

# GENOCIDE BY PROXY

Cambodian Pawn on a  
Superpower Chessboard

MICHAEL HAAS

# Genocide By Proxy Cambodian Pawn On A Superpower Chessboard

**Hannibal Travis**



## **Genocide By Proxy Cambodian Pawn On A Superpower Chessboard:**

Genocide by Proxy Michael Haas, 1991-12-30 A detailed scholarly reassessment of developments in Cambodia since December 25 1978 when Vietnamese combat soldiers expelled the ruthless Pol Pot regime Genocide by Proxy is an account of a country at war and of a people consigned to the role of pawn in world politics Michael Haas contends that Cambodia became an arena for superpower conflict and thus could only find peace when the superpowers extricated themselves from the country In providing perhaps the best explanation of the causes of the Cambodian tragedy Haas exposes the narcissism that reigns when one state forces another to be its pawn Haas analysis entails a study in comparative foreign policies an exercise that has theoretical merit for political scientists in search of paradigms of political behavior Challenging the conventional view of Vietnam as the aggressor this volume vindicates Vietnam s role in the Cambodian conflict while at the same time revealing the treachery of U S foreign policy toward Cambodia Much of the information in the book is based on Haas own interviews with more than 100 key international figures and on primary documents In an introductory chapter devoted to the basic facts of how genocide by proxy began Haas sets forth the history of Pol Pot s rise and fall The first three parts of the book which deal with proxy war proxy peace and deproxyfication are related in the style of the film Rashomon and detail how each country perceived events and framed policies to use the conflict for its own ends The final chapter suggests an alternative to this world of superpower chess games The two appendices contain records of voting in the United Nations on Cambodia Genocide by Proxy provides a truly fresh assessment of Cambodia that will prove invaluable in courses in Asian studies international relations and peace research     *How Cambodia Survived the Killing Fields* Michael Haas, 2025-09-04 Weaving a critique of major power intervention into political history this book provides a comprehensive overview of Cambodia from 1953 to the present Since gaining its independence in 1953 Cambodia has been treated as a pawn by more powerful countries China Vietnam the United Nations and especially the United States have played a role in shaping Cambodia s history from propping up the Khmer Rouge regime to restricting its economic opportunities Michael Haas has been deeply and personally involved in many aspects of the recent history of the country and his research uncovers details of 20th century US realpolitik such as Lyndon Johnson s indiscriminate bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam War US funding of the Khmer Rouge in the 1980s and the United States surrender of economic control to China since the 1990s In an era of increasing great power competition in Southeast Asia Cambodia is a case study long overdue for reassessment

**Refugee Manipulation** Stephen John Stedman, Dr. Fred Tanner, 2004-05-13 Since World War II refugee organizations have faced a recurrent challenge the manipulation of refugees by warring parties to further their own aims Some armies in civil wars facing military defeat use refugees as assets to establish the international legitimacy of their cause treat refugee camps as sanctuaries and recruitment pools and limit access to refugees to ensure that they will not repatriate Focusing on the geopolitical security environment surrounding militarized camps and the response of humanitarian agencies the

contributors to this volume examine the ways armed groups manipulate refugees and how and why international actors assist their manipulation. They then offer suggestions for reducing the ability of such groups to use the suffering of refugees to their own advantage. The contributors examine three cases: Cambodian refugees along the Thai border in the 1970s and 1980s; Afghan refugees in Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s; and Rwandan refugees in Eastern Zaire from 1994-96. They argue that refugee manipulation occurs because warring parties gain resources in their fight for power and other actors, often the host government and regional and major powers, encourage and support it. Manipulation is allowed to occur because the international refugee regime and major states have not identified a consistent approach to stopping it. In the post-Cold War era, the United Nations and its members have chosen to treat the issue as a humanitarian problem instead of a security problem. As the contributors make clear, however, manipulation of refugees has important ramifications for international security, turning some civil wars into larger protracted regional wars. They argue that the geopolitics of refugee manipulation leads to sanguine conclusions about stopping it. Solutions must change the moral, political, and strategic calculations of states that are implicated in the manipulation. As long as the problem is not deemed a security threat.

