


GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITIES **IN WORLD HISTORY**

OVERVIEW FOR CAMBODIAN CLASSROOMS

EDITED BY CHRISTOPHER DEARING

DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA, 2019



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GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITIES IN WORLD HISTORY

Overview for Cambodian Classrooms
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1. Cambodia—Law—Human Rights
2. Cambodia—Politics and Government
3. Cambodia—History

Funding for this project was generously provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

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Graphic design and layout © 2019 by Ly Sensonyla (www.novacambodia.com)
Cover photo: Vista with Brahman statue on Peuy Ta Mok cliff
at Anlong Veng Peace Center by Christopher Dearing

Photo caption: Like the many faces of a single divinity, mankind can personify good as well as evil. Peace, kinship, and hope can be overcome by hatred, violence, and terror; indeed, history has proven that no society is immune from the most extreme inhumanity. Genocide, mass atrocities, and unspeakable inhumanity can arise, sometimes contemporaneously, within societies associated with the highest achievements in art, science, and learning. In this sense, one could say, no degree of culture, education, or devotion to a higher purpose can insulate mankind from his most destructive tendencies. Ultimately, mankind is challenged by the complexity of the human condition. Religion, science, and philosophy provide perspectives to inform our understanding, but like the many deities of a divine being, they all personify complementary, yet incomplete, perspectives of our world. The struggle to overcome our human condition must be the paramount endeavor of mankind in the twenty-first century.

Printed in Cambodia



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the generous support, assistance, and encouragement from a number of persons and institutions dedicated to genocide education. The authors would like to thank the generous support of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), which supervised and supported the project. The authors are grateful to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for its generous contributions to the project and core support to DC-Cam. The authors are also grateful to Dr. Alexander Hinton, Prof. Markus Zimmer, Dr. Milton Osborne, Mr. Nicholas Koumjian, Ms. Nisha Patel, and Mrs. Kelly Watson for their valuable comments and edits that significantly shaped the book. The authors would also like to thank Prof. David Chandler, who has dedicated a lifetime of research on the Cambodian genocide and furthering the education of the next generation on this history. An initial draft of this text was presented and discussed at the DC-Cam's University Faculty Conference on Genocide Education in 2019 and the authors are grateful for the Cambodian university faculty attendee comments and recommendations to this initial draft. The authors are also grateful to Mr. Pheng Pong-Rasy and Ms. Sopheak Pheana for their diligent translation of the book. Ms. Sensonyla Ly served as the designer for this book, and we are grateful for her patient and diligent assistance in the design and organization of the book's images and graphics. Last but not least, we are grateful for the support from the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, which continues to encourage research and education on this tragic period of Cambodia's history.

FOREWORD

It can be said that democracy has been an indomitable force in history. It has elevated the voice of the common man and woman, and it has torn down hierarchical political systems in the name of freedom and equality. Like democracy, education carries an equally powerful potential to transform all societies as well.

Education that centers on critical thinking, self-reflection, and empathy can open up new conceptions of individual and collective identity and give people tools to question themselves, their institutions, and their world. Education, like democracy, can be the next great enabler of mankind's pursuit of peace, freedom, and justice.

The study of history is a crucial component to this vision of education. History can be studied to appreciate and critically reflect upon past ideas, people, and institutions. History can lay the foundations for hope, inspiration, and kinship, and it can be harnessed as an educational tool to explain the errors, shortcomings, and evils of society. History forces nations to acknowledge the suffering perpetrated in the name of religion, culture, and country, and it forces individuals to confront the horrors that can emerge within all societies.

Given the immense power of history to shape contemporary identity, culture, and vision, we must make the study of history a core component of all global strategies to prevent and respond to genocide, mass atrocities, and violent extremism.

Although global problems require global strategies, all lofty approaches depend on the grassroots. Global strategies to confront and prevent genocide are crucial to identifying common terms and opportunities for cooperation and collaboration. However, even in our globalized world, all problems and their solutions are driven locally. If we recognize that individual human beings have the potential to influence change, then individuals and communities must then play a significant part of any global strategy. No matter the resources, the success of global strategies will depend on the participation, leadership, and ultimately ownership by the local community. Local ownership of strategies does not mean local communities can or should tackle their problems on their own. Mentorship, sponsorship, education, and oversight are all crucial areas where the international community can engage and help local actors and organizations participate in the global effort to confront genocide, mass atrocities, and violent extremism. History is not only dependent on our investments in people. We must also dedicate resources to operations and facilities—because even great teachers depend on well-resourced learning environments.



This condensed curriculum on different mass atrocities in history is but one small contribution to the grassroots struggle in Cambodia. Although Cambodia has taken significant steps toward confronting its history in schools and communities, there is still much to accomplish in educating the next generation about genocide, mass atrocities, and violent extremism. This curriculum attempts to address some of these shortfalls by providing snapshots of other societies' experiences with mass atrocities. This curriculum provides educators with another resource to increase students' understanding of their country's history and challenge them on how Cambodia's experience with mass atrocities is similar and different from other countries.

All societies require curricula that are provocative and transformative because the ultimate aim of education is not to confirm prior learning but challenge assumptions and understandings with new information and perspectives. Cambodians may proclaim the importance of transformative thinking, yet their actions and ideas are too often filled with a deep desire for security at the expense of inspiration and innovation. Modernization and inventiveness depend on leaders, and we need to improve how we encourage bold thinking and ingenuity.

This curriculum is short because small steps are sometimes more impactful than large leaps. Ultimately, it is hoped that this curriculum will be merely a small piece of a spectrum of other actions to shape the next generation's understanding of history. It goes without saying that history acts as a crucial platform to create a culture that respects and protects democracy, peace, and development.

— **YOUK CHHANG** —

DIRECTOR, DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA

INTRODUCTION

CHRISTOPHER DEARING

There is no fitting way to introduce the topic of mass atrocities other than silence. Silence is only fitting because no words could adequately describe the inhumanity, trauma, and loss of life. No words can articulate the effects on the generations born after the violence and the lingering impact of atrocities on families, communities, and the world. When words fail, sometimes silence is the most appropriate act.

Unfortunately, the demands of the moment do not afford us the time to reflect in silence. Today, genocide, mass atrocities, and violent extremism continue in many parts of the world, and while intervention, response, and prevention strategies depend on national and international institutions, individuals and communities must be a part of the global campaign as well.

Although individuals and communities can contribute in many ways, the most impactful way to stop mass atrocities is to address some of the root causes of inhumanity. On a community level, inhumanity depends on inequality, discrimination, and oppression. On an individual level, inhumanity relies on indifference, selfishness, and ignorance. Although we cannot eradicate these attributes of our human condition, we can lessen their force upon society through education, reform, and self-reflection.

The book is organized into three parts. Each country chapter provides a basic historical overview with "Check on Learning" questions. The short overview can provide a way for teachers to teach their students about the relevant history in less than an hour. The second section provides a more detailed overview of the history, along with more open-ended discussion questions. For teachers who have more time, students can be asked to answer the discussion questions comparing different episodes in history. Finally, the third section of the book provides a list of the suggested answers for specific questions in the book.



HATRED, INTOLERANCE, AND MASS ATROCITIES IN WORLD HISTORY

DR. PHALA CHEA & CHRISTOPHER DEARING

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human.
—UNESCO Declaration of Principles of Tolerance.¹

The following sections, addressing Germany, Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Rwanda, will show how hatred and intolerance of people can cause unspeakable inhumanity. But before we discuss these examples, it is important to clarify the basis for selecting these cases for this book.

These examples are not intended to represent or summarize the wide spectrum of inhumanity that has occurred in history, nor are they held up as the most significant cases of hatred and intolerance for Cambodian classrooms.

Apart from the relevant section on Cambodia's history, the authors also do not assert that these cases are the most relevant mass atrocities, and human rights violations to Cambodia's context. In an effort to understand and inform better prevention and response strategies, scholars tend to characterize and classify conflict and inhumanity through various analytical lenses ranging from psychology to structuralism. Through one conceptual lens, cases of mass atrocities are interpreted as ethnicity or race-driven, whereas others may be seen as more political in nature. While the Khmer Rouge targeted certain religions and ethnicities that did not conform or align with their utopian vision of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge were indelibly more defined by their political identity and agenda than the other case studies presented in this book.

The authors chose these particular episodes in history because they seemed to resonate with many Cambodian youth and education officials that the authors encountered in their 10+ years of teaching genocide education in Cambodian schools and universities throughout the country. While the authors considered other historical examples, convenience and local familiarity with these historical episodes outweighed other factors.

Ultimately, the core objective of this curriculum is to provide educational materials on hatred and intolerance, which are common to all episodes of mass violence and inhumanity. Throughout history, people have been victimized because of hatred and intolerance for their race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, color, gender, social status, disability, political ideology, and sexual orientation.

How can we fight hate and intolerance? Fighting hate and intolerance involves nations, communities, and individuals taking action in areas such as (1) Law, (2) Education, (3) Access to information, (4) Individual awareness, and (5) Local solutions.²

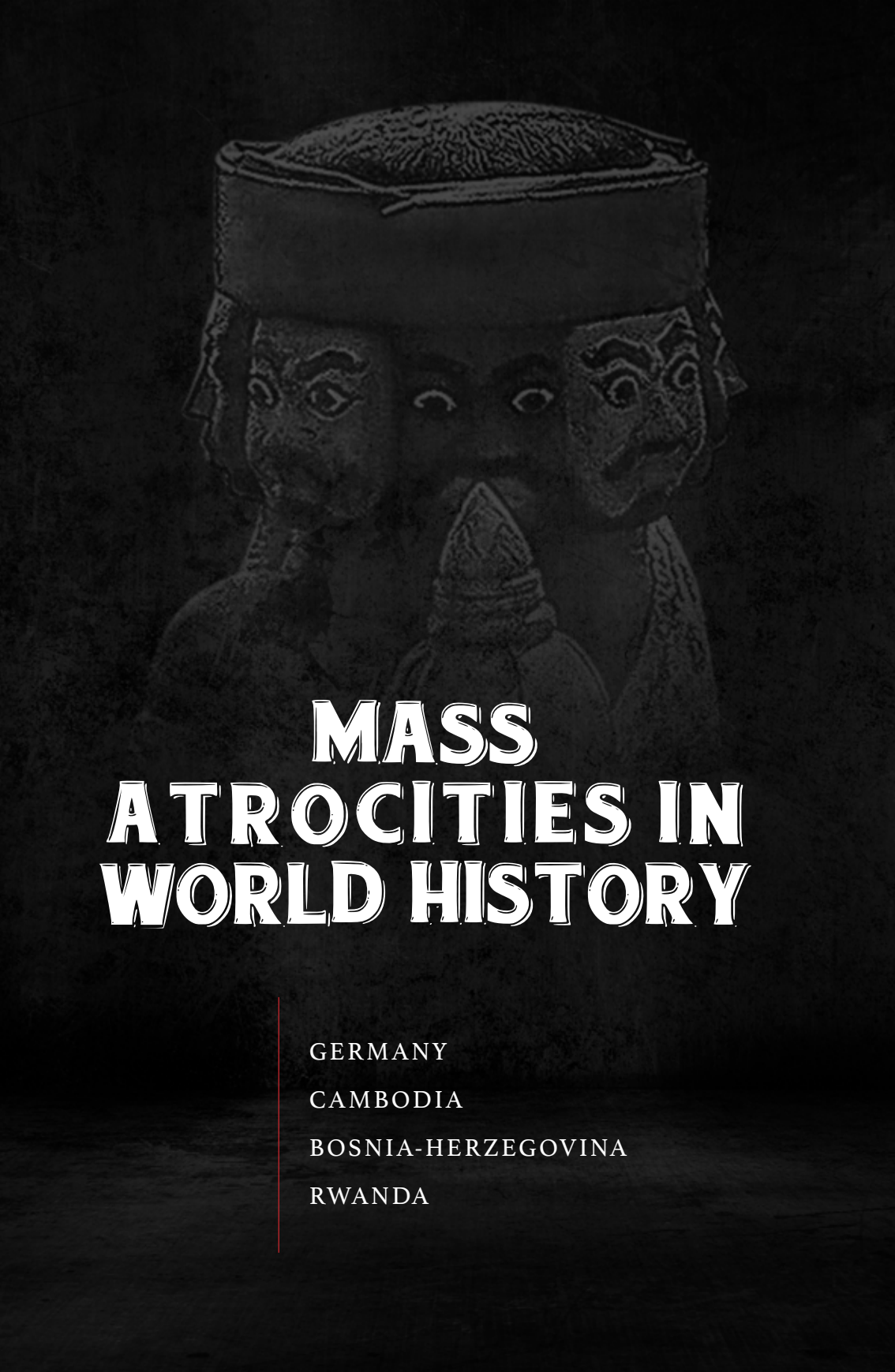
Each of these areas, alone, would not prevent hatred and intolerance just as hatred and intolerance do not alone predetermine a descent into mass atrocity, genocide, or even violence. Context matters, and the degree to which a society can prevent violence, or the risks that a society will descend into violence, will ebb and flow with not only the actions taken in these areas but also cultural, political, and socio-economic factors of the time.

These histories present opportunities to glean insights on what some of these factors can be. From Serbian militias' attack on Bosnian Muslim communities to Nazi's Germany's creation of the "Final Solution," the reader will notice that all of the mass atrocities were preceded by significant planning in which hatred and intolerance were not only institutionalized but also channeled into policies and systems specifically designed to destroy people.

