



The Success of Win-Win Policy and Peace Building Process in Cambodia

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សារគន្លឹះ:

- កិច្ចព្រមព្រៀងសន្តិភាពទីក្រុងប៉ារីសត្រូវបានចុះហត្ថលេខានៅថ្ងៃទី២៣ ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ ១៩៩១។ មុនពេលកិច្ចព្រមព្រៀងសន្តិភាពទីក្រុងប៉ារីសត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើង ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា គឺជាទីតាំងនៃសមរក្សមីដ៏ខ្លាំងក្លារវាងកងកម្លាំងខ្មែរក្រហម និងកងទ័ពរដ្ឋាភិបាលនៅជិតព្រំដែនកម្ពុជា-ថៃ ដែលគាំទ្រដោយប្រទេស។ ដើម្បីបញ្ចប់ភាពបំណងបង្កបង្កាបជាតិ សម្តេចនរោត្តម សីហនុ និងលោកនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ហ៊ុន សែន បានជួបប្រជុំគ្នាចំនួនប្រាំដង មុនពេលកិច្ចព្រមព្រៀងសន្តិភាពទីក្រុងប៉ារីសចូលជាធរមាន។
- សន្តិភាពពេញលេញតាមរយៈនយោបាយឈ្នះ-ឈ្នះ របស់រាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា (RGoC) បានកើតឡើងបន្ទាប់ពីការធ្វើសមាហរណកម្មនៃយោធាខ្មែរក្រហមក្នុងឆ្នាំ 1999 និងការរំលាយទាំងស្រុងនៃអង្គការចាត់តាំងខ្មែរក្រហម។ ការបង្កើតសន្តិភាពពេញលេញតាមរយៈនយោបាយឈ្នះ-ឈ្នះ លោកនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ហ៊ុន សែន បានគូសបញ្ជាក់ពីយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រស្តុស្តម្ភចំនួនប្រាំ ដើម្បីបង្ហាញអង្គការនយោបាយ និងយោធាខ្មែរក្រហម។
- ជាលទ្ធផល នៅថ្ងៃទី៥ ខែសីហា ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨ គណៈកម្មាធិការជាតិរៀបចំការបោះឆ្នោត (គ.ជ.ប) បានប្រកាសលទ្ធផលបោះឆ្នោតជាផ្លូវការ ដោយគណបក្សប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា (CPP) ទទួលបានអាសនៈសរុបចំនួន ៦៤។ ក្នុងចំណោមគណបក្សចំនួន ៣៩ ដែលបានចុះឈ្មោះបោះឆ្នោត រណសិរ្សប្រឆាំងដើម្បីឯករាជ្យ អព្យាក្រឹត សន្តិភាព និងសហប្រតិបត្តិការកម្ពុជា (ហ៊ុនស៊ិនប៉ិច) ទទួលបាន ៤៣ អាសនៈ ហើយគណបក្សសម រង្ស៊ី (សម រង្ស៊ី) ទទួលបាន ១៥ អាសនៈ។
- នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨ ប៉ុល ពត មេដឹកនាំខ្មែរក្រហមបានទទួលមរណៈភាពនៅអន្លង់វែងដោយជំងឺនៅលើជួរភ្នំជងរែក។ អង្គការនយោបាយរបស់ខ្មែរក្រហមចាប់ផ្តើមចុះខ្សោយ ហើយទីបំផុតយោធាខ្មែរក្រហមបានធ្វើសមាហរណកម្មជាមួយរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា (RGoC)។ នៅឆ្នាំ ១៩៩៨ រាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជាបានសម្រេចសមាហរណកម្មដោយជោគជ័យលើយោធាខ្មែរក្រហម តាមរយៈជំនួបរវាងលោកនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ហ៊ុន សែន លោកខៀវ សំផន និងលោក នួន ជា។

