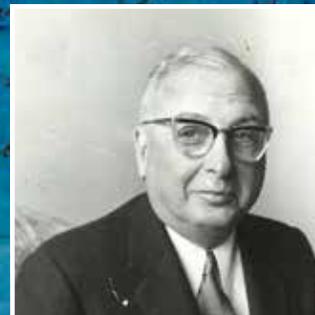
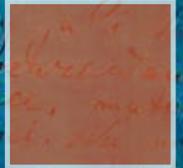


Exploring the Evidence

The Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention



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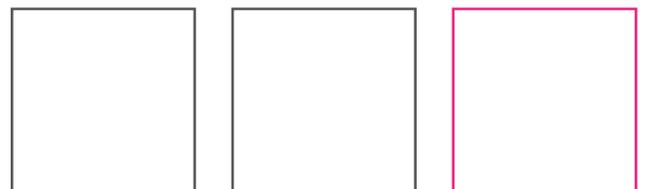
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Appendix 1

Prerequisites to Resistance

You can ask the students what the Jews in the camps and ghettos needed in order to resist. Here are the answers given by a group of teachers during their visit to the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington:

- Food
- Weapons
- A plan
- A plan B
- Means of communication
- Money
- Training
- A doctor
- Organization
- Hiding places, a headquarters
- An aim and agreement on the aim
- A leader
- Loyal, healthy, and trained partners
- Knowledge of the enemy's resources and plans
- Help from inside and outside the camps and ghettos

Factors impeding resistance

- Continuing to hope that the situation will soon improve
- Lacking information about the situation
- Fearing death
- Denying the actual situation

In short, what were needed were individuals who had nothing more to lose, were prepared to die, as that was the most plausible outcome of any act of resistance.

Source: <http://www.ushmm.org/education>
Web. 14 March 2012.

Who are the Jews of Europe?¹

To begin with, there are several ways to be Jewish.

All Jews - be they observant or not - have the same religious heritage. They also share a culture and a tradition.

For instance, they celebrate

- Rosh Hashanah, the New Year according to the Jewish lunar calendar)
- Yom Kippur, (day of fasting, 10th day after Rosh Hashanah)
- Hanukkah (Festival of Lights)
- Purim (the children dress up in costumes and have a party)
- Pesach (commemoration of the exodus from Egypt)
- Shavuot, and others
- Saturday is the day of rest for observant Jews; it is called *Shabbat*.

The spiritual leader is the “rabbi”.

The sacred books are the Torah and the Talmud.

Some rituals

- Circumcision (Brit milah)
- Bat/bar mitzvah (celebration of the coming of age; for boys, at the age of 13; for girls, at 12)
- Marriage
- Fasting

Symbols

- Star of David
- Menorah (a 7-branched candelabrum)
- Kippah
- Shabbat candles
- Shofar (a horn to announce Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah)
- Tallit (prayer shawl)
- Tefillin (leather box containing scrolls of parchment inscribed with verses from the Torah, worn by men on their left arm and on the forehead at morning prayers)

¹ This information sheet does not presume to be comprehensive.

Languages

Yiddish, Ladino, Hebrew, and all the native languages spoken in the countries inhabited by Jews.

Profile of the Jewish community of Montreal, 2001

“Demographics of the Montreal Jewish community

In 2001, there were 92,970 Jews in Montreal, which represents 2.8% of the total population of the city. 21,215 or 22.8% of the total are Sephardic².

Montreal has the second largest Jewish community in Canada and approximately one-quarter (25.1%) of the country’s Jewish population. The Jewish population ranks seventh among ethnic groups in Montreal, behind those identifying themselves as Canadian, French, Italian, British, Arab, or Caribbean.

Jews rank fifth in size among religious groups. Catholics are the largest, followed by Protestants, Muslims, and Christian Orthodox.

18,195 or 19.6% of the total Jewish population are children under 14 years of age. [...]

There are 6,795 Holocaust survivors residing in Montreal, representing 23.7% of Jews over 56 years of age.

[...]”

Census 2001, Statistics Canada

² Montreal’s Jewish community is composed of individuals from Sephardic and Ashkenazi backgrounds. Sephardic Jews have roots in Spain, Portugal and North Africa, Ashkenazi Jews are of Eastern European, French and German origins.

Source: Demographics of the Montreal Jewish Community. Federation CJA, 2012. http://www.federationcja.org/en/jewish_montreal/demographics. Web. 30 April 2012.

Critical Analysis of a Historical Source

Appendix 3

In order to get the most out of the primary sources at your disposal, we propose a five-step method of critical analysis that can be done with your students. Before reading the texts, however, take the time to ask the students what they know about the Holocaust and what they would like to know further by consulting the primary sources.

Primary sources:

Primary sources have been written by an individual who has witnessed or taken part in the events being related (narrative, logbook, code of laws, correspondence, newspaper article from that period, tablet inscriptions, and others)

Secondary sources

Secondary sources have been written by individuals who have analysed, commented on, or interpreted primary sources (book on a historical subject, novel, magazine article, internet site, and others)

Fact

Information that can be verified

Opinion

A personal point of view, often arbitrary and volatile, not based on fact

1. Preliminary Reading

The first step is to read the document. The student simply identifies the subject and the principal themes.

2. External Critique

The external critique of a document considers the context in which the document was produced: date, identity of its author, intention, type of document. Students must answer the following questions as best they can:

- What is the date of the document? (When was it written?)
- What is the origin of the document?
- Who is the author?
- Did the author participate in or witness the events being related?
- To whom is the document addressed?
- What was the author's intention?
- Is the document original or is it a translation?
- Is the reproduction an excerpt or the entire document?

3. Internal Critique

The internal critique of a document has to do with its content. It is a question of highlighting the information and facts contained within. Students proceed by answering the following questions:

- What is the main subject of this document (generally speaking)?
- What themes are developed (specifically)?
- Does the author introduce facts or opinions?
- Is the content plausible? (Does it correspond to what we already know of the subject?)

