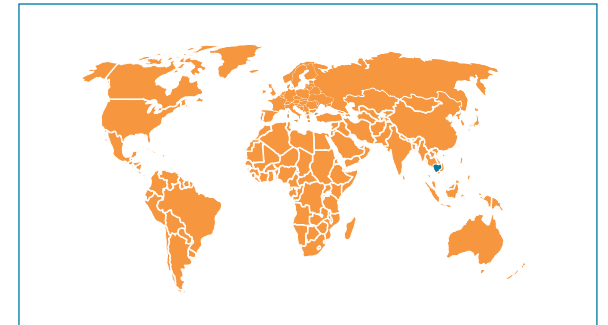
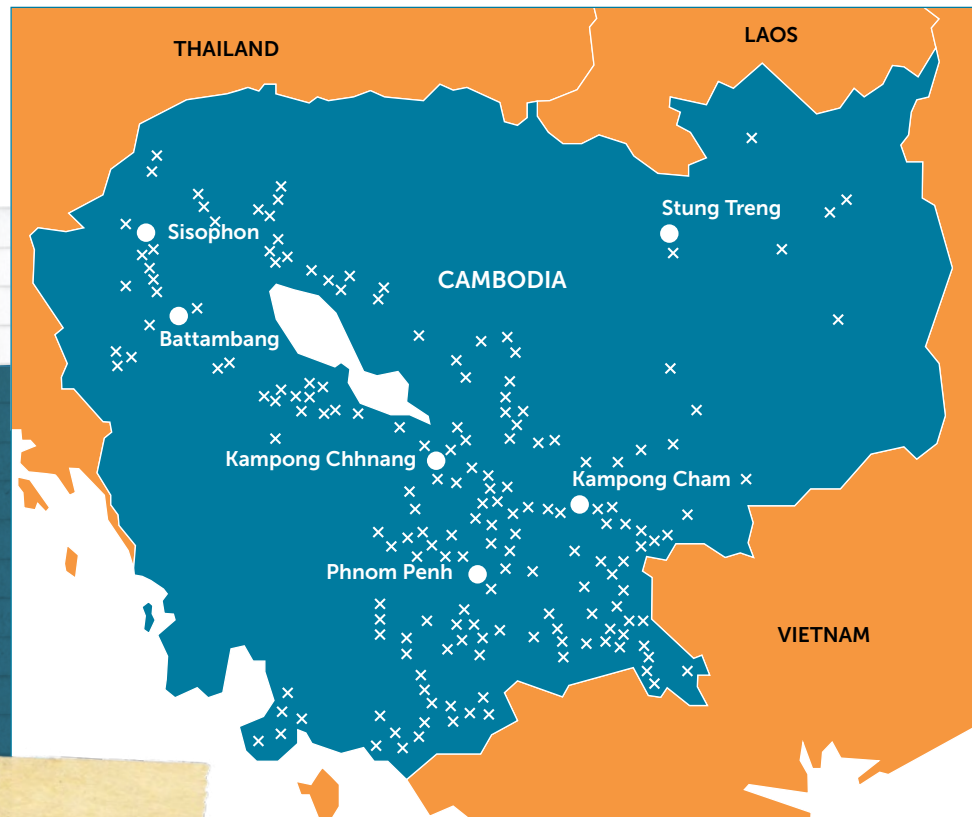


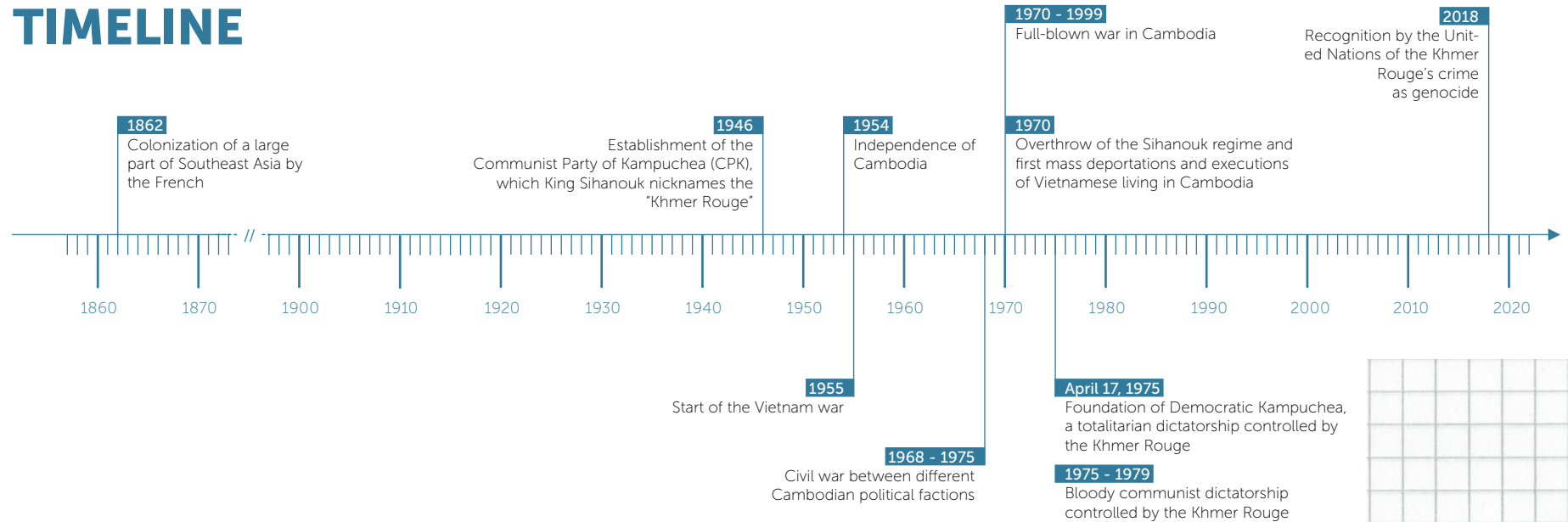
GENOCIDE OF CHAMS, VIETNAMESE AND KHMER IN CAMBODIA

CAMBODIA IN 1975



x Mass grave
(Some 300 graves have been found so far.)

