

History of the Cambodian Genocide

Appendix 14

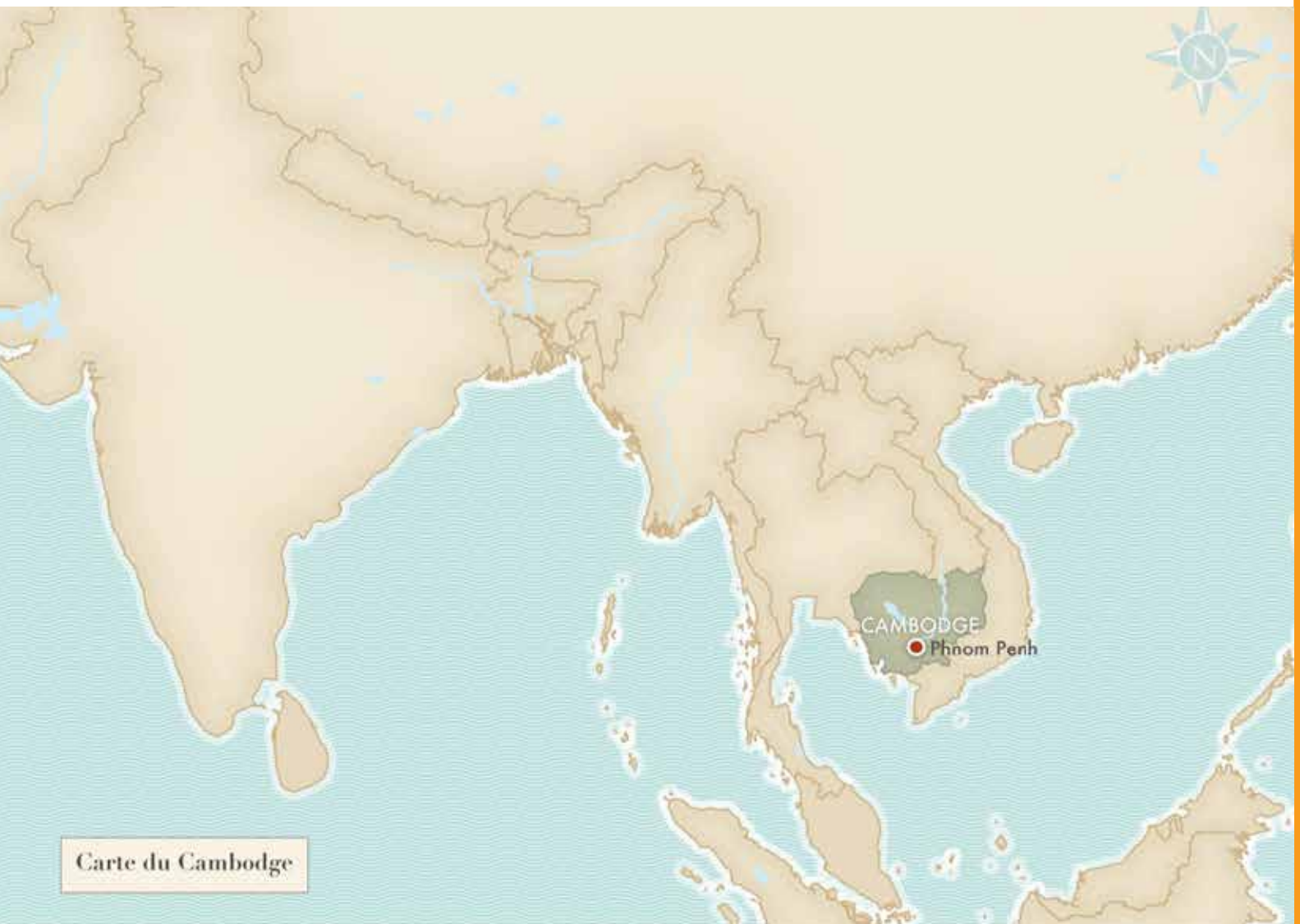
Cambodia – 2 million people died during the Khmer Rouge regime
(1975-1979)

A contextual timeline

Between April 1975 and January 1979 (3 years, 8 months, 20 days), approximately one-quarter of the Cambodian population which numbered 7 million at the time, was killed by the Communist Khmer Rouge regime. The genocide targeted “enemies of the regime”, groups defined by social, political, and racial criteria.

