

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

In 1939, the German sociologist Norbert Elias published his groundbreaking work *The Civilizing Process*, which has come to be regarded as one of the most influential works of sociology today. In this insightful new study tracing the history of violence in Cambodia, the authors evaluate the extent to which Elias's theories can be applied in a non-Western context. Drawing from historical and contemporary archival sources, constabulary statistics, victim surveys, and newspaper reports, Broadhurst, Bouhours, and Bouhours chart trends and forms of violence throughout Cambodia from the mid nineteenth century to the present day. Analysing periods of colonisation, anticolonial wars, independence, civil war, the revolutionary terror of the 1970s, and post-conflict development, the authors assess whether violence has decreased and whether such a decline can be attributed to Elias's civilising process, which identifies a series of universal factors that have historically reduced violence.

RODERIC BROADHURST is Professor of Criminology at the Australian National University.

THIERRY BOUHOURS is Visiting Research Fellow at the Australian National University.

BRIGITTE BOUHOURS is Visiting Scholar at the Australian National University.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

---

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours,  
and Brigitte Bouhours

*Australian National University*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107109117](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107109117)

© Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours, and Brigitte Bouhours 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Lightning Source UK Ltd.

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

ISBN 978-1-107-10911-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvi
<i>Map of Cambodia</i>	xviii
Introduction	1
1 Resistance of a peasant society	35
2 Patterns of premodern criminality	54
3 Development of the colonial state: modernisation and control	82
4 The ‘golden age’ of the Protectorate: 1920–1940	100
5 The anticolonial war: 1940–1955	128
6 The golden years of Sihanoukism: 1955–1966	149
7 Criminal states and civil wars: 1967–1975	166
8 The perfect storm: decivilising state and society: 1975–1979	187
9 Reconstruction in the midst of a civil war: pariahs, bandits, and international accomplices: 1979–1991	226
10 Crime and violence in contemporary Cambodia: 1991–2012	246
11 Civilising processes and violence in contemporary Cambodia	271
12 Discussion	315
<i>Appendix: Historical data</i>	336
<i>References</i>	339
<i>Index</i>	358

Illustrations

1.1	The <i>Garde Indigène</i> on manoeuvre near Stung Treng 1903	page 39
1.2	Village head and assistants outside the Commissioner's residence Stung Treng, 1903	53
6.1	Mao Zedong, Peng Zhen, Norodom Sihanouk, and Liu Shaoqi, 1956	157
8.1	The killing fields	190
8.2	The killing tree	191
8.3	The killing tools storage shed sign	191
11.1	Antidrugs advert. This billboard explains that those using chemical substances will be liable to criminal charges	307
11.2	Anti-domestic-violence advert. This billboard illustrates that domestic violence can impair child development	308
11.3	Antifirearm advert. An antifirearm billboard encouraging people in possession of an illegal firearm to hand their weapon over to local authorities	309
11.4	Awareness of domestic violence advert. This billboard highlights that domestic violence is a criminal act and can also have a negative impact on child development	311

Figures

0.1	Gurr’s distended U curve of criminal violence, 1900–2012	page 4
0.2	Estimated rates of homicide victims in Cambodia, 1900–2012	8
2.1	Homicide victims and banditry events, 1909–20 (rates per 100,000 population)	67
4.1	Size of the police forces and <i>Garde Indigène</i> , 1915–43 (rates per 100,000 population)	108
4.2	Estimated rates of homicide victims, 1921–40, and homicide cases in court, 1927–40	109
4.3	Estimated rates of banditry events, 1921–40, and banditry cases in court, 1927–40	109
4.4	Rates per 100,000 population of court cases for violent offences, 1927–43	123
4.5	Types of sentences imposed on convicted felons, 1932–8	126
5.1	Rates per 100,000 population of homicide events for which offenders were wanted by the police, 1948–54	144
10.1	Homicide victims, 1992–2012: estimated rates per 100,000 population	251
10.2	Crime events recorded by police, 1992–2012: rate per 100,000 population	254
10.3	One-year rate of victimisation for 10 crimes combined in 28 main cities, UNICVS, 2005	257
11.1	Urban and rural rates of recorded crime events, 1997–2012	272
11.2	Rates of acquisitive and expressive violence in urban and rural areas, 1997–2012	275
11.3	Average number of offenders by type of violent event, urban and rural, 1996–2008	293
12.1	Model of the civilising process and types of violence	319
12.2	Integrated representation of the modernisation and civilising processes	320

