

Figure 1: Image of the domino theory in Southeast Asia

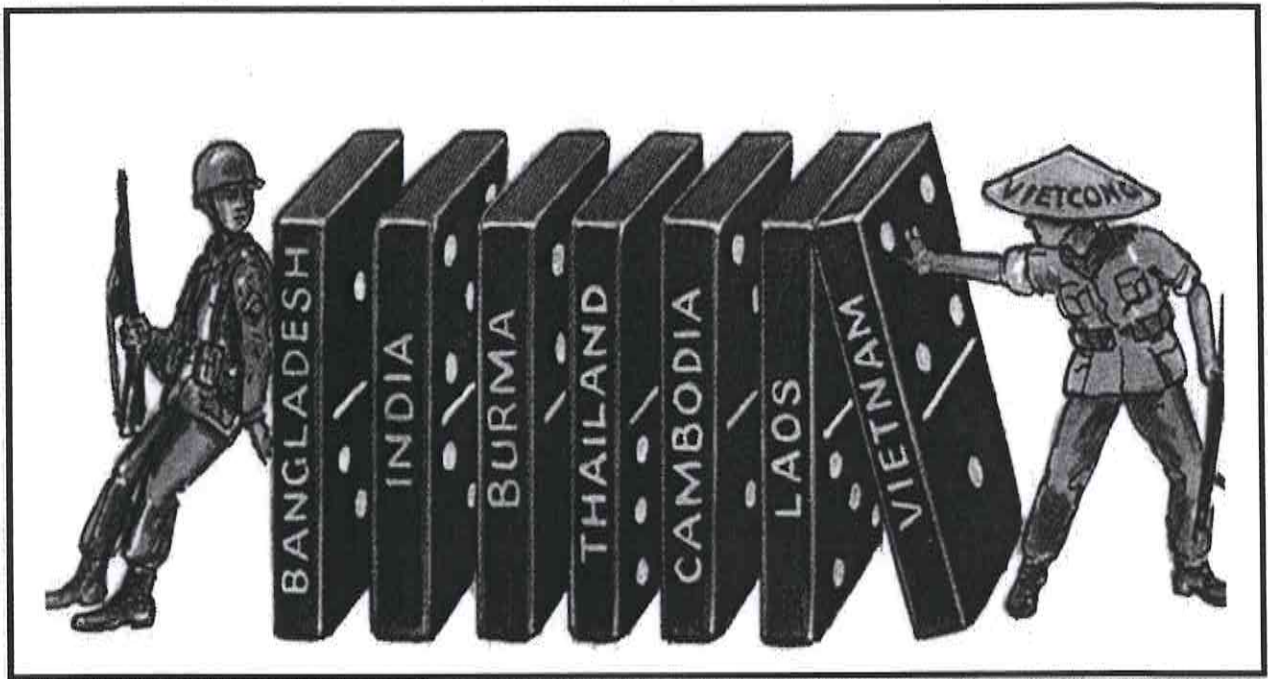


Figure 2: Map of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which was a network of roads built from North Vietnam to South Vietnam through the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. North Vietnam used these routes to secretly transport supplies and troops into South Vietnam in order to overthrow the South Vietnamese government in Saigon.