Life in Cambodia before the genocide

Cambodian society of the 1950s and 1960s was ethnically and religiously homogeneous: 80% of the population were Khmer and Buddhist. Most Cambodians spoke Khmer (Kiernan 4).



During that period, Cambodia had an under-developed political life, a non-diversified economy, and a low level of education (Kiernan 4). As a result, 80% of the population were peasants, with little or no education. The rural population was made up of two groups: a minority of poor and indebted farmers, and a majority of landowners owning small lots. Between 1950 and 1970, the proportion of landless peasants increased from 4% to 20% because of the US shelling (Kiernan 7).

In 1954, the first year of Cambodian independence from France, only 144 Cambodians held a secondary school diploma and there was not a single university in the country (Kiernan 6).

After attaining its independence, Cambodia became a monarchy under King Sihanouk. He had 9 universities built beginning in 1954, thus affording most of the population the opportunity to learn to read and write.

The geopolitical situation surrounding Cambodia became tense with the fall of Indochina, former French protectorate that included Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. US forces intervened in Vietnam in 1955; the Vietnam War lasted 20 years. Because King Sihanouk remained neutral, the Cambodian population did not become involved in the war prior to 1969, year of the first US bombardment (cf. below).

Cambodia's economy was non-diversified. The country was, however, a major exporter of rice. Starting in 1964, contraband rice was sent to feed thousands of Vietnamese soldiers. This illegal trade, together with the exponential reduction of income due to unfavourable export rates, rendered the food situation in Phnom Penh catastrophic.

The last census before the Khmer Rouge regime was held in 1969. There were 7 million inhabitants, of whom 600,000 were Chinese and 400,000 Vietnamese (Béréziat 79).

Political birth of Cambodia (attainment of independence and US shelling)

In 1950, the first Cambodian groups joined Vietnam's communist groups to oppose the French protectorate.

In November 1953 (ending 90 years under French protectorate), Cambodia declared itself an independent monarchy under King Norodom Sihanouk. Cambodia remained neutral with regard to the Vietnam War (1954-1975) which was raging on the other side of the border. Sihanouk followed an anti-American and pro-Chinese policy, all the while oppressing his "own" Communists and other opponents of the monarchy (Cambodian genocide program: Chronology).

Following the 1970 coup headed by Prime Minister Lon Nol, the country lapsed into civil war. The government of Lon Nol was supported by the US that was taking an ever increasing interest in Cambodia as a haven for the Vietnamese communist forces. Beginning in 1965, Cambodia became a target of the American government (Owen and Kiernan 2006 and Marchak 101).

Without there being a formal declaration of war, the general shelling campaign by the US air force under President Richard Nixon began in February 1969 near the Vietnam border (Owen and Kiernan 66-67). B-52 military aircraft dropped approximately 2.75 million tons of bombs. According to Owen and Kiernan, Cambodia could well be the most heavily shelled country in the world (cf. Interactive geographical map of Yale University <http://yale.edu/cgp/maplicity.html> or map "Zones of American Aerial Bombardments" Kane 56).

Between 50,000 and 150,000 civilians were killed by the shelling in Cambodia.

At first, the aim of the US bombardment was to destroy the military bases of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army in the Cambodian jungle. President Nixon later justified the bombardment saying that it was to protect Lon Nol's regime and to fight the Cambodian communists. The final US shelling took place between February and August 1973; the object was to prevent the Khmer Rouge from reaching the capital city of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Owen and Kiernan 67).

Rise of the Khmer Rouge

The American bombardments are crucial to understanding the rise in power of the Khmer Rouge. First, they unwittingly caused the Vietnamese military forces to advance into Cambodia. Second, instead of weakening the communists, the shelling caused the Khmer Rouge, themselves communist, to become enormously popular. Many Cambodians, the majority of them peasants, joined the Khmer Rouge to express their rage against the US attacks (Kiernan 22-24; Owen and Kiernan 67).