Tables

2.1 Court data from Phnom Penh (1890) and three provincial courts (1905)	<i>page 65</i>
4.1 Criminal violence in Cambodia, 1936–40	116
4.2 Banditry in five provinces: rates of events per 100,000 population, 1936–9	118
4.3 Homicide victims: rates per 100,000 population by province, 1936–9	121
5.1 <i>BPC</i> 1947–55 homicides	142
8.1 The four aims of the CPK and their consequences	198
10.1 Number of crime events recorded by judicial police, 1992–2012	253
10.2 One-year rate of victimisation and reporting to police, UNICVS Phnom Penh, Kandal, and Kampong Cham, 2000 and 2005–6	256
11.1 Weapons and violent criminal events, 1992–2008	283
11.2 Reporting victimisation to police: Cambodia UNICVS, 2001 and 2006–7 (per cent)	290
11.3 Test of Cooney’s privatisation of conflict-related violence	296
11.4 Socioeconomic indicators, 1990–2011	301
11.5 Domestic violence against women and attitude to domestic violence from four surveys	310



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

---

This book examines how key transitions in Cambodia's 150 years of modern history have impacted the prevalence and forms of violence in this country. A substantial and mostly unanticipated decline in crime and violence has occurred in Cambodia since the 1991 peace agreement. In the last 20 years, the homicide rate has been reduced by about 90 per cent – an impressive achievement. Our analysis of this contemporary decline in violence does not overrely on the immediate past but is based on a long-term historical review of criminological evidence, and we hope it yields insights into the general characteristics of violence as well as the factors that drive increases and decreases in lethal violence.

The processes of social change unfold gradually, and unevenly, over generations, and inquiries limited to a decade or two cannot grasp their complexities and implications. It is in historical contexts that change in both social institutions and individual behaviours may be discerned. Observing the ebb and flow of the scale and forms of crime and violence over 150 years revealed a gradual shift from collective violence to private acts driven by interpersonal conflicts and pathologies. The overall trend of violence in Cambodia follows sympathetically the general pattern of long-term declines and individualisation of violence in Western Europe as that area underwent the processes of civilisation observed by Norbert Elias (1939/1994) and Steven Pinker (2011). In both cases this trend was subject to aperiodical surges of violence that disturbed the otherwise cascade-like decline in interpersonal violence and homicide.

One of the authors was in Cambodia in 1998 as an election monitor and became associated with the Cambodian Criminal Justice Assistance Project (CCJAP) funded by Australia's overseas aid organisation (AusAid). The need for criminological expertise in crime prevention as well as the need for better forensic science services were evident. The genesis for our book was a simple question about the number of homicides that had occurred in Cambodia in 1998–9 – and what the likely trends in homicide might be in the future. The question arose because CCJAP wanted to estimate the resources needed to better equip and help the judicial police investigation of suspicious deaths. The team assembled by CCJAP included Australian and Cambodian police and other experts in various fields such as law, health, organisational management,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## x Preface

anthropology, linguistics, and corrections. They had started tackling the many problems confronting the delivery of effective postconflict national policing, justice, and correction. Studying the rates of homicide was tied to the broader questions of whether the formation of the Kingdom of Cambodia in 1993 had affected crime and violence and what policies might help reduce serious crime. A pressing priority was the need for effective investigation of homicide and armed robbery – the key to improving the standing of a state and policing service tarnished by a brutal past and the lack of transparency and fidelity to human rights.