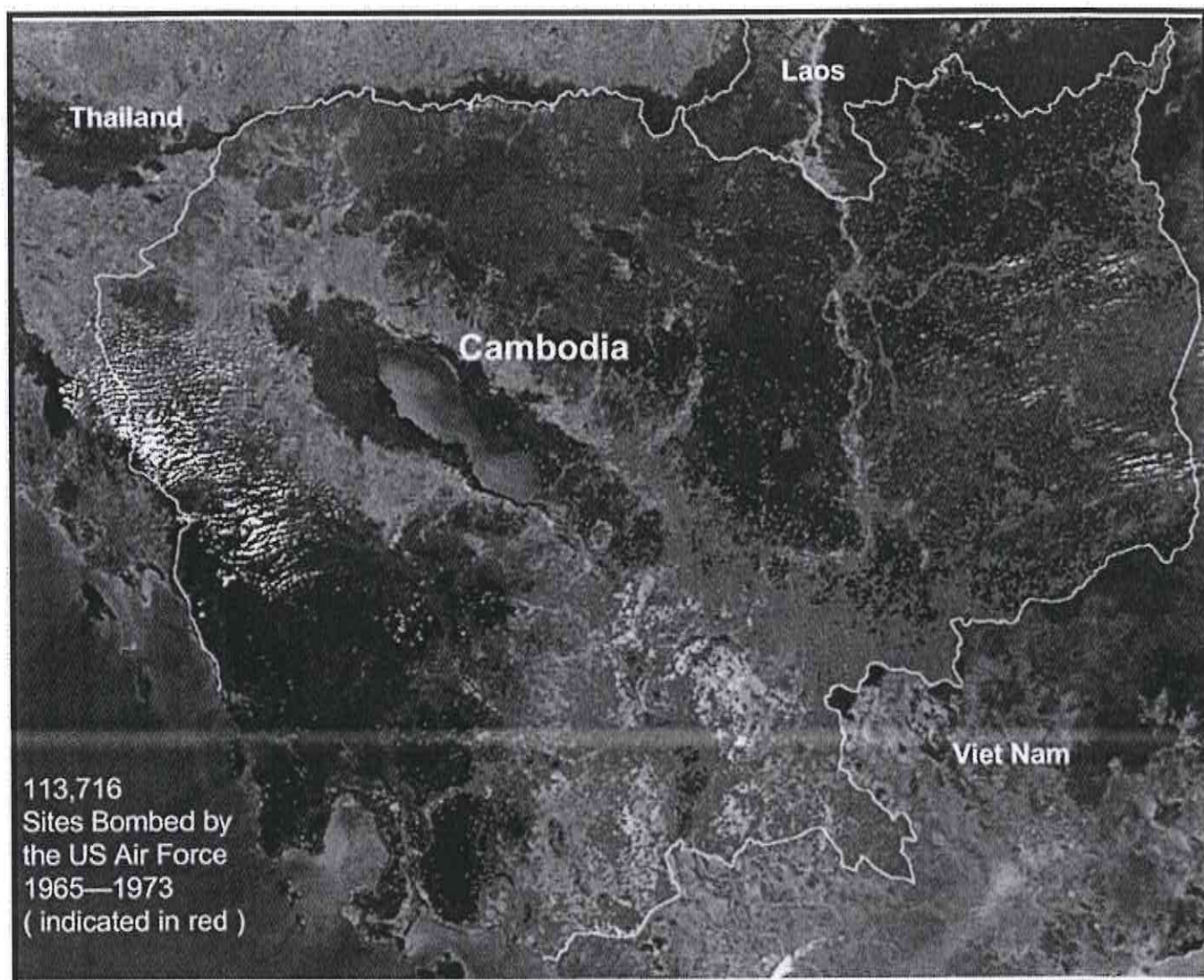


Figure 3: Map showing in red the sites in Cambodia bombed by the U. S. Air Force from 1965-1973. President Nixon authorized these covert attacks to eliminate North Vietnam and Viet Cong forces hiding inside the Cambodian border.



Figure 4: Khmer Rouge forces entering Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, led by Solath Sar, aka Pol Pot.



Figure 5: Photo of excavation pit with skulls of people killed by the Khmer Rouge.

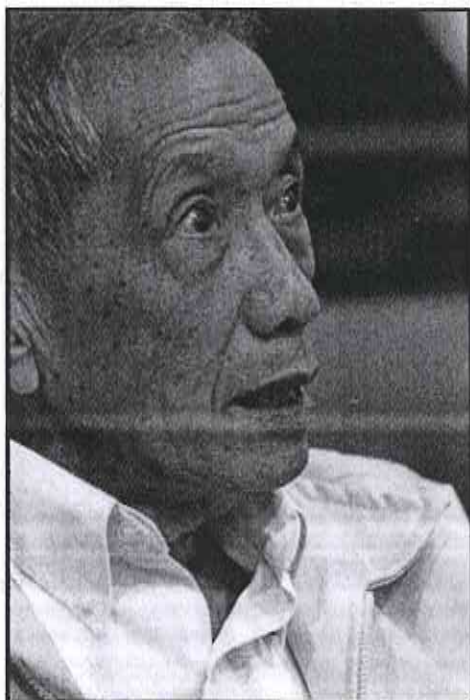


Figure 6: Kaing Guek Eav, aka Comrade Duch, reacting to the life sentence he received for his leadership role at Security Center S-21 (Tuol Sleng Prison) where he supervised the systematic torture and execution of prisoners deemed to be enemies of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Interviews

Humphrey, Hubert. Interview by NBC news correspondent. Available from www.nbcuniversalarchives.com/nbcuni/clip/5112499485-002.do. Accessed on 6 Mar. 2012.