On 17 April 1975 the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot came into Phnom Penh and seized power. The republic of Democratic Kampuchea was born. At first, the Cambodian population was optimistic and euphoric because the arrival of the Khmer Rouge symbolised the end of war and suffering.

During the four years that the Khmer Rouge was in power, the leaders of the party hid from the public. The leaders of the party's "Centre" were Pol Pot (his real name Saloth Sar), Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, Nuon Chea, Son Sen, and Ta Mok (Chandler *in* Kane 12).

The rule and ideology of the Khmer Rouge

The objective of the Khmer Rouge regime was to create a truly communist system, modeled on a purely egalitarian society. In their view, this transformation could occur only after the total destruction of the previous civilization. The regime countered the "new people" (city dwellers who were to be re-educated or eliminated) with the "old people" (people from rural areas who supported the Khmer Rouge

guerillas). The dimensions of this genocide were not only socio-political (denigration of “intellectuals” and persons of a high economic status), but also racist denigration of Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cambodian Muslims, among others.

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge made the following decisions for the purpose of executing their plan to build a new society. These decisions are also the hallmarks of an authoritarian regime.

1. Evacuation of the large cities

Right after the victory of the Khmer Rouge, city dwellers – notably those of Phnom Penh – were forced to leave the city. Between 2 and 3 million people had to abandon their homes (Kiernan 48). Ten thousand died on the road.

2. Abolition of money and the capitalist economy

Every reminder of modernity and Western influences was systematically demolished: cities, industries, money, and private property.

3. Devaluation of family and religion

Family and religion were devalued. The only body that counted and was infallible was the *Angkar*, the Organization of the Khmer Rouge. Monks were disrobed; Buddhism was no longer the State religion.

4. Forced labour in the cooperatives

Urban populations were forced to work in the countryside in agrarian cooperatives. The forced labour was a means of re-educating the “new people.” Hundreds of thousands of people died in the forced exodus.

The metaphor of “Comrade Ox” clearly illustrates the Khmer Rouge ideal of the perfectly revolutionized man:

“In an often-heard Khmer Rouge parable, the individual was compared to an ox: ‘You see the ox, comrades, admire him! He eats where we command him to eat. If we let him graze on this field, he eats. If we take him to another field where there is not enough grass, he grazes all the same. He cannot move about, he is supervised. When we tell him to pull the plough, he pulls it. He never thinks of his wife or his children.’ Often during the meetings, the Khmer Rouge spoke about ‘Comrade Ox’ as the ideal revolutionary. Comrade Ox never refused to work. Comrade Ox was obedient. Comrade Ox did not complain. Comrade Ox did not complain when his family was killed.”⁷

⁷ Yathay, P. *Stay Alive, My Son*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1987, pg. 225

Execution of all the former leaders and public officials of the Lon Nol regime

All senior officials that adhered to republican ideas and did not join the ranks of the Khmer Rouge were executed (Lavoix 19).

Expulsion of Vietnamese minority

In 1970, the Vietnamese minority numbered approximately 450,000 people; i.e. 7% of the Cambodian population (Kane 397). The Vietnamese community had lived in Cambodia for a long time. After Lon Nol took power in 1970, 300,000 Vietnamese fled the country. In 1975, the Khmer Rouge expelled almost all the Vietnamese remaining in the country. Between 10,000 and 15,000 did not leave; of this number, 40% died during the Khmer Rouge regime (ibid). "Hatred for the Vietnamese" clearly illustrates the xenophobic ideology of the Khmer Rouge.

Re-education

The Khmer Rouge gradually intensified their measures: Re-education now included total subservience of the Angkar (the Organization), contempt for all forms of intellectualism, and the execution of millions of people.