Homicide cases are the police ‘shop-front’ and crucial to the reputation of police and crime prevention. So, the failure to preempt and to solve homicides was indicative of underperformance and low trust among Cambodians of their police and courts. At this time there was a large number of unsolved yet often brutally and boldly performed homicides and armed robberies. There were also frequent incidences of vigilante-like or mob executions of alleged offenders sometimes abetted by police and the shooting of alleged offenders by police in the course of an investigation. It was assumed that improved death investigations and police procedures coupled with reforms to the system of justice would help create a climate of security and certainty and reduce the incidence and fear of crime. It should also help improve the legitimacy of the state and register the emergence of the rule of law over the rule of the gun. The investigation and prosecution of everyday abuses of human rights whether by state or nonstate actors (homicide being one example) would help reassure Cambodians and deter offenders. This improved sense of safety would in turn allow for the return of everyday life and stimulate commerce and social cohesion, creating an ever-evolving virtuous circle. In short – attend to the smaller problems and the bigger problems become easier to resolve. However, Cambodia was not yet pacified, and the eventual monopolisers of the means of violence had not been tamed.

However, as with many apparently simple questions, estimating the number of homicides and other serious crimes was, in fact, difficult. The absence of many of the tools of criminological inquiry, such as a standardised and consistent reporting and recording of crime, made the task challenging. To triangulate problematic official police statistics and obtain more reliable data, we turned to large-scale household surveys that helped measure the prevalence and responses to crime, including the extent of theft, robbery, nonlethal assault, and corruption. We implemented two sweeps of the United Nations International Crime Victims Survey (UNICVS) in several provinces: the first in 2001–2 and the second in 2007–8. The methods and findings are described in the chapters of this book.

Among the many unsolved homicides in the 1990s there was a plethora of ‘cold cases’, including numerous massacre burial sites across Cambodia. Often,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

xi

victims' families and survivors lived near suspected or known offenders, and faith in legal remedies had been exhausted. A few of the most egregious mass homicides involved surviving leaders of the former Democratic Kampuchea (DK). The cases were eventually prosecuted. Most of these cold cases remain unprosecuted, but many have been documented by the remarkable efforts of the Sluek Rith Institute (Cambodian Documentation Centre) and its chair Youk Chhang.

A quarter of a century ago, in 1979, the newly formed People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) placed on trial two of the senior leaders of the DK Khmer Rouge regime – Prime Minister and Brother Number One Pol Pot (deceased in 1998), and Foreign Secretary and Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary (deceased in 2013) – and, using the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, *in absentia* convicted them of genocide. In 1991, except for the PRK's successor (the renamed State of Cambodia), the parties to the Paris Peace Accord had rejected all references to genocide or crimes against humanity. It was only in April 1997 that the United Nations agreed in principle to a trial of the Khmer Rouge leadership. The first trial in 2010 was conducted by a hybrid Cambodian and United Nations mandated international court known as the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). It sentenced former S-21 prison chief Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, to life imprisonment for supervising the murder of over 15,000 men, women, and children. At the time of writing, the ECCC had found Nuon Chea (aged 88), Brother Number Two, and Khieu Samphan (aged 83), the former head of state, guilty of crimes against humanity committed during the DK regime. Twenty-five years after the events and the first trial *in absentia* of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary by the PRK, charges of genocide against Chea and Samphan are still pending before the ECCC for the mass murder of Cham (Cambodian Muslims), ethnic Vietnamese Cambodians, and other minorities. The legal maxim 'justice delayed is justice denied' is apt.