*Impediments to the Prevention and Intervention of Genocide* Samuel Totten, 2017-09-08. Academics, NGOs, the United Nations, and individual nations are focused on the prevention and intervention of genocide. Traditionally, missions to prevent or intervene in genocide have been sporadic and under-resourced. The contributors to this volume consider some of the major stumbling blocks to the avoidance of genocide. Bartrop and Totten argue that realpolitik is the major impediment to the elimination of genocide. Campbell examines the lack of political will to confront genocide, and Theriault describes how denial becomes an obstacle to intervention against genocide. Loyle and Davenport discuss how intervention is impeded by a lack of reliable data on genocide violence, and Macgregor presents an overview of the influence of the media. Totten examines how the UN Convention on Genocide actually impedes anti-genocide efforts and how the institutional configuration of the UN is itself often a stumbling block. Addressing an issue that is often overlooked, Travis examines the impact of global arms trade on genocide. Finally, Hiebert examines how international criminal prosecution of atrocities can impede preventive efforts, and Hirsch provides an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, and effectiveness of major international and national prescriptions developed over the last decade. The result is a distinguished addition to Transaction's prestigious Genocide Studies series.

**Genocide in International Law** William A. Schabas, 2009-02-19. The 1948 Genocide Convention has become a vital legal tool in the international campaign against impunity. Its provisions, including its enigmatic definition of the crime and its pledge both to punish and prevent the crime, have now been interpreted in important judgments by the International Court of Justice, the ad hoc Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and various domestic courts. The second edition of this definitive work focuses on the judicial interpretation of the Convention, relying on debates in the International Law Commission, political statements in bodies like the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the

growing body of case law Attention is given to the concept of protected groups to problems of criminal prosecution and to issues of international judicial cooperation such as extradition The duty to prevent genocide and its relationship with the emerging doctrine of the responsibility to protect are also explored Genocide in International Law William Schabas, 2000-08-31 The 1948 Genocide Convention has suddenly become a vital legal tool in the international campaign against impunity The succinct provisions of the Convention are now being interpreted in important judgements by the International Court of Justice the ad hoc Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and a growing number of domestic courts In this definitive work William A Schabas focuses on the judicial interpretation of the Convention debates in the International Law Commission political statements in bodies like the General Assembly of the United Nations and the growing body of case law Detailed attention is given to the concept of protected groups to the quantitative dimension of genocide to problems of criminal prosecution including defenses and complicity and to issues of international judicial cooperations such as extradition He also explores the duty to prevent genocide and the consequences this may have on the emerging law of humanitarian intervention **Not Just Victims** Audrey U. Kim, 2003 Not Just Victims contains twelve oral histories based on conversations with Cambodian community leaders in eight American cities Long Beach Philadelphia Washington D C Seattle Portland Tacoma and the Massachusetts towns of Fall River and Lowell Unlike the dozens of autobiographies published by Cambodians that focus largely on their victimization these narratives describe how Cambodian refugees have adapted to life in the United States Sucheng Chan s extensive introduction provides a historical framework she discusses the civil war 1970 75 the bloody Khmer Rouge revolution 1975 79 the border war during the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia 1979 89 and the additional travails faced by those who escaped to holding camps in Thailand The book also includes an essay on oral history and a substantial bibliography Casualties of the New World Order M. Wesley, 1997-07-14 Casualties of the New World Order contends that the high rate of failure among post Cold War UN missions are attributable to common weaknesses which are vulnerable to civil war dynamics These mission weaknesses derive from the high level of control over the missions mandates and operations wielded by combinations of self interested and distracted UN member states The effects of these weaknesses are examined in the failed missions in Bosnia Somalia and Angola while their absence is observed in the successful missions to El Salvador Mozambique and Cambodia Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda Susan E. Cook, 2017-07-05 This volume deals with aspects of genocide in Rwanda and Cambodia that have been largely unexplored to date including the impact of regional politics and the role played by social institutions in perpetrating genocide Although the story of the Cambodian genocide of 1975 1979 and that of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 have been written about in detail most have focused on how the genocides took place what the ideas and motives were that led extremist factions to attempt to kill whole sections of their country s population and who their victims were This volume builds on our understanding of genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda by bringing new issues sources and approaches

into focus The chapters in this book are grouped so that a single theme is explored in both the Cambodian and Rwandan contexts their ordering is designed to facilitate comparative analysis The first three chapters emphasize the importance of political discourse in the genocidal process Chapters 4 and 5 examine social institutions and explore their role in the genocidal process Chapters 6 and 7 describe the military trajectories of the genocidal regimes in Cambodia and Rwanda after their overthrow showing that genocide and genocidal intents as a political program do not cease the moment the massacres subside The final chapters deal with private and public efforts to memorialize the genocides in the months and years following the killing Drawing on ten years of genocide studies at Yale this excellent anthology assembles high quality new research from a variety of continents disciplines and languages It will be an important addition to ongoing research on genocide