Influence over children and adolescents

The intent to create a new population untainted by capitalism is crucial to understanding this system. The Khmer Rouge was convinced that their future society could be built by a small number of people. "For the Khmer Rouge, 1,000,000 young people ideologically sound would suffice to build the new Cambodia" (Lingane 102). For this reason, they did not hesitate to kill a large part of their population. The socialisation of the children thus became an ideological mission.⁸ To a great extent, adolescents were included in guarding and supervising the adults who worked in the fields. Instead of learning how to read and write, they learned Khmer Rouge principles.

Abolition of institutions

Another significant element of the Khmer Rouge regime was the abolition of judicial institutions (Chandler 147) and of medical and educational infrastructures (B  r  ziat 76).

⁸ The documentary *A Perfect Soldier* (2010) by John Severson relates the story of Aki Ra who planted thousands of anti-personnel landmines for the Khmer Rouge at the age of 6. Today he is committed to clearing the Cambodian minefields.

Crimes and motives for genocide

The Cambodians' fate was determined by their social or ethnic origin. The genocide began with the physical elimination of "traitors" and their families (former functionaries and military people of the Lon Nol regime, members of the Buddhist, Islamic, and Christian clergy, Cambodians of Vietnamese origin, and others).

Left to die...

The regime then undertook to re-educate the "new people" (city dwellers, intellectuals, professionals, merchants, and ethnic minorities). These 3,500,000 people were sent to work on collective farms. Life in the countryside also changed for the poorly educated and indigent "old people". Family and religious values, as well as private property, no longer counted and were prohibited under the Khmer Rouge. As a result, daily life changed completely. According to Kiernan, the Cambodian population became an unpaid work force (167). Witnesses have said that a regular day began at 6 a.m., finished at midnight, and was interrupted only by pauses to eat a bit of rice (Pran 68). Many labourers died of disease, and malnutrition was rampant (B  r  ziat 74 and 75).

Put to death...

Contempt for intellect – Any indication of intellect (speaking a foreign language, wearing glasses, reading and writing the Khmer language, etc.) could become a motive for extermination. People thus began hiding their identity, pretending to be ignorant.

Suppression of family and love relationships – The Khmer Rouge's objective was the total abandonment of individuality. One should live for the Angkar organization and physical labour, and should cut all ties with the old values. Establishing or maintaining family or love relationships could be cause for execution.

"With the Khmer Rouge, ordinary hate became truly extraordinary. There was neither control nor limits. Swept up by events and indoctrination, simple people became executioners and lost their humanity to a murderous ideology that generated annihilation. Filial or sentimental love, compassion or pity, were prohibited by the Angkar".

Plossu, 2008.

Obsession with spying – Because North Vietnamese troops were advancing as of 1977 and the danger was becoming concrete, purges were directed against members of the party who were suspected of having infiltrated as saboteurs.

Elimination of non-Khmer Cambodians and religious people (cf. chapter on the victims)

In all, the number of victims corresponds to about one-quarter of the Cambodian population: 400,000 to 900,000 were killed in the execution centres and 700,000 to 1,200,000 victims died of starvation, exhaustion due to labour, and diseases poorly treated or not treated at all.

To summarize, the characteristics of the Cambodian genocide are

- forced labour
- displacement of victims
- arbitrary murders
- mass executions
- torture, deliberate under-nourishment
- mind control
- denunciation of others
- confession of “crimes”, wearing of distinguishing marks

To date, the UN has not recognized the atrocities committed in Cambodia as genocide, as it has in Turkey (genocide of the Armenians), Europe (*Shoah* or Holocaust), Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Rwanda. The crimes “fall under the legal classification of crimes against humanity” (Kane 144). Research has shown that the Khmer Rouge regime did include genocidal elements:

“1. The victims were members of a ‘national, ethnic, racial, or religious group’; 2. the members of these groups were killed or persecuted for belonging to these groups, by whatever means necessary to achieve this end; 3. The genocide was a collective crime, planned and executed by those holding the power of the State, in their name or with their consent, expressed or tacit.”