TIMELINE



HIGHLIGHTS

What?

- // Government overthrown by the communist Khmer Rouge
- // Assassinations and mass deportations of Cambodians, more specifically, ethnic minorities

When?

- // Between 1975 and 1979

Where?

- // Cambodia

Who?

- // The perpetrators were the Cambodian Communists, known as the "Khmer Rouge."
- // In 1970, Lon Nol's regime orchestrated the first mass executions and deportations of Vietnamese living in Cambodia.
- // The victims of the genocide were Muslim Chams, Thai, semi-nomadic tribes of the northeast, Vietnamese, Chinese, Catholic Khmer, and Khmer populations seen as enemies. It is estimated that between 1.3 and 2.3 million Cambodians were killed.

EXCERPT FROM AN ACCOUNT

"In the work camps, if we didn't work, we were arrested. It was up to them whether or not to charge us. If we were sick, they said we were sick in the head. They mistreated those they didn't like, whatever they did. For example, my father tried to work hard, but he was charged and killed. If they said you were the enemy, there was nothing you could do. They tied up my father right in front of me. I thought they were going to kill me, too, that night, because they used to say: 'If you're removing weeds, you need to remove the roots, too.' He was right in front of me, but I couldn't cry. It wasn't allowed." *[translation]*¹

SURVIVOR'S ACCOUNT, 2014



Woman incarcerated and executed in Tuol Sleng prison

Credit: Doudva, Wikimedia Commons

ISSUE

According to estimates, from 1975 to 1979, between 1.3 and 2.3 million Cambodians were killed during the **Communist**² reign of the **Khmer Rouge**.³ The entire country became a concentration camp with 8 million prisoners.⁴ Although there is no doubt that the Khmer Rouge committed crimes against humanity, the question of genocide is more ambiguous. Some historians have used the controversial term “auto-genocide,” suggesting that we cannot distinguish the victims from the perpetrators in terms of ethnicity or religion.⁵ In fact, most of the victims were Khmers, “and almost all of them were executed ... as political enemies” [*translation*],⁶ which excludes them from the definition of genocide. Were the crimes part of the repression common to other communist systems? Were they an episode in the “full-blown war” in Cambodia between 1970 and 1999?⁷ Others propose that the mass executions were the result of an ultraviolent peasant revolt against the urban elite or of a resurgence of old conflicts in a region marked by centuries of violence.⁸

Although some Khmer were seen as “enemies of the regime” based on social and political criteria, we cannot deny the presence of ethnic criteria as well. In fact, for **Pol Pot**,⁹ those who opposed the revolution were not considered true Khmer, and everything foreign was antirevolutionary. The Khmer Rouge tried to justify the executions by describing their political opponents as “non-Khmer” with “Cambodian bodies and Vietnamese minds” [*translation*].¹⁰ Nonetheless, in November 2018, the United Nations (UN) recognized the crimes perpetrated against the indigenous **Chams**¹¹ and the Vietnamese minority (but not the Khmer victims) as genocide.¹² In any study of the Khmer Rouge regime, the facts show the installation of a fearsome dictatorship and the perpetration of genocide, and these phenomena are difficult to separate. In that case, is the murder of people belonging to the same ethnic group as the perpetrators but defined as foreigners the same as the genocide of ethnic minorities?

Communiste

Follower of communism, a leftist ideology opposed to capitalism and advocating for the distribution of wealth among those who create it. This ideology was at the root of the Russian revolution in 1917, as well as the founding of political parties in a number of countries in the 20th century, including the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK).

Khmers rouges

Name given by King Sihanouk to the members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) in the 1950s. The Khmer Rouge were in power in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979.

Pol Pot

Saloth Sâr, nicknamed Pol Pot or “Brother Number One,” was one of the founders and the main leader of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) from the early 1970s until his death in 1998.

Cham

Muslim Khmer population who fled to Cambodia after the fall of the ancient Muslim kingdom of Champa located in what is now southern Vietnam, in the 15th century. They settled along waterways such as the Mekong, living mostly by fishing and farming.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Sanskrit

Literary and religious language that originated in India.