4. Interpretation

Once the critique is done, students can continue their historical reflection by trying to give meaning to the content and the themes that have been drawn out. To do this, students answer the following questions:

- What have we learned after reading this document (or these documents)?
- What purpose can the content serve?
- Has it answered the questions we had concerning this historical event?
- What questions does it answer?

5. Questioning and research

If you so wish, these documents can serve as the basis for historical research to be conducted by the students. Drawing from the themes that have been identified in steps 3 and 4, students formulate questions to further understand the subject and then do the necessary research to answer them. It is, in effect, a matter of identifying what is not stated explicitly in these documents, as well as the issues that are raised with regard to the event being studied.

Appendix 4

Holocaust Glossary

Allies	The countries – Canada, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States - that formed a common front in the war against Germany and its partners – Italy and Japan – (known as the Axis). Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia joined the Axis during the war.
Anschluss	German term signifying “union”. Austria was annexed to Germany on 13 March 1938.
Antisemitism	Hostile and discriminatory doctrine and attitude with regard to the Jews. German journalist Wilhelm Marr coined the term in 1873 in his pamphlet <i>The Victory of Judaism over Germanism</i> .
Aryan:	The Nazis seized this term, which had been used to describe an ancient people, to define themselves. They falsely proclaimed to be the “Aryan race”, superior to all other races. The Nazis considered the typical Aryan to be tall, blond, and blue-eyed.
Auto da fe of the books	Act perpetrated by the Nazis who burned thousands of books in the public square because they judged the contents to be dissident or simply because the authors were Jewish. During the Nazi period, several instances of autos da fe occurred in Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and other German cities.
Badge	In Germany and the occupied countries, the Nazis forced the Jews to wear a badge to identify them at first glance and to isolate them easily from the general population. This badge took several forms: often a yellow Star of David with the word “Jew” (in the local language) inscribed in its centre or a white armband with the Star of David. The wearing of the badge was a medieval practice revived by the Nazis.
Caricature	Representation in which the features, physical characteristics, manner of dress, or mannerisms of a person are exaggerated in order to create a comic or grotesque effect. Caricature (from the Italian <i>caricare</i> or “to exaggerate”) is also used to ridicule or mock political, social, or religious events and institutions, as well as certain social groups or classes.
Concentration camps	Closely guarded prison camps used by the Nazis to imprison persons they considered to be enemies of the people. Thousands of camps set up before and during the war were filled mostly with Jewish prisoners who were subjected to forced labour and starvation.

Crimes against humanity	Acts committed as part of a systematic attack directed against a civilian population in times of war or peace. Contrary to genocide, these crimes are not intended to destroy an entire group. The means used are murder, slavery, deportation, torture, and rape, etc. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998 defines crimes against humanity.
Death camps	Killing centers established by the Nazis in occupied Poland and Belarus to facilitate the massacre of Jews, Roma (Gypsies), and other victims. The murders were carried out mainly in gas chambers. The death camps were at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka.
Death marches	As the Allies were liberating the occupied countries, the Nazis were emptying the camps and forcing the prisoners to walk long distances in extreme winter conditions. The prisoners were guarded and ill-treated; many died during the marches, just days before the liberation.
Deportation	The Nazis drove the Jews from their homes, towns, and villages, and rounded them up in ghettos and concentration or extermination camps.
Discrimination	The unfavourable treatment of groups or individuals because of their particular characteristics such as ethnicity, sex, religion, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, or handicap. The complete list of forbidden motives of discrimination recognized in Québec can be found in the Charte des droits et libertés de la personne du Québec 1975.
Displaced persons camps	Camps set up after WWII for liberated war victims (Jews and non-Jews) unable to return to their homes. Tens of thousands of Jews remained in these camps for many years, waiting for a country to accept them.
Einsatzgruppen	German word signifying literally “task forces”. Mobile Nazi SS killing units that followed the German army as it entered the Soviet Union in 1941. The victims were summarily executed and buried in mass graves or left on the spot, their bodies piled on top of one another.
Final Solution	Nazi code name attributed to the plan to annihilate all the Jews of Europe. The Nazis coordinated the implementation of the plan at the Wannsee Conference held in Berlin in January 1942.
Führer	Hitler was called Führer, the German term for “leader” or “ruler.”
Genocide	Defined by the UN in the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the word “genocide” (from the Greek genos meaning “race” and the Latin caedes meaning “to kill”) was first coined in 1943 by a Polish lawyer of Jewish descent, Raphael Lemkin, to describe the official policy of a government whose objective is the annihilation of an entire people. It is an act intended to exterminate (in whole or in part) a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. The

current legal definition does not include political opponents. Members of the targeted group are systematically killed or persecuted by whatever means necessary: murder, measures to prevent births within the group, forcible transfer of children of the group to another group, etc. (cf. text of the Convention for the full definition.) The crime of genocide is committed by State authorities, in their name and with their consent, be it expressed or tacit.

German antisemitism

A nineteenth century “racial science” that added a false and dangerous “biological” dimension to the traditional hatred of Jews. Jews were stigmatised as being different and of an inferior race that could never evolve. They were falsely accused of conspiring to dominate the world. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, radical forces of the political right – in Germany especially – targeted the Jews as the “racial enemy” responsible for all the problems of the modern world. The Nazis then used this new definition of “Jew” to justify the creation of a “new Germany” and launched a war against the Jews, the culmination of which would be the “final solution”, an attempt to annihilate all the Jews of Europe.

Gestapo

German word. Nazi secret police, established in 1933 and known for its brutal methods

Ghetto

The term was first used in Venice in the 16th century when the Jews were forced to live in a closed quarter of the city called Getto nuovo (“new foundry”). During WWII, the Nazis forced the Jews to live in overcrowded areas that were surrounded by walls or fences. Hundreds of ghettos existed during this period, especially in Eastern Europe. Jews could not leave the ghettos without a pass issued by the Nazis.