Lingane 20

Most of the victims, however, were ethnic Khmer and “almost all” [were] killed [...] as political enemies, a classification that is deliberately omitted from the UN text” (Chandler in Kane 14). Liai Duong gives proof that racist elements were present in the Khmer Rouge ideology. She argues that their racial discrimination was motivated by their suspicion of betrayal and their prejudice against the (so-called) capitalists. For example, the Khmer Rouge established the stereotype of the affluent Chinese and consequently discriminated against them (Duong 3).

Torture and execution centres

The largest execution and torture centre was Tuol Sleng (“hill of the poisonous tree”), located in Phnom Penh. It was also known as “S-21”. The “S” stood for “Security”, the “2” for “second office”, and the “1” for “brother number one” (Plossu, 2008). Before becoming a detention centre, the building was a school.

S-21 was a secret prison; almost all the prisoners were killed so as to maintain the secret.

In 1980, the former execution centre was transformed into the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum to commemorate the victims of the Khmer Rouge. The execution field of Choeung Ek is part of the memorial site.

The commander of S-21 was Kaing Guek Eav, also known as Duch. According to a prison employee, Duch never killed anyone (Chandler 40). He directed and committed crimes from his desk. In the 1990s Duch became an evangelical Christian. He hid his identity for two decades, but was arrested by police in 1999⁹. He has since been imprisoned at Phnom Penh.

“The most important aspect of the policies of the Communist party of Kampuchea [...] was known as “crushing”, i.e. the arrest, interrogation, and execution of persons perceived as enemies or spies (ECCC, trial judgement Duch: 6).

Prisoner photos constitute a large part of the displays at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. They are indispensable documents that illustrate the horror of S-21¹⁰:

“The photography sub-section of S-21 [...] would take identity photographs of the prisoners being processed into the facility, of those who died in captivity, and of important inmates after their execution”.

Chandler 45

⁹ See the following section entitled “Justice and the collective memory” on page 37 for more information.

¹⁰ The prisoner photos can also be found on the Internet (www.tuolsleng.com/)

Of the 15,000 to 30,000 prisoners, only 7 to 12 survived. The best known of the survivors is artist Vann Nath, who survived because he was made to draw portraits of Pol Pot. According to Chandler, most of the prisoners were young Khmer from the countryside (55). On the other hand, the “new people” were killed in the rural prisons. Most of the guards were adolescents.

The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam)¹¹ has counted 196 Khmer Rouge prisons.

Extermination camps

The *Documentation Center of Cambodia* has found approximately 20,000 mass graves in Cambodia.

Collaborators

Party leaders formed the *Angkar padevat* (Revolutionary Organization), charged with distinguishing between the “old people” and the “new people”, between the allies and the traitors.

The implementers (approximately 120,000 people in 1975) were mainly adolescents, intellectuals of modest rank, and marginalized individuals. Some village notables directed the work brigades.

Today, the “employees” of execution centre S-21 consider themselves victims of the regime (Plossu, 2008), as they reveal in their interviews.¹²

Victims or “enemies of the Cambodian people”

By the end of 1979, the number of victims had reached 1.7 million – “the direct or indirect result of the policy implemented by the [Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), MHMC]” (Chandler in Kane 12).

The categories of genocide victims varied according to their social, political, religious, or ethnic origin:

1. The “national traitors” or “counter-revolutionaries”: supporters of the regimes of Nol Lon and King Sihanouk
2. The “new people”: city dwellers, intellectuals, people with a “Western” mentality, and capitalists
3. “Vietnamese in the body of a Khmer”: Khmer of the Eastern Zone that were declared “traitors to the regime” beginning in 1978 because of the intensified fighting with the North Vietnamese (Kane 145 and 410). They were deported to the Northwest Zone and had to wear a distinctive blue scarf.
4. Saboteurs infiltrators: members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) accused of espionage or acts of resistance (and never involved in crimes against other victims)

¹¹ Researchers at (DC-Cam) have documented the crimes of the Khmer Rouge. DC-Cam has existed since 1995. At first, it was the on-site office of the Cambodian Genocide Program of Yale University. In 1997, it became an independent research institute (DC-Cam: History and Description of DC-Cam).