Pāli

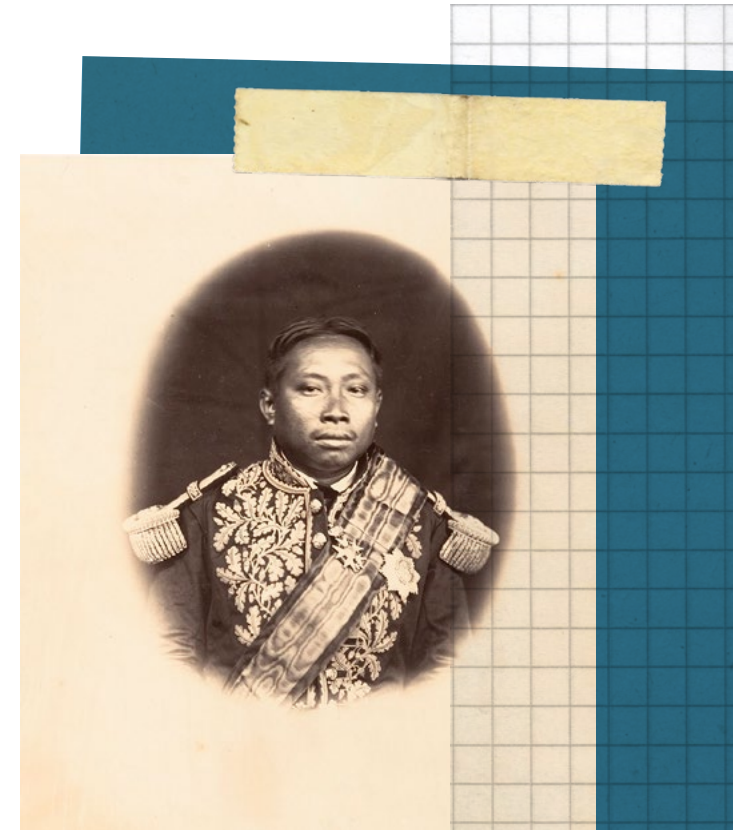
Literary and religious language associated with Buddhism. It is still used in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia.

In the fifth century, the Khmer migrated from the north and settled in what is now Cambodia. They subdued the Mōn already on the territory and kept their Indian traditions (**Sanskrit**¹³ language, Hinduism and the cult of the god-king).

In the early eighth century, the Khmer kingdom began to prosper. It was the beginning of the prosperity of the Angkor dynasties (named after the capital, Angkor). The kingdom underwent its largest territorial expansion before beginning its decline and collapsing in the 15th century. The cult of the god-king was abolished, and Hinduism and Sanskrit were replaced by Buddhism and **Pāli**¹⁴. This was also when people began converting to Islam upon coming into contact with immigrants from the Muslim nations of Malaysia and Champa.

For 400 years, the nation was ruled alternately by neighbouring Siam and Vietnam and lost vast territories to these two countries.

In 1862, France colonized the region and established French Indochina, made up of what is now Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. The economy and government were now in the hands of the French, Vietnamese and Chinese, more and more of whom moved to the new capital Phnom Penh. The Cambodians were mostly farmers.



Photograph of the King Norodom I of Cambodia (1860-1904), 1866

Credit: Emile Gsell, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

After World War II, King **Sihanouk**¹⁵ negotiated a gradual decolonization. The French defeat in Vietnam accelerated the process, and the country gained its independence in 1954. Sihanouk abdicated, but his party won the election. Initially united in the Indochinese Communist Party, national communist parties began appearing in 1946, including the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), which Sihanouk nicknamed the “Khmer Rouge.”¹⁶ Cambodian politics pitted the Communists (Khmer Rouge), right-wing Americans and Sihanouk’s repressive regime against one another.

In 1968, several uprisings occurred, and the clandestine armed struggle became a full-fledged civil war. Isolated and attacked, Sihanouk was overthrown in 1970 by the pro-American partisans of General Lon Nol. Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge were now allied against Lon Nol. The Vietnam War (1961-1973) exacerbated the tensions even more as the United States army bombed the positions of the North Vietnamese army in Cambodia. The difficulties experienced by peasants, the repression of the Lon Nol regime and the extension of the Vietnam War to Cambodia pushed more and more Cambodians to enter the armed conflict in which the Khmer Rouge extended their influence.

By 1973, they controlled 17 of the 19 Cambodian provinces by means of 125 000 disciplined soldiers supported by the Vietnamese Communist army. Despite the support of the United States, Lon Nol suffered many military defeats and had to flee the country when the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, where they founded a totalitarian Communist dictatorship, which they called Democratic Kampuchea. Anyone suspected of opposing the Communist regime was seen as not truly Khmer. The Khmer’s supposed enemies were referred to as “Vietnamese in Khmer bodies.” Ethnic minorities were especially targeted by the regime.¹⁷

Sihanouk

Norodom Sihanouk was King of Cambodia from 1941 to 1955, and from 1993 to 2004. He is considered the father of Cambodia’s independence from the French Empire. As king or prime minister, he was an influential politician for sixty years.



Temple of Angkor Wat, symbol of the prosperous era of the Angkor dynasties

Credit: J. Hatun, Wikimedia Commons

STAGES OF THE GENOCIDE

TO CLASSIFY

“All nationalities have labourers, like our Kampuchean nationality, except for Islamic Khrners, whose lives are not so difficult.”

Excerpt from a CPK tract distributed in April 1973¹⁸

“On April 19 [1970], the Ministry of National Education [in Lon Nol’s government] ordered the closure of all private foreign, Chinese, Vietnamese and missionary schools.”

François Ponchaud, French Catholic priest living in Cambodia, a witness to and victim of the genocide (Ponchaud 2006, 169)
[translation]



Woman incarcerated and executed in Tuol Sleng prison.

Credit: Doudva, Wikimedia Commons

In the early 1970s, Cambodia's population was composed of 7 million inhabitants, 80% of whom were Buddhist Khmer living in rural areas. The rural population was made up mostly of small landowners, but many of them lost their property during the civil war and the American bombings. This made them fertile ground for the Khmer Rouge guerilla movement.¹⁹ French colonial policy had led to the settlement of large ethnic minority populations (600 000 Chinese, 400 000 Vietnamese, Laotians and Thai). These populations had recently arrived, and were not well integrated into the Khmer population. The 65 000 Catholics, whose religion was often considered to be practised by "foreigners" (Vietnamese, French and Chinese), were the victims of discrimination by the authorities, the nationalists and the Communists. Other groups, like the Chams (between 150 000 and 250 000), were indigenous peoples who had converted to Islam. These populations were concentrated in a few areas: Chinese and Vietnamese in the cities; Chams and Vietnamese along the rivers; and Vietnamese, Laotians and Thai along the borders. In the 19th century, several hundred Khmer had migrated from the territories conquered by the Vietnamese; they were known as the "Khmer Krom," or the Khmer from the south. When Cambodia gained its independence, minority cultures were stigmatized: Chinese and Vietnamese