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- សមិទ្ធិផលដ៏អស្ចារ្យនៃគោលនយោបាយ ឈ្នះ-ឈ្នះ គឺរក្សាសន្តិសុខដោយការជួយខ្មែរក្រហមធ្វើសមាហរណកម្មទៅក្នុងរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា ដោយគោរពអាយុជីវិត ទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ និងក្នុងកម្រិតមួយ រក្សាឋានៈនិងតួនាទីរបស់ពួកគេ។ ក្រោមការដឹកនាំរបស់លោកនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ហ៊ុន សែន កម្ពុជាមានមហិច្ឆតាចង់ក្លាយជាប្រទេសដែលមានចំណូលមធ្យមកម្រិតខ្ពស់នៅឆ្នាំ២០៣០ និងជាប្រទេសមានចំណូលខ្ពស់នៅឆ្នាំ២០៥០។ គោលនយោបាយ ឈ្នះ-ឈ្នះ មានធាតុផ្សំសំខាន់ៗចំនួន៣គឺ៖ (១) ធានាសិទ្ធិរស់រានមានជីវិតរបស់មនុស្សគ្រប់គ្នា (២) ធានាឱ្យមនុស្សគ្រប់រូប រស់នៅក្នុងសេចក្តីសុខដុមរមន៍ដោយមានជីវភាពសមរម្យ និង (៣) ធានាការការពារទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន។
- ចិត្តចំពោះសកម្មភាពដែលផ្តល់ដោយអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលត្រូវបានបង្ហាញថាស្ថិតក្នុងកម្រិតមធ្យម។ ចំពោះបម្រែបម្រួលអាកាសធាតុ និងការ ផ្លាស់ប្តូរសង្គម ទាំងប្រជាជនខ្មែរ និងជនជាតិក្រោលយល់ឃើញថា ការប្រែប្រួលអាកាសធាតុប៉ះពាល់យ៉ាងខ្លាំងលើជីវភាពរស់នៅរបស់ពួកគេ ដោយសារតែភាពរាំងស្ងួតមានរយៈពេលយូរ និងកំដៅកើនឡើង។ ការធ្លាក់ចុះនៃធនធានព្រៃឈើ និងការប្រែប្រួលកម្រិតទឹកទន្លេត្រូវបានវាយ តម្លៃថាមានផលប៉ះពាល់ខ្ពស់បំផុត។ រីឯ ផលប៉ះពាល់នៃការផ្លាស់ប្តូរសង្គមទៅលើជីវភាពរស់នៅត្រូវបានកំណត់ថាមានកម្រិតខ្ពស់ ក្នុងលក្ខខណ្ឌ នៃការចំណាយ ម្ហូបមានតម្លៃថ្លៃ ការធ្លាក់ចុះចំណូលក្នុងគ្រួសារ ការជះឥទ្ធិពលដោយវិបត្តិសកលលោក អសន្តិសុខស្បៀង និងការទទួលបានការ អប់រំរបស់កុមារនៅមានកម្រិត។

Key Messages

- The Paris Peace Agreement was signed on 23 October 1991. Before the Paris Peace Agreement was established, Cambodia was the site of a fierce battle between Khmer Rouge forces and government troops near the border of Thailand, supported by foreign sponsors. For the purpose of national reconciliation and reunification, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Prime Minister Hun Sen met five times before Paris Peace Agreement came into being.
- Full peace through the Win-Win policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGoC) came after the integration of the Khmer Rouge military in 1999 and the complete dissolution of the Khmer Rouge. For establishing a full peace through the Win-Win Policy, Prime Minister Hun Sen outlined five core strategies to undermine the Khmer Rouge political and military organization.
- As a result, on August 5, 1998, the National Election Committee (NEC) announced official election results, with the Cambodia People’s Party (CPP) winning with a total of 64 seats. Of the 39 registered parties, the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) received 43 seats and the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) won 15.
- In 1998, Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot died in Anlong Veng of a disease on the ridge of Dangrek Mountain. The Khmer Rouge’s political organization began to weaken, and ultimately the Khmer Rouge military integrated with the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGoC). In 1998, the RGoC achieved the successful integration of the Khmer Rouge military through a meeting between the Prime Minister Hun Sen, Mr. Khieu Samphan, and Mr. Nuon Chea.
- The tremendous achievement of the Win-Win Policy was to maintain security by helping the Khmer Rouge integrate into the RGoC by respecting their lives, property, and to an extent, maintaining their status and roles. Lead by Prime Minister Hun Sen, Cambodia has the ambition to itself to become an upper-middle income country in 2030 and a high-income country by 2050. The Win-Win Policy comprises three key components: (1) ensuring everyone’s right to life, (2) ensuring everyone finds employment with a decent livelihood; and (3) ensuring the protection of personal assets.