In this newscast, Senator Hubert Humphrey calls for the United States to “shut the book” on Cambodia. President Gerald Ford acted on this advice to stop aid to Cambodia and evacuate American forces in 1975.

Siv, Sichan. Skype interview by author. 17 Oct. 2011.

Sichan Siv is a survivor of the killing fields in Cambodia and a former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. He now lives in San Antonio, Texas. I had read Ambassador Siv's book *Golden Bones* and was able to set up a Skype interview with him. He worked with members of Cooperative For American Relief Everywhere [CARE] who were trying to proving aid to refugees inside Cambodia. Fifteen members of his family were murdered by the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge brainwashed the uneducated people into believing that they would bring equality to all people in Cambodia. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese occupied the eastern part of Cambodia beginning in the mid 1960s. The U.S. bombed these sanctuaries. In 1973 a peace agreement was signed in Paris and they began to withdraw. That is when the Khmer Rouge took over and came to power in 1975. He thinks the international tribunal in Cambodia is an injustice – a slap in the face of the victims. Half of the judges are international; the other half are Cambodian who may be under political pressure. No one lifted a finger to stop the genocide when it was occurring. Members of the Khmer Rouge melted back into Cambodian society; no one knows who they are. By destroying the intellectuals, there was no one left to rebuild Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge was out of power. This interview with Ambassador Siv helped me understand how the lack of world reaction to the genocide impacted the victims of the genocide. He also helped me understand how the killing of all intellectuals still impacts Cambodia today.

Testimonies

Chorn-Pond, Arn. Taped Speech. *Facing History and Ourselves* Archives. Facing History and Ourselves, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1993.

Arn Chorn-Pond is a survivor of the Cambodian killing fields who speaks out about his experiences so people around the world will know what happened during the time of the Khmer Rouge in his country. He is now a human rights leader who is recognized throughout the world. His speech helped me understand what it was like for someone who actually experienced the takeover by the Khmer Rouge. I used parts of his testimony to cover the events that occurred

during the genocide and to explain how people like him are trying to make significant reforms for human rights so this kind of tragedy will not happen again.

Transcripts

Blanton, Thomas and Dr. William Burr, ed. *The Kissinger Telecons. National Security Archive*. Electronic Briefing Book No. 123. 26 May 2004. Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon. Transcript of White House Tape, 9 Dec. 1970, 8:45pm. Available from <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEFF123>. Accessed on 6 Nov. 2011.

This transcript is a conversation between President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger about an intense bombing campaign Nixon wanted to begin in Cambodia. Nixon makes it very clear that the mission is to be completely secret and deniable. He wants no information whatsoever to leak about this mission. Nixon wants every plane that “can fly goes into Cambodia and hits every target that is open.” This transcript helped me understand Nixon’s reaction to the Viet Cong camps inside Cambodia. It also helped me understand the position Congress had about becoming involved in Cambodia. Nixon ordered the bombings and was very clear that no one outside his office was to know about it, not even members of Congress.

Ford, Gerald R. “Address by President Gerald R. Ford Before a Joint Session of the Congress Reporting on United States Foreign Policy.” 10 Apr. 1975. Available from www.ford.utexas.edu/library/speeches/750179.htm. Accessed on 17 Mar. 2012.

In this speech to the Joint Session of Congress, Ford recommends that the United States stop sending aid to Cambodia, to literally “wash our hands of the whole affair.” On the advice of Senator Hubert Humphrey, Chair of the Foreign Relations Department, Ford suggests that America send a total of \$972 million to Vietnam and nothing more to Cambodia. I used this information to explain why America withdrew aid from Cambodia at such a crucial time. The reaction was that the Khmer Rouge were able to overcome Lon Nol and takeover Cambodia.

