments, they battled on with the small budgets characteristic of all NGOs. Their task of aiding Cambodia was made extremely difficult because of the U. For the first couple of years it had a big budget, reduced radically in following years. I have been involved in evaluating some of the NGO programs. I did an evaluation for Oxfam America and found that their irrigation pumps, rice seed and fertilizer were put to use effectively and were very much appreciated by the villagers. Of course, there was not nearly enough aid. Oxfam had a limited budget. At that time only 15 irrigation pumps were given to a village of families. But still, it improved, to a certain extent, the production of that village. Nonetheless, the new Heng Samrin government was not a failure economically. With the help of NGOs and of friends from India and the socialist bloc, the dedication of the Cambodian people themselves, the government managed to revive Cambodia from Year Zero, as John Pilger called it in his film, to a respectable state, however poor. The Heng Samrin government went through many stages of reform; economic reform, agricultural reform, state control, semi-state control, joint ventures of state and private. With their meager resources they tried to survive with all sorts of reforms, against the embargo. The success was not by accident. It was largely due to the sensible economic policy of that government. Yes, it was inspired by Marxist ideology, but it was what Cambodia needed at the time. I remember writing a report for Oxfam UK about a desperate family I met in I remember writing that this young family with no parent, under the Sihanouk or Lon Nol regimes, would have become destitute or its women prostitutes in urban slums. Instead the Heng Samrin agrarian policy at the time allowed the family to remain in the village, living not prosperously, but with access to land, and with dignity and a future to look forward to. The dedication of the Cambodians, too, impressed many NGO workers and visitors alike. I remember interviewing a Church World Service director, an experienced aid worker, who said that Cambodia was the easiest country he has had work with. He said he received full cooperation from the government. He was pleased that all the aid reached the people, which was not the case in other countries he had worked in. The early s was an exciting time for Cambodia watchers. I feel privileged to have witnessed such a rebirth of a nation. I went to Cambodia quite often during that period, and every time the progress made never failed to surprise me. A new shop here, a restaurant there, a new set of pots and pans for this family, a new cut of cloth for that woman. They were small things, but those who emerged from the Pol Pot regime with nothing appreciated it more, and took pride in that first step of wealth accumulation. Nonetheless, it was slow progress, there were simply no resources. So, while it was an exciting time, the progress was painful to watch. The argument for the denial of aid to Cambodia at the time was that the Vietnamese was occupying the country. There were Vietnamese advisors and Vietnamese army troops in Cambodia then. The fact is that the Vietnamese army were very much welcomed by the people of Cambodia, at least for the first few years. There is no shortage of Cambodians at home or even here in the U. Not all of them were appreciated by the Cambodians, and some, especially Vietnamese advisors, outlived their welcome. The advisors started to leave in and were all gone by The army followed them a year later, and the last Vietnamese were gone by Still the isolation continued. No development aid was forthcoming from the UN or the West. Desperately needing foreign assistance, after the Vietnamese and the Eastern bloc had left the scene, the Phnom Penh government entered into UN peace negotiations in with the other three factions, including the KR. The UN Peace Plan The negotiations took place at the time when the Cambodian people had just started to consolidate their life. In the rural areas as well as in the cities it was a time when they had just started to enjoy the fruits of their hard work. While Hun Sen was going around the world negotiating, back in Cambodia people became nervous. The rural people were anxious about the prospect of the return of the KR and about what would happen to their newly-distributed land and animals. Civil servants feared that they had to share power with the other three factions. There has never been a peaceful relinquishment of power in modern Cambodian history. But the Perm 5 insisted that the Phnom Penh government must go through with it. But Cambodia must go through it, despite the presence of an army that committed genocide in close living memory. Those responsible for that genocide are preparing to move into politics too. Sometimes I wonder why the world is doing this to Cambodians, people who have suffered unbearably already. There are also other demands on the Hun Sen government. Sihanouk, on the other hand, has long demanded a complete liberalization of the economy, which Hun Sen delivered. A quick liberalization saw Cambodia moving towards becoming a pseudo- capitalist

country, where the gap between rich and poor gets wider every day. In the absence of any bilateral aid from the West or multilateral development aid through the UN, together with the insecurity of civil servants about their future careers in an ambiguous political transition, levels of corruption like those elsewhere in Southeast Asia have predictably emerged. From that point I sadly watched Cambodia degenerate into a state of instability. Corruption and instability are of benefit to the Khmer Rouge. The success of the UN agreement in finding peace for the Cambodian people depends totally upon the goodwill and the willingness of the 4 main political factions to play by the rules.