If there is any single lesson that should stand out in this book, it is the observation that everyone bears a moral responsibility for their fellow woman and man. This moral responsibility extends to one's daily routines and relationships in the community. Every individual can play a part in preventing genocide by identifying, understanding, and responding to hatred and intolerance in their own capacity or circumstance. Taking the time to understand how hatred and intolerance contributed to inhumanity in the past is the first step one can take to contribute to the global effort to prevent and respond to inhumanity today and in the future.

¹United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Declaration of Principles on Tolerance, SHS-96/WS-5, 16 November 1995, Art. 1.1, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001518/151830eo.pdf>.

²United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), "Learning to Live Together: Promoting Tolerance," <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/fight-against-discrimination/promoting-tolerance/>.



MASS ATROCITIES IN WORLD HISTORY

GERMANY

CAMBODIA

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

RWANDA



GERMANY

FARINA SO

SHORT LESSON

Daily life at the concentration camps was unimaginable. The prisoners lived in barracks, and were subject to forced labor inside and outside the camp. They received little food, rest, or protection from the cold. Disease and infection were common and many people died from overwork, starvation, and disease.

Germany's defeat in World War I, combined with an economic depression, caused the German people to elect a right-wing nationalist political party, the Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party, commonly known as the Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler. The Nazi leaders adopted radical racial and pseudo-scientific theories to unify the people under an ideology that called for racial purity, national pride, and the defeat of Germany's foreign and internal enemies. Under the banner of racial purity, national unity, and reestablishing Germany's honor, the Nazis launched a variety of programs to demonize certain groups of people who they labeled as the source of Germany's problems. Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, people with disabilities, and Slavic peoples, among many others, were targeted. The Nazi leaders also instituted a systematic campaign, through the use of state-run concentration camps, to wipe out the Jewish people. Concentration camps also housed other groups of people, including Roma and Slavic people that were captured or rounded up in Nazi-occupied territories.

A mass grave in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Bergen-Belsen was established in March 1943 as a special camp for prominent Jews of belligerent and neutral states, who might be exchanged for German citizens interned abroad. Photo credit: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), courtesy of Arnold Bauer Barach.



Despite this treatment, the prisoners resisted both directly and indirectly. Jews resisted by observing the Jewish faith, keeping diaries, and recording life inside the camp. Prisoners would also steal food to survive, and there were sometimes attempts at escape and even confronting the camp guards.

The Nazi regime sought to annihilate Jews in Europe through the use of poison gas, death by shooting, and other means. The Nazi regime's plan to systematically annihilate the Jewish population from Europe came to be known as "the Final Solution". Although the origin of the Final Solution is unclear, it represented a multi-stage plan to rid Europe of all Jews. As part of this plan, Adolf Eichmann, a senior SS official, was in charge of deporting German Jews within Germany and European Jews in Greater Germany (Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Russia) to concentration camps and extermination camps (killing centers).

In its entirety, 6 million Jewish men, women, and children were killed under this plan or two-thirds of the Jews living in Europe before World War II.

The Nazis also targeted other groups of people who did not fit within their conception of the master race for the country. For example, the mentally and physically handicapped were unwanted people under Nazi administration because they were identified as people who were either useless to the German nation or a threat to the racial purity that the Nazis aspired to attain. The Nazis sent handicapped people to the gas chambers, and they instituted a program to murder handicapped infants and small children through lethal drugs and starvation.

The Roma or Gypsies were another group of people targeted by the Nazis. The Roma were distinct nomadic tribes that migrated from the Punjab region to Europe in the eighth and tenth centuries C.E. The Nazis forced many Roma to be sterilized (a medical procedure to prevent reproduction), and Roma were subject to arrest, forced relocation, and deportation to concentration camps. Overall, 5 million non-Jewish people were killed during the Nazi regime.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, the Allied powers established a military tribunal to prosecute the crimes committed during World War II. The International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg found individuals guilty for crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

- 1 Describe the Nazi German plan known as "the Final Solution?"
- 2 What was daily life like at the concentration camps?
- 3 What are some examples of groups of people targeted by the Nazis?
- 4 If the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide existed, what types of acts could qualify as genocide under this act?
- 5 When did Germany surrender?

INQUIRY LESSON

Germany's defeat in World War I, combined with an economic depression, caused the German people to elect a right-wing nationalist political party, the Nationalist Socialist German Worker's Party, commonly known as the Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler. The Nazi leaders adopted radical racial and pseudo-scientific theories to unify the people under an ideology that called for racial purity, national pride, and the defeat of Germany's foreign and internal enemies. Under the banner of racial purity, national unity, and reestablishing Germany's honor, the Nazis launched a variety of programs to demonize certain groups of people who they labeled as the source of Germany's problems. Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, people with disabilities, and Slavic peoples among many others, were targeted. The Nazi leaders also instituted a systematic campaign, through the use of state-run concentration camps, to wipe out the Jewish people. Eleven million people from more than 20 countries would be killed under this plan. Of the 11 million people killed, 6 million were Jews. Hundreds of Jewish communities in Europe, some centuries old, disappeared forever. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Allied powers established a military tribunal to prosecute the crimes committed during World War II. The International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg found individuals guilty for crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The defeat of Germany in World War I is often identified as the starting point of the era that would give birth to the radical Nazi regime and the Second World War. World War I ended in 1919 with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which imposed significant costs on Germany. Germany lost significant portions of its territory, and it had to pay reparations for the destruction caused by the war. Germany felt humiliated by its defeat and the consequences of the peace treaty.

In addition to the impact of the post-World War I reparations, beginning in 1929, the world was plunged into an economic depression. The global depression, known as the Great Depression, hit the country hard and left many Germans unemployed. The Great Depression combined with Germany's national humiliation after the defeat in World War I caused many Germans to doubt the government's vision for the country. After World War I, Germany adopted a parliamentary government, which struggled to meet the conditions of the peace treaty of World War I. The Great Depression imposed significant hardships on the German people. These conditions and the government's struggle to move beyond the terms of the World War I peace treaty led the German people to perceive the parliamentary government coalition as weak and ineffective.

Adolf Hitler, a powerful orator, rose to power partly as a result of these circumstances. Amidst economic hardship and government ineffectiveness, he attracted a large number of voters with his vision of a new Germany, which called for racial purity, national pride, and the defeat of Germany's foreign and internal enemies. Hitler promised to pull the country out of the depression and restore Germany to its "rightful position" as a world power.





Group portrait of Schutzstaffel (SS) personnel in the Buchenwald concentration camp. The SS organization was one of the most prominent agencies for security and terror within Germany and German-occupied Europe. Photo credit: The USHMM, courtesy of Robert A. Schmuhl.

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed a chancellor of Germany. He denounced democracy in Germany and ruled the country as a one-party system. He declared a permanent state of emergency on February 27-28, 1933. The decree was passed suspending the provisions of the German constitution that protected basic individual rights, including freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. The decree also permitted increased state and police intervention into private life, allowing officials to censor mail, listen in on phone conversations, and search private homes without a warrant or need to show reasonable cause. The Nazi regime could arrest and detain people without cause and without limits on the length of incarceration. Nazi special security forces—the Gestapo, the Storm Detachments (SA), and the Protection Squads (SS) that had been established during the 1920s, led by SS chief Heinrich Himmler and his deputy Reinhard Heyrich, were used to terrorize political opponents (Communist, Socialists, and liberals) and to protect Nazi leaders. The SS was a particularly significant tool of Nazi terror. SS officers staffed the concentration camps, in which perceived enemies of the regime were imprisoned.



German soldiers of the Waffen-SS and the Reich Labor Service look on as a member of an Einsatzgruppe prepares to shoot a Ukrainian Jew kneeling on the edge of a mass grave filled with corpses. The Einsatzgruppen were SS death squads that were responsible for mass killings in German-occupied Europe. Photo credit: USHMM, courtesy of Sharon Paquette.

Concentration camps were an important instrument of the regime in Nazi Germany during 1933-1945. A concentration camp refers to a camp in which detained people are confined—usually under harsh conditions and without regard to legal norms of arrest and imprisonment that are acceptable in a constitutional democracy. All the concentration camps across Germany and later “Greater Germany” were centralized and governed by the SS Lieutenant General Theodor Eicke. The Nazis used both old and new buildings, such as old warehouses, abandoned factories and other buildings for concentration camps.

The Nazi party’s vision encompassed radical racial policies and pseudo-scientific theories to unify the people. Beginning in 1935, the Jews, as well as any groups of people who did not fit within the Nazi party’s conception of the Aryan race, began to see increasing government and societal discrimination, which evolved into open hostility and eventually the confiscation of property, arrest, and deportation to concentration camps. Hitler and other Nazi propagandists directed the population’s anger and fear toward minority groups. The policies were more radical against opponents and those perceived as “racially inferior”. The racial policies continued until Germany’s surrender in 1945. The Nazi regime



believed that the Germans were “racially superior” and that there was a struggle for survival between them and inferior races. They saw Jews, Roma (Gypsies), and the handicapped as serious biological threats to the purity of the “German (Aryan) race” or what they called “the master race.” The Nazi regime’s policies against the Jews and foreign peoples led to the Holocaust.

The Roma or Gypsies were a group of distinct nomadic tribes that migrated from the Punjab region to Europe in the eighth and tenth centuries C.E. By 1939, approximately a million Roma lived in Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. Though the Roma were persecuted throughout Europe for centuries, the Nazi party’s assumption of power in Germany marked a new chapter of persecution for the Roma. The Nazis subjected the Roma to the Nuremberg Race Laws, the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Progeny, and Law against Dangerous Habitual Criminals. Many Roma were forced to be sterilized (a medical procedure to prevent reproduction), and Roma were subject to arrest, forced relocation, and deportation to concentration camps.

The Nazis also targeted other groups of people who did not fit within their conception of the master race for the country. For example, the mentally and physically handicapped were unwanted people under Nazi administration because they were identified as people who were either useless to the German nation or a threat to the racial purity that the Nazis aspired to attain. The Nazis sent handicapped people to the gas chambers, and they instituted a program to murder handicapped infants and small children through lethal drugs and starvation.

The Holocaust refers to the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. Holocaust (“Shoah” in Hebrew) is a Greek word meaning “Sacrifice by fire.”

There is a long history of hatred against the Jews (i.e., anti-Semitism). For centuries, the Jews, whose main religion is Judaism, were scattered throughout communities in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, Africa and part of Asia. In addition, some Jews continued to reside in the area that was once the kingdom of Israel. Legends and myths about Jews gave rise to negative perceptions, false beliefs, and stereotypes of Jewish people, which resonated because of their minority status. These legends and myths were often incorporated into national policy. In Germany, Jews only made up less than one percent of the total population, yet they were accused of causing the German defeat in World War I. Likewise, they were blamed for the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and furthering the aim of world revolution. Jews were falsely accused of cowardice and they were seen as being disloyal to the nation. They were also associated with greed and the myth that they controlled the reparations system imposed on Germany for their own profit. Throughout Western Europe, Jews frequently faced restrictions in land ownership, and they were often forced to live in isolated communities or ghettos. Riots (pogroms) against Jews occurred throughout Europe’s history.



An anti-Semitic poster entitled, “Behind the enemy powers: the Jew.”
Source: USHMM. Artifact photographer: Max Reid.

The history of the Nazi regime’s attack on Jewish communities can be traced to 1933 when the Nuremberg laws were passed. The laws forced Jews out of their civil service jobs, university and law court positions, and other areas of public life. The law also made them second-class citizens. The Jews were identified by their religious affiliation of their grandparents. Jews could not attend public schools; go to theaters, cinema, or vacation resorts; or reside or even walk in certain sections of German cities.

Between 1937-1939, Jews increasingly were forced out of Germany’s economic life. The Nazi regime either seized Jewish businesses and properties outright or they

forced Jews to sell them at bargain prices. In November 1938, the Nazi regime organized a riot (pogrom), known as Kristallnacht (the “Night of Broken Glass”). This attack against German and Austrian Jews included the physical destruction of synagogues and Jewish-owned stores, the arrest of Jewish men, the vandalization of homes, and the murder of individuals.

About half of the German-Jewish population and more than two-thirds of Austrian Jews fled Nazi persecution between 1933 and 1939. They emigrated mainly to the United States, Palestine, and elsewhere in Europe (where many would be later trapped by Nazi conquests during the war). Many Jews also emigrated to Latin America and Japanese-occupied Shanghai (which required no visas for entry). Jews who remained under Nazi rule were either unwilling to uproot themselves or unable to obtain visas, sponsors, or funds for emigration. Most foreign countries, including the United States, Canada, Britain, and France, were also unwilling to admit very large numbers of refugees.

Nazi anti-Semitism reached a peak during the years of World War II (1939-1945), in which German Jews were treated harsher than before. More radical





Former prison guards exhume and rebury charred corpses in the Klooga concentration camp following its liberation by the Soviet Union. Photo credit: USHMM, courtesy of Helen Summer.

policies were instituted including reduced food rations, limited time periods for household shopping, and restrictions on the access to stores and the use of public transportation. The Jews were forced to relinquish property “essential to the war effort,” wear a yellow star for those over the age of six, and live in designated areas of German cities, where they were subject to forced labor.

As early as 1941, the Nazi regime began emptying the Jewish communities and transporting Jews to concentration camps. The effort to empty Jewish ghettos increased significantly by 1942 and within 2 years time, by the summer of 1944, few Jewish communities were left in most parts of Europe.

Rail systems were used by the Nazi regime to transport or deport Jews from their homes to camps further east in Europe. When trains were not available or the distances were short, Jews were loaded on trucks or they were required to travel by foot.

The Nazi regime sought to annihilate Jews in Europe through the use of poison gas, death by shooting, and other means. The Nazi regime’s plan to systematically annihilate the Jewish population from Europe came to be known as “the Final Solution”. Although the origin of the Final Solution is unclear, it represented a multi-stage plan to rid Europe of all Jews. As part of this plan, Adolf Eichmann, a senior SS official, was in charge of deporting German Jews within Germany and European Jews in Greater Germany (Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Russia) to concentration camps and extermination camps (killing centers).