Hate crimes

Crimes where the victims are targeted because they belong, truly or supposedly, to a particular social group, most often defined by race, religion, sexual orientation, handicap, ethnicity, nationality, age, sex, sexual identity, or political party. A heinous crime can take many forms: physical attack, intimidation, harassment, verbal attack or insults, graffiti, or vandalism.

Holocaust

A word of Greek origin meaning “sacrifice” by fire. The Hebrew word for Holocaust is sho’ah, a Biblical term signifying “catastrophe” or “destruction.” The Holocaust refers to the Jewish genocide carried out by the Nazis and their collaborators. It is the murder and persecution of six million European Jews that was ordered and systematically organized by the Nazi State between 1933 and 1945. Other groups were equally targeted, such as: The Roma (Gypsies), handicapped, non-Jewish Polish, homosexuals, and others.

Ideology

World vision or set of doctrines specific to a society or group

Jew	Person of Jewish faith, invoking the Jewish people or Jewish culture. Jews today define themselves as belonging to a community rather than to an ethnic or religious group.
Judaism	In religious terms, Jewish monotheism and its laws; generally Jewish culture. Judaism first appeared in the territory of Judea (today Israel) in the Middle East. Jewish communities later appeared at varying times in almost all parts of the world, as a result of migrations, forced exiles, and expulsions.
Leader cult	Typical in totalitarian regimes, personality or leader cult is encouraged through the media and propaganda. During the Nazi regime, Hitler was represented as being larger than life. Propaganda caused the masses to consider him a hero and not to question his authority.
Nazism (National Socialism)	German political movement led by Adolf Hitler. In 1933, the Nazi party took political control of Germany in a democratic election. It was violently antisemitic, and it believed in the supremacy of the "Aryan race." The Nazi ideology included the following motives of discrimination: origin, ethnicity, skin colour, sex, handicap, religion, language, sexual orientation, political convictions. It was characterised by strong authoritarianism and "leader cult" (Führerkult). The Nazi objective was to purify the race and expand the "vital space" needed for the German race. This was to be attained by exterminating the Jews of Europe and invading the neighbouring countries.
Night of broken glass	English translation of "Kristallnacht". Term given to the violent attacks on Jewish businesses, places of worship, and homes in all of Germany and the annexed countries (Austria and Sudetenland) on 9 and 10 November 1938. This attack was implemented by the Nazi leaders. The noise of shattering glass led to the name given to the event.
Nuremberg laws	Series of laws adopted by the Nazi government as of 1935 to define the "Jews", discriminate against them, and restrict their liberties. Jews were gradually excluded from the German nation through measures such as the obligation to include the name of Sarah (for women) and Israel (for men) on their identity cards (1938) and to wear the yellow star (1941).
Nuremberg trials	In 1945 and 1946, the international military tribunal of Nuremberg was established to bring to justice high-ranking Nazi officials. Twenty-two criminals accused of war crimes, crimes against humanity, conspiracy, and crimes against peace appeared before the judges who came from the Allied powers.
Partisans	Non-standard military forces operating in the territories occupied by the enemy and most often using guerilla tactics. During WWII, partisans harassed and killed Nazis and sabotaged the Nazi war effort. Some of these resistance groups were Jewish or included Jewish members; others were composed of local non-Jewish persons.

Prejudice	A judgement formed or taken about an individual or group without prior examination. In modern usage, the term usually denotes an unfavourable or hostile attitude toward people who belong to a different social or ethnic group. Prejudice is based on stereotypes, simplistic generalizations concerning groups of people.
Propaganda	Propaganda consists of using various means of communication (media, speeches, publicity) to convince people to adopt an idea, a doctrine, or an ideology. The Nazis used all the means of communication at their disposal – radio, newspapers, children’s books, political speeches, cinema, etc. – to spread their ideology which included antisemitism and the superiority of the Aryan race.
Racism	Theory founded on prejudice, according to which certain human races present biological differences that justify the domination of one race over another, as well as rejection of and aggression toward a race deemed inferior. In the 1930s in Europe, these presuppositions formed the basis of an ideological system. In modern usage, the term “racism” refers most often to xenophobia and social segregation, its most common manifestations.
Resistance	Acts of revolt against the Nazis and their collaborators. They can be collective or individual, armed or unarmed, military or spiritual.
Righteous among the Nations; The Saviours	Name given to individuals who acted to save Jews by hiding them, giving them identity cards, helping them to escape, etc., despite the risk to their own lives.
Segregation	Policy of organized separation of a population, on the basis of ethnic, cultural, or religious differences, within the very country inhabited by the population.
Shtetl	The word shtetl in Yiddish, the language spoken by Eastern European Jews, derives from the German word for “city”, or stadt. It was the name given to a town or village inhabited by a Jewish community in Eastern Europe.
SS - Schutzstaffel	German word meaning literally “protection squad.” Troops selected from among the Nazi forces entirely dedicated to applying racist policies and loyal to the Third Reich. Merciless, they were assigned the most brutal tasks, including the implementation of the “Final Solution.”
Stereotypes	A simplistic image or cliché attributed to a category of persons, an institution, or a culture (from the Greek stereos meaning “sturdy” and typos meaning “mark”). Stereotypes are generally used negatively to denounce accepted ideas; they are false and as such prevent true knowledge. The persistence of stereotypes in modern societies, especially those that refer to ethnic characteristics or to foreigner status

and lead to racist and xenophobic attitudes, shows the difficulty that still exists today of accepting a non-stereotypical idea of human beings, whose liberty and unique identity cannot be confined in ready-made categories.

United Nations Organization (UN) The UN was created in 1945, at the end of WWII, by 51 countries that were determined to maintain international peace and security, provide a framework for international relations, and defend human rights.

War crimes Grave violations of international humanitarian law (laws of war) committed during an international or non-international armed conflict. The concept of war crime includes the intentional murder of a person protected by virtue of international humanitarian law, illegal detention, and hostage-taking.

Appendix 5

Brief History of the Holocaust

Brief History of the HOLOCAUST

A Reference Tool



Elements Essential to the Study of the Holocaust³

Appendix 6

The students must answer the following questions:

Who?