Our world is confronted by frequent 'small wars' and crimes against humanity by states, warlords, and sectarian groups of all stripes. At the time of writing, several brutal wars – in Syria, Iraq, Mali, South Sudan, Gaza, and Ukraine – are under way with the attendant atrocities and cruelties in blatant defiance of international norms and laws about the treatment of combatants and non-combatants. In the wake of the occupation of towns and cities, the inhabitants evacuate, fearing that they will be massacred because of their religion or ethnicity, and the invaders operate with impunity, subject to neither self-restraint nor law. In such conflicts the territorial struggle to monopolise the means of violence manifests in summary massacres of captured troops and others classified as enemies because of religion or ethnicity or service with the vanquished state. It reminds us of the fragility of peace and the ever-present risk of mass bloodletting. In short, humanity has a long prior record of violent conduct, and

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## xii Preface

it is generally accepted evidence in criminology that prior behaviour is often the best predictor of future behaviour (recidivism). Thus, it may seem deeply counterintuitive in this book to expound the notion of a long and steady decline in the risks of lethal violence. We see some cause for optimism in the promise that under certain conditions the likelihood of lethal violence will recede and that, as in everyday life, the ‘bloodbaths’ of war will, too, diminish over time. Increasingly, mass murders and other crimes of collective violence will be regarded as outliers rather than the norm. They will be subject to the process of law enforcement and investigation as crimes against humanity in much the same way capable states now prosecute perpetrators of homicide who are routinely investigated by competent teams of detectives and scientists.

We anticipate that some readers will find our position about the civilising prospects of our species contentious, overoptimistic, and perhaps overgeneralised from the ‘facts’ offered by the Cambodian example. To start with, the very term ‘civilisation’ is so loaded with the myths and atrocities of colonisation that its use is as apt to offend as enlighten. We alternatively use the expressions ‘civilising processes’ or ‘processes of civilisation’ in the specific way suggested by Norbert Elias to refer to growing sensitivity towards violence, its monopolisation by tamed states, and the extent of interdependence among individuals and groups in society. We have endeavoured to avoid factual historical errors but also noticed that historians of Cambodia do not always agree on the facts and on their interpretation. We are not historians and had to rely on their accounts, and when they diverged it was not a straightforward matter for us to settle – in the instances where this mattered, we relied on our discipline’s investigative traditions that make explicit uncertainty and speculation. Disputes and related controversies among historians of Cambodia are also not free from explicit or implicit ideological and philosophical opinions and differences. In this sense history shares the same challenges as the other human sciences, including sociology, psychology, and criminology.

We therefore do not claim to be unbiased by ideological and philosophical opinions and free from value judgements. To sum them up, ours include and come from pacifism, or the idea that nonviolent ways of solving conflicts are the best ways, which is consistent with our universalistic and humanist worldview but also founded on realism. Like many, we agree that *‘la civilisation n’est pas terminée’* and that there is a long way to go before humanity arrives at some truly ‘civilised’ state of grace, in which by necessity it uses only nonviolent ways of managing conflicts. We are also wary of ‘just’ causes that justify ‘just’ wars in great part because their prosecution often has unintended consequences and too easily kills and maims the innocent. We can be seen as hopeless utopian dreamers but, then, of the pacifist and realist kind, not to be confounded with the many past and current murderous utopias that animate history.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

xiii

We have also encountered problems with our attempt to realise a genuine multidisciplinary approach to our subject. First among these problems has been finding a common language that bridges the conceptual and methodological differences between historians and social scientists. ‘Civilisation’, ‘civilising’, and ‘civilised’ may mean very different things to historians (particularly historians of colonialism and empires) and social scientists (particularly those interested in historical or process sociology and Norbert Elias’s perspective). Perhaps a different nomenclature would lessen translation problems? Would it be preferable to call these processes that lead to less-violent human interactions ‘the civility process’ or the ‘processes of civility’? It is better to go into and explore the substance intended by these terms as we do in this book.

We have strived to do no more than look at the evidence in Cambodian history for the presence, levels, development, or regression of three *processes* (state formation and *monopolisation of violence* by the state; the extent of chains of *interdependency*; and *sensitisation* to violence) theoretically associated with varying levels of violence in human societies. We could not and did not intend to present a detailed account of the last 150 years of Cambodian history, and our focus on violence steered our account. We operationalised these three processes so that we would be able to collect concrete information on them, and we measured as best we could the levels and types of violence across the 150 years from the French Protectorate to the present (to grossly summarise, in terms of violent human interactions, ‘we counted the dead’). With these data we analysed the patterns between these three independent variables and our dependent variable – violence – and reached the conclusion fully developed in this book that indeed violence has declined and that this decline can be attributed to these processes of civilisation.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Acknowledgements