Transcript of President’s News Conference. Recorded by John W. Finley, special reporter for *The New York Times*. *New York Times* (7 Mar. 1975), A 16-19.

This transcript includes President Gerald Ford’s answers to questions concerning Cambodia that the Foreign Relations Committee had made public. It helped me understand how Ford was pressured to stop aid to Cambodia since he would not remove Lon Nol from power. I used this information to explain the pressure Ford was under to recommend that America stop aid to Cambodia and to withdraw American forces.

Books

Mysliwiec, Eva. *Punishing the Poor: The International Isolation of Kampuchea*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam, 1988.

Eva Mysliwiec worked in Cambodia beginning in 1980. She served as the Executive Director of Youth Star Organization in Phnom Penh. Mysliwiec blamed international politics for

“punishing” the Kampuchean people by not recognizing the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea because the Vietnamese occupied their country. This helped me understand that even after the Khmer Rouge was defeated, the Cold War continued to influence what happened to Cambodia. America backed the Khmer Rouge after the Vietnamese takeover in Cambodia because it was still embarrassed by its defeat in Vietnam.

Siv, Sichan. *Golden Bones: An Extraordinary Journey from Hell in Cambodia to a New Life in America*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008.

Sichan Siv is a survivor of the Cambodian killing fields. This very personal account of his experiences explains how the Khmer Rouge destroyed his family and his home. What helped me the most was that he explains what his life was like before the Khmer Rouge took over Cambodia and then how he had to react in order to survive. Since he worked with the American relief forces in Cambodia after the Vietnam War had ended, he was able to help me understand what was happening in Cambodia as a result of the U.S. bombings there and then how he and other Cambodians were affected after the U.S. pulled out of Cambodia, and the relief ended. He also worked as a U.N. Ambassador to Cambodia for the United States after he immigrated to America. That experience helped me explain why it has been so difficult to bring justice to the victims of the genocide.

Periodicals

Aikman, David. “Cambodia: An Experiment in Genocide.” *Time* (31 July 1979), 39-41.

David Aikman was *Time* Magazine’s last staff correspondent to leave Cambodia after Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge. This article describes in detail what Aikman witnessed during the evacuation of Phnom Penh, which became a ghost city. The survivors were settled in remote areas and worked 16-17 hour days planting rice and building irrigation systems. They received one can of rice every two days. Angka Loeu (Organization on High) were the leaders responsible for the agrarian reform which abolished money and commerce. This source helped me understand the reforms the Khmer Rouge implemented when they took over.

-----, “Deathwatch: Cambodia.” *Time* (12 Nov. 1979), Cover Story.

This article discusses the world’s reaction to events occurring in Cambodia under the leadership of the Vietnamese who ousted the Khmer Rouge in 1979. To this point, the United States has not contributed to the relief effort, even though President Carter is calling for \$69 million in aid. Countries that have contributed are the Soviet Union, China, Australia, and France. America considers President Heng Samrin, the Vietnamese leader, a puppet leader, and America refuses to support any regime spearheaded by communist Vietnam, its former enemy. Cambodians fear the Khmer Rouge but also hate the Vietnamese who view them as barbarians and are stealing the relief supplies and taking them back to Vietnam. This article helped me understand America’s reaction to the Vietnamese takeover of Cambodia and why America refused to send aid there.

Andelman, David A. "Cambodia's Reserves are Called Unfit." *The New York Times* (7 Mar. 1975), A-3.

David Andelman was a special correspondent for *The New York Times* and interviewed Lon Nol's forces during the Khmer Rouge revolution. Most of the officers said that their forces ran from the heavy assaults of the Khmer Rouge, and their reinforcements were weak. Colonel Mathno, of the Cambodian Government forces, said they could not hold out against the Khmer Rouge without American support. I used information from this article to explain how America had underestimated the ability of Cambodia's forces and the determination of the Khmer Rouge. The result was that Lon Nol's forces were quickly defeated, and the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia.

Mydans, Seth. "Ex-Khmer Rouge Leader Blames U.S." *The New York Times* (23 Nov. 2011). Available from www.nytimes.com/2011/11/24/world/asia/ex-khmer-rouge-leader-blames-us.html? Accessed on 14 Dec. 2011.