Cambodians were refused citizenship, Catholic communities were attacked, the tribal populations in the mountains were grouped together under the name "Khmer Loeu" (Khmer from the north), and the Chams were referred to as "Muslim Khmer." Between 1959 and 1964, Sihanouk launched a "major Khmerization" of the peripheral provinces populated by numerous ethnic minorities. Racist prejudice raged against the Vietnamese, labelled "Yuong," or savages, and the Chams were discriminated against and accused of practising "black magic."²⁰

Photograph taken at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum on the site of the former prison near Phnom Penh. On display are photos of the victims taken at the time they were jailed.

Credit: Christian Haugen

TO DEHUMANIZE

“There is a disease in the Party. . . . We cannot put our finger on it. The disease must manifest itself to be studied. Since zeal for the popular revolution and the democratic revolution is not enough for the people’s fight and the class struggle . . . we are looking futilely for germs in the Party. The Party, the army and the people harbour disgusting microbes. They will be expelled by the true nature of the socialist revolution.”

Excerpt from a speech by Pol Pot to CPK leaders, December 1976 (Chandler 2002, 64-65) [*translation*]

“In this world, I am no longer a person. I have no freedom, no thoughts, no origins, no heritage, no rights; I no longer have a body. I have only a duty: to dissolve into the organization.”

Rithy Panh, survivor (Panh and Bataille 2011, 89) [*translation*]



Photograph taken at the Genocide Museum on the site of the former Tuol Sleng prison near Phnom Penh. You can see the cells in which the prisoners were held. The conditions were particularly inhumane.

Credit: Argile Gilliland, Wikimedia

The Khmer Rouge used a lot of animal metaphors. Someone who was seen as an example to be followed was referred to as “Comrade Ox”: obedient and hard-working, did not complain when his family was killed.²¹ All traces of individuality were rubbed out: everyone had to look the same: wear the same clothes, a type of loose dark-coloured pyjama, and wear their hair short. Wearing glasses, a symbol of the intellectual bourgeoisie, was forbidden. The Khmer Rouge all wore the same black uniform, a black cap, a red and white checkered scarf and sandals.²² Dehumanizing tactics were everywhere: forced labour in the countryside, prisoners’ conditions (torture, chains, isolation, undernourishment, mandatory silence, illness), the rape of female prisoners, in particular Vietnamese prisoners, and even mass executions. Vietnamese prisoners were forced to bow before an illustration of their leader Hô Chi Minh, depicted with a dog’s head. The Khmer Rouge also used dehumanizing language: opponents of the regime were referred to as worms or leeches. They were compared to “weevils [boring] into wood,” “an oil slick” or “germs” that could infect the rest of the population. Prisoners’ families were arrested and executed in order to



“pull the weeds out by the roots” or “cut out the rot from the body.” Forced confessions were rife with statements like “I am not a human being, I am an animal” or “I am a termite gnawing from the inside.” The Vietnamese troops who invaded Cambodia in 1978 were compared to “monkeys shrieking in the forest.” This “process of alienation” made the killings more acceptable for the perpetrators.²³

Women incarcerated and executed in Tuol Sleng prison. All of the prisoners wore the same uniform and had the same haircut. This was intended to deny them their individuality.

Credit: Doudva, Wikimedia Commons

TO POLARIZE

“We [had] to carefully screen [...] internal agents to improve and purify [the population], in order to implement the line of building socialism [...]. Their careful screening was to take all measures so that people were pure (borisot). [...]. If people could not do it, they [were] taken away and killed.”

Excerpt from a 1991 interview with Chea Sim, former secretary of the Khmer Rouge East Zone (Kiernan 2008, 56-57)

“The Khmer Rouge treated peasants as a distinct group, giving them more food than their city-dwelling counterparts and assigning them easier tasks (usually in the village), while city dwellers almost always worked in the fields. Sometimes, the peasants and the Khmer Rouge themselves told new arrivals: ‘You have been happy and prosperous. Now it is our turn.’”

Srey Pich Chnay, Cambodian considered part of the “new population” by the Khmer Rouge, 1979²⁴ [translation]



Photograph of the Khmer Rouge uniform taken at the Choeung Ek Museum. Members of the CPK wore this black uniform with a krama, a traditional red and white Khmer scarf.

Credit: Toony, Wikimedia Commons



Photograph of a victim executed at Tuol Sleng prison. She was arrested when her husband, a high-ranking officer in the Cambodian army, was caught in the Khmer Rouge “purges.”

Credit: Alan C.

At first allies, the Cambodian and Vietnamese Communist parties became “enemy brothers.”²⁵ In 1976, Pol Pot went so far as to change the history of the Khmer Communist movement to hide the common origins of both parties. In 1971, moderate CPK leaders and those trained in Vietnam were forced out of the Party’s leadership, then executed. In 1974, the Khmer Rouge attacked other improvised allies: Sihanouk and his partisans. In 1975, they removed members of ethnic minorities from the regional administrations. Power was now concentrated in the hands of the most radical Communist Khmer. On April 4, 1976, after a sham election, Sihanouk stepped down, Pol Pot, then unknown to the general population, became prime minister, and Khieu Samphân became “chairman of the state presidium.”