Chapter 3 : Tuol Sleng: prison-museum of Cambodia's genocide | openDemocracy

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Vicken Cheterian 24 October Khmer Rouge mass killings were followed by cynical geopolitics. By the time justice took the stand, was it also impossible? Siem Reap, July elections. Vicken Cheterian Many Cambodians born after the short but violent period of the Khmer Rouge, which lasted from mid-April to December-January, cannot believe the horror stories of the previous generation. And how painful is it to be faced with disbelief? And consequently, can we immunise the next generation from human violence and self-destruction? There is no way to escape it. People who say this mean that the Khmer Rouge killed their ethnic kin, other Khmer. Moreover, both victims and perpetrators often belonged to the same social classes: Khmer Rouge leaders were urban and foreign educated who exterminated the urban intelligentsia; the rank-and-file soldiers were uneducated, peasant children who exterminated other peasants in their hundreds of thousands. After the Khmer Rouge regime fell, only seven lawyers and forty-three medical doctors are known to have survived in the whole of Cambodia. For this reason the mass violence in Cambodia is sometimes called auto-genocide, or genocide of the self. But, I wonder, is there any genocide that is not self-destruction? Cambodia has another surprising lesson; what happened after genocide, and how major actors of the international community supported, financed and armed the Khmer Rouge. In January, Khmer Rouge forces collapsed within two weeks when faced by a large-scale Vietnamese assault. They retreated from Phnom Penh and gradually were confined to parts of western Cambodia. Yet thanks to this vital international aid, they managed to regroup and stay alive as a threat to the new rulers. For over a decade after Vietnamese forces expelled the Khmer Rouge from Phnom Penh in early January and then confined them to parts of western Cambodia, influential states including the United States, United Kingdom, China and Thailand supported the movement politically, militarily and financially. In the late cold-war decade of the s, the new power in Cambodia was dominated by Vietnam, a Soviet ally. Pol Pot, still the Khmer Rouge leader, was seen in luxury hotels in Thailand the same man who sent people wearing spectacles or able to speak foreign languages to be executed. Thailand provided logistical bases for the Khmer Rouge until the second half of the s. Such aid enabled the Khmer Rouge to keep a guerrilla force numbering between 20, and 40, in the field and continue the war inside Cambodia. Siem Reap province, election poster Hun Sen on the right. This situation lasted for eleven years after they were chased from Phnom Penh. The international community could have brought to justice the criminals responsible for the genocide of the Cambodian people, but preferred to play geopolitical games. Cambodians, write the authors of *Getting Away with Genocide?* This western-Chinese alliance postponed any chance of justice and empowered the genocide perpetrators until at least the early s. International aid to Khmer Rouge stopped only in, their use as a cold-war tool over. The fact that Khmer Rouge continued their military operations was a major impediment to delivering justice. Peace arrived not with, but instead of justice: Justice allowed and denied Even after the death of between 1. I was just the deputy secretary and sometimes I had no influence. The process, whereby Cambodian judges operating under national legislation, and international ones providing support through the UN, proved grindingly slow. From the start, the two sides lacked trust, each side accusing the other of political motives. More widely, the Cambodian side were suspicious of the UN for the role it played in the s, while the international community was suspicious of the Cambodian government, both for its authoritarian rule and because senior figures including Hun Sen had themselves belonged to the Khmer Rouge before defecting to Vietnam in the late s. The international side insisted on limiting trials to a handful of top Khmer Rouge leaders, giving amnesties to others. The slow movement of the tribunal posed additional challenges. The total number of charged and accused people brought in front of the ECCC amounted only to nine. Until today, just three former Khmer Rouge leaders have been sentenced to life in prison: Two died while their trials were ongoing, while investigating judges closed the case against Im Chaem as they found him not among those most responsible. The result of years of legal battles to address the open wounds of the Cambodian genocide is meagre, to say the least. In part this was

always inevitable. Justice in any historic sense, that of equal punishment for a crime committed, is impossible after genocide. A judicial system cannot be presented with millions of crimes committed in times of such darkness as Cambodia experienced in For every single loss, pain and frustration, a traditional justice system is powerless to articulate an adequate judgment and compensation. At best, a tribunal can provide symbolic justice, by condemning a handful of those who are responsible for the overall, society-wide crimes committed. This partial justice will not satisfy the victims – that is why any society that survived genocide remains highly politicised and mobilised – but at least it will declare to society and posterity that mass killings, expulsions, confiscations, and violations of the body are and must be condemned. How many societies today have not achieved even this symbolic justice, and as a result cannot distinguish between good and evil? About the author Vicken Cheterian is a journalist and political analyst. His books include Open Wounds:

Chapter 4 : Cambodia: U.S. bombing, civil war, & Khmer Rouge | Mass Atrocity Endings

Published in Ben Kiernan, ed., Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia Monograph #41, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, Cambodia has been a party to the Genocide Convention since

Pol Pot was born in as Saloth Sar into a farming family in central Cambodia, which was then part of French Indochina. In , at age 20, he traveled to Paris on a scholarship to study radio electronics but became absorbed in Marxism and neglected his studies. He lost his scholarship and returned to Cambodia in and joined the underground Communist movement. The following year, Cambodia achieved full independence from France and was then ruled by a royal monarchy. Young Khmer Rouge soldiers in Tuol Sleng Prison, the nerve center of the Khmer Rouge secret police. The Killing Fields at Choeung Ek. By , Pol Pot had become leader of the Cambodian Communist Party and was forced to flee into the jungle to escape the wrath of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, leader of Cambodia. That same year, the U. From until , the U. All of these events resulted in economic and military destabilization in Cambodia and a surge of popular support for Pol Pot. By , the U. He began by declaring, "This is Year Zero," and that society was about to be "purified. All foreigners were thus expelled, embassies closed, and any foreign economic or medical assistance was refused. The use of foreign languages was banned. Newspapers and television stations were shut down, radios and bicycles confiscated, and mail and telephone usage curtailed. All businesses were shuttered, religion banned, education halted, health care eliminated, and parental authority revoked. Thus Cambodia was sealed off from the outside world. At Phnom Penh, two million inhabitants were evacuated on foot into the countryside at gunpoint. As many as 20, died along the way. Workdays in the fields began around 4 a. Starving people were forbidden to eat the fruits and rice they were harvesting. After the rice crop was harvested, Khmer Rouge trucks would arrive and confiscate the entire crop. Ten to fifteen families lived together with a chairman at the head of each group. All work decisions were made by the armed supervisors with no participation from the workers who were told, "Whether you live or die is not of great significance. There were also three days off during the Khmer New Year festival. Throughout Cambodia, deadly purges were conducted to eliminate remnants of the "old society" - the educated, the wealthy, Buddhist monks, police, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and former government officials. Ex-soldiers were killed along with their wives and children. Anyone suspected of disloyalty to Pol Pot, including eventually many Khmer Rouge leaders, was shot or bludgeoned with an ax. In the villages, unsupervised gatherings of more than two persons were forbidden. Young people were taken from their parents and placed in communals. They were later married in collective ceremonies involving hundreds of often-unwilling couples. Up to 20, persons were tortured into giving false confessions at Tuol Sleng, a school in Phnom Penh which had been converted into a jail. Elsewhere, suspects were often shot on the spot before any questioning. Ethnic groups were attacked including the three largest minorities; the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cham Muslims, along with twenty other smaller groups. Fifty percent of the estimated , Chinese living in Cambodia in perished. Khmer Rouge also forced Muslims to eat pork and shot those who refused. On December 25, , Vietnam launched a full-scale invasion of Cambodia seeking to end Khmer Rouge border attacks. The Vietnamese then installed a puppet government consisting of Khmer Rouge defectors. Pol Pot retreated into Thailand with the remnants of his Khmer Rouge army and began a guerrilla war against a succession of Cambodian governments lasting over the next 17 years. After a series of internal power struggles in the s, he finally lost control of the Khmer Rouge. In April , year-old Pol Pot died of an apparent heart attack following his arrest, before he could be brought to trial by an international tribunal for the events of

Chapter 5 : Cambodia Bibliography

Genocide and democracy in Cambodia: the Khmer Rouge, the United Nations, and the international community /.

