

ships in Trincomalee (p. 45). But on the other hand, Muni makes it clear that "in the context of improved strategic understanding between India and the USA ... since late 1984 ..." the visit of US naval ships could not have been prejudicial to Indian security interests (p. 112). Moreover, "India could easily monitor military movements in and around Trincomalee from its own coasts and presence in the Indian Ocean" (p. 143). If that is the case, why then train Tamil militants? It seems that Indian interests went beyond mere security concerns.

Despite these shortcomings Muni demonstrates how the various conflicts are intermeshed in South Asia and how internal conflicts can create bilateral or international tensions. Muni shows the often divergent assessments and the dilemmas of Indian foreign policy makers in dealing with the Sri Lankan crisis. At the same time he makes clear that the problem of balancing the dynamics of ethnic conflicts with national security concerns will remain on the agenda of Indian policy makers.

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BEN KIERNAN (ed.), *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: the Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community*. (Monograph Series 41). New Haven, CT.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1993. 335 pp. ISBN 938692-49-6.

This book is the compilation of the papers and informal presentations given at the two-day conference "Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia," held on 21-22 February 1992 at Yale University Law School under the auspices of the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights. The contributors include many well-known scholars, including Kate Frieson, May Ebihara, Judith Banister and E. Paige Johnson, Gregory H. Stanton, Serge Thion, Chanthou Boua and Ben Kiernan who also edited the volume and wrote the introduction. As for the unifying themes underlying these papers, Ben Kiernan explains that the discussions presented in this volume address the role of the Khmer Rouge and that of the international community as "two aspects of Cambodia's international existence" (p. 16).

In the first chapter, "Revolution and Rural Response in Cambodia, 1970-1975," Kate G. Frieson discusses some of the economic, political, and sociological factors that she believes inhibited mass support for the Khmer Rouge; factors that also worked to prevent opposition to the Khmer Rouge after the establishment of their regime. Frieson substantiates her

argument with interviews of Cambodians who had experienced Khmer Rouge rule before their 1975 victory. Frieson argues that the Khmer Rouge policies did not reflect the ambitions or workings of Khmer peasants or their politics. Instead, the Khmer Rouge, hiding behind propaganda calling for moderate rural reform, had a more extreme plan, including the destruction of the basic institutions of the Khmer peasant, such as the family and Buddhism. Frieson suggests that the Khmer peasants did not want such a revolution, as they had not reached a degree of impoverishment significant enough to "spark" one. Further, politically, the Khmer peasants were not ready for such a revolution: the basic social and economic unit of the Khmer peasant was the household and there was no tradition of orientation as part of larger groups. Thus, the Khmer peasant did not join political movements. The failure to build a popular base of support among the peasants, then, worked against the Khmer Rouge, leading to the speedy collapse of their regime after the Vietnamese invasion.

May Ebihara, in "A Cambodian Village under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979," examines West Hamlet Sobay, one of three hamlets of a village in Kandal province where she did fieldwork in 1959-1960. In 1990-1991, she collected oral histories from survivors, primarily seeking information on their experiences under the Democratic Kampuchea (hereafter DK) regime. While peasant life there has resumed in many ways similar to the pre-DK period, some things have changed. There is a skewed sex ratio, for example, since the DK regime and the conditions it fostered, killed so many men. There has also been a dramatic growth in medical problems, attributable to the poor living conditions under the DK regime. Of primary interest is her observation of the incorrectness of suggestions that rural peasants adapted easily to conditions under the DK regime. Instead, she argues, conditions were extremely harsh under the DK administration. Peasant families were broken up, the Khmer Rouge's systematic attack on Buddhism struck at the religious foundations of their lives, and all suffered under intolerable labour demands.

In "After the Nightmare: The Population of Cambodia," Judith Banister and E. Paige Johnson, both demographers, provide evidence for the decline of the Khmer population under the Khmer Rouge regime. They conclude that Khmer Rouge rule led to the Kampuchean population falling 1.8 million short of what it should have been at the end of 1978. This number includes emigration, a dearth of almost 600,000 births, and about 1.05 million deaths. The demographic crisis, they explain, affected some groups more than others. Teen and adult deaths under the DK regime, for example, must have been "extraordinary," since the number of those in the adult



working age group in the 1980 census was "far fewer than would have been expected even from massive civil war and emigration" (p. 85). Echoing findings elsewhere, the demographers explain that the male population experienced the heaviest toll.

Two of the chapters, "The Khmer Rouge Genocide and International Law," by Gregory H. Stanton, and "Genocide as a Political Commodity," by Serge Thion, discuss the issue of whether the Khmer Rouge committed genocide during their rule of Kampuchea. The two authors raise the question of how one defines "genocide" and how one characterizes the Khmer Rouge treatment of the Chams. Stanton, using the definition of "genocide" adopted in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, argues that the Khmer Rouge specifically targeted the Moslem Chams for elimination as a separate community, and thus the Khmer Rouge are guilty of genocide. Thion, who follows a popular conception of "genocide" suggests, though unconvincingly, that the Khmer Rouge simply targeted the Chams for the same reasons that they attacked all rival sources of political authority and are therefore not guilty of genocide.

Ben Kiernan, in "The Inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian Peace Process: Causes and Consequences," suggests how the Khmer Rouge has been and continues to be a volatile element in post-DK Kampuchea. Kiernan effectively implicates much of the international community for its support, or at least tolerance, of continued Khmer Rouge transgressions of the Kampuchean peace process. Similarly, in "Development Aid and Democracy in Cambodia," Chanthou Boua offers an indictment of the international community's conduct towards the isolated People's Republic of Kampuchea.

This is an important collection of papers that offers important insights into the role of the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchean politics today and in the past. The volume also dramatically unveils the context of international activity concerning Kampuchea. Further, the issues raised are of interest to readers acquainted neither with the tragedy of Kampuchea's past nor the recovery of Kampuchea in the post-DK and PRK period. The topical nature of the papers presented in this volume, however, necessarily means that some of the observations will soon lose their relevance. This is especially true of the remarks made at the conference (and included in this volume) by Hédi Annabi, Khieu Kanharith, and Douc Rasy. For the time being, however, the issues raised are provocative, and, in most cases, well presented.

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