Propaganda campaigns on the radio, in newspapers and at meetings inculcated absolute obedience to the party and “national hatred” of the enemy. Once in power, the Khmer Rouge opposed the “new population” (city dwellers and intellectuals influenced by foreigners), who had to be “purified,” to the “old population” (people who lived in rural areas and who supported the Khmer Rouge guerilla movement), an example to be followed. Basic freedoms were suppressed (freedom of the press, of religion, of association, of opinion, etc.), and the justice system was dismantled. Every day, the population was subjected to “political re-education” and indoctrination. Throughout the period, the “purges” against opponents with “Cambodian bodies and Vietnamese minds” continued. Forced displacement, propaganda, incarcerations and executions ensured total control over the Cambodian population throughout the Khmer Rouge regime.²⁶

TO ORGANIZE

“Their role was to furtively spread fear under cover of the forests, first in small doses, to paralyze and unnerve the villagers, then, as a spider spins its web, to weave a vast network of tight threads that would gradually stretch over the entire back country like venom.”

François Bizot, incarcerated by the Khmer Rouge in 1971, about their rise to power after 1970 (Richer 2009) [*translation*]

“Don’t worry about us. The North Vietnamese will never take over Cambodia. We have taken measures . . . our alliance with them was only part of a strategy. . . . For now, we must focus on the most urgent concern: driving out the invader with the help of our brother peoples.”

Douch, leader of the Santebal [Khmer Rouge secret police], in answer to François Bizot, member of the École française d’Extrême-Orient [French School of the Far East], incarcerated in 1971, about the alliance with the powerful Vietnamese (Richer 2009) [*translation*]

The Khmer Rouge regime was founded on an organization known as the Angkar, whose initial purpose was to control the regions that fell into their hands before taking over the entire country in 1975. This “anonymous” and all powerful organization united the army, the Party and the State. Like the deified kings of Angkor, the organization and its leaders were shrouded in secrecy and mystery. Angkar was “the new god to which the people were to devote themselves body and soul”²⁷ [*translation*]. Khmer Rouge society was strictly organized from bottom to top, as the Party Centre.

Each segment of society was led by a trio of people from the “old population.” On May 20, 1975, Pol Pot assembled the representatives of the Angkar to present the Party Centre’s plan: evacuation of the cities, suppression of religion, execution of opponents, expulsion of the Vietnamese. Four million Cambodians were deported to the countryside in the first days of the regime. On October 9, Pol Pot announced to 700 leaders that the fight against the Vietnamese was a key objective. In spring 1976, a teacher nicknamed Douch became the leader of the Santebal, the police force in charge of internal surveillance. He transformed the Tuol Sleng prison, or S-21, which became the main tool in the Khmer Rouge system of terror. The prison was run by a hierarchical structure made up of the leadership trios. Each unit had a specific role to play (torture, supervision, administration, execution, etc.) and was supplied with manuals, training, methods and rules. This organization testifies to the premeditated nature of the crimes. The hierarchical structure of society, the unceasing and arbitrary violence, the ongoing surveillance and the country’s complete isolation made Cambodia a “vast concentration camp” where seemingly no one could escape the Angkar, especially not the ethnoreligious minorities.²⁸



Photo of child soldiers recruited by the Khmer Rouge
Credit: Alan C.

TO PERSECUTE AND TO MURDER

“If they asked you something and you said anything wrong, or if you protested, you disappeared forever.”

Ka Chu, surviving member of the Cham ethnic minority, Kompong Tralach, September 5, 1980, about crimes committed when their region was taken by the Khmer Rouge (Kiernan 1998, 315) [translation]

“[The CPK arrested] the scholarly clerics and took them away to kill them. . . . In the early morning, the Khmer Rouge tied the people up and murdered them in the middle of the river. There were hundreds of victims, two or three boatloads every day. Even sick people were put in boats and tossed overboard.”

Sop Khatidjah, Nong Samet, September 1984 (Kiernan 1998, 320-321) [translation]

In 1970, General Lon Nol's regime deported or killed almost 400 000 Vietnamese, including many Catholics, whose population fell from 65 000 to 7 000. Starting in 1975, many of the attacks by the Khmer Rouge on national, religious and ethnic minorities fit the definition of genocide. The Muslim Chams were especially persecuted: the Khmer Rouge burned Korans, prohibited the Chams from speaking their language, closed the mosques, forced them to adopt Khmer names and eat pork, and banned the traditional **sarong**²⁹ and long hair. Chinese and Vietnamese languages and customs were similarly banned.

Sarong

Traditional garb worn by men and women, especially the Chams in Cambodia. It is made of a single piece of cloth wrapped around the waist.



Catholic churches and cemeteries were obliterated. The Thai minority was also attacked, and the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the ethnic minorities of the northeast was destroyed. More ethnic and religious minorities were killed than anyone else. Between 1975 and 1979, the death toll among the Chams (40.6%), Vietnamese (37.5%), Chinese (38.4%) and Catholic Khmer (48.6%) was higher than the average death rate of approximately 32%.³⁰ An estimated 100 000 to 500 000 of the entire population of 700 000 Chams were executed. Between the killings and the deportations, the Vietnamese minority disappeared, including women married to Khmer men. The evacuation

of the cities, mostly populated by Chinese and Vietnamese, also contributed to the changing demographic balance in favour of the Khmer. In the Tuol Sleng prison, entire families of Vietnamese were tortured and killed. Many of them died as a result of poor living conditions. Some were even used as guinea pigs in particularly cruel pseudoscientific experiments. In all, there were between 1.5 and 2 million victims of the Khmer Rouge regime, most of whom were Khmer and were killed because they were considered “foreigners,” i.e. real or suspected opponents of the regime (intellectuals, members of the liberal professions, etc.).³¹



Photograph of a classroom transformed into a torture chamber at the Tuol Sleng prison (S-21).