---

Our research undertaken in Cambodia, France, and Australia could not have taken place without the help of many individuals. We could not have completed the book without the aid of the Australian Research Council (ARC), the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and the French Embassy in Australia (Humanities Travelling Fellowship), which enabled one of the authors to visit the *Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer* in Aix-en-Provence. We have also been fortunate that over many years our various employers, the University of Hong Kong, Queensland University of Technology, Griffith University, and the Australian National University, have supported our research in Cambodia. We were fortunate to receive funding in 2006 from the ARC (Grant DP0776057) and later the support of the ARC, Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security. We gratefully acknowledge this assistance and the generous support of many colleagues over a long time.

During our fieldwork in Cambodia, we were enormously helped by many people, including General Teng Savong, General Van Rotha, Colonel Mohn Kahn San, and Colonel Nuon Bophal of the Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia. The generous support and friendship of Robert Bradley, CCJAP team leader (1997–2008), as well as CCJAP team members Steve Woodall, Chan Huot Veng, Kevin Maguire, Malcolm Howlett, Meav Siravuth, John Lawrie, Leng Vuthy, Khurt Nary, Ky Bunnal, and Keith Martin made the demanding logistics and work of the UNICVS possible. In addition the skills of forensic pathologist Phillip Beh of Queen Mary Hospital, the University of Hong Kong, made death investigation and our understanding of homicide less stressful than it may have otherwise been. The unfailing assistance following visits to Cambodia of Robert Bradley, Chan Huot Veng, and Kevin Maguire was invaluable to our continued work in assembling and analysing data. We also acknowledge the wonderful work of the three UNICVS field interview teams (2001–2, 2007, and 2008). We are especially grateful to Chenda Keo and Heng Ken for their help in organising and training the UNICVS team for the Kampong Cham sweep in late 2008 and their continued assistance in later visits. Chenda Keo was our doctoral student (2007–11) whose assistance with

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-10911-7 - Violence and the Civilising Process in Cambodia

Roderic Broadhurst, Thierry Bouhours and Brigitte Bouhours

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Acknowledgements

xv

translation, cultural interpretation, and many practical matters proved invaluable. We thank Kenneth Johnson, who assisted us with the complex regional mapping and analysis of the dynamics of violence during the postwar insurgency (1947–54) and Natasha Bouhours for her assistance with the preparation of photographs and map. We also thank Michèle Levavasseur, a French teacher whom we met in Kampong Cham in 2008 and whose gracious assistance from Paris led to the discovery of an important source of historical criminal data, the *Bulletins de Police Criminelle (BPC)*, and Florian Brout, who generously shared the *BPC* data he collected in Paris for his work.

We are grateful to Peter Grabosky, John Braithwaite, Mathieu Guérin, and David Chandler as well as the anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for their valuable advice and critical comments. We thank Hilary Charlesworth, Cheryl White, and Susanne Karstedt for their comments on sections of the text and willingness to engage with our research questions. Any errors, of course, remain ours and not these generous and thoughtful readers. We also thank both our families (Irene, Sebastian, Julian, and Natasha) for their forbearance during absences in the field or in the study. We acknowledge the organisers of the ‘Human Sciences Encounters in Cambodia’ for arranging a presentation on the subject of this book given one stormy June evening at the Royal University of Fine Arts, in Phnom Penh in 2014. Finally, we wish to thank the publishing editor at Cambridge University Press, Lucy Rhymer, for her support from the outset and her advice in helping to bring the manuscript to completion.