Victims: The European Jews and eventually all Jews

Executioners: The Nazis and their collaborators

What?

The mass murder of millions of European Jews conceived, organized, and executed by the Nazi State and its collaborators

Why?

Factors leading to the election of the Nazis

- Triptych: authority – conformism – ideology
- Authoritarian ideology (Nazism, German superiority, “racial” purification, vital space, etc.)
- German antisemitism (demonization of the Jews)
- Dilution of responsibility, rendering the evil trite
- Social individualism – the individual’s feeling of isolation created the desire to conform (obey orders, imitate others, be accepted)
- Indoctrination of population

When?

Between 1933 and 1945. Discrimination against the German Jews began as early as 1933 with the boycott of Jewish shops and offices. Jews were excluded from the civil service. The auto da-fe of May 1933 was the expression of total contempt felt by the Germans for Jewish authors. The discrimination intensified drastically with the Nuremberg laws of 1935. The establishment of the Polish concentration camps and ghettos were followed by that of the death camps and by the extermination of Europe’s Jews, planned at the Wannsee Conference (Berlin), in 1942.

How?

- State structure: bureaucracy, division of labour, modern techniques (industrialized, serialized)
- Approval (and participation) of the German population
- Varied means (shootings, gassing trucks, labour camps, extermination camps, gas chambers)
- Dehumanization of people

Where?

All over Europe (even in Africa, in the European colonies)

³ Adapted from
Bensoussan, G. Histoire
de la Shoah. Collection
Que sais-je? Presses
universitaires de France,
1998

Appendix 7

Historical Research Method

1. What is the event?

Learning about a situation, an event, a phenomenon

- From the study of written or visual documents, informative texts, videos, etc.

2. I would like to learn more... I form a research question.

Formulating a research question: What more should I know?

- The questions should be open-ended (Why? When? How?).

3. How shall I organize myself to answer my question?

Planning research

- I make sure that the sources give diverse points of view or aspects of the issue under study.

4. What do these documents teach me?

Analysis of the documents

- I look for facts to answer the question.
- I highlight the events (e.g. the Nuremberg laws were adopted in 1935; Kristallnacht took place on November 9, 1938, etc.).

5. How do I answer my question, using the facts presented in the documents?

Interpreting the facts / constructing arguments

- I establish connections between the facts, so as to construct an answer to the research question.
- I take care to consider several underlying factors. Events can never be explained by a single cause (e.g. the economic, social, political, cultural, identity, individual factors should be considered).

6. I share my interpretation with others!

Communicating my results

- I select the concepts I will define, the images I will present, etc.
- I support my exposé by means of a written text, PowerPoint presentation, video, etc.

Development of International Justice⁴

Appendix 8

Reflection question

International law has developed at the expense of the laws of States and of their sovereignty.

- In order for all human beings to be protected, it is necessary that the State in which they live submit to international law, otherwise it risks being invaded by foreign powers. The adoption of effective and binding international measures has progressed slowly.
- 1945 marked the first time that human rights overrode State sovereignty. Germany was tried for the crimes it committed from 1933 onwards, when it attacked a segment of its defenceless population.
- The right of the individual appears; rule of law is established.

The military tribunal of Nuremberg was important because it was the result of the first fundamental agreement, the London Charter, signed on 8 August 1945. It was the first instance of international justice regarding individuals.

N.B.: Despite the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and of *The Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, States remain attached to the principles of non-interference and State sovereignty. As a result, the impact of the texts of international law is diminished.

⁴ Adapted from
Bensoussan, G. Histoire
de la Shoah. Collection
Que sais-je? Presses
universitaires de France,
1998

Appendix 9

Nuremberg Tribunal

The international military tribunal of Nuremberg (city then occupied by the United States) was created by four countries: the USSR, the United States, France, and Great Britain.

The first series of trials took place between 20 November 1945 and 1 October 1946.

Twenty-two individuals (Nazi leaders, members of the army or government) were not accused of the crime of genocide (the term was not yet recognized) but rather of crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, war crimes, and conspiracy.

The outcome: 12 received the death penalty, 4 were acquitted, and the remaining received prison terms varying from ten years to life imprisonment.

The second series of trials took place between December 1946 and April 1949. One hundred eighty-five people were tried: doctors who had conducted experiments on the victims, judges guilty of murder, industrialists, high-ranking SS officers, and senior officials.

Thirty-five were acquitted; 120 received a life sentence; and the remaining, the death penalty.

See the short excerpt with French sub-titles:

http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xa519v_le-tribunal-de-nuremberg-partie-5_shortfilms



Stages of Genocide

Appendix 10

The 8 Stages of Genocide⁵

Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The process is not linear. Logically, later stages must be preceded by earlier stages. But all stages continue to operate throughout the process.

1. Classification

All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories, such as Rwanda and Burundi, are the most likely to have genocide. The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. The Catholic Church could have played this role in Rwanda, had it not been riven by the same ethnic cleavages as Rwandan society. Promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania has also promoted transcendent national identity. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

2. Symbolization

We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia. To combat symbolization, hate symbols can be legally forbidden (swastikas) as can hate speech. Group marking like gang clothing or tribal scarring can be outlawed, as well. The problem is that legal limitations will fail if unsupported by popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980’s, code-words replaced them. If widely supported, however, denial of symbolization can be powerful, as it was in Bulgaria, where the government refused to supply enough yellow badges and at least eighty percent of Jews did not wear them, depriving the yellow star of its significance as a Nazi symbol for Jews.

⁵ Gregory H. Stanton, President, Genocide Watch Retrieved from www.genocidewatch.org on 18 June 2012

3. Dehumanization

One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. In combating this dehumanization, incitement to genocide should not be confused with protected speech. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than democracies. Local and international leaders should condemn the use of hate speech and make it culturally unacceptable. Leaders who incite genocide should be banned from international travel and have their foreign finances frozen. Hate radio stations should be shut down, and hate propaganda banned. Hate crimes and atrocities should be promptly punished.