¹² Rithy Panh, a Franco-Cambodian film director and refugee, enables the collaborators and executioners to reveal themselves in her documentary S-21: the Khmer Rouge Killing Machine. In his speech before the tribunal, Duch, too, rejects all responsibility; he apologises, all the while claiming that he was simply following orders.

5. Practising Buddhists, notably the bonzes; approximately 25,000 were executed. "Fewer than 5% of clergy members survived the genocide" (Séra 63).
6. The Cham (mostly Muslim): A minority representing about 3% of the kingdom's population in 1975, the Cham were re-baptised "Khmer Islam" (Kane 69). According to Kiernan, 90,000 lost their lives; i.e. more than 36% of the total Cham population in Cambodia (588). Other authors speak of 100,000 to 400,000 Cham victims (Masis). One of the ways in which they were made to give up their religion was forcing them to eat pork and dispersing them in villages so that they could no longer practise their religious rites together (Duong 15).
7. The Christians, 61,000 (of whom 95% were Vietnamese). All clergy members were eliminated (Kane 94). All Christians who did not give up their faith were executed. In 1979, there remained just about "a thousand believers" (Kane 95).
8. The Vietnamese, most of who were expelled at the beginning of the Khmer Rouge regime. The executions began in mid-1976 (Duong 8). The Chinese, 200,000 victims (Kiernan).

Resistance

The use of the term "victim" often suggests helplessness in people and a purely passive role. According to their means and interests, people did resist the Khmer Rouge (cf. entire chapter on the resistance).

End of the Khmer Rouge regime and the political situation between then and now

At the end of 1977, Pol Pot ended all cooperation with the government of North Vietnam. While the Khmer Rouge regime established diplomatic relations with China, North Vietnam chose the Soviet Union.

At the end of 1978, North Vietnam invaded Cambodia with the intention of overthrowing the Khmer Rouge regime. On January 11, 1979, the People's Revolutionary Party (pro-Vietnam faction of the Communist *Party of Kampuchea* (CPK) seized power and established the "People's Republic of Kampuchea."

Apart from the North Vietnamese invasion, the greatly weakened population and the purges committed by the Khmer Rouge contributed greatly to the fall of the Khmer Rouge.

The Khmer Rouge took refuge in the jungle where they began guerilla warfare against the new regime that lasted until 1998. The UN granted a seat to the Khmer Rouge up until 1989 but refused to recognize the pro-Vietnam government.

The Vietnamese forces finally retreated from Cambodia in 1989.

In November 1991, King Norodom Sihanouk returned in triumph to Phnom. The king, who had remained in Phnom Penh for some time during the Khmer Rouge rule before taking exile in China, never openly condemned the violence of the Khmer Rouge. He did, nonetheless, request that an international tribunal be established (Lépine).

In 1993, the UN organized elections and a coalition government was formed by the royalist party *Funcinpec* and the successor to the old communist party, the *Cambodian People's Party* (CPP) led by Hun Sen. In 2004, Norodom Sihanouk abdicated in favour of his son, Prince Norodom Sihamoni.

In the legislative elections of 2008, the CPP won the majority of seats in Parliament. As of May 2012, Hun Sen remains the prime minister and Cambodia is now a constitutional monarchy.

Justice and the collective memory

In 1979, the *People's Revolutionary Tribunal* in Phnom Penh found Ieng Sary and Pol Pot guilty of the crime of genocide, "but neither appeared before the tribunal nor served his term" (<http://www.eccc.gov.kh>).

In 1997, the Khmer government asked the UN for help to bring the former Khmer Rouge leaders to trial. It was the first time that the UN defined the crimes of the Khmer Rouge as "acts of genocide."

In 2001, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) were established to bring to trial those guilty of genocide. The ECCC are not an *ad hoc* international tribunal such as those that exist in the former Yugoslavia or Rwanda but rather a hybrid tribunal, both national and international (Greenspoon). The ECCC is a UN tribunal with "international participants" and "international standards" (ECCC online). In the case of Cambodia, most of the members of the tribunal are Cambodian. Similar tribunals exist in East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo (*ibid*).