Through the s, and especially after mid, the party was shaken by factional struggles, including armed attempts to topple Pol Pot. Punitive measures resulted in and when hundreds of thousands of people, including some of the most important CPK leaders, were executed. Cambodia did not have any sort of government until the proclamation of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea on January 5, He eventually relocated to China. The "rights and duties of the individual" were briefly defined in Article They included none of what are commonly regarded as guarantees of political human rights[citation needed] except the statement that "men and women are equal in every respect. Governmental institutions were outlined very briefly in the Constitution. The legislature was to be popularly elected for a five-year term. Its first and only election was held on March 20, The executive branch of government also was chosen by the KPRA. The Constitution did not mention regional or local government institutions. There were also two other regional-level units: The zones were divided into damban regions that were given numbers. Number One, appropriately, encompassed the Samlot region of the Northwestern Zone including Battambang Province , where the insurrection against Sihanouk had erupted in early With this exception, the damban appear to have been numbered arbitrarily. The damban were divided into srok districts , khum subdistricts , and phum villages , the latter usually containing several hundred people. This pattern was roughly similar to that which existed under Sihanouk and the Khmer Republic, but inhabitants of the villages were organized into krom groups composed of ten to fifteen families. On each level, administration was directed by a three-person committee kanak, or kena. CPK members occupied committee posts at the higher levels. Subdistrict and village committees were often staffed by local poor peasants, and, very rarely, by "new people. Societal transformation[edit] According to Pol Pot, Cambodia was made up of four classes: Post-revolutionary society, as defined by the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, consisted of workers, peasants, and "all other Kampuchean working people. Zhou warned them not to attempt to achieve communism in a single step, as China had attempted in the late s with the Great Leap Forward. Khieu Samphan and Khieu Thirith "just smiled an incredulous and superior smile. Despite the ideological commitment to radical equality, CPK members and the armed forces constituted a clearly recognizable elite. The one important working class group in pre-revolutionary Cambodiaâ€”labourers on large rubber plantationsâ€”traditionally had consisted mostly of Vietnamese emigrants and thus was politically suspect. The number of people, including refugees, living in the urban areas on the eve of the communist victory probably was somewhat more than 3 million,[citation needed] out of the total population of roughly 8 million. As mentioned, despite their rural origins, the refugees were considered "new people"â€”that is, people unsympathetic to Democratic Kampuchea. Some doubtless passed as "old people" after returning to their native villages, but the Khmer Rouge seem to have been extremely vigilant in recording and keeping track of the movements of families and of individuals. The lowest unit of social control, the krom group , consisted of ten to fifteen nuclear families whose activities were closely supervised by a three-person committee. The committee chairman was selected by the CPK. This grass roots leadership was required to note the social origin of each family under its jurisdiction and to report it to persons higher up in the Angkar hierarchy. The number of "new people" may initially have been as high as 2. The "new people" were treated as forced labourers. They were constantly moved, were forced to do the hardest physical labour, and worked in the most inhospitable, fever-ridden parts of the country, such as forests, upland areas, and swamps. When the country experienced food shortages in , the "new people" suffered the most. The medical care available to them was primitive or nonexistent. Families often were separated because people were divided into work brigades according to age and sex and sent to different parts of the country. The situation of the "old people" under Khmer Rouge rule was more ambiguous. Refugee interviews reveal cases in which villagers were treated as harshly as the "new people," enduring forced labour, indoctrination, the separation of children from parents, and executions; however, they were generally allowed to remain in their native villages. Because of their age-old resentment of the urban and rural elites, many of the poorest peasants probably were sympathetic