4. Organization

Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur.) Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups.) Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. To combat this stage, membership in these militias should be outlawed. Their leaders should be denied visas for foreign travel. The UN should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations, as was done in post-genocide Rwanda

5. Polarization

Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators' own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed. Prevention may mean security protection for moderate leaders or assistance to human rights groups. Assets of extremists may be seized, and visas for international travel denied to them. Coups d'état by extremists should be opposed by international sanctions.

6. Preparation

Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved. At this stage,

a Genocide Emergency must be declared. If the political will of the great powers, regional alliances, or the UN Security Council can be mobilized, armed international intervention should be prepared, or heavy assistance provided to the victim group to prepare for its self-defense. Otherwise, at least humanitarian assistance should be organized by the UN and private relief groups for the inevitable tide of refugees to come.

7. Extermination

Extermination begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called “genocide.” It is “extermination” to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide (as in Burundi). At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide. Real safe areas or refugee escape corridors should be established with heavily armed international protection. (An unsafe “safe” area is worse than none at all.) The UN Standing High Readiness Brigade, EU Rapid Response Force, or regional forces -- should be authorized to act by the UN Security Council if the genocide is small. For larger interventions, a multilateral force authorized by the UN should intervene. If the UN is paralyzed, regional alliances must act. It is time to recognize that the international responsibility to protect transcends the narrow interests of individual nation states. If strong nations will not provide troops to intervene directly, they should provide the airlift, equipment, and financial means necessary for regional states to intervene.

8. Denial

Denial is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. There they remain with impunity, like Pol Pot or Idi Amin, unless they are captured and a tribunal is established to try them. The response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal or national courts. There the evidence can be heard, and the perpetrators punished. Tribunals like the Yugoslav or Rwanda Tribunals, or an international tribunal to try the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, or an International Criminal Court may not deter the worst genocidal killers. But with the political will to arrest and prosecute them, some may be brought to justice

Appendix 11

Types of Resistance

Three types of resistance are usually identified:

1. Armed struggle

Examples of armed struggles against the Holocaust

- Warsaw ghetto, April and May 1943
- Uprisings in the Vilnius and Bialystok ghettos
- Uprisings in the death camps at Sobibor and Treblinka
- Partisan groups, such as the Bielski brothers in Belarus

Examples of groups

- The Jewish army in France
- The Organization of Belgian Jews, also known as Solidarity, (derailed a deportation train and burned its archives)
- The Jewish Combat Organization (Warsaw ghetto)

2. Rescue Operations

It is the rescue operations led by non-Jews that saved the lives of Jews during the Holocaust. The Yad Vashem Institute has recognized them as the “Righteous among the Nations.”

See the website of Yad Vashem for concrete examples of rescue operations:

www.yadvashem.org

3. Spiritual resistance

Whenever they could, the Jewish prisoners in the ghettos and camps continued to celebrate their religious holidays and to observe certain rules. They made every attempt to preserve their humanity by playing music, organizing clandestine libraries, celebrating birthdays, etc.

Film suggestion:

Defiance, 2009 – the story of underground Jews hiding in a Belarus forest with three of the Bielski brothers.

Internet sites:

www.ushmm.org/wlc/fr/article.php?ModuleId=189

www.memorial-wlc.recette.lbn.fr/article.php?lang=fr&ModuleId=70

www.resistancejuive.org/Archives_OJC/archives_journal/31_76/Docs/60/60.htm

www.struthof.fr/fr/le-centre-europeen/

Museum Visit

Appendix 12

Each student must answer one question by trying to get the most information possible.

- Who did what?
- Where?
- When?
- How?
- Why?

Pre-war
(1933-1939)

Team 1

The students must recognize one of the stages of genocide.

During the war
(1939-1945)

Team 2

The students must recognize one of the stages of genocide.

Post-war

Team 5

The students must identify one instance of intervention/resistance (including the Canadian government, Canadian individuals or organizations) in the defence of individuals.

Team 3

The students must identify one instance of intervention/resistance (including Canadian) in the defence of individuals.

Team 4

The students must identify one instance of intervention/resistance (including Canadian) in the defence of individuals.

Appendix 13

Biography of Duch

Formerly a schoolteacher, Duch became the commanding officer of Tuol Sleng prison (S-21), a torture centre, during the Khmer Rouge regime.

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 1999. He has since been imprisoned at Phnom Penh.

Duch is still in the news today. His trial before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)⁶ took place between February and November 2009. He was sentenced in July 2010, having been found guilty of crimes against humanity and torture, to name only two. The ECCC found him criminally responsible (ECCC 22) and sentenced him to 35 years in prison (ibid 32-33). Because of his pre-trial detention period, Duch had to serve only 19 more years, as of 2011. Duch, moreover, contested the charges. He accepted responsibility all the while claiming that he had had no other choice in order to save his life and that of his family. He was simply obeying orders (UN: A quest for justice).

It should be stated that the Cambodian genocide remains a current issue in international headlines today.

Sources:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia; Trial Chamber. 2010. *Transcription of Duch trial public. Dossier n° 001/18-07-2007-CETC/CPI, 26 July 2010, 9:58 a.m. Judgement*. Phnom Penh, 36 p. Consultation document.

http://www.eccc.gov.kh/english/cabinet/caseInfo/79/E1_83.1_TR001_20100726_FinL_EN_Pub.pdf. Web. 21 Feb. 2011.

Chandler, David. *S-21 ou le crime impuni des Khmers rouges*. Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2002, 202 p. Print.

⁶ Cf.: See below the chapter "Justice and the Collective Memory" for more information.