In its entirety, 6 million Jewish men, women, and children were killed under this plan or two-thirds of the Jews living in Europe before World War II. In addition, another 5 million non-Jewish people were killed.

According to survivors’ stories, deportation and transportation to camps often took many days. Individuals, families and whole communities together with their personal belongings were packed into cattle trucks. They did not know where they were going, the length of the journey or what would happen to them when they eventually arrived at their destination. Their belongings were taken away.

Upon arrival at a concentration camp, men and women were separated. Children often stayed with their mothers. After registration, prisoners had to undress and have their hair shaved before showering. They usually had their own clothing taken away and replaced with a striped uniform.

Daily life at the concentration camps was unimaginable. The prisoners lived in barracks, and were subject to forced labor inside and outside the camp. They received little food, rest, or protection from the cold. Disease and infection were common and many people died from overwork, starvation, and disease.

Despite all this treatment, the prisoners resisted both directly and indirectly. Jews resisted by observing the Jewish faith, keeping diaries, and recording life inside the camp. Prisoners would also steal food to survive, and there were sometimes attempts at escape and even confronting the camp guards.

As Allied troops moved across Europe in 1944, they began to liberate the camps. In addition, Allied forces came across many prisoners who were forced to evacuate the camps on forced death marches. Soviet forces were the first Allied army to reach a major concentration camp in July 1944. Nazi officials often attempted to hide the evidence of some camps by setting fire to buildings and other evidence. Some camps were already abandoned by the time Allied forces reached them, either because the prisoners were forcibly moved elsewhere or in some instances because the camps had already killed off the entire population.



INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNALS

On May 7, 1945, Germany officially surrendered to Allied forces. Approximately six months later, the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg formally began its trial of Nazi officials. It was the first time that a country's leaders would be tried for crimes of war by an international tribunal. The tribunal tried 24 major political and military leaders. Later, over a hundred more persons were tried by the U.S. Nuremberg Military Tribunal, which followed as a subsequent set of trials of lesser war criminals. The court found individuals guilty for crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Some of the individuals prosecuted by the tribunal included Hermann Göring, who oversaw the creation of the Gestapo, a state police force. In the final years of the war, he was commander-in-chief of the air force and he was one of the most senior officers in the German armed forces. Göring was convicted of conspiracy, crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, and he was sentenced to death by hanging. Ultimately, he committed suicide before his sentence was carried out.

Other defendants included Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hans Frank, Alfred Rosenberg, and Julius Streicher. Ribbentrop was foreign minister of Germany and he was instrumental in the Germany's efforts to secure the deportation of Jews from Axis countries to German killing centers. Frank was Governor General of occupied Poland, and he was responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Polish civilians and Polish Jews. Rosenberg was responsible for the deportation and destruction of Jews in Soviet territories and he oversaw the establishment of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg, which sought to confiscate cultural properties from all over Europe. Streicher was instrumental in Nazi propaganda, and he oversaw the creation and distribution of anti-Semitic and racist newspapers. Ribbentrop, Frank, Rosenberg, and Streicher were all sentenced to death.

Overall, 12 defendants were sentenced to death. They were hanged and their bodies were cremated in Dachau—a former concentration camp. Three defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment and 4 defendants were sentenced to prison terms of different lengths up to 20 years. The tribunal also acquitted 3 defendants. Some defendants never saw justice because they were either excluded from the court due to failing health or they escaped capture.

Otto Adolf Eichmann was a major organizer of the mass deportation of Jews to extermination camps during World War II but he evaded capture until his arrest in 1960. He was arrested in Argentina and smuggled out of the country to stand trial in Israel. He was tried and found guilty for war crimes in Israel, and he was executed by hanging in 1962.

Some of the most senior leaders, such as Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels never stood trial because they committed suicide or they were killed before the end of the war.

In later years, more Nazi officials would be tried in other courts around the world; however, many Nazi officials were never found. The IMT in Nuremberg and its sister court, the IMT for the Far East, also known as the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal (which tried leaders of the Empire of Japan), would establish groundbreaking norms in international law. Their work would ultimately set the standard for future international criminal courts, and the treaties, customs, and practices of human rights and humanitarian law.

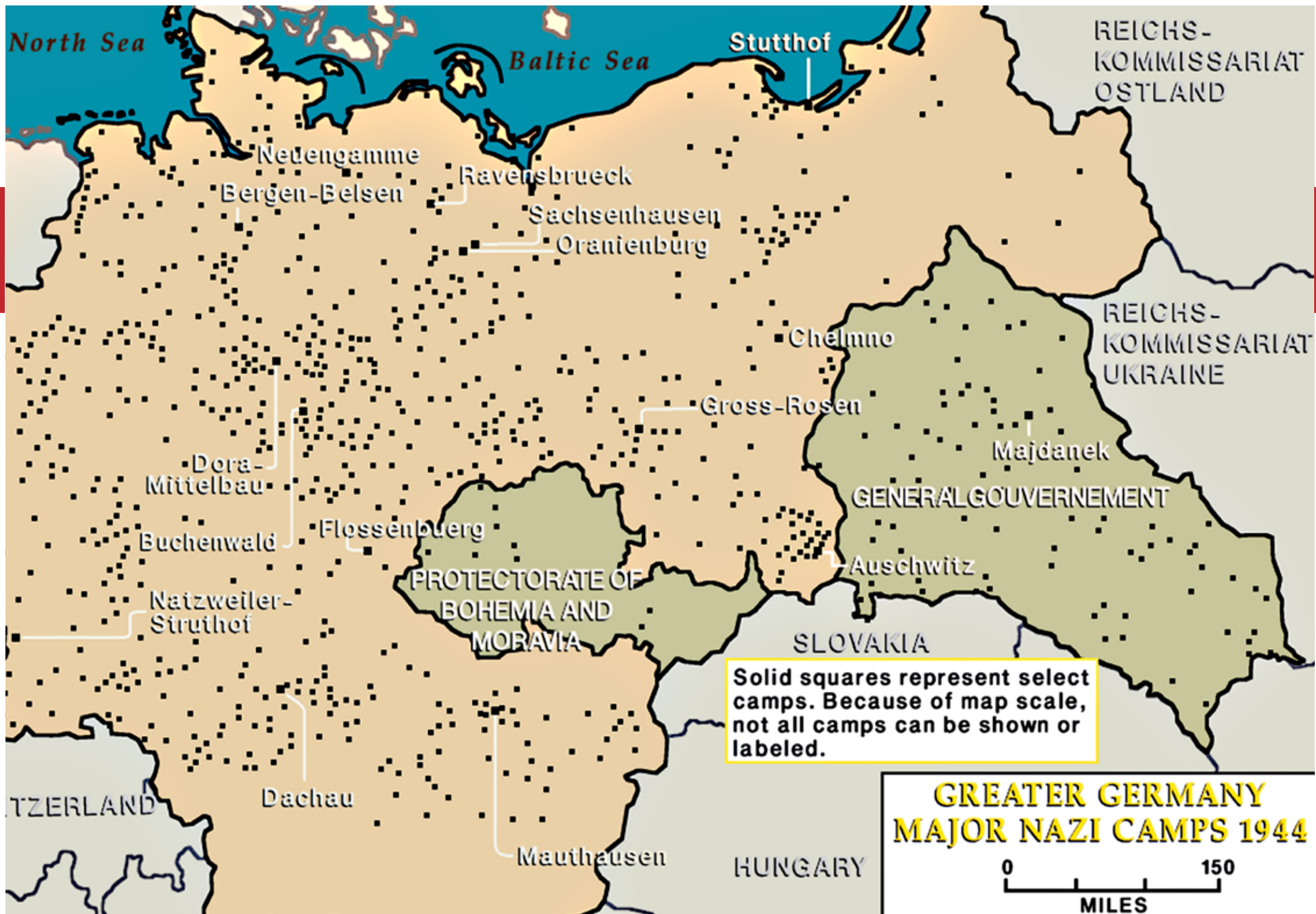
CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

Discussion

- 1 Can genocide be triggered solely from spontaneous anger or controversial events?
- 2 What kinds of factors support mass atrocities on a national level?
- 3 How does war encourage governments to commit mass atrocities on their citizens?

Short Answer

- 4 In 1933, a significant government action occurred, which precipitated attacks on Jews. What was this?
- 5 Describe the Nazi German plan known as “the Final Solution?”
- 6 What was daily life like at the concentration camps?
- 7 What are some examples of groups targeted by the Nazis?
- 8 When did Germany surrender?
- 9 How were Nazi criminals brought to justice?



A map of major Nazi camps in Nazi-occupied European territory.
Map credit: USHMM.



The Painting: Victim and Perpetrator

The painting is by a Cambodian artist. He wants to show that a person during the Khmer Rouge regime can defy categories by being both a victim and a perpetrator. The painting was a personal gift to Youk Chhang by James Mizerski. In the Khmer language, there is a saying: "When the river rises, the ant becomes fish food. When the river recedes, the fish becomes the ant's food." On the surface, this saying explains the natural cycles of life in the wet and dry seasons; however, on a more abstract level, the saying illustrates how changes in one's environment can influence one's circumstances and response. In one set of circumstances, the ant is the prey; in other circumstances, the ant is the predator. Mankind is endowed with consciousness of right and wrong, yet a transformation in one's environment can easily transform roles, decisions, and even nature. An individual can be as much a victim of mass atrocity as he or she is an accessory to, or a perpetrator of, inhumanity. In the same light, individuals who suffered from inhumanity can find themselves consumed by anger and a hatred for people who tortured them and their loved ones. After the fall of the regime in 1979, some victims took revenge against people believed to have committed harm on them and their family members. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

CAMBODIA

FARINA SO &
CHRISTOPHER DEARING

SHORT LESSON

On April 17, 1975, communist forces, known as the Khmer Rouge, gained control of Cambodia and created the state of Democratic Kampuchea, which ultimately caused the deaths of 1.4 to 2.2 million people.

CAMBODIA

The political organization of the Khmer Rouge was known as the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). The CPK endeavored to implement a rapid socialist revolution in Cambodia through a radical Maoist and Marxist-Leninist transformation program. To accomplish this transformation, the Khmer Rouge re-organized society in all aspects, beginning with the de-population of urban centers. Counter to the CPK achieving its goals, vast portions of population died from starvation, exhaustion, or disease. Children were taken from their parents, husbands were separated from their wives, and families were broken apart. Cities and towns were emptied, and throughout the country, people were forced to travel, often times on foot, to a new location. The regime instituted a system of forced labor under harsh conditions. In addition, to defend the Party against imaginary "internal and external enemies," and to address the widespread failure of their radical policies, the Khmer Rouge established a robust security program, which targeted anyone suspected of disloyalty to the CPK. Those suspected of disloyalty included all those associated with the former regime, intellectuals, people with wealth, and religious leaders. Many tens of thousands of people were arrested and many were summarily executed, while others were forced to languish in prison or re-education camps where they suffered and eventually died. Even the smallest perceived infraction could lead to one's death.





Nhek Veng Huor

The Victims of the Khmer Rouge — Nhek Veng Huor was a member of a group of 114 Cambodians in the United States who wanted to return home to his country. Hoping to protect their families, the group returned to Cambodia in 1976, during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Shortly after their arrival in Cambodia, they were arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and executed. Nhek was one of the more than two million Cambodians who died brutally at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. It is estimated that five million Cambodians survived that regime. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

During the DK regime, money, markets, and private property were abolished. Religious and cultural practices were prohibited, and public schools, pagodas, mosques, churches, and shops were closed or converted into prisons, re-education camps, or other government-prescribed purposes. There was no public or private transportation, and leisure activities were severely restricted. No private farming or other entrepreneurial activities were allowed. Rather, the population was forced to labour in large state cooperatives and massive work sites on irrigation and other projects. People were deprived of their basic human rights; movement was restricted; and workers were forced to eat collectively. Family relations were also restricted or even broken up, and religious practices were prohibited. Free speech was severely restricted with severe punishments, including death. Individuals who were accused of a violation would be punished with no legal process.

To meet the CPK's goals regarding agricultural development and national defence, between late 1975 and January 1979, the regime sought to increase the population by forcing men and women to marry partners chosen by the authorities. These individuals were often wed in mass ceremonies devoid of Cambodian traditions. Afterwards, newly-wedded couple were forced to have sexual intercourse with their spouse. Couples who were found to have not had sexual intercourse were re-educated or threatened with being punished or killed.

The regime's terror did not end until Cambodian and Vietnamese forces captured the capital on January 7, 1979. From January 1979 and until 1998, the Khmer Rouge continued to survive as a guerrilla movement that harassed and attacked the Cambodian people and the government.





The Khmer Republic (1970-1975).

Marshal Lon Nol (second left), President of the Khmer Republic, and Prince Sirik Matak (far right), acting Premier of the Khmer Republic, at a military barracks in 1973. Source: DC-Cam Archives.



Khmer Rouge and Viet Cong soldiers slain by Khmer Republic troops in fighting, displayed in front of the French Embassy in Phnom Penh, 1970. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

The United Nations dispatched a team to research the acts committed by the Khmer Rouge, and from these findings, the U.N. and Cambodian government agreed to set up a U.N.-Cambodia court to investigate and prosecute allegations of genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. In 2003, the U.N. and the government of Cambodia entered into an agreement to establish the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). The ECCC is mandated to prosecute senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those most responsible for serious violations of international and domestic law that occurred between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

- 1 What was the political ideology of the Khmer Rouge?
- 2 What were some of the policies instituted by the Khmer Rouge?
- 3 What happened to the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge?