to Khmer Rouge goals. Although the Southwestern Zone was one original centre of power of the Khmer Rouge, and cadres administered it with strict discipline, random executions were relatively rare, and "new people" were not persecuted if they had a cooperative attitude. Starvation was general in the latter zone because cadres sent rice to Phnom Penh rather than distributing it to the local population. These usages were abandoned. Language was transformed in other ways. The Khmer Rouge invented new terms. Members and candidate members of the CPK, local-level leaders of poor peasant background who collaborated with the Angkar, and members of the armed forces had a higher standard of living than the rest of the population. Refugees agree that, even during times of severe food shortage, members of the grass-roots elite had adequate, if not luxurious, supplies of food. One refugee wrote that "pretty new bamboo houses" were built for Khmer Rouge cadres along the river in Phnom Penh. According to Craig Etcheson, an authority on Democratic Kampuchea, members of the revolutionary army lived in self-contained colonies, and they had a "distinctive warrior-caste ethos. Although their revolutionary ideology was extreme, the highest ranks of the Khmer Rouge leadership had a tendency to nepotism similar of the Sihanouk-era elite. These two women were considered among the half-dozen most powerful personalities in Democratic Kampuchea. A niece of Ieng Sary was given a job as English translator for Radio Phnom Penh although her fluency in the language was relative. Different ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Industry, were controlled and exploited by powerful Khmer Rouge families. Administering the diplomatic corps was regarded as an especially profitable fiefdom. During the early s, the Khmer Rouge established "mutual assistance groups" in the areas they occupied. After , these were organised into "low-level cooperatives" in which land and agricultural implements were lent by peasants to the community but remained their private property. State-owned farms also were established. Far more than the Chinese communists, the Khmer Rouge pursued the ideal of economic self-sufficiency, specifically the version that Khieu Samphan had outlined in his doctoral dissertation. Currency was abolished, and domestic trade or commerce could be conducted only through barter. Rice, measured in tins, became the most important medium of exchange, although people also bartered gold, jewelry, and other personal possessions. Foreign trade was almost completely halted, though there was a limited revival in late and early China was the most important trading partner, but commerce amounting to a few million dollars was also conducted with France, the United Kingdom, and with the United States through a Hong Kong intermediary. From the Khmer Rouge perspective, the country was free of foreign economic domination for the first time in its 2,year history. There was an "Angkorian" component to economic policy. That ancient kingdom had grown rich and powerful because it controlled extensive irrigation systems that produced surpluses of rice. Agriculture in modern Cambodia depended, for the most part, on seasonal rains. By building a nationwide system of irrigation canals, dams, and reservoirs, the leadership believed it would be possible to produce rice on a year-round basis. It was the "new people" who suffered and sacrificed the most to complete these ambitious projects. Although the Khmer Rouge implemented an "agriculture first" policy in order to achieve self-sufficiency, they were not, as some observers have argued, "back-to-nature" primitivists. Although the 75 war and the evacuation of the cities had destroyed or idled most industry, small contingents of workers were allowed to return to the urban areas to reopen some plants. Significantly, the seal of Democratic Kampuchea displayed not only sheaves of rice and irrigation sluices, but also a factory with smokestacks. Education and health[edit] The Khmer Rouge regarded traditional education with undiluted hostility. After the fall of Phnom Penh, they executed thousands of teachers. Those who had been educators prior to survived by hiding their identities. The regime recruited children to spy on adults. Pol Pot considered Youth League alumni as his most loyal and reliable supporters, and used them to gain control of the central and of the regional CPK apparatus. The powerful Khieu Thirith, minister of social action, was responsible for directing the youth movement. Sihanouk, who was kept under virtual house arrest in Phnom Penh between and , wrote in War and Hope that his youthful guards, having been separated from their families and given a thorough indoctrination, were encouraged to play cruel games involving the torture of animals. Having lost parents, siblings, and friends in the war and lacking the Buddhist values of their elders, the Khmer Rouge youth also lacked the inhibitions that would have dampened their zeal for revolutionary terror. Health facilities in the years 75 were abysmally poor. Many physicians either were executed or were prohibited from

practicing. It appears that the party and the armed forces elite had access to Western medicine and to a system of hospitals that offered reasonable treatment, but ordinary people, especially "new people," were expected to use traditional plant and herbal remedies that were of debatable usefulness. Some bartered their rice rations and personal possessions to obtain aspirin and other simple drugs. They demanded and then forced the people to leave the cities and live in the countryside. The roads out of the city were clogged with evacuees. Similar evacuations occurred throughout the nation. The conditions of the evacuation and the treatment of the people involved depended often on which military units and commanders were conducting the specific operations. The Khmer Rouge provided transportation for some of the aged and the disabled, and they set up stockpiles of food outside the city for the refugees; however, the supplies were inadequate to sustain the hundreds of thousands of people on the road. Even seriously injured hospital patients, many without any means of conveyance, were summarily forced to leave regardless of their condition. The foreign community, about 10,000 people, was quarantined in the French embassy compound, and by the end of the month the foreigners were taken by truck to the Thai border. Khmer women who were married to foreigners were allowed to accompany their husbands, but Khmer men were not permitted to leave with their foreign wives. Western historians claim that the motives were political, based on deep-rooted resentment of the cities. The Khmer Rouge was determined to turn the country into a nation of peasants in which the corruption and "parasitism" of city life would be completely uprooted. In addition, Pol Pot wanted to break up the "enemy spy organisations" that allegedly were based in the urban areas. A security apparatus called Santebal was part of the Khmer Rouge organizational structure well before April 17, when the Khmer Rouge took control over Cambodia. Son Sen, later the Deputy Prime Minister for Defense of Democratic Kampuchea, was in charge of the Santebal, and in that capacity he appointed Comrade Duch to run its security apparatus. In May, Duch moved his headquarters to its final location, a former high school known as Tuol Sleng, which could hold up to 15,000 prisoners. Skulls of Khmer Rouge victims The Khmer Rouge government arrested, tortured and eventually executed anyone suspected of belonging to several categories of supposed "enemies":