1. Introduction

The Win-Win Memorial, or Vīmėan Chhneāh Chhneāh was inaugurated on 31 December 2018 by the Prime Minister Hun Sen to mark the end of the prolonged civil war 20 years ago. This \$12 million monument covers an eight-hectare area with eight

pools and many sculptures. The monument has 117 bas-reliefs including depictions of the journey to peace in modernist Khmer architecture (Tea, 2019). The Win-Win policy has provided Cambodia with an excellent opportunity to reconsider and

resolve legal and international border issues with its neighbors clearly at each stage, avoiding clashes and conflicts and creating the conditions for further development of the border areas. Moreover, this policy is a strategic principle that will bring about social security, national unity, peace, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and sustainable socio-economic development (Tea, 2019). The Win-Win Policy has three main components: (1) ensuring the life and body of the former Khmer Rouge (non-binding, non-discriminatory, and non-violent); (2) ensuring careers and occupations (maintaining the original status of the army personnel), that is, maintaining the organizational structure of the Khmer Rouge army and administration and the integration of the Khmer Rouge armed forces into the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF); and, (3) guaranteeing ownership of movable and immovable property (Hang, 2019).

Peace and national security are vital components of human life, social development, and economic growth. A peaceful and secure environment is helpful in every society since it contributes to all aspects of a country's social development and economic growth and is a necessary sine qua non to realizing human rights. Since 1989, the United Nations Security Council and Civil War has deployed UN peace operations to many countries affected by civil war, imposed sanctions on dozens of civil-war groups, and created many transitional administrations and international criminal tribunals to respond to factional fighting and civil wars, and their consequences (Cockayne et al., 2010). In 2006, the Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) established a Peacebuilding Fund to promote the mandate of the peacebuilding commission. Moreover, a body was founded in 2007 to coordinate various UN agencies and Washington-based International Financial Institutions (IFI) engaged in responding to international interventions to support peace and stability (Graben and Fitz-Gerald, 2013).

According to Stern and Öjendal (2010), this UN peace-building agenda has security sector reform within its scope and responsibilities, and it becomes embedded in a broader strategy that considers economic recovery. Economic recovery is

essential for the sustainability of newly developed security institutions, community cohesion, and social relations. Scholars, policymakers, activists, and practitioners have discussed the concepts of peace and security over the course of decades (Galtung, 1964). Researchers set out many definitions and various sub-components for the term "peace". The term "peace" in this article derives from uses in both the national language and foreign languages, especially scientific papers (for example, excerpts from the Peace and Conflict Journal of Peace Psychology).

The former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali referred to the concept in an Agenda for Peace. Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peace positively in terms of a "process by which an achieved peace is placed on durable foundations and which prevents violent conflict from recurring by dealing with the underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems responsible for the conflict" (UN 1992, paragraph 57). Winrich Kuhne at the Berlin Research Institute for International Affairs has adopted an exclusivist methodology and defines peace-building as a political endeavor entered into for a limited time period in response to security problems. In contrast, development is a long-term strategy that is generally carried out under peaceful conditions (Kuhne, 1996).

In this policy paper, we provide insights and analysis of the Win-Win policy set out by Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen in early 1998 to bring Cambodia peace, which has lasted to the present. However, key events were also studied that occurred after the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime, the People's Republic led by General Lon Nol, the Democratic Kampuchea regime led by Pol Pot-Noun Chea, and the time of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) which culminated in the organization of the national election in 1993. In Cambodia, civil war started as a fight between the forces of the Communist Party of Kampuchea against the government forces of Cambodia which, after October 1970, represented the Khmer Republic, as it had succeeded in taking control the country.

Between 1975 and 1979, from 1.5 to 2 million Cambodian people died, which composed

almost a quarter of the national population (Kiernan, 2003). Cambodian people were forced by the civil war to seek resettlement in other countries, such as European states and the United States of America. Refugee flows became very substantial as a result of the turbulence of the civil war (1970-1975), Khmer Rouge period of rule (1975-1979), and the Vietnamese intervention (1979-1989). Cambodia was liberated from the Pol Pot regime, and key factions participated in peace negotiations leading to the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements, as well as supported UNTAC's role during the transitional period.