Seth Mydans is a reporter for *The New York Times* who is covering the war crimes trials at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. Khieu Samphan, a former Khmer Rouge leader, said the U.S. bombings in Cambodia and the coup that removed Prince Sihanouk from power "inspired many Cambodians to join the Communist resistance." I used information from this article to explain the reaction the Cambodian people had to U.S. involvement in Cambodia.

Schanberg, Sydney. "Cambodia Reds Are Uprooting Millions As They Impose a 'Peasant Revolution'." *New York Times* (9 May 1975), Front – A17.

Sydney Schanberg was a *New York Times* war correspondent who covered relations between the United States and Cambodia while he was stationed in Cambodia during the 1970s. This article gives eyewitness testimony about the Khmer Rouge takeover of Phnom Penh and the forced evacuation of citizens to remote areas. The United States had faulty intelligence about the Khmer Rouge which caused America to underestimate them. It also includes an interview Schanberg did with a Khmer Rouge leader who referred to himself and his comrades as "revolutionary forces" that would carry out the evacuation and organize the new agrarian programs. One reaction to the takeover was that many people who were evacuated from hospitals were not able to survive the process of relocation.

Internet

Chhang, Youk. *Documentation Center of Cambodia*. "The Long Road to Justice: 13 Years of Working To Ensure That the Khmer Rouge Trials Belong to You." 12 Jan. 2010. Available from <http://www.cambodiatribunal.org/commentary/expert-commentary>. Accessed on 16 Jan. 2012.

Youk Chhang is a survivor of Cambodia's killing fields and lost many of his family

members. He came to the U. S. as a refugee, but he returned to Cambodia in the early 1990s to work towards reconstruction and a new life for his country. In this article he discusses the importance of the tribunals in Cambodia and says that the trials are “a framework for Cambodia’s understanding of justice and human rights.” I used this information to explain the importance of the tribunals in Cambodia.

“Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch Sentenced to Life Imprisonment by the supreme Court Chamber.” *Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia*. Feb. 2012. Available from www.eccc.gov.kh/en/articles/kaing-guek-eav-alias-duch-sentenced-life-imprisonment. Accessed on 18 Mar. 2012.

This article was published by the Supreme Court Chamber of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. On February 3, 2012, the courts sentenced Comrade Duch to life imprisonment, the maximum sentence they can give under the law, for his crimes against humanity and breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. I used information from this article to discuss the court’s reaction to survivor outrage over the first sentence of 19 years given to Duch. I also used a photo of Duch in my appendix to show his reaction to the new sentence.

Images

“Khmer Rouge Entering Phnom Penh.” Available from <http://cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=447>. Accessed on 17 Jan. 2012.

This is a photo of Khmer Rouge forces entering Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975. I used it in my appendix to illustrate the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia.

“Pol Pot.” Available from <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/vietnamese-take-phnom-penh>. Accessed on 17 Jan. 2012.

This is a photo of Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge leader who changed Cambodia into an agrarian country and committed genocide to rid the country of anyone he considered an enemy. I used this photo in my appendix to show the man responsible for the Khmer Rouge.

Secondary Sources

Interviews

Berkowitz, Peter. Personal interview by author. 17 Oct. 2011.

Pete Berkowitz’s brother, Frank, [now deceased] worked for the United States government and was in charge of catching drug dealers in Southeast Asia during the 1960s and 1970s. After his missions were declassified, he shared with Pete some of the details about parts of the secret missions. What helped me the most was to learn that the Khmer Rouge was growing and selling drugs to the Vietnamese during this time in order to help finance their regime in Cambodia. He also said that no one outside elite members of the U. S. government

knew about these secret missions. I used this information to explain the extent of U.S. involvement in Cambodia during the 1970s.

Rosenbaum, Eli M. Telephone interview by author. 27 Jan. 2012.