INQUIRY LESSON

On April 17, 1975, communist forces commonly known as the Khmer Rouge seized control of Cambodia and established the government they named “Democratic Kampuchea.” During the almost four years they ruled the country, it is estimated that 1.4 to 2.2 million Cambodians lost their lives through executions or deaths caused by starvation, overwork, and unhealthy conditions. The regime’s campaign of terror, torture, forced labor, and executions continued until Vietnamese forces entered the country and captured the capital on January 7, 1979.

The term “Khmer Rouge” was the name Prince Norodom Sihanouk gave to his communist opponents in the 1960s, meaning “Red Khmer.” Their official name was the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The origins of the Khmer Rouge can be traced to the wider struggle against French colonial authorities. For the last quarter of the 19th century and until the early 1950s, the French exercised control over Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The French administration over these colonies was commonly known as French Indochina. Although anti-colonial sentiments always existed—sometimes erupting into rebellion in one form or another—the anti-colonial movement did not coalesce until the 1940s. The Khmer Issarak was an anti-French, Khmer nationalist movement that emerged with the support of Thailand in 1945. Although we can describe the Khmer Issarak as a movement, in truth, there was no central leadership. Rather, the Khmer Issarak were made up of many different groups with different agendas and political orientations. Issarak groups in western parts of Cambodia tended to look to Thailand for support, while Issarak groups in the eastern parts worked with and were heavily influenced by the Vietnamese communists, then known as the Việt Minh. The Vietnamese communists played an important role in supporting the rise of the Cambodian communist movement in its early history.

The Việt Minh were a Vietnamese communist coalition of groups who opposed the re-occupation of Vietnam by France. By 1949, the Việt Minh were receiving support from Chinese communists, which allowed them to elevate their struggle with France from a guerrilla conflict into a conventional war. By 1950, French Indochina was in the midst of rebellion, which today we refer to as the First Indochina War. The majority of the fighting in the First Indochina War occurred in Vietnam; however, the Khmer nationalists were also struggling against the French at the same time as well. In 1951, the Vietnamese communists guided the formation of the Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party (KPRP), which would serve as the precursor organization to the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), commonly known as the Khmer Rouge. Like the Khmer Issarak, the early Khmer Rouge looked to the Vietnamese communists for direction.

By 1953, France granted independence to Cambodia, and in the Geneva Peace Conference (which would formally end the First Indochina War in 1954), Vietnam was divided between a communist North and a pro-Western South Vietnam.

The years that followed the Geneva Peace Conference (1955–1959) mark the low point for the Cambodian communist movement. The French colonial administration had been dismantled in Cambodia, and King Sihanouk abdicated his throne and became Prince Sihanouk—the politician and prime minister of Cambodia. Under Prince Sihanouk, oppositional parties were suppressed, and the Cambodian communists who had hoped to secure a position in the newly independent Cambodian state, were dispersed to the countryside. In the countryside and jungle, the Cambodian communists struggled for their survival.

In September 1960, the KPRP re-organized the party, set up a new political line, and changed its name to the Workers’ Party of Kampuchea (WPK). Tou Samouth became its secretary and Nuon Chea became its deputy secretary. Pol Pot ranked number three at that time, and it is believed he became a second deputy secretary in 1961. After Tou Samouth disappeared in 1962, the party held an emergency congress in February 1963. It elected Pol Pot as secretary and Nuon Chea remained deputy secretary. In 1965, Pol Pot engaged in a number of meetings with the North Vietnamese, China, and North Korea. In 1966, after returning home, he changed the party, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). The leadership of the party was in the hands of the Standing Committee, which consisted of Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Sao Phim, Ieng Sary, and Ta Mok as full members, and Vorn Vet and Son Sen as alternate members. Outside of government reach, the Cambodian communist movement consolidated power and re-organized in anticipation of more favorable circumstances that would allow them to seize power. Favorable circumstances finally appeared in 1970—with the removal of Prince Sihanouk and the establishment of the Lon Nol regime.

In March 1970, the National Assembly voted to remove Prince Sihanouk as head of state. The removal of Prince Sihanouk and the establishment of the Lon Nol regime ushered in a number of favorable circumstances for the Cambodian communists. Removed from power, Prince Sihanouk sought out assistance from his former enemies, the Cambodian communists or Khmer Rouge. Prince Sihanouk still commanded the reverence of the people in the countryside, so the Khmer Rouge’s alliance with Prince Sihanouk brought a new wave of recruitment to the communist cause.

In addition, the establishment of the pro-Western Lon Nol regime ushered in a dramatic expansion of the Second Indochina War (or Vietnam War). Cambodia was a pivotal stage since the early days of the Second Indochina War. The war, which pitted the United States and South Vietnam against the Vietnamese communists and North Vietnam, spilled across borders. During Prince Sihanouk’s administration, Vietnamese communist forces were



allowed to use Cambodian territory to support their struggle against American and South Vietnamese forces. In return, the Vietnamese communists supported Prince Sihanouk, even to the detriment of their comrades-in-arms, the Cambodian communists. With a pro-Western regime now in control of Cambodia, however, Vietnamese communist forces moved deep into Cambodia, fighting Lon Nol's forces and helping to recruit and train soldiers for the Khmer Rouge. As a result of these circumstances, the Khmer Rouge grew from a force of approximately 3,000 soldiers in 1970 to over 40,000 in 1973. Aided by the Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge began to defeat Lon Nol's forces on the battlefield.

However, the Vietnamese-Khmer Rouge alliance was only temporary. As the Khmer Rouge grew in strength and assertiveness, they began to increasingly demand that Vietnamese forces leave Cambodia. In January 1973, the Vietnamese communist government based in Hanoi, the Thieu-Key government based in Saigon and the United States, signed a peace agreement in Paris that purported to end the ongoing hostilities in Vietnam. While the agreement did not cover the ongoing civil war in Cambodia, it required all the foreign parties to withdraw their forces from Cambodia. By the end of 1973, the Vietnamese had largely withdrawn from Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge assumed all responsibilities for the war against the Lon Nol regime.

By early 1973, about 85 percent of Cambodian territory was in the hands of the Khmer Rouge and the Lon Nol army was almost unable to go on the offensive. On 17 April 1975, the Khmer Rouge had captured Phnom Penh, and shortly thereafter proclaimed the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea.

Once they had defeated the Lon Nol government, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) endeavored to implement a rapid socialist revolution in Cambodia through a radical Maoist and Marxist-Leninist transformation program. To accomplish this transformation, the Khmer Rouge re-organized society in all aspects, beginning with the de-population of urban centers.

Under the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime, vast portions of the population were forcibly moved from their homes to often distant locations in the countryside. This policy of forcibly moving people from one location to another (i.e., forced transfer) caused incredible suffering and strain on people and communities. Over a period of forty-five months, the Khmer Rouge regime engaged in many forced transfers between regions.

The Khmer Rouge also operated cooperatives and worksites as a method to strictly control the population and facilitate their strategy of class struggle. Worksites were created throughout the countryside. Examples include the Tram Kak cooperatives, the Trapeang Thma Dam worksite, the 1st January Dam worksite, and the Kampong Chhnang Airfield Construction site.

The Tram Kak cooperatives were located in Sector 13 of the Southwest Zone or current-day Takeo province. At the Tram Kak cooperatives, people were forced to work in an environment with little food and constant control and fear. People died from malnutrition, overwork, and sickness.



A procession of dancers, 1973. During the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979), artists and experts in Cambodian culture were targeted because of their association with, and influential voice on, traditional art forms and media. One of the artists (Som Sakhon) pictured here was known to have been killed by the Khmer Rouge. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

At the Trapeang Thma Dam worksite, which was located in current-day Banteay Meanchey province, people were forced to build a dam and two dykes. Work hours were long, regardless of weather, and there were no rest days. Workers were constantly threatened with being killed or having their food rations reduced. People at the worksite died because of the living conditions and witnesses also described workers being executed.

The 1st January Dam worksite was located in Sectors 42 and 43 in the Central (or old North) Zone or current-day Kampong Thom province. During the construction of the dam, tens of thousands of workers were forced to work against their will under harsh conditions.

At the Kampong Chhnang Airfield construction site, workers were held in slavery-like conditions, and they worked under the constant threat of death. The Kampong Chhnang Airfield site is located in current-day Kampong Chhnang province.

During the DK regime, money, markets, and private property were abolished. Religious and cultural practices were prohibited, and public schools, pagodas, mosques, churches, and shops were closed or converted into prisons, re-education camps, or other government-prescribed purposes. There was no public or private transportation, and leisure activities were severely restricted.





The Khmer Rouge and the Chinese. (Center, right): Pol Pot, Prime Minister and Secretary of Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) with Wang Dong Xing, Deputy Head of Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee. (Behind Pol Pot): Khieu Samphan, President of State's Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea. (Second far right): Nuon Chea, President of People's Representative Assembly and Deputy Secretary of Communist Party of Kampuchea. Note: Hu Yao Bang, General Secretary of Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, Ieng Sary, Khmer Rouge's Foreign Minister and his wife, Ieng Thirith, Khmer Rouge's Minister of Health and Social Education were also at this event.

On Friday November 16, 2018, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal convicted Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan of genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The crimes were committed at various locations throughout Cambodia during the Democratic Kampuchea period from April 17, 1975, to January 6, 1979. The Trial Chamber sentenced both Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan to life imprisonment. Pol Pot became prime minister of Democratic Kampuchea in 1976 and resigned in 1979, but remained an active leader of the Khmer Rouge. He lived in exile, mainly in Thailand, until his death in Anlong Veng district, Oddar Meanchey province, on April 15, 1998. His body was cremated on April 17, 1998. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

No private farming or other entrepreneurial activities were allowed. Rather, the population was forced to labour in large state cooperatives and massive work sites on irrigation and other projects. People were deprived of their basic human rights; movement was restricted; and workers were forced to eat collectively. Family relations were also restricted or even broken up, and religious practices were prohibited. Free speech was severely restricted with severe punishments, including death. Individuals who were accused of a violation would be punished with no legal process.

To meet the CPK's goals regarding agricultural development and national defence, between late 1975 and January 1979, the regime sought to increase the population by forcing men and women to marry partners chosen by the authorities. These individuals were often wed in mass ceremonies devoid of Cambodian

traditions. Afterwards, newly-wedded couples were forced to have sexual intercourse with their spouse. Arrangements were usually made for the couples to sleep in an assigned location to consummate the marriage and authorities monitored their compliance. Couples who were found to have not had sexual intercourse were re-educated or threatened with being punished or killed.

Ultimately, the Khmer Rouge believed that through these radical policies, they would be able to maximize agricultural output and realize otherwise unattainable levels of efficiency and development.

Counter to the CPK achieving its goals, vast portions of population died from starvation, exhaustion, or disease. In addition, to defend the Party against imaginary "internal and external enemies," and to address the widespread failure of their radical policies, the Khmer Rouge established a robust security program, which targeted anyone suspected of disloyalty to the CPK. Those suspected of disloyalty included all those associated with the former regime, intellectuals, people with wealth, and religious leaders. Many tens of thousands of people were arrested and many were summarily executed, while others were forced to languish in prison or re-education camps where they suffered and eventually died. The Khmer Rouge did not hesitate to use the most sadistic forms of torture to humiliate, break down, dehumanize, and destroy suspected enemies. The regime also did not hesitate to implement its campaign of terror on all types of victims. Women, children, and even the most committed members of the regime were subjected to torture and execution. Religious and ethnic minorities suffered. The Khmer Rouge were particularly attentive to Buddhists, Cham, and anyone with a Vietnamese background. After two Cham Muslim villages had rebelled against restrictions on religious practice, the regime sought to break up that community. Cham were prohibited from practicing their religion, speaking their language, and wearing traditional clothes or hairstyles. Massive numbers of Cham were executed in the areas they were traditionally concentrated along the Mekong river. It is estimated that 1.4 to 2.2 million people died during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

Almost 200 security centres were established around Cambodia to hold persons who were arrested. Torture and executions were common in these centres, and prisoners were subject to starvation and horrific living conditions. The most notorious prison S-21, which



Khmer Rouge Cadres. Khmer Rouge's village chief and their security body guards (known as Chhlop). Source: DC-Cam Archives.





After The Killing Fields (7 January 1979).

Images of two mass graves that were unearthed after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979. There are an estimated 20,000 mass graves throughout the countryside. After 1979, Khmer Rouge survivors collected the remains of their lost loved ones and kept them in a memorial near their house. Every year people pay respect to the remains from these mass graves. This day, which usually falls on May 20, is known as the "Day of Remembrance."

Source: DC-Cam Archives.



A Painting by a female (deaf) artist, Keo Kolthida Ekkasakh (Known as Kol). The painting depicts a female Khmer Rouge group leader (Me Kang) ordering a Cham Muslim woman to perform hard labor. (See more on Kol: Deafness & Genocide; Phnom Penh Post, 3 January 2014). Source: DC-Cam Archives.

is located in Phnom Penh, is believed to have processed about 18,000 people, almost all of whom perished.

Although S-21 was the most notorious prison, there were many other security centres spread throughout the country. Other security centres include the Kraing Ta Chan Security Centre, the Au Kanseng Security Centre, and the Phnom Kraol Security Centre.

The Kraing Ta Chan Security Centre was located in Tram Kak District, which is west of Takeo town. The prisoners that were held at the centre suffered under dire conditions. They were forced to sit shackled and chained together in rows on the floor of detention buildings, and they were frequently tortured. Prisoners were interrogated and subject to beatings, whippings, and suffocation, and many prisoners were executed.