2. Materials and methods

This policy paper was written based on journalistic sources, published documents, reports, and academic publications. They include strategic documents, policies, and scientific publications in both national (Khmer) and foreign languages. Those existing documents were used to describe and articulate the complete strategy for ending the civil war of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGoC) between 1993 to 2000. Moreover, interpretations are based on existing data, with valid citations, and are also based on the original source's concepts and conclusions.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Relationship between the Paris Peace Agreement and the Win-Win Policy

During the Cold War, Cambodia underwent a period of civil war for nearly 30 years. In the 1970s, Cambodia suffered from the side effects of the Vietnam War and massive bombing by US forces. In 1970 the forces of Lon Nol staged a coup d'état of the Samdech Norodom Sihanouk government (Tully, 2005). After that, the Khmer Rouge guerrillas resisted and eventually usurped the Lon Nol government. Pol Pot and Noun Chea (the leaders of the Khmer Rouge communists) ruled the Cambodia of country between 1975 and 1979, undertaking policies which resulted in the mass deaths of Cambodian people. After Khmer Rouge lost their power due to an intervention by Vietnam and the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS).

After the Khmer Rouge fell, a new regime governed Cambodia, called The People's Republic

of Kampuchea (PRK), from 1979 to 1989, during the period of Vietnamese occupation of the country (Dy, 2007). Later on, there were three more parties that opposed the PRK government. Those three parties were FUNCINPEC (Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independent, Neutre, Pacifique, et Cooperatif), KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) and the Khmer Rouge.

The three parties still fought with each other and were supported by some countries such as China, the US, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, some ASEAN member states. After the decline of the Soviet Union and at the time of the ending of the Cold War, there arose an opportunity for a peace settlement in Cambodia. As a result, the peace settlement agreement known as the Paris Peace agreement was signed in Paris on 23 October 1991. However, before the Paris Peace Agreement was established, fierce fighting erupted between the Khmer Rouge forces and government troops near the border of Thailand, and supported by foreign sponsors. For the purpose of national reconciliation and reunification, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Prime Minister Hun Sen met five times before Paris Peace Agreement was achieved.

The first meeting was held on 18 December 1987 in Paris; the second occurred on 21 January 1988 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, located on the outskirts of Paris; the third meeting took place on 8 November 1988 in Jakarta, Indonesia; the fourth meeting happened on 2 May 1989 in Jakarta; and, the last meeting was held on 25 July 1989 in La-Celle-Saint-Cloud in the palace of the French Foreign Minister. The last meeting was also attended by H.E Roland Dumas, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and included four Cambodian factions-Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister Hun Sen, H.E Son San, and the top leader of Khmer Rouge Khieu Samphan (Ros, 2016).

On 23 October 1991, the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict were signed by the four Cambodian factions and 18 other nations in the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General (Curtis, 1993). The Paris Peace Agreement included France and Indonesia as co-chairman, and the 18 supporting countries were Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, China, France, India,

Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia (Ros, 2016). The Comprehensive Political Settlement consisted of: 1) the Paris conference on Cambodia; 2) the Agreement on the political settlement of the Cambodian conflict; 3) the Agreement concerning the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability and national unity of Cambodia; and, 4) the Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia (United Nations, 1991).

The agreements formally ended the conflict between the Khmer Rouge and Vietnam and established the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). UNTAC's mandate included the following: 1) establishment of peace; 2) repatriation of refugees and displaced persons; 3) holding of free and fair elections; 4) organization and control of civil administration; 5) maintenance of law and order; 6) protection of human rights; and, 7) generally aiding in the reconstruction and recovery of the nation. This mandate was supposed to be accomplished by bringing together the Cambodian government led by Prime Minister Hun Sen and three opposition factions including the Khmer Rouge, the royalist FUNCINPEC party (led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's son, Prince Ranariddh), and The Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (Zucker, 2016).

The accords committed the four Cambodian factions to a cease-fire, an end to their acceptance of external military assistance, and the disarmament of their military forces, the demobilization of at least 70% of troops before the completion of Electoral registration, demobilization of the remaining 30% (or their incorporation into a new national army) immediately after the election, and the release of all prisoners of war and civilian political prisoners. Each faction would retain its administration and territory, pending the election and the formation of a new national government. The non-Cambodian signatories pledged to withdraw any remaining foreign forces from Cambodian territory, end military assistance to the Cambodian parties, assist in implementing the Accords, and recognize and respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, inviolability, neutrality, and national unity of

Cambodia (Findlay, 1995). In November 11, 1991, the Prime Minister Hun Sen traveled to Beijing, China, to accompany Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on his return to Cambodia on November 14, 1991.