Credit: S. Shankar, Wikimedia Commons.

TO DENY

“I made only big decisions on big issues. I want to tell you—Tuol Sleng was a Vietnamese exhibition. A journalist wrote that. People talk about Tuol Sleng, Tuol Sleng, Tuol Sleng. . . . When I first heard about Tuol Sleng it was on the Voice of America. I listened twice.”

Excerpt from an interview of Pol Pot by journalist Nate Thayer, 1997³²

“Fleeing would have meant death for [me] and [my] family. . . . [I had become] both a criminal and hostage of the regime.”

Douch, at his inquiry in 2008 (Richer 2009, 134)

“Vietnam invented the objectionable idea of the Cambodian genocide.”

Khieu Samphân at his genocide trial in 2017 (“Cambodge: fin du procès de deux dirigeants khmers rouges,” 2017)³³



Photograph of Khieu Samphân, former president of Democratic Kampuchea, at his trial before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, during which he denied the existence of the genocide.

Credit: ECCC, Wikimedia Commons

Under the reign of the Khmer Rouge, secrecy was an integral part of social and political life. The leaders' anonymity was a way of shrouding themselves in divine mystery, like the kings of Angkor. Saloth Sâr was known as Pol Pot or under the pseudonym "Brother Number One" and, like the other leaders, was almost never seen in public. Hiding behind the Angkar also allowed many of the perpetrators of the genocide to plead obedience to an impersonal chain of command, in which personal responsibility is very difficult to establish and prove. The country was also totally isolated from the rest of the world. All diplomatic ties were broken, and emigration out of the country was forbidden under the death penalty. All means of communication (mail, telecommunications, radio, the press and all other forms of publication) were prohibited or monopolized in order to disseminate the regime's propaganda. The existence of the detention centres was kept a secret. Of more than 14 000 prisoners at S-21, only about a dozen survived. Eyewitnesses were therefore extremely rare, and the leaders were able to deny their direct involvement.



In the West, some intellectuals refused to use the word "genocide" to describe the events that took place in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 for ideological and political reasons. For example, in the 1970s, some opponents of the Vietnam war did not want the horrors perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge to be used as justification for American military operations in the region.³⁴

Photograph of the bloodied wall of a pagoda in Ba Chúc, South Vietnam, where 3157 Vietnamese civilians were murdered by Democratic Kampuchean troops on April 18, 1978. Only two people survived the attack, which led to the invasion of Cambodia by the Vietnamese military.

Credit: T. D. Nguyen, Wikimedia Commons

JUSTICE

“When Ieng Thirith died, part of justice died with her.”

Chum Mey, survivor (Se, 2015) [translation]

In 1979, after the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam and the fall of the regime, the People’s Revolutionary Tribunal was established to try Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. The two defendants were found guilty of the crime of genocide and sentenced to death on August 19, 1979, but the sentence was never carried out, since they returned to the clandestine armed struggle. In fact, the civil war between 1979 and 1991 between the different Cambodian political forces considerably hindered the judicial process, which took 40 years. The issue of genocide was completely ignored.



Photograph of international and Cambodian judges (in red) and examining magistrates (in purple) at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia sentencing Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphân to life in prison for crimes against humanity

Credit: ECCC, Wikimedia Commons



Photograph of Ieng Thirith, former Democratic Kampuchean Minister of Social Affairs at her trial before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

Credit: ECCC, Wikimedia Commons

Lastly, the Paris Peace Accords of October 23, 1991, were signed by the different parties and implemented by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). In August 1996, Ieng Sary left the Khmer Rouge with thousands of his followers in exchange for amnesty.

In 1997, Pol Pot had Son Sen, his former Minister of Defence, and his family assassinated. He was then himself tried by the Khmer Rouge. He was sentenced to life in prison on June 26, 1997, and died on April 15, 1998. After the death of “Brother Number One,” leaders such as Nuon Chea, the Khmer Rouge regime’s “Brother Number Two,” and Khieu Samphân, surrendered to the authorities and were granted amnesty. On March 6, 1997, Ta Mok, the head Khmer Rouge military chief, was arrested; Duch was arrested on May 10. This was followed by extended negotiations between Prime Minister Hen Sen and the UN.

Finally, in 2002, the UN and the Cambodian government ratified the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), a joint Cambodian and international tribunal made up of national and international judges. In 2006, Ta Mok died in prison before his trial began. On July 31, 2007, Duch was finally convicted. His trial began on February 17, 2009. He was sentenced to life in prison in 2012 for “war crimes,” and died on

September 2, 2020. The immunity agreements were lifted, and Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary, former Minister of Social Affairs Ieng Thirith, and Khieu Samphân were indicted for

“crimes against humanity.” The trial began on June 27, 2011. However, former Minister of Social Affairs Ieng Thirith was deemed unfit to stand trial by reason of mental disorder. She was freed in 2012, and died on August 22, 2015. Ieng Sary, her husband and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, died during his trial in 2013. In 2014, Nuon Chea (“Brother Number Two”) and Khieu Samphân were found guilty of “crimes against humanity” and sentenced to life in prison. The same year, their trial for genocide against the Vietnamese and Cham minorities began. They were sentenced to life in prison in 2018. Nuon Chea died on August 4, 2019.³⁵

The other trials for genocide and crimes against humanity stalled because of legal disputes between the Cambodian and international judges. The cases of Khmer Rouge regional leaders Im Chaem and Yim Tith are awaiting a decision, but it appears they are headed for a judgment of nonsuit. The court withdrew its legal actions against former navy commander Meas Muth and regional leader Ao An in 2018 and 2020. According to some international observers, the government intervened to have these cases closed.³⁶