*Journey to the Kingdom of Cambodia* Kalman Dubov, The Kingdom of Cambodia has an ancient pedigree a time when its people first established small principalities which evolved in small kingdoms These kingdoms merged often violently eventually establishing the great Angkorian kingdom of the Khmer The great building complex known as Angkor Wat an achievement of stupendous proportion whose dimensions are still being determined is a product of the Khmer Empire The empire was subject to much tension both internally from competing nobles who sought to ascend the powerful throne to outside kingdoms who tried to invade and subjugate the Khmer Vietnam to the east and further south also to the east was the Cham Empire while to the west was the Thai These three kingdoms warred with the Khmer eventually reducing it from grandeur After the Khmer Empire fell Cambodia entered a Dark Ages a period of 431 years from 1431 to 1862 years of scant records Historians today try to reconstruct why the empire fell and why its people moved from the Siem Reap area and why records from this time are almost entirely unknown In 1862 France became Cambodia s protector defending its autonomy from both Vietnam and Thailand Siam who were both nibbling at either end of Cambodia The Protectorate ended in 1942 when the Japanese occupied the land followed by the return of the French in 1945 after the end of the Second World War As in other countries subjugated by colonist powers the defeat of France encouraged Cambodian nationalists to fight for a return to independence and autonomy It is in this crucible that the Khmer Rouge a communist inspired group began an insurrection against the French and later against the Cambodian government The Khmer Rouge inspired by nihilistic beliefs came to power in 1975 and began the tragic genocide of the Cambodian people Between a quarter to a third of the people were murdered representing the best and the elite of its society There were many actors in this saga both ancient and modern I review these persons to the extent known and the roles they played in Cambodian history and the effect it has had on the country today The character of Pol Pot mastermind and leader of the Khmer Rouge is of special importance I review his strange way of not identifying with a leadership role until absolutely necessary But the menace of this man went much deeper through guile and bland smiles he allayed fear about himself though he ordered the murder of those closest to him Yet even as they were led away they disbelieved the order for their deaths believing that if they could but have a moment

with him all would be set right Even those closest to him did not see him for the monster he really was He was a master at guile and deception with none seeing the man as the monster of terror and destruction Even in the Far East where exhibiting emotion and genuine feeling is shunned to the nth degree this man s ability to remain hidden reflects the ultimate achievement But he brought ruin to his nation with today s loss of the elite of the country I spent two months in Cambodia visiting and researching material for this review During my time there I visited the only synagogue in the country the Chabad House in Phnom Penh It was then that I became aware of an amazing fact a granddaughter of royalty celebrated her Bat Mitzvah in the capital attended by members of the royal family The story of how a member of the Cambodian royal family became Jewish is itself an incredible development Cambodia today is a Third World country with many attractions both superb and revolting At core its representations reflect the saga of humanity whose pages are sometimes elevating and also horrific I describe my journey to this corner of Asia hoping I ve done justice to its many contours and personalities

Denial of Genocides in the Twenty-First Century Bedross Der Matossian,2023-05 Throughout the twenty first century genocide denial has evolved and adapted with new strategies to augment and complement established modes of denial In addition to outright negation denial of genocide encompasses a range of techniques including disputes over numbers contestation of legal definitions blaming the victim and various modes of intimidation such as threats of legal action Arguably the most effective strategy has been denial through the purposeful creation of misinformation Denial of Genocides in the Twenty First Century brings together leading scholars from across disciplines to add to the body of genocide scholarship that is challenged by denialist literature By concentrating on factors such as the role of communications and news media global and national social networks the weaponization of information by authoritarian regimes and political parties court cases in the United States and Europe freedom of speech and postmodernist thought this volume discusses how genocide denial is becoming a fact of daily life in the twenty first century