## Abbreviations

---

ANOM	<i>Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer</i> (French colonial archives located in Aix-en-Provence, France)
BNF	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale de France</i> (France National Library)
<i>BPC</i>	<i>Bulletins de Police Criminelle</i>
CCJAP	Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CDC	Cambodian Documentation Centre
CDHS	Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
CMAC	Cambodian Mine Action Centre
CMVIS	Cambodia Mine Victims Information System
CNRP	Cambodian National Rescue Party
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CPK	Communist Party of Kampuchea
CPP	Cambodian People’s Party
CSES	Cambodian Socio-Economic Survey
CWCC	Cambodian Women’s Crisis Center
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
DV	Domestic violence
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia
ERW	Explosive remnants of war
FUNCINPEC	<i>Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif</i> (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia) (Sihanoukist)
GGI	<i>Gouverneur Général de l’Indochine</i> (Indochina General Governor)
GRUNK	<i>Gouvernement Royal d’Union Nationale de Kampuchea</i> (Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea)
HSDVC	Household Survey on Domestic Violence in Cambodia

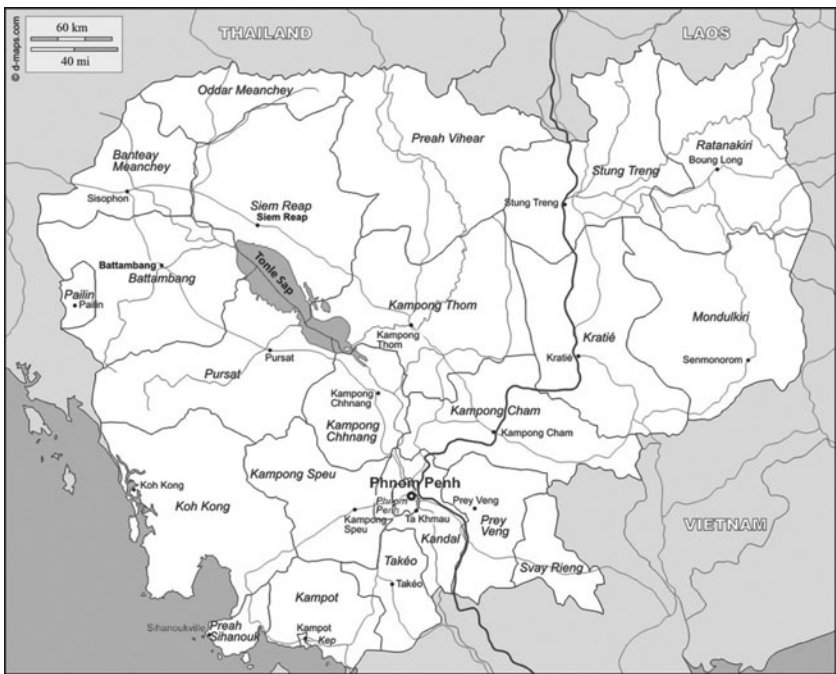


List of abbreviations

xvii

IAT	Institutional anomie theory
IUF	Issarak United Front
KPNLF	Khmer People’s National Liberation Front
KPRC	Kampuchea People’s Revolutionary Council
KPRP	Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party
KR	Khmer Rouge
KUFNS	Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
MoI	Ministry of Interior (Cambodia)
NAC	National Archives of Cambodia (Phnom Penh)
NADK	National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
PAVN	People’s Army of Vietnam
PDK	Party of Democratic Kampuchea
PG	Provincial governors
PPA	Paris Peace Agreement
PPP	<i>Phnom Penh Post</i>
PRK	People’s Republic of Kampuchea
PTSD	Posttraumatic stress disorder
RC	<i>Résident</i> of circumscription
RAK	Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea
RCAF	Royal Cambodian Armed Forces
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RSC	<i>Résident Supérieur du Cambodge</i> (responsible for the colonial administration of Cambodia)
SOC	State of Cambodia
SRP	Sam Rainsy Party
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICVS	United Nations International Crime Victims Survey
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

Map of Cambodia



Map of Cambodia  
*Source:* Composite of [http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num\\_car=5448&lang=fr](http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=5448&lang=fr)  
(map of provinces) and [http://d-maps.com/carte.php?&num\\_car=26192&lang=fr](http://d-maps.com/carte.php?&num_car=26192&lang=fr) (rivers, roads & towns)