The tribunal has been prosecuting the senior officials of the Democratic Kampuchean since 2007:

"Only those who are still living will be tried" (ECCC online). Two big cases are the prosecution of Kaing Guek Eav, a.k.a "Duch" - former commander of S-21 who has already been convicted- and those of Nuon Chea (deputy general secretary of the CPK), Ieng Sary (deputy prime minister and foreign minister), Ieng Thirith (former minister for social affairs), and Khieu Samphan (state president). The last four are in pre-trial detention and have been charged with crimes against humanity, and, with the exception of the only woman appearing before the court, with grave violations of the Geneva Convention.

To date, ex-Khmer Rouge live in Cambodia, either in hiding or by denying their identity. As a result, the victims find themselves living next to their executioners. According to Robert Petit, Canadian co-prosecutor who worked for the UN from 2007 to 2009 in the ECCC, "the emotion [...] the victimization are still present because there has been no resolution." Petit has criticised the political unwillingness of Cambodia to apply just laws. He argues that there was "impunity with regard to all the crimes" (Petit 2010). The rich and the powerful especially profited.

The *Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum*, other commemorative sites, and educational programs (e.g. the Documentation Center of Cambodia 2010) are preserving the collective memory of the genocide for all Cambodians and other people by doing a great deal of work to raise awareness of the atrocities.

In 2000, the Chinese government, political and economic partner during the Khmer Rouge regime, still refused to “assume responsibility for the crimes committed under the Pol Pot regime” (Kane 84). The Chinese government had maintained a delegation in Democratic Kampuchea at Phnom Penh and had cooperated with the Khmer Rouge by sending 15,000 civilian and military advisers.

According to the Quebec census of 2006, 10,170 people declared their origin to be Cambodian. More than 60% of the community were born elsewhere. Most of the immigrants are first generation. The establishment of the Cambodian community in Quebec is, therefore, quite recent, with the heaviest wave of immigration to Quebec occurring between 1981 and 1985. More than 90% of Cambodian immigrants live in Montreal. Compared to the income of Quebecers as a whole, the annual income of Cambodian immigrants is quite low (Census2006).

Montreal’s Cambodian community is the largest in Canada. Many of its members are committed to raising awareness of the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge.

The two largest associations representing the interests of Cambodians in Canada are located in Montreal: The *Angkarian Community of Canada* in Ville St-Laurent (<http://www.cambodia.ca>) and the *Khmer Buddhist Temple of Montreal* in Ville d’Anjou.

Annotated Bibliography

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Overview: “This book traces the complex political history of Cambodia. It helps the uninformed reader to understand the macabre game played in this country by intervening foreign powers (USA., USSR, China, France) for more than 50 years: powers that installed or maintained in power leaders who were, one after the other corrupt, incompetent, and bloodthirsty.”

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Overview: Chandler studies the history and operation of the interrogation and execution centre S-21, and he also discusses the employees and the prisoners. A large part of the book is devoted to the various purges during the Khmer Rouge regime, the types of and motives for torture that explain one aspect of the ideology.

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Plossu, Bernard. Préface. *Témoign S-21. Face au génocide des Cambodgiens*. By Dominique Mérigrad. Manosque (France): Le bec en air, 2008. Print.

Overview: Book of photographs taken by Dominique Mérigrad at the old execution camp S-21, today the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh. It include photos of the building, identity photos of those condemned to die (re-photographed photos), and abandoned instruments of torture.

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Overview: CGEO is an interactive database of maps, satellite images, and detailed information on 130,000 locations across Cambodia.

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<<http://www.herodote.net/histoire/evenement.php?jour=19540721>>. 21 March 2011.

Les réfugiés et les catégories désignées: Développement depuis 1945. Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal. Cote P832, S5, SS1. Catalogue no 5 0 001 03- 07- 006B- 01.

Pâquet, Martin. "Jacques Couture, l'engagé." *Le Devoir* 6 December 2008.