The Au Kanseng Security Centre was located in Sector 102 of the Northeast Zone or current-day Ratanakiri province. The centre served as an auxiliary to S-21 for purposes of detaining less serious offenders from the Northeast Zone. The prison employed a variety of different methods of torture, including beatings, whippings, and electrocutions.



The Phnom Kraol Security Centre was located in Sector 105 or current-day Mondulakiri province. The centre consisted of offices K-17 and K-11, Phnom Kraol Prison, and the burial site Trapeang Pring. Prisoners held at this centre were arrested without any judicial or procedural protections of their civil rights, and they were forced to work at the centre as part of their confinement.

Since the early 1970s, sporadic conflict occurred between communist Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea, and major fighting erupted around the middle of 1977, when Khmer Rouge forces shelled and raided a number of Vietnamese provinces. Faced with increasing aggression, the Vietnamese decided to retaliate, and Vietnamese communist forces penetrated various parts of Democratic Kampuchea in 1977. By January 1978, Vietnamese forces withdrew. Driven by paranoia and fear of internal betrayal, the Pol Pot regime waged war on Democratic Kampuchea's Eastern Zone with mass executions of East Zone soldiers starting in May 1978. This war, combined with the ongoing incursions into Vietnam, foreshadowed the rise of a Cambodian opposition force with Vietnamese support. In June 1978, Vietnam began bombing Democratic Kampuchea, and in October 1978, Vietnam began preparations for a large-scale offensive. Finally, in late December 1978, the Vietnamese Army launched a large-scale attack on Democratic Kampuchea. Vietnamese forces and the forces of the opposition—the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS) overwhelmed the Khmer Rouge forces through speed, firepower, and a massive force spread out along multiple points of attack. The Vietnamese and KUFNS forces were able to capture the capital city of Phnom Penh in only three weeks on January 7, 1979, and within ten days, almost the entire country was under their control. Vietnam assisted in the establishment of a new regime, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which was officially proclaimed on January 12, 1979, with H.E. Heng Samrin as President, H.E. Pen Sovann as Prime Minister and National Defense Minister, and H.E. Hun Sen as Foreign Minister.

សង្ខេប: ជាមួយគ្នា យើងឈ្នះ ដោយឯកឯក យើងបាត់បង់ កម្ពុជា និង វៀតណាម សាមគ្គីភាព ពិតជាឈ្នះ: បែកសាមគ្គីពិតជាបាត់បង់



The Truth: Kampuchea and Vietnam: With Solidarity, We Win. Without It, We Lose.

A poster by a Cambodian artist, portraying Cambodian and Vietnamese soldiers chasing the Khmer Rouge out of Cambodia in 1979. It was published by the Cambodian Ministry of Propaganda, Information, and Culture in the 1980s.
Source: DC-Cam Archives.



EXTRAORDINARY CHAMBERS IN THE COURTS OF CAMBODIA

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal. A photo at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, (from left to right) Mr. William Smith, International Deputy Co-prosecutor, Mr. Tharik Abdulhak, Assistant International Prosecutor, Mr. Andrew Cayley, International Co-Prosecutor, Mr. Seng Bunkheang, National Deputy Prosecutor, Ms. Chea Leang, National Co-Prosecutor. Mr. Andrew Cayley, who served as the International Co-Prosecutor for the ECCC between December 2009 and September 2013. He previously served as a Prosecuting Counsel for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Ms. Chea Leang is the National Co-Prosecutor for the ECCC. She began her legal career in the Cambodian Ministry of Justice and as of 2019 she continues to serve as the National Co-Prosecutor. Source: DC-Cam Archives.

In November 1998, a United Nations Group of Experts came to Cambodia and Thailand to determine the nature of the crimes that occurred during the Khmer Rouge regime. The experts found there was sufficient evidence to justify criminal proceedings against the Khmer Rouge leadership. Disagreements on the best way to pursue criminal proceedings as well as an ongoing conflict between Khmer Rouge fighters and the government hindered progress in this endeavor. Finally, in 2003, an agreement was reached between the United Nations and the government of Cambodia for the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)—a UN-Cambodia hybrid court. Under this agreement, Cambodia would create the ECCC under domestic law, but the court would possess an international character and involve both Cambodians and non-Cambodian UN officials and judges. The ECCC is mandated to prosecute senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those

most responsible for serious violations of international and domestic law that occurred between April 17, 1975, and January 6, 1979. Since the ECCC has been in operation, three individuals have been convicted and sentenced. Nuon Chea, former Deputy Secretary of the CPK, and Khieu Samphan, Head of State, were sentenced to life in prison for genocide, crimes against humanity for inhumane acts, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Their convictions for genocide and other crimes in November 2018 were subject to appeal as of the date of this publication. On August 4, 2019, Nuon Chea died in the midst of appealing the Trial Chamber's judgment and sentence in Case 002/02. On August 13, the Supreme Court Chamber determined that the death of Nuon Chea ended all criminal actions against him and it terminated all proceedings against him before the Supreme Court Chamber. As of the date of this publication, the ECCC has not rendered a decision on the impact of his death on the trial judgment and underlying convictions in Case 002/02. Khieu Samphan continues to appeal the judgement in Case 002/02. Kaing Guek Eav, known as Duch, who supervised the notorious S-21 prison, was sentenced to life in prison for crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and he continues to serve his life sentence.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

Discussion

- 1 What are some factors that could cause or increase the risk of genocide?
- 2 What are some ways that societies can decrease this risk?
- 3 What are some ways that individuals can decrease this risk?

Short Answer

- 4 How did the Khmer Rouge receive their name "Khmer Rouge?"
- 5 When Prince Sihanouk aligned himself with the Khmer Rouge in 1970, how did this affect Khmer Rouge efforts to recruit new members?
- 6 How would you describe the goal of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?
- 7 Name at least three categories of people who were targeted during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.
- 8 As of 2018, three people were charged, convicted, and sentenced by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. Who were they and what were their sentences?



The Killing Fields in Cambodia (1975-1979). The Documentation Center of Cambodia uses global satellite position mapping (GPS) combined with fieldwork to document mass graves nationwide. To date, DC-Cam has identified over 390 killing sites containing more than 19,000 mass graves dating from the Khmer Rouge regime. (DC-Cam defines mass graves as any pit containing 4 or more bodies, although some graves hold over 1,000 bodies.) In addition, the Center has documented 197 prisons from Democratic Kampuchea and 81 genocide memorials. (Data: Pheng Pong-Rasy. Map: Ly Kok-Chhay)

វាលពិឃាតនៅកម្ពុជា ឆ្នាំ១៩៧៥ - ១៩៧៩ CAMBODIA'S KILLING FIELDS 1975 - 1979

- ▲ បូជនីយដ្ឋាន (Memorial) : 81 ទីតាំង (Site)
- * គុក (Prison) : 197 ទីតាំង (Site)
- បណ្តុំសាកសព (Mass Grave) : 390 ទីតាំង (Site)
- 0 - 2100 សាកសព (Bodies)
- 2101 - 6000 សាកសព (Bodies)
- 6001 - 13000 សាកសព (Bodies)
- 13001 - 25000 សាកសព (Bodies)
- 25001 - 70000 សាកសព (Bodies)

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

DR. LY SOK-KHEANG

SHORT LESSON

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia in October 1991. Bosnian Serb militias, with support from Serbia and Montenegro, began an armed resistance aimed at dividing the republic along ethnic lines. The Bosnian Serb areas became part of a breakaway Serbian Republic. The Serb leaders of these breakaway areas viewed the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat (Catholic) populations that lived in the areas as a major obstacle to the creation of their proclaimed Serb state. This led to a policy of permanent removal, or ethnic cleansing, of nearly all Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats.



Hand in Hand

An anthropologist holds a victim's hand in a secondary mass grave where 506 bodies were found in Kamenica, near Zvornik, Republika Srpska. The photograph was taken by the world-renowned Bosnian photographer, Mr. Tarik Samarah, who documented the consequences of the genocide that occurred in Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina. His photographs have been exhibited in many renowned art galleries, museums, and public spaces around the world. This photograph was generously donated to DC-Cam as an illustration for this book's chapter about the war in the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. All rights reserved by Mr. Tarik Samarah.

For centuries, the region of Yugoslavia had been home to a wide diversity of religions and cultures. Muslims, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Christians, as well as Jews and other denominations are dispersed across the region, sometimes in closely-knit communities. The country of Yugoslavia, however, only came into existence after World War I as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. After World War II, the country became a communist state, then known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The SFRY comprised six republics—Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—and two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina. President Josip Broz Tito ruled the SFRY from 1953 to 1980 as a dictatorship, which deterred the deep ethnic divisions within the country from violent conflict. After Tito's death, Yugoslavia would become a federation of republics until 1992 when inter-ethnic war accompanied and facilitated the breakup of the Yugoslav state.



After the death of Tito, economic strain and national unrest contributed to nationalism among the major ethnic groups. Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and other large ethnic groups began to demand their own independence from the federation. The rise of nationalism and the disintegration of the Yugoslav state led to a succession of wars and insurgencies between the former Yugoslav republics, which culminated in horrendous acts of inhumanity, mass atrocity, and genocide.

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia in October 1991. In May 1992, a poll was held that resulted in a declaration of independence. Bosnian Serb militias, with support from Serbia and Montenegro, began an armed resistance aimed at dividing the republic along ethnic lines. The Bosnian Serb areas became part of a breakaway Serbian Republic. The Serb leaders of these breakaway areas viewed the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat (Catholic) populations that lived in the areas as a major obstacle to the creation of their proclaimed Serb state. This led to a policy of permanent removal, or ethnic cleansing,³ of nearly all Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. Thousands of Bosnian Muslim and Croat people were placed in concentration camps, in which they were abused, starved, and killed. Acts of rape and torture were common in these camps.

One of the pivotal moments in the Serbian campaign of ethnic cleansing occurred around the town of Srebrenica. The area was important to Serbs because of its strategic location within the Serb controlled areas. The mass atrocities and the situation in Srebrenica compelled the United Nations to declare Srebrenica a besieged safe zone within BiH in April 1993. The intent of this U.N. declaration was to ensure a safe area for civilians fleeing the war. Pursuant to Resolution 819 of the United Nations Security Council, Srebrenica would be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act. Bosnian Serb forces nevertheless attacked the area around Srebrenica. The killings were perpetrated by units of the Bosnian militia under the command of Ratko Mladić. Over a five-day period, Serb soldiers systematically murdered 7,000 men and boys in fields, schools, and warehouses.

The wars that followed the collapse of the Yugoslav federation began in 1991 with the independence of Slovenia, and between 1992 and 1999, conflicts erupted in Croatia, BiH, and Kosovo. Between 2000 and 2001, Macedonia also experienced an internal conflict with Albanian insurgents.

Many years later the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) found individuals guilty for war crimes,⁴ crimes against humanity⁵ and genocide. Both the ICTY and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (which hears disputes between states) found that the executions of over 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys after Serbian forces captured the town of Srebrenica constituted genocide.

³ Ethnic cleansing is not defined as an independent crime under international law; however, it is understood to include acts that are serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law that may themselves amount to one of the recognized atrocity crimes such as crimes against humanity.

⁴ War crimes refer to crimes committed against a diversity of victims, both combatants and non-combatants. In international armed conflicts, the 1949 Geneva Conventions protect (1) the sick and wounded members in the armed forces on the field; (2) the sick, wounded, and shipwrecked members in the armed forces at sea; (3) prisoners of war; (4) protected persons, such as certain medical personnel engaged in medical care; and (5) civilian persons.

⁵ Crimes against humanity encompass acts that are part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population



One of many apartment complexes in Sarajevo (capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina) that had been destroyed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo taken by SSgt Louis Briscese, U.S. Air Force.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

- 1 On 15 October 1991, BiH declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia and thereafter declared independence. How did the Bosnian Serb militias react to this event?
- 2 One of the pivotal moments in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict occurred around the town of Srebrenica. What happened here?
- 3 The UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to bring to justice those persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. What were the types of crimes that the ICTY prosecuted?



INQUIRY LESSON

The country of Yugoslavia came into existence after World War I as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It would adopt the official name of Yugoslavia in 1929, and it would eventually become a federation of six republics encompassing Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, Albanians, Slovenes, and others. The region had always been a home to a very diverse population, both in terms of culture and religion. Muslims, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Christians, as well as Jews and other denominations are dispersed across the region, sometimes in closely-knit communities.

In the wake of World War II, the country would adopt communism as its guiding ideology, and under the rule of Marshal Josip Broz Tito, the independence of the various republics of Yugoslavia would be unified under a strong central government under the control of the Communist Party and the leadership of Tito.

In 1963, Yugoslavia changed its name to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Tito was declared president for life. Historical opinions of Tito's governance of Yugoslavia differ. From the time he ruled until his death in 1980, he was widely regarded as a dictator. On the other hand, his government was also regarded for its ability to maintain peaceful coexistence amongst the nations of the Yugoslav federation. Although the regional governments had to operate in accordance with central government policies, Tito endorsed the principle of decentralized rule, in which regional and local elites enjoyed a greater autonomy in the performance of their duties. His rule would ensure "the survival of ethnic and linguistic diversity."

Tito's rule was secured by the use of military and police repression, which set a standard for future leaders' visions for governance. Some people also believed that the anti-democratic and anti-modernizing measures of Tito's rule were a contributing factor to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the bloody civil war that followed. Tito had not groomed a successor, and the leadership that followed his death pursued old, nationalist agendas centered on regional and ethnic competition. In January 1990, the Communist Party fragmented along national lines. The fractionalization of the Yugoslav Communist Party precipitated independence, first with Slovenia, followed by Croatia in the summer of 1990. Following Slovenia and Croatia's declarations of independence from Yugoslavia, significant division arose between the Serb members of BiH's parliament and the rest of the local government. The Serb members abandoned the BiH parliament and eventually established the Republika Srpska. Shortly thereafter, the party of the Croatian population in BiH also broke off from the BiH republic and proclaimed the existence of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia.