History of the Cambodian Genocide

Appendix 14

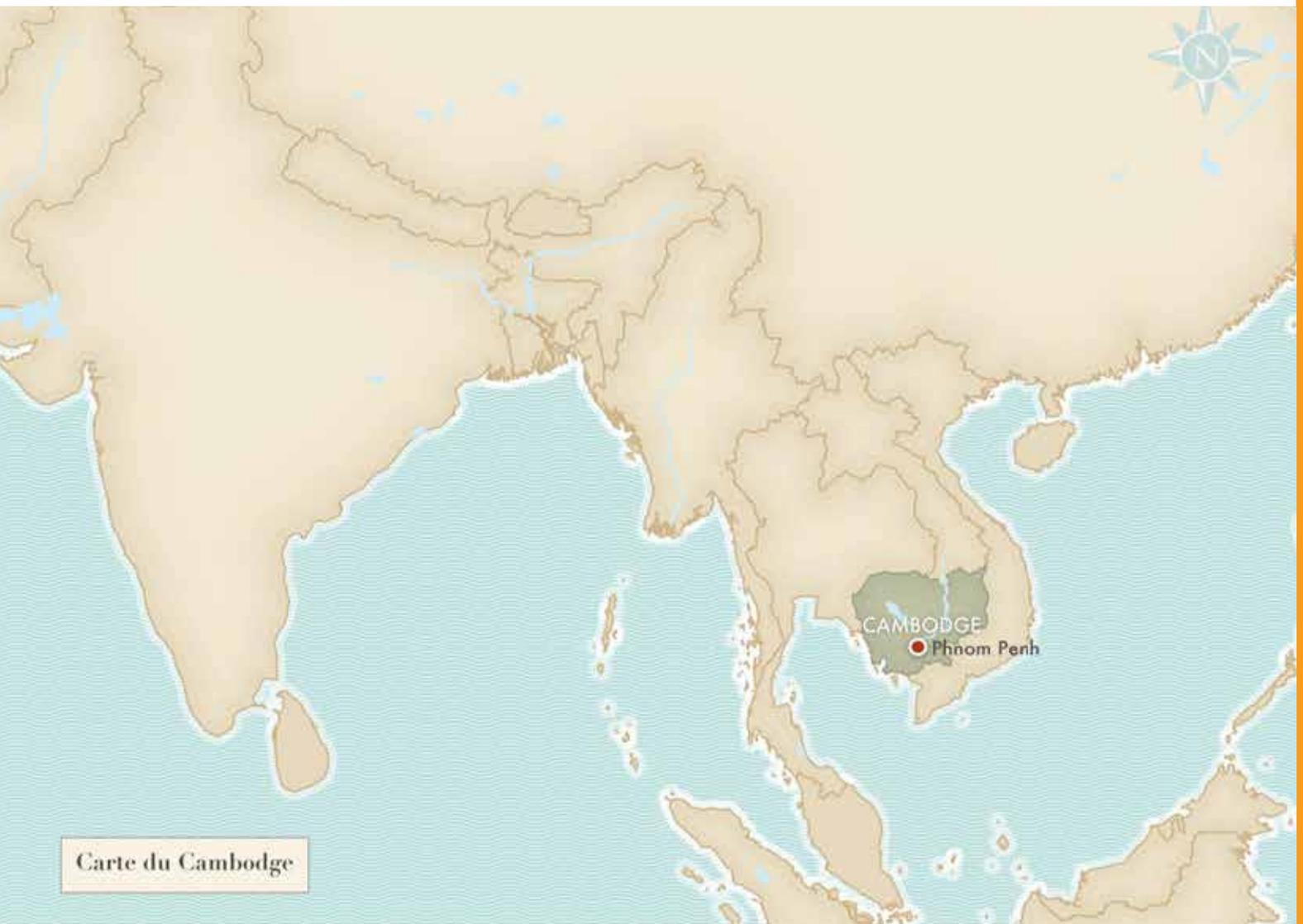
Cambodia – 2 million people died during the Khmer Rouge regime
(1975-1979)

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 er eziat 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

1. Putting the Cambodian Genocide into context

Béréziat, Gilbert. *Cambodge 1945 – 2005: Soixante années d'hypocrisie des grands*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 274 p. Print.

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.”

Chandler, David. *S-21 ou le crime impuni des Khmers rouges*. Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2002, 202 p. Print.

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.

Duong, Liai. *Racial Discrimination in the Cambodian Genocide*. GSP Working Paper No. 34. New Haven: Yale University, 2006. Print.

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http://www.eccc.gov.kh/english/cabinet/caseInfo/79//E1_83.1_TR001_20100726_Final_EN_Pub.pdf>. Web. 21 Feb. 2011.

Overview: This log documents the trial of Duch and includes the political and ideological context, the charges, the evidence, and the sentence of the former commander of S-21. Important primary source!

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Overview: The authors analyse the reasons for, the development and consequences of the US shelling of Cambodia between 1969 and 1973. Included is new information on the beginning (1965) and the extent of the bombardment (2.75 million tons of bombs), the heaviest in the world.

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Lingane, Zakaria. *Comprendre les g enocides du XXe si ecle*. Montr al: Fondation de la tol erance, 2006, 146 p. Print.

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<<http://www.mfe.org/index.php/Portails-Pays/Cambodge/Presentation-du-pays/Histoire>>. Web. 24 Feb. 2011.

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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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<<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/maplicity.html>>. Web. 14 Feb. 2011.

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

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Overview: The journalist describes the opening of a new museum in a mosque located near Phnom Penh, in late 2011, to commemorate the Cham victims of the Khmer Rouge and their revolt at Svay Khleang.

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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.

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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.