Chapter 6 : Cambodia: justice after genocide | openDemocracy

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The bombing later expanded to target the Khmer Rouge. During the same time period, the Khmer Rouge began its rise as an indigenous guerrilla force to challenge the government. The impact and interrelationship of the bombing and the growth of the Khmer Rouge is disputed by historians. Lon Nol initiated an unsuccessful campaign to oust the soldiers and cut the supply lines of the North Vietnamese in Cambodia. In response, the NVA poured out of the sanctuaries and captured additional Cambodian territory. This territory was handed over the Khmer Rouge. The humanitarian consequences of U. Estimates of Cambodian military and civilian deaths resulting from the bombing range from 40, to more than , Their tactics were "terror, violence, and force. The population of Phnom Penh increased from , to more than 2 million. Resupply of the city by land and sea was cut off by the Khmer Rouge and, by the time the government surrendered on April 17, , many of the inhabitants were starving. Former civil servants and soldiers of the Lon Nol government were executed. Tens of thousands of Cambodians were killed in the invasion or executed by the new government. During the rule of the Khmer Rouge only a few thousand Cambodians had been able to escape Cambodia and take refuge in Thailand. With the Vietnamese invasion, the floodgates opened and Cambodians attempted to cross into Thailand in large numbers. In June , the Thai government forced more than 40, Cambodian refugees back into Cambodia at Preah Vihear temple. The Preah Vihear incident stimulated the international humanitarian community into action to help Cambodians who often arrived at the Thai border in the last extremity of starvation. Many of the new arrivals were malnourished or starving. A country-wide famine was anticipated in . Aid agencies estimated that up to 2. However, there were reports of "delivery and distribution problems". Some aid agencies favored cooperation with the government in Phnom Penh and accused the land bridge of encouraging a black market in food and assisting anti-government forces, including the Khmer Rouge. The impact of the land bridge can not be fully measured as there was no means of monitoring the end use of the food it distributed. Combatants took shelter in the border camps and both Vietnamese and Cambodian government forces frequently shelled the camps. Khao-I-Dang reached a peak population of , in March , but with resettlement, repatriation sometimes involuntary , and transfer to other camps the population declined to 40, by December and the camp took on a status described as "the most elaborately serviced refugee camp in the world. Both refugee and border camps were characterized by fighting among political factions, violence, rape, depression, and inactivity. The refugee camps were declared closed to new arrivals by the government of Thailand, but Cambodians gained access through bribery or being smuggled into the camps. A total of , Cambodians would be resettled between and , mostly in the United States , and France 53, Their remaining population was transferred to Site Two which was closed in mid after its population was repatriated to Cambodia [25] Elections in May established an independent Cambodian government and UNTAC was dismantled. A sizable number of UN and humanitarian aid workers remained in the country to promote human rights and democracy and support reconstruction and economic development.

Chapter 7 : Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and - Google B

In Cambodia I often heard that the particularity of the Cambodian genocide is the fact that "they killed their own people". People who say this mean that the Khmer Rouge killed their ethnic.