On 15 October 1991, BiH declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia and thereafter held a referendum on independence. The majority of Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum, but the turnout amongst the population of BiH produced an overwhelming majority in favor of independence, which was declared on 3



Photo of former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (1958–1964) touring Soviet navy assembly with the former President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito (1953–1980). Photo taken by Danilo Škofič, Source: Wikimedia Commons.

March 1992. Shortly after the declaration of independence, Bosnian Serb militias mobilized and were supported by Bosnian Serb members of the Yugoslav People's Army.

With the support of the Yugoslav People's Army, or the Serbian Army, Bosnian Serb militias occupied large swaths of BiH in the name of a Serbian region independent of BiH (Republika Srpska) that would be loyal to and part of the country Serbia. On the political front, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) also created the Autonomous Region of Krajina (ARK). The geographical areas comprising the ARK became part of a proclaimed Serbian Republic or Republika Srpska. The SDS leaders viewed the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat populations that lived in these areas that were claimed as part of the Serbian Republic as a major obstacle to the creation of their proclaimed Serb state. This led to a policy of permanent removal, or ethnic cleansing, of nearly all Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. The leadership of Bosnian Serb nationalists portrayed the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats as fanatics intending to commit genocide on the Serbian people of BiH.

Government forces of BiH were poorly equipped and unprepared for conflict with either the militias of Republika Srpska or Serbian armed forces. The Serbian militias, supported by Serbian armed forces, captured large portions of BiH. As they captured territory, they took actions and implemented policies that qualified as ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat people. Ethnic cleansing is generally regarded as killings, forced movements, destruction of property and other acts or threats of violence aimed at changing the ethnic composition of a territory.



Thousands of people were brutally murdered on the grounds of their ethnic identity and millions of people were displaced. Bosnian Muslims were portrayed as “traitors” and “heretics,” based on their perceived ethnic, religious, and historical association with prior Muslim inhabitants of the region. Through this systematic dehumanization, Bosnian Muslims were attacked and suffered horrendous atrocities. Systemic killings, rape and torture were implemented for the purpose of displacing or completely removing Bosnian Muslim populations.



Mass grave exhumation in Srebrenica, Bosnia. July 2007.
Photo by Dacil Q. Keo.

Slobodan Milošević was President of Serbia from 1989 to 1997, and he was President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1997 to 2000. His rise to power was partially aligned with the rise of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s and 1990s, and as President of Serbia and Yugoslavia during these years, he promoted an agenda of extreme nationalism that instigated, if not directly oversaw, widespread ethnic cleansing. When the Bosniaks (Muslims) and Croats of BiH voted to secede from Yugoslavia, he supported Serbian militias and military personnel who were responsible for some of the most horrendous acts against civilians. With his support and the support of the Serbian government and armed forces, Bosnian Serb militias perpetrated atrocities throughout the country of BiH.

Radovan Karadžić was a Bosnian Serb politician who served as the President of Republika Srpska during the Bosnian War. Karadžić co-founded the SDS in BiH in 1989, which aimed to unify the Serb community. The SDS would eventually seize and declare Serb-sovereign territories within BiH. He was voted as the President of Republika Srpska shortly after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992, and he largely served as the political leader of the Bosnian Serb administration and its armed elements, which were responsible for many of the atrocities committed on Bosnian Muslims civilians.

While Karadžić was the political head of the SDS, General Ratko Mladić served as a high-ranking officer in the Yugoslav People's Army, and eventually the Chief of Staff of the Army of the Republika Srpska during the Bosnian War of 1992–95. As the top military officer during the Bosnian War, Mladić possessed command responsibility for the horrendous acts committed by units under his command, including the siege of Sarajevo and the massacre at Srebrenica.



Photographs of grave markers and memorial at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide, located in Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Photographs by Christopher Dearing, DC-Cam Archives.

One of the pivotal moments in the Serbian campaign of ethnic cleansing occurred around the town of Srebrenica. The town of Srebrenica sits within the area of Central Podrinje, which was predominantly populated by Bosnian Muslims. The area was important to Serbs because of its strategic location within the Serb controlled areas. Bosnian Serb forces attacked and surrounded the area around Srebrenica. For a period of time in early 1992, Serb forces even gained control of Srebrenica; however, Bosnian government forces recaptured the area surrounding the town in May of that year. Srebrenica's population swelled over the coming months and years as it received civilians in the area fleeing Serbian advances. Eventually the area surrounding Srebrenica became cut off from the rest of Bosnian government forces and Bosnian Serb forces besieged the area. Bosnian Serb forces controlling the access roads to Srebrenica refused to allow humanitarian aid to the population, in particular food and medicine. The Serbian forces took up a strategy of starving the population into surrender.



War crimes, atrocities, and mass killings occurred throughout all areas occupied by Bosnian Serb militias. The mass atrocities and the situation in Srebrenica compelled the United Nations to declare Srebrenica a besieged safe zone within BiH in April 1993. The intent of this U.N. declaration was to ensure a safe area for civilians fleeing the war. Pursuant to Resolution 819 of the United Nations Security Council, Srebrenica would be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act. The area was designated as a de-militarized zone and U.N. troops were posted to facilitate peace and the disarming of both sides; however, neither the Bosnian nor Serb forces disarmed. The Bosnian side complained of continuing attacks by the Serbs as well as the blocking of humanitarian relief. The Serb side on the other hand pointed to the Bosnian forces' use of the area as a military base. Then, on July 6, 1995, the Serbs launched an offensive to seize the area. One by one, U.N. outposts in the area fell to Serbian advances, and defending Bosnian forces were pushed out of the town. Serb forces burned and ransacked homes as they moved forward, and Bosnian civilians attempting to flee were captured and killed. Mass atrocities were committed throughout the Serbian campaign.

The killings were perpetrated by units of the Bosnian militia under the command of Ratko Mladić. Over the next five days, the Serb soldiers systematically murdered 7,000 men and boys in fields, schools, and warehouses. Rape became a weapon of war, and Serb men were encouraged to rape Bosnian women. Children were also not spared. Eyewitnesses describe children rounded up with men for execution. The overwhelming intended message was clear—There would be no life for Bosniaks in Srebrenica anymore.



THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY)

A year after the genocide against the Bosnian Muslims, an international court was established to judge a number of individuals believed to have been responsible for the atrocities committed between 1992 and 1995. In May 1993, the U.N. Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The ICTY's mandate was to bring to justice those persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. The ICTY ultimately indicted a total of 161 individuals, including a head of state, prime ministers, army chiefs-of-staff, interior ministers, and many other high- and mid-level political, military and police leaders for the commission of the crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Altogether, 32 individuals were convicted by the court as of 2016.

Nine individuals died prior to the end of their trial or before their transfer to the tribunal, the most prominent being Slobodan Milošević. In 2001, Slobodan Milošević was arrested and turned over to the ICTY, which tried him for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. During his trial, Milošević was found dead in his prison cell before a verdict was rendered.



Many of the Accused went into hiding after the war, and Serbian authorities collaborated in their protection. Karadžić, the former President of the Republika Srpska went into hiding for over a decade, posing as a doctor of alternative medicine, until he was arrested in Belgrade, Serbia in July 2008.

Ratko Mladić, who commanded an army of over 180,000 men during the war against BiH, managed to evade capture for many years as a result of support from Serbian authorities, family, and members of the Army of Republika Srpska. He was arrested in May 2011 in northern Serbia, and he was extradited to the ICTY later that month. Mladić was ultimately convicted of 10 charges, including genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws of war. The ICTY found the general “significantly contributed” to the genocide that was committed in Srebrenica, and he was sentenced to life in prison.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

Discussion

- 1 Discuss the events and circumstances that contributed to the violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina?
- 2 How did the perpetrators justify their killing of Bosnian Muslims and Croats?
- 3 Women, children, and even babies were killed. What could be the intended goal of killing women, children and babies?

Short Answer

- 4 In early 1990, Serb members of the parliament for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) abandoned the BiH parliament and did what?
- 5 On 15 October 1991, BiH declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia and thereafter held a referendum on independence. What did the majority of the population vote for?
- 6 How did the Bosnian Serb militias react to this event?
- 7 One of the pivotal moments in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict occurred around the town of Srebrenica. What happened here?
- 8 The UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to bring to justice those persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. What were the types of crimes that the ICTY prosecuted?



Source: <https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/bosnia.pdf>



(Top): Victims of the Rwanda genocide. Exhumed skeletons of the 1994 massacre at the Murambi school. Photo taken by staff of U.S. Congressman Rep. Frank Wolf.

(Bottom): Skulls of genocide victims fill a room at the Murambi Technical School in Rwanda. Photo taken by a staff member during an official visit to Rwanda by U.S. Congressman Rep. Frank Wolf.

RWANDA

DR. LY SOK-KHEANG

SHORT LESSON

Rwanda's largest ethnic groups—the Hutus and the Tutsis—developed primarily from socio-economics factors, rather than cultural and ethnic distinctions. In 1994, Rwanda's population was estimated at 7 million and comprised of three ethnic groups: the Hutu (who made up roughly 85% of the population), the Tutsi (14%) and the Twa (1%).

Drawing from colonial views of racial and ethnic division, Belgium governed Rwanda through an administrative state that identified the Tutsi as the superior race. The definition of Hutus and Tutsis remains controversial, with some theories associating the distinction to colonial administration, and others with ethnicity or economic class. To align the administrative state with this racial and ethnic theory, Belgium removed Hutus from positions of power and prohibited them from certain privileges such as higher education. As the beneficiaries of this administrative state, the Tutsis embraced this false notion of racial or ethnic superiority, and the Hutus were progressively marginalized and oppressed.

Massacres of Tutsis occurred in different parts of Rwanda in the years and months leading up to the genocide. Militias and government forces participated in these massacres and reports by foreign observers indicated the Rwandan government was planning to carry out a genocide of the Tutsi population.



Then on the evening of April 6, 1994, a plane carrying Juvenal Habyarimana, President of Rwanda (Hutu), and Cyprien Ntaryamira, President of Burundi, was shot down as it approached the airport in Kigali, Rwanda. Immediately following the assassination of Habyarimana, an interim government for Rwanda took over and unleashed a period of horrific violence that engulfed the country.

Soldiers, gendarmes (police), politicians, Interahamwe (militia), and ordinary citizens perpetrated or directly supported the massacre of Tutsi. Over a period of 100 days, Tutsi were systematically sought out and massacred by predominantly Hutu militias while the international community debated courses of action. Crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide were carried out on an unprecedented scale.

The Tutsi-backed Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), which had been fighting the Rwandan government for several years up to this point, progressively took control over parts of the country through May and June of 1994; however, the ethnic violence continued through early July. Gradually, the RPF forces routed the Rwandan government troops and militia who were primarily responsible for orchestrating the killing. On July 4, 1994, the RPF forces gained full control of Kigali, the capital. Other major strongholds of the interim government fell thereafter, and a unilateral cease-fire was declared on July 18. The RPF leaders established a temporary national-unity government by July 19 and they expanded their control throughout the country.

Though the UN and international leaders had condemned the violence, they failed to intervene in any effective way before July. The UN Security Council voted to withdraw, rather than reinforce, UNAMIR soldiers in April, thereby facilitating the spread of violence throughout the country. Despite reports and pressure from humanitarian groups, journalists, and other nation-states, the UN Security Council stalled on when and how to act. Although they could have denounced the movement and the leaders of the genocide, UN leaders issued weak statements and refrained from labeling the violence by its true nature—genocide. The UN also failed to take non-military action, such as shutting down the national radio, or publicly condemning the leaders of the genocide. Such acts could have effectively deterred or slowed the genocide movement while incurring minimal risk and costs to the UN members. When the UN finally re-installed 5,000 UNAMIR forces in Rwanda, the genocide had already been over for months.

An estimated 500,000 to 1 million Rwandans were killed during a 100-day period of from April to July 1994. The violence primarily reflected Hutus killing Tutsis. The genocide ended when the RPF took control of the country. Many years later the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda found individuals guilty for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

- 1 What were the historical conditions that encouraged Hutu-Tutsi violence?
- 2 After the President of Rwanda, Habyarimana was killed, what occurred?
- 3 What were the UN's actions to prevent mass atrocities?
- 4 What ended the violence?



INQUIRY LESSON

On the evening of April 6, 1994, a plane carrying Juvenal Habyarimana, President of Rwanda, and Cyprien Ntaryamira, President of Burundi, was shot down as it approached the airport in Kigali, Rwanda. Immediately following the assassination of Habyarimana, an interim government for Rwanda took over and unleashed a period of horrific violence that engulfed the country. The result was the massacre of an estimated 800,000-1,000,000 men, women, and children⁶ and around 100,000-200,000 incidents of rape and sexual violence.⁷ The victims were primarily ethnic Tutsi; however, many other people were also swept up by the violence, including ethnic Hutu. Soldiers, gendarmes (police), politicians, Interahamwe (militia), and ordinary citizens perpetrated or directly supported the massacres. Over a period of 100 days, Tutsi were systematically sought out and massacred by predominantly Hutu militias while the international community debated courses of action. Crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide were carried out on an unprecedented scale. Overall, the rate of killing over the 100-day period was four times higher than the rate of killing at the peak of the Nazi Holocaust.