Appendix 15

Glossary of the Cambodian Genocide

Angkar	In Khmer, literally “organization”. The Angkar should be seen as a single party that established the rules of daily life (work, food distribution, communal life in the village, etc.). It was an abstract entity given that the decision-makers remained invisible to the population.
Brigades	Groups of young people whose mission was to learn and implement the Khmer Rouge ideology. Their mandate was to obey orders and to educate the “new people.” They were separated from their parents and forced to work.
Chams	Name given to the Muslim Khmer. They were also called Khmer Islam and were the victims of genocide during the Khmer Rouge regime.
Communism (as viewed by the Khmer Rouge)	(as viewed by the Khmer Rouge): The Khmer Rouge wished to create full communism, a society that was altogether egalitarian, agrarian, and self-sufficient, and where neither family ties, nor tradition, nor religion existed. Belonging to the Angkar was the only acceptable allegiance.
Cooperatives	Private property was abolished in Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge seized power. Peasants had to give up their lands to the Angkar. The entire country was divided into agricultural cooperatives, on which the Cambodians were forced to work.
Democratic Kampuchea	Name given to Cambodia by the Khmer Rouge after they seized power.
“Enemies of the regime”	All who opposed the authority of the regime and of the Angkar. All who were included in the category of “new people.”
Extermination fields	Several locations throughout Cambodia became the sites of execution of Cambodians accused of being traitors. They were killed and buried on the spot, in huge pits.
Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)	Tribunal whose objective was to bring to trial the Khmer Rouge leaders responsible for the death of two million people. Former high-ranking officials were charged with crimes against humanity and grave violations of the Geneva Convention. Because the atrocities committed in Cambodia were only partially recognized as genocide, this term was not applied to the majority of the charges.
Forced evacuations	As soon as they seized power, the Khmer Rouge began evacuating the capital city, Phnom Penh, and the country’s urban centres, sending the city dwellers to work in the fields.

Forced labour	All Cambodians were forced to work in the fields and cultivate the soil for long hours every day of the week. They were not paid, had little to eat (one portion of rice a day), and consequently were very weak. Because of the forced labour, thousands of people died of exhaustion.
Khmer Rouge	Name given to the members of the authoritarian party that ruled Cambodia during the genocide and remained active even after the regime fell.
“New people”	Name given by the Khmer Rouge to all people they considered to be inferior and in need of re-education; i.e. all those individuals that lived in the cities, had a higher level of education than the average (which was very low in Cambodia), had worked in the previous government, or were influenced by the West. The Khmer Rouge recognized them as such because they wore glasses, worked as teachers or officials, etc.
“Old people”	The Khmer Rouge considered the rural population, the peasants working in the rice fields, to be the “old” people. According to the Khmer Rouge ideology, the peasants will move the revolution forward because they are healthy, good workers, and unpretentious.
Prisons or torture centres	Individuals accused of not submitting to the regime or of being traitors were tortured in various centres or prisons. In most cases, the torture caused the prisoners’ death. S-21, or Tuol Sleng, was the principal one.

Appendix 16

Elements Essential to the Study of the Cambodian Genocide

The students must answer the following questions:

Who?

Victims: The Khmers who were identified as “new”, foreign nationals, and the Chams (Muslim Khmer)

Executioners: The Khmer Rouge; i.e. the Khmer who seized power in Cambodia in 1975

What?

The State of Democratic Kampuchea reorganized Cambodian society so as to make it ideal. This involved re-educating the people, killing the undesirable, imposing forced labour - mainly agrarian labour -, evacuating the cities, and abolishing individual freedoms. The result was that nearly 2 million people out of a population of 7 million died.

Why?

The context of perpetual civil war and the incessant American bombardments along the border enabled Pol Pot and his team to accede to power.

The genocide was carried out in the name of the Khmer Rouge ideology, was inspired by communism, and was intended to create a society that was pure, “egalitarian”, agrarian, and purged of individuals subject to foreign influences.

China’s support and the hermetic sealing of Cambodia’s borders also enabled the implementation of the Khmer plan.

When?

Between 17 April 1975 to 11 January 1979

How?

Forced labour, famine, torture, killings, and imprisonments

Where?

The territory of Cambodia

Jacques Couture

Biography

A Jesuit come politician and ardent and passionate defender of human rights, Jacques Couture became minister of immigration in the PQ government of René Lévesque. He cared about the welfare of the cultural communities and new immigrants.

Couture visited the refugee camps in Indochina, notably those in Thailand that held the Cambodian refugees. He firmly wished to do something for them and succeeded in convincing Québec families to open their homes to receive one or two refugees. He himself welcomed two Cambodians survivors.

In Couture's view, two principles should guide people: feeling responsible for the collective well-being and living by this principle:

"[...] How can we be responsible? First, we must have the means. After the PQ victory in the 1976 elections, the Québec State adopted a hard-line approach, seeking to win political recognition of its jurisdictions. In this spirit, the agreement concluded in February 1978 with federal minister Bud Cullen ensured the joint participation of the federal and provincial levels of government in the selection of foreign nationals wishing to settle in Québec.

It then became possible for Québec to determine its own selection criteria according to its economic, demographic, and socio-cultural objectives. Bill 82, passed in November of the same year, ratified these gains. To the rational and quantitative criteria adopted by the State, however, Couture added a derogation. "In cases of distress, such as those of the refugees, the criteria can be less stringent."

Finally, we must have principles by which to live. In Couture's view, no society that is structured, in the name of administrative efficacy, national security, or any other 'State reason', under the pretext of claiming to be the supreme arbiter of its citizens' happiness, can act with total disregard for fundamental human rights. Québec should be welcoming, 'in the name of justice.'

Pâquet, 2008

Appendix 18

Impediments to Canadian Intervention

“Every day, you would wake up and tell yourself ‘somebody will come, something is going to happen.’ If you stop hoping for rescue, you stop hoping. And hope is all that can keep you alive.”

Power quoting Kassie Neou, human rights lawyer in Cambodia and survivor of the Khmer Rouge regime: 141

The Canadian government was not the only one to recognize the Khmer Rouge regime and to remain indifferent to the atrocities committed. An international peace-keeping mission seemed out of the question at the time. That would only occur nearly twenty years later in 1993 with the establishment of the *United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)*.

Here are six reasons – mostly political and ideological - explaining the non-intervention:

1. Withdrawal of foreign delegations and under-estimation of the Khmer Rouge. The US and French delegations left the country right after the Khmer Rouge came to power. Diplomats and military personnel considered the situation to be less negative than it really was. The dimensions of violence and of the Khmer Rouge ideology were under-estimated, even though US representatives were aware of some of the atrocities (Power 108).
2. Lack of information. The events in Cambodia were under-reported in the media, not for lack of interest but because foreign journalists were forced to leave “Democratic Kampuchea.” Journalist and researcher Samantha Power considers the Cambodia of the Khmer Rouge to be the most closed and safeguarded country of the twentieth century (Power 109).