REFERENCES

- 1 Le Monde. (2014). *Témoignage d'une survivante des Khmers Rouges*. https://www.lemonde.fr/asi-pacifique/video/2014/08/07/temoignage-d-une-survivante-des-khmers-rouges_4468081_3216.html
- 2 Guay, Jean-Herman. Dir. "COMMUNISME". Perspective monde website, July 16, 2019, accessed on August 6, 2019, <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMDictionnaire?iddictionnaire=1635>. (In French)
- 3 Leclerc, J. "Cambodge," 2019, <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asi/cambodge.htm>.
- 4 Kiernan, Ben, "The Cambodian Genocide, 1975-1979," in M. Van Haperen, ed. *The Holocaust and Other Genocides* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 73-96.
Margolin, Jean-Louis, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges: de la logique de guerre totale au genocide," Vingtième Siècle: *Revue d'histoire* 77, no. 1 (2003): 3-18. In subsequent references, this work will be cited as Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
- 5 Chandler, David, *S-21 ou le crime impuni des Khmers rouges* (Autrement, 2002). In subsequent references, this work will be cited as Chandler, S-21.
Rechtman, R. "Non, ce ne fut pas un autogénocide," *Le Monde*, April 28, 1998, 15.
- 6 Kane, Solomon, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges* (La Courneuve: Aux lieux d'être, 2007), 14.
- 7 Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
- 8 Richer, Philippe, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours* (Presses de Sciences Po, 2009). In subsequent references, this work will be cited as Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- 9 Richer, Philippe, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- 10 Chandler, S-21.
Kiernan, Ben, *Le génocide au Cambodge: 1975-1979; Race, idéologie et pouvoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998). In subsequent references, this work will be cited as Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
- 11 Devillers P., M. Franck, C. Lechery and S. Thierry, "Cambodge," in *Encyclopædia Universalis*, 2021, accessed on August 12, 2020, <http://www.universalis-edu.com/encyclopedie/cambodge/>.
- 12 Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), *Who has been prosecuted?* July 14, 2020, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en/who-has-been-prosecuted>. In subsequent references, this report will be cited as ECCC, *Who has been prosecuted?*
- 13 Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales. "Sanscrit". CNRTL website, 2012, accessed on November 6, 2020, <https://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/sanscrit>. (In French)
- 14 Caillat, Colette. "Pāli langue & littérature LANGUE &". *Encyclopædia Universalis* website, 2020, accessed on November 6, 2020, <http://www.universalis-edu.com/encyclopedie/langue-et-litterature-pali/consulte>. (In French)
- 15 Barbé, Yvan. "Norodom Sihanouk (1922-2012) - roi du Cambodge (1941-1955, 1993-2004)". *Encyclopædia Universalis* website, 2020, accessed on November 6, 2020, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/norodom-sihanouk/>. (In French)
- 16 Leclerc, J. "Cambodge," 2019, <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asi/cambodge.htm>. In subsequent references, this website will be cited as Leclerc, "Cambodge."
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- 17 Chandler, David, *A History of Cambodia, 4th edition* (Routledge, 2008).
Devillers P., M. Franck, C. Lechery and S. Thierry, "Cambodge," in *Encyclopædia Universalis*, 2021, accessed on August 12, 2021, <http://www.universalis-edu.com/encyclopedie/cambodge/>.
"Indochine française," in *Encyclopédie Larousse*, 2020, accessed on October 14, 2020, https://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/autre-region/Indochine_fran%C3%A7aise/124939.
Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
Thion, Serge and Ben Kiernan, *Khmers Rouges! Matériaux pour l'histoire du communisme au Cambodge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1981).
- 18 Kiernan, Ben. *The Pol Pot regime : race, power, and genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79*, 3rd edition (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2008).
- 19 Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Moisan, Sabrina, Cornélia Strickler, Erica Fagen and Claudia Seidel, *Exploring the Evidence: The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention* (Montreal Holocaust Museum, 2018), https://museeholocauste.ca/app/uploads/2018/10/exploring_evidence_appendix_ns.pdf. In subsequent references, this publication will be cited as Moisan et al., *Exploring the Evidence*.
- 20 Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Leclerc, "Cambodge."
Moisan et al., *Exploring the Evidence*.
Ponchaud, François, *La cathédrale de la rizière: 450 ans d'histoire de l'Église au Cambodge* (Tours, France: CLD Éditions, 2006).
Thibault, C., *L'archipel des camps: L'exemple cambodgien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008). In subsequent references, this work will be cited as Thibault, *L'archipel des camps*.
- 21 Moisan et al., *Exploring the Evidence*.
- 22 Bolin, Davith, "Avatars de la résistance contre l'effacement du passé: (re)construire la mémoire cambodgienne à travers les archives audiovisuelles; Les jeunes générations confrontées aux sources de Bophana" (unpublished Master's thesis) 2010, <https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/item?id=TC-QMUQ-3220&op=pdf&app=Library>.
Panh, Rithy and Christophe Bataille, *L'Élimination* (Paris: Grasset, 2011).
- 23 Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), *Press Release: NUON Chea and KHIEU Samphan Sentenced to Life Imprisonment in Case 002/02*, November 16, 2018, accessed on September 23, 2020, https://legal.un.org/ola/media/info_from_lc/mss/speeches/MSS_Phnom-Penh-November%202018-ECCC-2-2-press-release.pdf. In subsequent references, this report will be cited as ECCC, *Press Release*, November 16, 2018.
Chandler, S-21.
Leclerc, "Cambodge."
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.