From 1995 to 2010, Eli Rosenbaum was the director of the U.S. DOJ Office of Special Investigations, which was primarily responsible for identifying and deporting Nazi war criminals from the United States. He is now the Director of Strategy and Policy for the new Human Rights and Special Prosecution Section. He was able to explain that bringing people to trial who have committed crimes against humanity has a huge impact on the victims of genocide. He has been involved in the prosecution of Nazi criminals and understands the importance of the trials in Cambodia now. Because of his experience, he feels that the trials in Cambodia are very important and that justice may finally bring a sense of closure to the victims after all these years. I used information from this interview to explain the importance of the trials in Cambodia.

Books

Becker, Elizabeth. *When The War Was Over: Cambodia and the Khmer rouge Revolution*. New York: PublicAffairs, 1986.

Elizabeth Becker was a journalist for *The Washington Post* and covered events in Cambodia beginning in 1973. Although she was there and has first-hand knowledge of some of the events that occurred, this book is mostly based on her research on Cambodia. This book covers everything from the beginning of modern Cambodia to Cambodia's acceptance to the United Nations. What helped me the most was the description of the immediate actions the Khmer Rouge took to reform Cambodia and the events that took place in Cambodia as a result of the United States leaving Vietnam. I used information from this book to describe the revolution and the effects that it had on Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge took over the country's government.

Ciorciari, John and Anne Heindel, eds. *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process*. Cambodia: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2009.

John Ciorciari is an Assistant Professor at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan and a Senior Legal Advisor to the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Anne Heindel is a legal advisor for the Documentation Center of Cambodia. This book contains six essays and many photographs that describe the structure and work of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal established in 2006. The survivors in Cambodia have suffered for over thirty years because none of the Khmer Rouge had been held accountable for the terrible crimes they committed. I used information from this book to show the United Nations reacted to the Cambodian genocide by proposing an international tribunal in 1999 to try Khmer Rouge leaders. International leaders felt that justice needed to be brought to the Cambodian people who "have suffered impunity for too long."

Fulsom, Don. *Nixon's Darkest Secrets*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012.

This book covered all of President Richard Nixon's time in office, exposing the secrets of President Nixon's disgraced life from his drinking habits to his orders to murder Jack Anderson. Although the author interviewed President Nixon, most of the book is based on research. The chapter that helped me the most revealed the lies and manipulation that was needed to cover up the bombings of Cambodia. Nixon blatantly lied to the author of this book, Don Fulsom, saying that in the first fifteen months bombs only hit a ten square mile area of land uninhabited by Cambodians. He made a scapegoat of Air Force General John Lavelle to disguise his participation in the bombings. I used information from this source to explain that Nixon had to covertly authorize his Menu campaign in order to keep it from Congress and the American people because he knew they would not have a positive reaction.

Kiernan, Ben. *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations, and the International Community*. Yale University Southeast Asia Studies/Monograph Series, 41. New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1993.

Ben Kiernan is Associate Professor of History and Director of the Cambodian Genocide program at Yale University. This book is based on research about how the world responded to the Cambodian genocide. It helped me understand that the United States supported Pol Pot after Vietnamese soldiers took over Cambodia because the U.S. was still upset about losing the Vietnam War. The United States, China and Thailand all worked to help Khmer Rouge forces, who were hiding in camps near the Thai border. The U.S. used the money it was sending over for humanitarian aid as leverage to make the United Nations do what it wanted. This information was very disappointing since the Khmer Rouge had committed such terrible crimes against the Cambodian people. I used this information to explain the world's reaction to the Cambodian genocide.

-----, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

This book is based on research about the Cambodian genocide and includes interviews with survivors of the killing fields and leaders of the Khmer Rouge. This book covers the rise and fall of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in the 1970s. It helped me understand how the Khmer Rouge came into power and how United States politics influenced Cambodia during this time. I used information from this book to explain the motives behind Pol Pot's revolution, the reaction of the Cambodian people to the new leadership, and the rise and fall of the Khmer Rouge.

Locard, Henry. *Pol Pot's Little Red Book: The Sayings of Angkar*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: 2004.

Henry Locard interviewed survivors of the Cambodian genocide and has compiled all of the slogans used by the Khmer Rouge as propaganda to influence Cambodians to support the revolutionary changes the Khmer Rouge initiated in the country. What helped me the most was learning how the Khmer Rouge used propaganda to brainwash everyone in Cambodia. They