Once the reporters had departed, the last independent sources of information dried up. Nine friendly Communist countries retained embassies in Phnom Penh, but even these personnel were restricted in movement to a street around 200 yards long and accompanied at all times by official KR ‘minders’. For the next three and half years, the American public would piece together a picture of life behind the Khmer curtain from KR public statements, which were few; from Cambodian radio, which was propaganda; from refugee accounts, which were doubted; and from Western intelligence sources, which were scarce and suspect”

Power 107

Almost all the information published on the genocide during that period was “unverified” or “unconfirmed” (Power 109). Reporters worked from outside Cambodia. The first photo of forced labour appeared outside Cambodia only in April 1977 (Power 121). Little credence was given to the refugees arriving in Thailand and Vietnam.

Even human rights organizations - such as Amnesty International - which were a relatively recent phenomenon at the time, were unaware of the atrocities committed in Cambodia, because of the lack of information (Power 113).

- Disinterest. The lack of photos and reports encouraged even more disinterest in the region and made it impossible to give information on the human rights violations.
- Lack of proper justification to intervene. As a result of the above, there was not enough proof to justify military intervention. The killings seemed unimaginable to political representatives and the wider public.

The media became more critical as of 1977. At that time, awareness of the Holocaust was acute enough that journalists began mentioning the methodical similarities between the mass killings of the Jews by the Nazis and the annihilation strategies of the Khmer Rouge (Power 129).

3. Moral support from leftist intellectuals. Many intellectuals who were opposed to the American war in Vietnam at first denied that atrocities were being committed by the Khmer Rouge. They viewed the Khmer Rouge as legitimate opponents to the American presence in the area (Mills and Brunner 39).
4. Lack of cooperation. Even if Canada had wanted to intervene, it could not have done so without the support of other governments, notably that of the superpowers ¹⁴ or of the UN.

“It is generally acknowledged that unilateral intervention by a donor middle power is rarely incentive or punishment enough to influence the behaviour of the State concerned (unless, of course, the aid rendered has a major impact on the GNP of the State in question.”

Norton 795

Power argues that the United States, Canada’s key ally, was “traumatized” by its military defeat in Vietnam. It saw Cambodia as a second Vietnam and, therefore, preferred not to intervene in the region. As of 1971, moreover, the US partnered with China; China, in turn, became the economic and military partner of the Khmer Rouge.

¹⁴ Between 1945 and 1989, the superpowers were the US and the USSR.

“Although elite opinion had concluded ‘something had to be done’, the ‘something’ remained narrowly defined. Behind the screens, US ambassador Andrew Young urged United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to visit Cambodia, and the Secretary of State Cyrus Vance instructed US embassies to discuss with host countries the possibility of raising the Issue of Cambodia in the UN General Assembly. [...] The US foreign policy establishment remained persistently passive, issuing only a handful of public statements and never investing in its political capital in a serious attempt to alter KR behaviour.”

Power 132

5. Diplomatic leitmotif of State sovereignty. Formal debate on a development policy contingent on human rights began only in the 1970s with, for example, the criticism of apartheid in South Africa. In Norton’s view, Canada’s reluctance to intervene is explained in part by the government’s giving priority to the sovereignty of all States..

“Canada’s attachment to the principle of State sovereignty is not absolute. It tends to be selective and strongly influenced by definitions of Canadian interests established by just anyone [Norton citing Nossal 1988 MHMC]. In short, Canada’s position on sovereignty is one of the factors that has always prevented and continues to prevent it from imposing measures in the area of human rights.”

Norton 794

6. The role of economic and security interests. Intervention also depends on economic and security interests. In Norton’s view, the less important the economic and strategic interests, the more drastic the measures taken against any State that violates human rights. The author gives as an example the sanctions imposed by Canada on Cambodia (severing of economic relations) without any physical/military intervention:

“Countries that were not strategically important – Uganda (1973), Cambodia (1977), Vietnam (1979), Sri Lanka (1985), Zaire and Haiti (1991) – were the object of severe punitive measures imposed by Canada who generally suspended its aid programs.”

Norton 801

Comparative Table

Appendix 19

This table gives some answers but is not comprehensive.

	Holocaust	Cambodia
Classification/ categorization	German society was divided into two groups: the Germans and the Jews (amongst others). People of the Jewish religion were called "Jews."	In Cambodia, society was divided into two groups: the revolutionary Khmer and the educated Khmer (or non-revolutionaries).
Symbolization	Wearing the yellow star or an armband, having the letter "J" inscribed in the passport, etc.	Khmer having a higher education level than that of the peasants were placed in the category of "new people." In the eyes of the authorities, they were Vietnamese in a Khmer body. The "new" Khmer had to wear a blue scarf in the Eastern Zone.
Dehumanization	The list of terms describing the Jews was long: vermin, devil, cancer, etc. Assigning a number rather than a name, shaving the head, etc. Rupture of family ties	People were required to call each other "brother" or "sister." Individual names were no longer used. Everyone had to wear a uniform. Rupture of family ties
Organization	Laws, special commando units, institutions, transport - all sectors of society were structured in such a way as to carry out the genocide. Everything was State-directed	Special commando units, laws, and rules for living Everything was State-directed.
Polarization	Propaganda, laws	Propaganda and new social rules
Preparation	Special police units were created, trials and experimentation with killing methods were carried out, etc. Deportation to the ghettos and camps, etc.	Special brigades were created and trained, labour camps were set up.
Extermination	Ghettos, shootings, labour camps, death camps	Labour camps, imposed starvation, prisons, and torture centres
Denial	Denial by leaders, partial destruction of proof	Denial by leaders, partial destruction of proof



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