The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide Samuel Totten,2008-03-31 This volume is comprised of over 2 300 annotations on a wide array of issues and topics germane to the subject of preventing the atrocities of genocide and managing these conflicts when they do arise Samuel Totten brings together in one comprehensive collection the research and findings in various fields such as political science sociology history and psychology to enable specialists in genocide studies peace studies and conflict resolution to benefit from the insights of a diverse range of scholars and foster an understanding of how the various components of genocide studies connect Among the topics included are key conventions international treaties and covenants genocide early warning signals and forecasting risk data bases sanctions peacekeeping missions conflict resolution the International Criminal Court realpolitik vis vis the issue of genocide prevention and intervention key non governmental agencies key governmental and UN bodies working on these important issues In addition to the annotations Totten frames the bibliography with a major essay that introduces the reader to the subject of prevention and intervention of genocide raising a host of critical issues

regarding the strengths weaknesses and limitations of various approaches germane to issues of managing these conflicts

**Genocide, Ethnonationalism, and the United Nations** Hannibal Travis, 2013 *Genocide Ethnonationalism and the United Nations* examines a series of related crises in human civilization growing out of conflicts between powerful states or empires and indigenous or stateless peoples This is the first book to attempt to explore the causes of genocide and other mass killing by a detailed exploration of UN archives covering the period spanning from 1945 through 2011 Hannibal Travis argues that large states and empires disproportionately committed or facilitated genocide and other mass killings between 1945 and 2011 His research incorporates data concerning factors linked to the scale of mass killing and recent findings in human rights political science and legal theory Turning to potential solutions he argues that the concept of genocide imagines a future system of global governance under which the nation state itself is made subject to law The United Nations however has deflected the possibility of such a cosmopolitical law It selectively condemns genocide and has established an institutional structure that denies most peoples subjected to genocide of a realistic possibility of global justice lacks a robust international criminal tribunal or UN army and even encourages security cooperation among states that have proven to be destructive of peoples in the past Questions raised include What have been the causes of mass killing during the period since the United Nations Charter entered into force in 1945 How does mass killing spread across international borders and what is the role of resource wealth the arms trade and external interference in this process Have the United Nations or the International Criminal Court faced up to the problem of genocide and other forms of mass killing as is their mandate

**A Little Matter of Genocide** Ward Churchill, 1997 Ward Churchill has achieved an unparalleled reputation as a scholar activist and analyst of indigenous issues in North America Here he explores the history of holocaust and denial in this hemisphere beginning with the arrival of Columbus and continuing on into the present He frames the matter by examining both revisionist denial of the nazi perpetrated Holocaust and the opposing claim of its exclusive uniqueness using the full scope of what happened in Europe as a backdrop against which to demonstrate that genocide is precisely what has been and still is carried out against the American Indians Churchill lays bare the means by which many of these realities have remained hidden how public understanding of this most monstrous of crimes has been subverted not only by its perpetrators and their beneficiaries but by the institutions and individuals who perceive advantages in the confusion In particular he outlines the reasons underlying the United States s 40 year refusal to ratify the Genocide Convention as well as the implications of the attempt to exempt itself from compliance when it finally offered its endorsement In conclusion Churchill proposes a more adequate and coherent definition of the crime as a basis for identifying punishing and preventing genocidal practices wherever and whenever they occur Ward Churchill enrolled Keetoowah Cherokee is Professor of American Indian Studies with the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado Boulder A member of the American Indian Movement since 1972 he has been a leader of the Colorado chapter for the past fifteen years Among his previous books have