- ²⁴ Jones, Adam. (2006). *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. New York, É-U: New Edition.
- ²⁵ Chanda, Nayan, *Les frères ennemis : la péninsule indochinoise après Saïgon* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1987).
- ²⁶ Chandler, S-21.
Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Leclerc, "Cambodge."
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- ²⁷ Ponchaud, François, *Cambodge année zero* (Paris: Julliard, 1977), 144.
- ²⁸ Chandler, S-21.
Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- ²⁹ Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales. "Sarong". CNRTL website, 2012, accessed on November 7, 2020, <https://cnrtl.fr/definition/sarong>. (In French)
- ³⁰ Sliwinski, Marek, *Le génocide khmer rouge: une analyse démographique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), 77.
- ³¹ ECCC, *Press Release*, November 16, 2018.
Chandler, S-21.
Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Leclerc, "Cambodge."
Malovic, Dorian, "Perpétuité pour 'génocide' contre deux ex-dirigeants khmers rouges," *La Croix*, November 16, 2018, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.la-croix.com/Monde/Asie-et-Oceanie/Perpetuite-genocide-contre-deux-dirigeants-khmers-rouges-2018-11-16-1200983541>.
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Ponchaud, François, *La cathédrale de la rizière: 450 ans d'histoire de l'Église au Cambodge* (Tours, France: CLD Éditions, 2006).
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
Sliwinski, Marek, *Le génocide khmer rouge: une analyse démographique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).
Thibault, *L'archipel des camps*.
- ³² Chandler, David. *Voices From S-21 : Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1999).
- ³³ TV5 MONDE INFO. "Cambodge : fin du procès de deux dirigeants khmers rouges." *TV5MONDE*, June 24, 2017, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://information.tv5monde.com/info/cambodge-fin-du-proces-de-deux-dirigeants-khmers-rouges-176962> (In French)
- ³⁴ Beachler, Donald W., "Arguing about Cambodia: Genocide and Political Interest," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 23, no. 2 (2009): 214-238.
Chandler, S-21.
Ear, Sopha, *The Khmer Rouge Canon 1975-1979: The Standard Total Academic View on Cambodia* (unpublished doctoral thesis) (University of California: 1995).
Kiernan, *Le génocide au Cambodge*.
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
- ³⁵ ECCC, *Press Release*, November 16, 2018.
Chandler, S-21.
Chronologie, "Les Khmers rouges, du génocide au procès," *La Croix*, July 25, 2010, accessed on October 27, 2020, https://www.la-croix.com/Actualite/Monde/Chronologie-Les-Khmers-rouges-du-genocide-au-proces-NG_-2010-07-25-554769.
Corey Boulet, Roby, "The World's First Genocide Trial, 30 Years on," *The Phnom Penh Post*, August 19, 2009, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/worlds-first-genocide-trial-30-years>.
Dubus, Arnaud, "Phnom Penh arrête Ta Mok, le 'boucher' khmer rouge: Il devrait être le premier génocidaire cambodgien à être jugé," *Libération*, March 8, 1999, accessed on October 27, 2020, https://www.liberation.fr/planete/1999/03/08/phnom-penh-arrete-ta-mok-le-boucher-khmer-rouge-il-devrait-etre-le-premier-genocidaire-cambodgien-a-e_266869.
Leclère, Marie-Françoise, "Douch, machine à tuer des Khmers rouges," *Le Point*, September 15, 2011, accessed on October 27, 2020, https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/douch-machine-a-tuer-des-khmers-rouges-15-09-2011-1380041_24.php.
- L'Express avec AFP, "Cambodge: comprendre le procès des dirigeants khmers rouges," August 7, 2014, *L'Express*, accessed on October 26, 2020, https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/asia/cambodge-comprendre-le-proces-des-dirigeants-khmers-rouges_1564650.html.
Malovic, Dorian, "Perpétuité pour 'génocide' contre deux ex-dirigeants khmers rouges," *La Croix*, November 16, 2018, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.la-croix.com/Monde/Asie-et-Oceanie/Perpetuite-genocide-contre-deux-dirigeants-khmers-rouges-2018-11-16-1200983541>.
Malovic, Dorian, "Au Cambodge, la mort de Douch, le bourreau khmer rouge," *La Croix*, September 2, 2020, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.la-croix.com/Monde/Le-tortionnaire-Khmer-rouge-Douch-mort-2020-09-02-1201111883>.
Margolin, "Le Cambodge des Khmers rouges."
Moisan et al., *Exploring the Evidence*.
Richer, *Le Cambodge de 1945 à nos jours*.
Se, Suy, "Ieng Thirith, la 'Première Dame' du régime des Khmers rouges," *Le Point International*, August 22, 2015, accessed on October 26, 2020, https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/mort-de-ieng-thirith-la-premiere-dame-du-regime-des-khmers-rouges-tribunal-cambodgi-en-22-08-2015-1958426_24.php.
Thibault, *L'archipel des camps*.
- ³⁶ TV5 Monde Info, "Cambodge: d'anciens dirigeants khmers rouges condamnés pour génocide," *TV5MONDE*, November 16, 2018, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://information.tv5monde.com/info/cambodge-d-anciens-dirigeants-khmers-rouges-condamnes-pour-genocide-271495>.
ECCC, *Who has been prosecuted?*
Sok-Halkovich, Éléonore, "Cambodge: un bilan décevant pour le tribunal spécial cambodgien," *La Croix*, September 8, 2020, accessed on October 27, 2020, <https://www.la-croix.com/Monde/Cambodge-bilan-decevant-tribunal-khmer-rouge-2020-09-08-1201112890>.