More than two months after the conflict began, the UN Security Council finally authorized military forces to establish a “safe zone” in southwest Rwanda on June 22. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which opposed the Rwandan government, advanced rapidly amidst the disorder and they captured the capital Kigali in early July. Later they would extend their control over the rest of the country. A cease-fire was declared on July 19, 1994, and the RPF installed an interim government that promised to implement national unity policies. Though Rwanda has experienced growing peace since the genocide, the destruction is still evident throughout all layers of the country, more than 20 years later.

Rwanda’s distinct ethnic groups developed primarily from socio-economics factors, rather than cultural and ethnic distinctions. In 1994, Rwanda’s population was estimated at 7 million and comprised of three ethnic groups: the Hutu (who made up roughly 85% of the population), the Tutsi (14%) and the Twa (1%). The term Tutsi was used to describe a person rich in cattle. It bore connotations to an elite class and primarily pastoralists. Hutu, meaning subordinate, or the follower of a leader, was used to refer to the mass population and consisted mostly of cultivators. However, class distinctions were not absolute and social mobility was possible through marriage or when a Hutu acquired wealth or power. In these circumstances, an impoverished Tutsi could be regarded as Hutu.

Rwanda was first assigned to Germany during the 1884 Berlin Conference and became part of German-East Africa. Following World War I, Germany ceded territorial control of Rwanda to Belgium in 1924.

When Belgium assumed power in Rwanda, it maintained the hierarchical class structure the Germans had created and German officials ruled indirectly through Tutsi leaders. Drawing from colonial views of racial and ethnic division, Belgium governed Rwanda through an administrative state that identified the Tutsi as the superior race.

To align the administrative state with this racial and ethnic theory, Belgium removed Hutus from positions of power and prohibited them from certain privileges such as higher education. As the beneficiaries of this administrative state, the Tutsi minority cooperated with Belgium officials in the implementation of these policies. Racial and ethnic division increased further when the Belgians began requiring every Rwandan to carry identity cards labeling which group they belonged to. One result of the ID cards was a person could no longer change his social status through economic means or marriage. No matter the flawed reasoning of this racial and ethnic theory, the identity cards effectively solidified one’s status not only in terms of their respective ethnicity but also their social class. The Tutsis embraced this false notion of racial or ethnic superiority, and the Hutus were progressively marginalized and oppressed.

Belgium began withdrawing from Rwanda in the 1950s and with their withdrawal, they began to focus on forming a government that would assume power by the end of the decade. Ethnic tension increased during this period, and to address the tension, Belgium began to empower the Hutus by appointing Hutus for government posts and re-extending social privileges.

During the first free elections held in 1960 and 1961, Hutus won political control of the country by voting in the Parmehutu Party. In September, 1961, 80 percent of the Rwandan population voted to end the colonial-imposed monarchy and the Ruanda-Urundi territory formed two separate states: Burundi and Rwanda.

The Parmehutu Party established policies that framed the Tutsis as enemies of the independence revolution and justified attacks on the Tutsis and their land. An estimated 10,000 Tutsis fled to neighboring countries in exile. The Hutus on the other hand acquired wealth and power and began enforcing the same policies they had endured during the colonial rule. The violence and upheaval also led to some retaliatory attacks by Tutsis.

By 1967, some 20,000 Tutsis had been killed and over 300,000 had fled to neighboring countries, mainly Uganda and Burundi, to escape the widespread violence.

In 1973, the highest military leader in the North, General Juvenal Habyarimana, successfully led a coup and established the second republic of Rwanda. Although the coup had been non-violent, 50 or more former Parmehutu leaders were executed or eventually died in prison. Habyarimana voiced moderate policies that advocated for national unity and a hoped-for divergence from the

⁶ See Marijke Verpoorten, “The Death Toll of the Rwandan Genocide: A Detailed Analysis for Gikongoro Province,” *Population*, 2005/4 (Vol. 60), 331–367. DOI 10.3917/popu.504.0401, https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_POPU_504_0401--the-death-toll-of-the-rwandan-genocide-a.htm.

⁷ See *Background Information on Sexual Violence Used as a Tool of War*, United Nations, Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, <https://www.un.org/es/preventgenocide/rwanda/assets/pdf/Backgrounder%20Sexual%20Violence%202014.pdf>.





Refugee camp for Rwandans in Kimbumba, eastern Zaire (current Democratic Republic of the Congo), following the Rwandan genocide. Photo taken by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) of the United States Department of Health and Human Services.

past administration's ethnically divisive strategies. Habyarimana's nationalist platform won him the preemptive support of many Western governments while his command of the army further secured his power.

Habyarimana established Rwanda as a single-party state in 1975 under the MRND and named himself President. During Habyarimana's first decade of power, the Tutsi refugee population grew to an estimated 600,000. Many Tutsis fled to Uganda and joined the Rwandan Patriotic Force (RPF), which was formed in 1987. The militia was mostly made up of Tutsi refugees who had fled to Uganda, drawing support and armaments from the Ugandan military.

In the midst of a growing Tutsi-led RPF, Habyarimana looked to international support. France became a reluctant supporter of the Habyarimana regime, providing military aid, funding, and advisors. The French government viewed Rwanda as an integral part of French-speaking Africa, and they were concerned with the rise of the RPF. France's support for the government of Rwanda was criticized by human rights organizations. In January 1994, Human Rights Watch, issued a letter to French President Francois Mitterand, criticizing France for "providing combat assistance to a Rwandan army guilty of widespread human rights abuses, and failing to pressure the Rwandan government to curb human rights violations."

The RPF worked to oust Habyarimana and the MRND. On many instances, the RPF launched attacks from Uganda. However, while the RPF attacks were disruptive, their dwindling forces could not overcome the massive Rwandan army. Despite the RPF's relative weakness, Habyarimana used the RPF attacks as a means to justify retaliatory military attacks on Tutsi civilians. Multiple state-led massacres took place against Tutsi civilians living in the outer regions of Rwanda.

With the ongoing skirmishes between RPF and government forces, the international community increased pressure on RPF leaders and the MRND to negotiate a cease-fire. Habyarimana was also pressured to implement a multi-party government system. The military, competing Hutu political parties, and members of Habyarimana's inner circle, on the other hand, largely opposed negotiations and any multi-party system that would divert power to moderates or Tutsi.

In 1991, Habyarimana gave in to international pressure and consented to the establishment of opposing political parties. In July 1992, Habyarimana also agreed to negotiate a peace treaty, the first of a series of protocols known as the Arusha Accords. The negotiations aimed to end the war between the RPF and the Rwandan government, create a multi-party government, integrate RPF soldiers into the Rwandan Army, and to facilitate the return of Rwandan refugees. After the initial signing of the 1992 peace treaty, Habyarimana denounced its terms. A year later, though, he again agreed to the terms. The U.N. provided a peace-keeping force (United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, UNAMIR) to facilitate the transition.

Massacres of Tutsis occurred in different parts of Rwanda in the years and months leading up to the genocide. Militias and government forces participated in these massacres and reports by foreign observers indicated the Rwandan government was planning to carry out a systemic genocide of the Tutsi population.

Upon Habyarimana's return to Kigali on April 6, 1994, his plane was shot down, and no one survived the crash. The true identity and motive of the attackers was never discovered, but the news of the attack and the President's death triggered one of the most rapid genocidal campaigns the world had ever seen.

Military and militiamen first began targeting Hutu moderates and leading political opposition members in the first few days following Habyarimana's death. On April 7, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyama, the official authorized to lead the Rwandan government after President Habyarimana's assassination, was killed. Attacks were first carried out in Kigali and quickly spread throughout the provinces. Though UNAMIR forces were deployed to oversee a peaceful government transition, they, along with other foreign officials in Rwanda, abandoned the country within days of Habyarimana's assassination.

The international community's rapid retreat emboldened the military campaign against Tutsi civilians. Hutu officials throughout the country were instructed to set-up checkpoints, and arm and recruit Hutu civilians to join as Interahamwe. The military leaders also continued to use the national radio station to disseminate hate towards Tutsis and instill fear in Hutus who would resist eliminating the minority.



The Rwandan army was well equipped with grenades and firearms while militia and Interahamwe were mostly armed with machetes. Many of the weapons used by the army and the militias were supplied by France prior to the commencement of the genocide. Although Tutsi were the primary target, many thousands of Hutus also perished because they were either mistaken for Tutsi, or they resisted the movement or assisted Tutsi. The policies carried out by the interim Hutu government were to eliminate all political opposition, and to use deadly violence to wipe-out all Tutsi. Attacks and massacres were carried out in hospitals and churches. Women, children, and elderly were equally targeted along with Tutsi men. Rape was a widespread tactic used to dehumanize Tutsi women before killing them. Rape victims were often mutilated and tortured before they were killed, though some were enslaved for longer periods of time. The interim government recruited Hutu civilians through incentives or threats. Tutsi homes and properties were often raided, looted, and destroyed.

The RPF progressively took control over parts of the country through May and June of 1994; however, the ethnic violence continued through early July. Gradually, the RPF forces routed the Rwandan government troops and militia who were primarily responsible for orchestrating the killing. On July 4, 1994, the RPF forces gained full control of Kigali, the capital. Other major strongholds of the interim government fell thereafter, and a unilateral cease-fire was declared on July 18. The RPF leaders established a temporary national-unity government by July 19 and they expanded their control throughout the country. The Hutu moderate leader, Pasteur Bizimungu, was named President and RPF Tutsi commander, Paul Kagame was named Vice President. Leaders of the Hutu interim government fled to surrounding countries, mainly Zaire and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and they were followed by many Hutu who feared repercussions for their involvement in the genocide. The number of internally displaced persons was estimated to be around 3 million people. In addition, close to 2 million Hutus fled to Zaire and other neighboring countries.

Though the UN and international leaders had condemned the violence, they failed to intervene in any effective way before July. The UN Security Council voted to withdraw, rather than reinforce, UNAMIR soldiers in April, thereby facilitating the spread of violence throughout the country. Despite reports and pressure from humanitarian groups, journalists, and other nation-states, the UN Security Council stalled on when and how to act. Although they could have denounced the movement and the leaders of the genocide, UN leaders issued weak statements and refrained from labeling the violence by its true nature—genocide. The UN also failed to take non-military action, such as shutting down the national radio, or publicly condemning the leaders of the genocide. Such acts could have effectively deterred or slowed the genocide movement while incurring minimal risk and costs to the UN members. When the UN finally re-installed 5,000 UNAMIR forces in Rwanda, the genocide had already been over for months.



A sign that is translated, "Rwandans are victims of genocide ideology and all its roots." Photo provided under Creative Commons License 2.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>.

Though the RPF was the only ground force willing to resist the interim government, they too engaged in retaliatory acts that violated international law and perpetrated further human rights violations. The killings of unarmed Hutu civilians by RPF soldiers occurred frequently, making it impossible not to infer that RPF commanders were at the very least aware, if not overseeing such acts. Numerous witness accounts described the extrajudicial killings that continued to take place after the national unity government had gained control.

RPF forces killed some perpetrators who remained in Rwanda or they were imprisoned indefinitely without judicial process. The RPF began arresting and detaining suspects shortly after ousting the Hutu government. Prisons were also filled beyond capacity. The country's judicial system was in shambles and many of its key personnel were lost or killed during the genocide. Detainees were held indefinitely without due process, and they suffered under inhumane conditions related to overcrowding, lack of food and basic medical care. By 1995, around 30,000 prisoners were still being held without trial dates or indictments.





INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA (ICTR) & POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE MECHANISMS

On 8 November 1994, the United Nations established an international tribunal for the purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda. Due to the instability in Rwanda, the ICTR did not begin indictments or trials of genocide perpetrators until 1995. The court was established in Arusha, Tanzania.

The court became the first international tribunal to enter the charge of genocide in 1998, interpreting the definition of genocide as written in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. The ICTR also established the crime of rape as a means of perpetrating genocide.

The ICTR achieved notable milestones. The court worked to raise awareness and standards of culpability in relation to rape, sexual assault, and other gender crimes, and it created programs and systems to lend support and protection for victims and potential witnesses of the genocide. Overall, the ICTR convicted several prominent people, including former Prime Minister Jean Kambanda; the former Army Chief of Staff, General Augustin Bizimungu; and the former Defense Ministry Chief of Staff, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora. The ICTR indicted 93 people, sentenced 61, and acquitted 14 persons.

For all the achievements of the ICTR, the failure of the UN to intervene, when it had the chance to prevent or deter the genocide, mars its legacy. Boutros Ghali, who was the UN Secretary General during the genocide, acknowledged this failure and the international community's passivity in responding to the violence.

The court issued its final ruling in December 2014, and since then it has turned over additional cases to Rwandan national courts. Since the court closed its doors, its legacy work has been passed onto the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (MICT). The MICT carries the mandate of performing work that was previously accomplished by the ICTR (and its sister court, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)). The MICT's work is focused on strengthening the rule of law in field of international criminal justice, which includes assisting in cases referred from the ICTR and ICTY to national courts, tracking remaining fugitives, archive management, and assistance to protection of the thousands of victims and witnesses who testified in court.

Apart from international judicial mechanisms, Rwanda also established the Gacaca court system to offset the backload of cases in conventional courts systems. Gacaca courts were community-based forums that were overseen by community officials who often had no legal training. The Gacaca system aimed not only to speed the trial period and administer justice, but also to enable community reconciliation by encouraging survivors to tell their stories, and perpetrators to seek forgiveness for acts they committed.

As of the date of this publication, the role of France in the genocide continues to be a subject of significant controversy. In 2016, Rwanda published a list of 22 senior French military officers who were accused of helping to plan and assist in the genocidal campaign. In addition, in 2017, the Rwandan government published a report, produced by a U.S.-based law firm, that accused France of having supported the Hutu-led government in the lead-up to the genocide on Tutsis, as well as providing sanctuary to genocide suspects.