Pâquet, Martin. *Tracer les marges de la Cité. Étranger, immigrant et État au Québec, 1627-1981*. Montreal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 2006, 202–235.

United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 1973*. Adopted by the Security Council in its 6498th session on March 17, 2011. Consultation Document.

Overview: Resolution 1973 of 2011 on the violent situation in Libya serves as a recent example of Security Council resolutions.

4. Websites of research centres, museums, etc.

Cambodian Genocide Program of Yale University :

<<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/>>. Web: 21 Feb. 2011.

Documentation Centre of Cambodia :

<<http://www.dccam.org/>>. Web. 21 Feb. 2011.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC):

<<http://www.eccc.gov.kh/fr>>. Web. 4 April 2011.

Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence. Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI). Paris :

<<http://massviolence.org/>>. Web. 25 Feb. 2011.

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum:

<<http://www.tuolslengmuseum.com/index.htm>>. Web. 21 Feb. 2011.

Website of Vann Nath :

<<http://vannnath.com/>>. Web. 16 May 2011.

Overview: Artist Vann Nath is one of the rare survivors of execution centre S-21, today the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. While in prison, he was forced to paint portraits of Pol Pot. After his release, he processed his experiences in paintings that portrayed the types of execution and daily prison life. Some of his paintings appear on his site.

5. Films and radio reports

Courtemanche, Gil. 1979. "Pour ou contre l'accueil des réfugiés?" *L'Événement*. Radio Canada, Montreal. 8 July 1979, 35min. 47sec.

Radio.

<http://archives.radio-canada.ca/societe/immigration/clips/2519/> Web. 11 April 2011.

Overview: Courtemanche hosted an online program on the subject of welcoming refugees from Vietnam, Lao, and Cambodia. It discussed the fears and prejudices felt by a large number of Quebecers toward refugees, as well as the will to help and to integrate the latter to the detriment of other Quebecers.

Lépine, Jean-François. "Khmers rouges, bourreaux d'un peuple."
Zone libre. Radio Canada, 17 March 2000, 41min. Television.
<<http://archives.radio-canada.ca/politique/international/clips/16546/>>.
Web. 25 Feb. 2011.

Overview: Report on raising awareness of the past under the Khmer Rouge regime. At the time the program aired, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia had not yet been established and the Khmer Rouges controlled a region in the Western part of the country. The reporter journeys into the past to confront the former executioners and leaders with the genocide. The results are striking: most of the perpetrators were opposed to the violent Khmer Rouge regime. Denial and repression predominate in the collective memory of Cambodia. Many Cambodians want to "turn the page"; they prefer to forget, and they ask forgiveness.

Invited guests: Klok Buddhi, Khea Chon, Kong Duong, Him Horn, Chuong Khva, Lao Mun Ho, Long Norin, Ranariddh Norodum, Benson Samay, Ieng Sary, Hun Sen, Khy Taing Lim, Phuon Thida, Ieng Vuth.

Petit, Robert. "Conférence de Robert Petit." *Histoires de vie Montréal*.
6 Feb. 2010, 13 min. 18 sec.
<http://parolecitoyenne.org/node/25705&dossier_nid=22406>. Web. 17 March 2011.

Severson, John. *A Perfect Soldier*. :
<<http://www.aperfectsoldier.com/trailer.html>>. Web. 29 April 2011.

Overview: John Severson relates the story of Aki Ra who planted thousands of anti-personnel landmines for the Khmer Rouge at the age of 6. Today he is committed to clearing the Cambodian minefields.

United Nations Organization. "A quest for justice." *UNTV : 21st century*. 1 August 2010, 26min. Television
<<http://www.unmultimedia.org/tv/21stcentury/2010/08/cambodia-a-quest-for-justice.html>>. Web. 4 April.

Overview: The report sheds light on the Duch trial before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. It includes interviews of Chum Mey and Vann Nath, both former prisoners of S-21, as well as interviews with the prosecutors of the tribunal, Duch's French lawyer, and others.