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, It is a July day in Phnom Penh, the hot and humid air making it difficult to breathe. The streets leading to Tuol Sleng are noisy and crowded: Soon, these fall away as the visitor reaches a former school building that would serve as the major prison under the Khmer Rouge regime which ruled Cambodia from Now it is a museum where foreign tourists are queuing to be confronted with the horrors of the Cambodian genocide and the ambiguities of its legacy. The history of Cambodia has puzzled me for a long time. Cambodia was the trigger for the China-Vietnam war of , conducted between two supposedly fraternal socialist countries. Most incomprehensible was the violence the Khmer Rouge unleashed against its own people: Perhaps I could find some answers, and if possible make sense of this senseless violence, by seeing for myself the photographs of Khmer Rouge victims? I was especially puzzled by the fact that Khmer Rouge cadres photographed their victims at their arrest and then after killing them, in between torturing them to record their detailed confessions. More widely, how did Cambodian society manage questions of memory and denial, of victim and perpetrator, of how to manage life after genocide? I wanted to learn its lessons. There are also two striking wall posters. One shows a scene from April , days after the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh and forcing its entire population into exodus towards the rice fields, suffering and death. The other shows 10 January , the day Vietnamese forces entered Tuol Sleng and saved four children, two of them toddlers who died soon afterwards. The beginning and the end of Khmer Rouge rule: Next comes a vast room with a single metallic bed, to which prisoners were chained. Later I learn that this is a VIP cell for high-ranking prisoners: The museum is filled with photographs and posters of the prisoners. Men and women look directly at the camera lens, some in horror, others in defiance. Some seem unable to understand what is happening to them, and why their compatriots, the comrades of their own victorious party, could inflict such horrors onto them. Others seem to have understood and defied their fate. Some are mere children; most are young people. There are pictures of mothers holding their babies, all condemned to die. There are two sets of pictures: As I was watching these victims of the Khmer Rouge, I thought that the museum of Tuol Sleng was not only about the past, that something similar is taking place in our times. Only a few days later I would hear the news that hundreds of peaceful demonstrators arrested in , at the start of the Syrian protests, were declared by the Syrian authorities to have died several years ago. Of the 18, who had been inmates of Tuol Sleng, only seven were saved in when the Vietnamese army liberated the prison. The number who entered its doors and survived is probably under fifty. In other words, almost all those sent there were condemned to death. Many died under torture, or succumbed to hunger and disease. This is the place known as the "killing fields," just one among 20, sites in Cambodia where mass graves are identified. The then prince Norodom Sihanouk , who had tried to keep the country outside the conflict, was overthrown in by the pro-American general Lon Nol. The United States airforce was by then pounding forested areas in eastern Cambodia to prevent arms and fighters passing from North Vietnam to the Vietcong guerrillas. This was the great strategy of Henry Kissinger, who is considered by many a war criminal. Around , tons of bombs were dropped, leading to an estimated , Cambodian casualties. American war crimes are only part of the Cambodian tragedy. What followed is even more sickening. Many in the capital, its population swelled to as many as 2 million by a flight from rural areas, initially viewed these cadres as liberators, at least hoping that their victory would put an end to the war. Under the Khmer Rouge, towns were abandoned. The population of Phnom Penh fell to a mere 20,, composed only of party leaders, soldiers, and a handful of factory workers. Many thousands died of hunger, sickness, exhaustion from work or harsh conditions. Khmer Rouge thugs executed many others: Minority groups suffered disproportionately: Buddhists monks were decimated: Yet the majority of the victims were ethnic Khmer, whether urban and educated or peasant and illiterate. Pol Pot also turned against his former allies, the Vietnamese communists. In fact his regime, with his racist antagonism towards the Vietnamese and his agrarian utopianism, cannot be understood through a socialist narrative. He even ordered

his weak armed forces to attack Vietnam, triggering a war that led to his downfall. The Khmer Rouge regime literally collapsed in front of a concentrated Vietnamese assault: The Vietnamese were also the first to discover the S and decided to make a museum out of it. Could this explain why there are very few Cambodians visiting Tuol Sleng, and most of the visitors are foreigners? About the author Vicken Cheterian is a journalist and political analyst. His books include Open Wounds:

Chapter 8 : Cambodian Genocide: The Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot's Regime

Ben Kiernan (ed.): Genocide and democracy in Cambodia: the Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the international community. (Yale University Southeast Asia Studies/Monograph Series,) pp. New Haven CT: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Center for International and Area Studies,

Chapter 9 : Development Aid and Democracy in Cambodia, by Chanthou Boua

Now it is a museum where foreign tourists are queuing to be confronted with the horrors of the Cambodian genocide and the ambiguities of its legacy. Investigating the crisis of democracy in.