CHECK ON LEARNING QUESTIONS

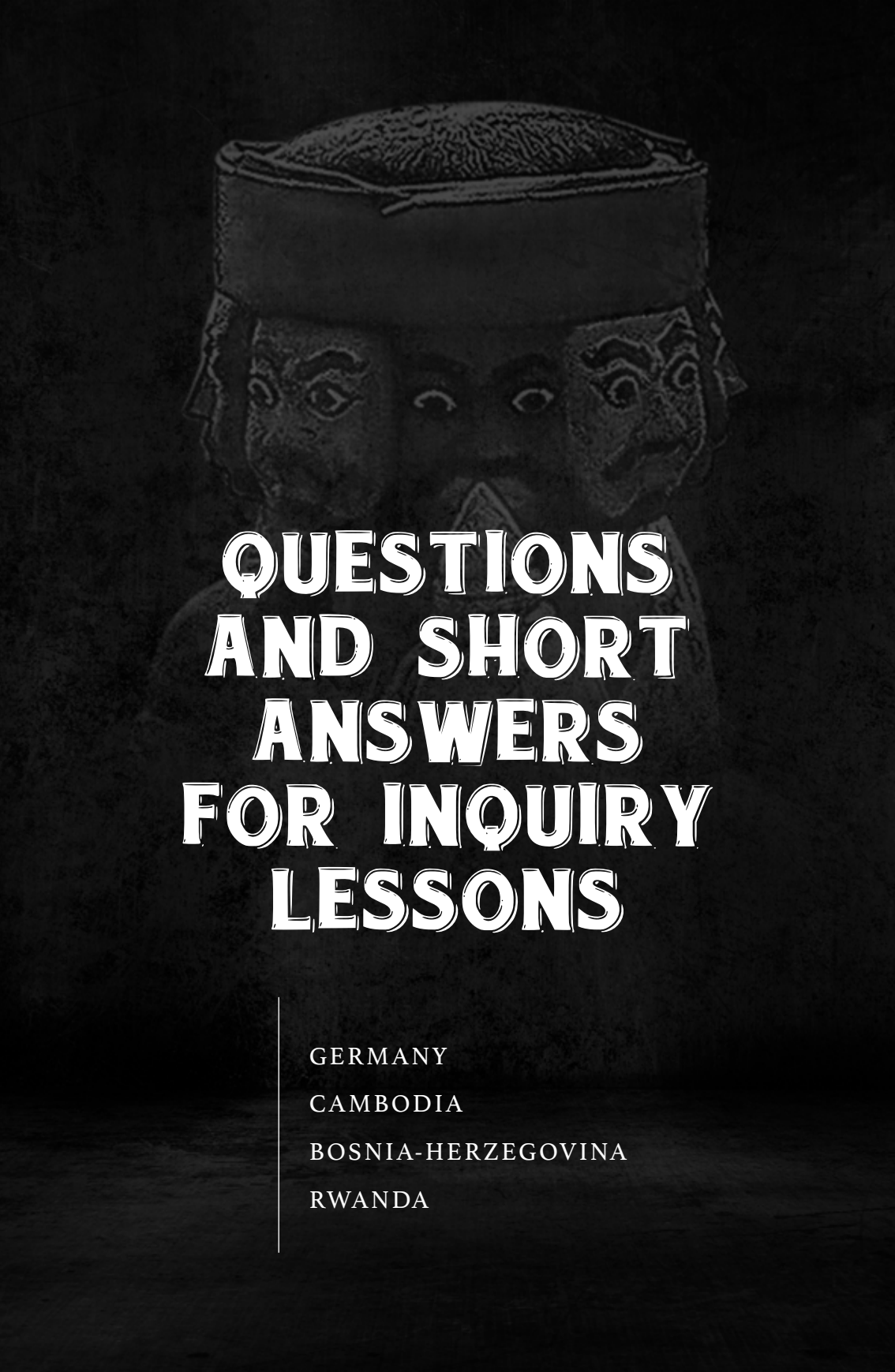
Discussion

- 1 Do other countries have a responsibility to protect the citizens of other countries from genocide? How would you describe this responsibility?
- 2 Should another country's citizens sacrifice their lives to save the lives of other people from genocide?
- 3 Should it be illegal for a country to intervene in another country to prevent or stop genocide?

Short Answer

- 4 What were the historical conditions that encouraged Hutu-Tutsi violence?
- 5 After the President of Rwanda, Habyarimana was killed, what occurred?
- 6 What were the UN's actions to prevent mass atrocities?
- 7 What ended the violence?
- 8 In the wake of the atrocities, the UN established a tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), which became the first international tribunal to prosecute what crime established in 1948?





QUESTIONS AND SHORT ANSWERS FOR INQUIRY LESSONS

GERMANY

CAMBODIA

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

RWANDA



GERMANY

1. In 1933, a significant government action occurred, which precipitated attacks on Jews. What was this?

Answer: In 1933, the Nuremberg laws were passed, which forced Jews out of civil service jobs and other areas of public life. The laws, in effect, made them second-class citizens.

2. Describe the Nazi German plan known as “the Final Solution?”

Answer: It represented a multi-stage plan to rid Europe of all Jews. As part of this plan, Adolf Eichmann, a senior SS official, was in charge of deporting German Jews within Germany and European Jews in Greater Germany (Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Russia) to concentration camps and extermination camps (killing centers).

3. What was daily life like at the concentration camps?

Answer: Daily life at the concentration camps was unimaginable. The prisoners lived in barracks, and were subject to forced labor inside and outside the camp. They received little food, rest, or protection from the cold. Disease and infection were common and many people died from overwork, starvation, and disease.

4. What are some examples of groups targeted by the Nazis?

Answer: The Nazis targeted any groups of people who did not fit within the Nazi party’s conception of the Aryan race, which included the Jewish people, the Roma people, Slavic peoples, and persons with disabilities among many others.

5. When did Germany surrender?

Answer: May 7, 1945

6. How were Nazi criminals brought to justice?

Answer: Approximately six months later, the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg formally began its trial of Nazi officials. The court found individuals guilty for crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. In later years, more Nazi officials would be tried in other courts around the world; however, many Nazi officials were never found.

CAMBODIA

1. How did the Khmer Rouge receive their name “Khmer Rouge”?

Answer: The term “Khmer Rouge” was the name Prince Norodom Sihanouk gave to his communist opponents of the 1960s. Their official name was the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). The origins of the Khmer Rouge can be traced to the wider struggle against French colonial authorities.

2. When Prince Sihanouk aligned himself with the Khmer Rouge in 1970, how did this affect Khmer Rouge efforts to recruit new members?

Answer: When Prince Sihanouk joined the Khmer Rouge, he legitimized the movement and the Khmer Rouge increased their size exponentially.

3. How would you describe the goal of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?

Answer: The goal of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), the party of the Khmer Rouge, was to implement a rapid socialist revolution in Cambodia through a radical Maoist and Marxist-Leninist transformation program.

4. Name at least three categories of people who were targeted during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

Answer: Intellectuals, people with wealth, religious people, anyone associated with the former regime, or anyone who appeared suspicious. In addition, the Khmer Rouge targeted anyone with foreign background, particularly people with Vietnamese background.

5. As of 2018, three people were charged, convicted, and sentenced by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. Who were they and what were their sentences?

Answer:

- (1) Nuon Chea – life sentence
- (2) Khieu Samphan – life sentence
- (3) Kaing Guek Eav – life sentence.



BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

1. In early 1990, Serb members of the parliament for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) abandoned the BiH parliament and did what?

Answer: They established the Republika Srpska.

2. On 15 October 1991, BiH declared sovereignty from Yugoslavia and thereafter held a referendum on independence. What did the majority of the population vote for?

Answer: They voted for independence.

3. How did the Bosnian Serb militias react to this event?

Answer: With the support of the Yugoslav People's Army, or the Serbian Army, Bosnian Serb militias occupied large swaths of BiH in the name of a Serbian region independent of BiH (Republika Srpska) that would be loyal to and part of the country Serbia. They also began an armed resistance aimed at dividing BiH along ethnic lines, with Serb-held areas constituting "Greater Serbia."

4. One of the pivotal moments in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict occurred around the town of Srebrenica. What happened here?

Answer: Serb militias seized the UN-protected town. Under the command of Ratko Mladić, the Serb soldiers systematically murdered 7,000 men and boys in fields, schools, and warehouses.

5. The UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to bring to justice those persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. What were the types of crimes that the ICTY prosecuted?

Answer: Genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

RWANDA

1. What were the historical conditions that encouraged Hutu-Tutsi violence?

Answer: Colonial rule leveraged racial and ethnic division to perpetuate colonial administration. The use of racial and ethnic division created a hierarchy in society with the Tutsis viewed as a superior race and the majority Hutus assigned to positions with lower status and privileges. These conditions encouraged false notions of racial or ethnic superiority, oppression, and ultimately Hutu-Tutsi conflict.

2. After the President of Rwanda, Habyarimana was killed, what occurred?

Answer: News of the attack and the President's death triggered one of the most rapid genocidal campaigns the world had ever seen. Military and militiamen first began targeting Hutu moderates and leading political opposition members in the first few days following Habyarimana's death. Attacks were first carried out in Kigali and quickly spread throughout the provinces. An estimated 800,000-1,000,000 men, women, and children were killed and around 100,000-200,000 incidents of rape and sexual violence occurred.

3. What were the UN's actions to prevent mass atrocities?

Answer: Though the UN and international leaders had condemned the violence, they failed to intervene in any effective way before July. The UN Security Council voted to withdraw, rather than reinforce, UNAMIR soldiers in April, thereby facilitating the spread of violence throughout the country. Despite reports and pressure from humanitarian groups, journalists, and other nation-states, the UN Security Council stalled on when and how to act. Although they could have denounced the movement and the leaders of the genocide, UN leaders issued weak statements and refrained from labeling the violence by its true nature—genocide. The UN also failed to take non-military action, such as shutting down the national radio, or publicly condemning the leaders of the genocide.

4. What ended the violence?

Answer: The RPF progressively took control over parts of the country through May and June of 1994; however, the ethnic violence continued through early July. The RPF forces gained full control of Kigali, the capital, on July 4, 1994. Other major strongholds of the interim government fell thereafter, and a unilateral cease-fire was declared on July 18. The RPF leaders established a temporary national-unity government by July 19 and they expanded their control throughout the country.

5. In the wake of the atrocities, the UN established a tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), which became the first international tribunal to prosecute what crime established in 1948?

Answer: The court became the first international tribunal to enter the charge of genocide in 1998, interpreting the definition of genocide as written at the Geneva Conventions in 1948. The ICTR also established the crime of rape as a means of perpetrating genocide.



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She has returned to Cambodia, her birth country, many times to work with the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM) on the Genocide Education Project. In 2009, she co-wrote the Teacher's Guidebook: The Teaching of 'A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)'. As part of the Genocide Education Project, she has helped with the trainings of more than 500 Cambodian educators on the implementation of the Teacher's Guidebook and on the teaching of Khmer Rouge history. In July 2010 and again in July 2016, she co-led a Fulbright-Hays Group Study Abroad Project in Cambodia for educators from the Lowell public schools and from Middlesex Community College.

CHRISTOPHER DEARING has worked with the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam)/ Sleuk Rith Institute (SRI) as an independent international advisor, educational consultant, and researcher since 2008. He has extensive experience in curriculum development, both in the United States and the developing world. He is the co-author of *Teaching the History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979): Teacher's Guidebook* and *The Final Days of the Khmer Rouge: A Community History of Anlong Veng*. In addition, he is the co-author of *History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)*, 2nd ed., (forthcoming). He has



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ABOUT THE DOCUMENTATION CENTER OF CAMBODIA

The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) was founded and constituted in 1995 after the U.S. Congress passed the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act in April 1994, which was signed into law by President Clinton. The Royal Government of Cambodia also formally supported DC-Cam. DC-Cam has received numerous accolades and awards for its work in support of memory and justice for victims of the Cambodian genocide. In 2017 alone, DC-Cam was the honored recipients of the Judith Lee Stronach Human Rights Award from the Center for Justice and Accountability, and his Majesty King Norodom Sihamoni made Youk Chhang a Commander of the Royal Order of Cambodia in recognition of Chhang's distinguished services to the Kingdom of Cambodia. In 2018, DC-Cam also was a winner of the Ramon Magsaysay Awards, which is regarded as 'Asia's Nobel' prize, for preserving historical memory for healing and justice.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the generous support, assistance, and encouragement from a number of persons and institutions dedicated to genocide education. The authors would like to thank the generous support of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), which supervised and supported the project. The authors are grateful to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for its generous contributions to the project and core support to DC-Cam. The authors are also grateful to Dr. Alexander Hinton, Prof. Markus Zimmer, Dr. Milton Osborne, Mr. Nicholas Koumjian, Ms. Nisha Patel, and Mrs. Kelly Watson for their valuable comments and edits that significantly shaped the book. The authors would also like to thank Prof. David Chandler, who has dedicated a lifetime of research on the Cambodian genocide and furthering the education of the next generation on this history. An initial draft of this text was presented and discussed at the DC-Cam's University Faculty Annual Conference on Genocide Education in 2019 and the authors are grateful for the Cambodian university faculty attendee comments and recommendations to this initial draft. The authors are also grateful to Mr. Pheng Pong-Rasy and Ms. Sopheak Pheana for their diligent translation of the book. Ms. Sensonyla Ly served as the designer for this book, and we are grateful for her patient and diligent assistance in the design and organization of the book's images and graphics. Last but not least, we are grateful for the support from the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, which continues to encourage research and education on this tragic period of Cambodia's history.