been *Fantasies of a Master Race* *Struggle for the Land Since Predator Came* and *From a Native Son*      **"A Problem from Hell"** Samantha Power, 2013-05-14 From former UN Ambassador and author of the New York Times bestseller *The Education of an Idealist* Samantha Power the Pulitzer Prize winning book on America's repeated failure to stop genocides around the world In her prizewinning examination of the last century of American history Samantha Power asks the haunting question Why do American leaders who vow never again repeatedly fail to stop genocide Power a professor at the Harvard Kennedy School and the former US Ambassador to the United Nations draws upon exclusive interviews with Washington's top policymakers thousands of declassified documents and her own reporting from modern killing fields to provide the answer *A Problem from Hell* shows how decent Americans inside and outside government refused to get involved despite chilling warnings and tells the stories of the courageous Americans who risked their careers and lives in an effort to get the United States to act A modern classic and an angry brilliant fiercely useful absolutely essential book *New Republic* *A Problem from Hell* has forever reshaped debates about American foreign policy Winner of the Pulitzer Prize Winner of the Robert F Kennedy Book Award Winner of the National Book Critics Circle Award Winner of the J Anthony Lukas Book Prize Winner of the Anisfield Wolf Book Award Winner of the Raphael Lemkin Award      **Cambodia** Sorpong Peou, 2017-07-12 This title was first published in 2001 This text offers a comprehensive view of controversial issues surrounding Cambodia's past present and possible future development It brings together a selection of journal articles about the wartorn country to examine critical issues concerning change and continuity in contemporary Cambodian politics The book covers violence war and peace the Constitution human rights and the pursuit of justice democratic development and dilemmas gender and ethnic relations and economic development and problems These themes should be instructive for scholars policymakers and interested individuals dealing with what has been termed triple transition from armed conflict to the end of violent hostility from political authoritarianism to liberal democracy and from socialist economic systems to market driven or capitalist ones The book shows that the trajectory towards peace democracy and sustainable development is complex full of dangers and in need of careful management      *Keeping the Peace* Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone, Robert C. Orr, 1997-08-07 *Keeping the Peace* explores the new multidimensional role that the United Nations has played in peacemaking peacekeeping and peacebuilding over the last few years By examining the paradigm setting cases of Cambodia and El Salvador and drawing lessons from these UN success stories the book seeks to point the way toward more effective ways for the international community to address conflict in the post Cold War era This book is especially timely given its focus on multidimensional peace operations the most likely role for the UN in coming years      *Global Governance, Economy and Law* Errol Mendes, Ozay Mehmet, 2003-02-27 This book provides a critical examination of the most important institutions of global governance in the world today Drawing on history political science law and economics the authors examine institutions such as the United Nations the World Trade Organization WTO the International Monetary Fund IMF the World Bank and also the

global pri     Anatomy of a Crisis David M. Ayres, 2000-02-01 In 1993 the United Nations sponsored national elections in Cambodia signaling the international community's commitment to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of what was by any measure a shattered and torn society Cambodia's economy was stagnant The education system was in complete disarray Students had neither pens nor books teachers were poorly trained and classrooms were literally crumbling Few of the individuals and organizations responsible for financing planning and implementing Cambodia's post election development thought it necessary to ask why the country's economy and society were in such a parlous state The mass graves scattered throughout the countryside provided an obvious explanation The appalling state of the education system many argued could be directly attributed to the fact that among the 1.7 million victims of Pol Pot's holocaust were thousands of students teachers technocrats and intellectuals In this exacting and insightful examination of the crisis in Cambodian education David M. Ayres challenges the widespread belief that the key to Cambodia's future development and prosperity lies in overcoming the dreadful legacy of Khmer Rouge He seeks to explain why Cambodia has struggled with an educational crisis for more than four decades including the years before the Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975 and thus casts the net of his analysis well beyond Pol Pot and his accomplices Drawing on an extensive range of sources Ayres clearly shows that Cambodia's educational dilemma the disparity between the education system and the economic political and cultural environments which it should serve can be explained by setting education within its historical and cultural contexts Themes of tradition modernity change and changelessness are linked with culturally entrenched notions of power hierarchy and leadership to clarify why education funding is promised but rarely delivered why schools are built where they are not needed why plans are enthusiastically embraced but never implemented and why contracts and agreements are ignored almost immediately after they are signed Anatomy of a Crisis will be compulsory reading for anyone with an interest in education and development issues as well as Cambodian society culture politics and history     **America in White, Black, and Gray** Klaus P. Fischer, 2007-05-30 From the reviews of Nazi Germany The best one volume history of the Third Reich available It fills a void which has existed for a long time and it will probably become the basic text for generations of students Walter Laqueur An indispensable compellingly readable political military and social history of the Third Reich Publishers Weekly From the reviews of History of an Obsession This is truly a significant work for Fischer gives a balanced account of a complex subject making it painfully clear just how Germany became capable of genocide Booklist Fischer writes with a clear mastery of both primary and secondary sources Synthesizing a wide spectrum of literature into a fine scholarly work Library Journal No decade since the end of World War II has been as seminal in its historical significance as the 1960s That stormy period unleashed a host of pent up social and generational conflicts that had not been experienced since the Civil War intense racial and ethnic strife cold war terror the Vietnam War counter cultural protests controversial social engineering and political rancor Numerous studies on various aspects of these issues have been written over the past 35 years but few have so

successfully integrated the many sided components into a coherent synthetic and reliable book that combines good storytelling with sound scholarly analysis The main materials covered will be the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies the Civil Rights movement the Vietnam War and the protest it generated the New Left student radicals and Black student militancy and finally the counter cultural side of the 60s hippies sex and Rock n Roll

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