The Cambodian people have felt the pain of war as they were subjected to three decades of civil war, instigated mainly by foreign intervention. The population suffered from the effects of the Cold War and great power politics. Learning from their past experiences, Cambodians can only rely on themselves to protect their national interests and to seek peace for their people. National reconciliation must first come from within, with national ownership is the determining and defining factor. People have learned that nothing is more valuable than independence and self-determination (World Summit, 2022). Prime Minister Hun Sen mentioned that peace is more precious than anything. It is the most beautiful thing. It gives people hope and puts a smile on people's faces. People who have not experienced hardship and suffering created by wars may take peace for granted. Those who have lived through violent conflicts or wars know how precious peace is (Sunhak Peace Prize, 2022).

There were three significant events before the second parliamentary election on 26 July, 1998. The first event was the destruction of Khmer Rouge base in Anglong Veng by the RGoC and the defeat of Mr. Ieng Sary. The second event was Pol Pot's death on April 15, 1998. The third event was the return of Prince Norodom Ranariddh to Cambodia on March 30, after being exiled for almost a year. A year before Pol Pot's death, in 1997, the Khmer Rouge leadership disintegrated and the entire Khmer Rouge movement was in turmoil, which concluded with the end of the infamous Khmer Rouge movement. On August 8, 1996, Mr. Ieng Sary, the second-in-command of Khmer Rouge after Pol Pot, entered into a peace deal with the Prime Minister Hun Sen and days later led a mutiny of thousands of Khmer Rouge fighters that opted to join the government, which was the prelude to the movement's total collapse in 1998 (Vandy, 2010).

The Khmer Rouge's plan to integrate into the newly elected the RGoC was cultivated long before the 1998 final integration. The idea of

integration could be traced back to the time of the Paris Agreement. After the general election in 1993, the people needed peace in the whole country, which is the main reason that the Khmer Rouge leadership lost popular support. Among of the Khmer Rouge leaders, Mr. Ta Mok began the first round of negotiation with FUNCINPEC in February 1997. Mr. Ta Mok made contact with the late Mr. Hem Bun Heng, then FUNCINPEC's second deputy governor of Siem Reap province. The secret negotiation was conducted without Mr. Pol Pot's knowledge. Ultimately, the meeting ended in disaster. As the meeting was taking place, soldiers under Division 801 (a Pol Pot-aligned division under the command of So Saroeun) fired their guns to interrupt the talk. Mr. Hem Bun Heng was injured in the leg and died on the way to Anlong Veng, and another ten negotiators were killed, or arrested and detained in Anlong Veng. Soon after the failure of the first attempt, FUNCINPEC and Mr. Ta Mok began the second attempt at negotiation. Mr. Nhek Bun Chhay and Mr. Khan Savoeun (the top FUNCINPEC military commanders), and Mr. Tun Chay (FUNCINPEC Siem Reap Governor), and Mr. Long Sarin (FUNCINPEC, the Cambodia Embassy in Bangkok) were the government's chief negotiators. The Khmer Rouge side was represented by Mr. Ta Mok, Mr. Khieu Samphan, Mr. Tep Khunnal, and Mr. Long Tem, who continued to serve as the main channel and point of contact for the two sides (Dy and Dearing, 2014). In 1998, the commanders of Division 980 led by Yim San and, Yim Phanna, secretly began the last round of negotiations.

Instead of negotiating with FUNCINPEC, the commanders negotiated with Prime Minister Hun Sen without Ta Mok's knowledge. In 1998, the Prime Minister Hun Sen played the leading role in dealing with Khmer Rouge leaders and commander's in Anlong Veng, the area which was the remaining stronghold of the Khmer Rouge. To reconcile and finalize the civil war with the Khmer Rouge, Prime Minister Hun Sen persuaded the Khmer Rouge to surrender and to integrate with the RGoC. The Khmer Rouge military commanders were motivated by Prime Minister Hun Sen's efforts, but they requested three conditions for their defection: (1) the right to live as ordinary citizens; (2) the right to possess private property and to manage their local government affairs; and

(3) the right to hold government position in their former strongholds. Prime Minister Hun Sen agreed to all requests (Dy and Dearing, 2014). As we look in detail at his negotiation discourse, we can see that Prime Minister Hun Sen used a smart and long-term approach to negotiating in support of unity and reconciliation. Hun Sen sacrificed both physical and mental strength for the Khmer nation.

3.2 The National Election in 1993 and the End of the UNTAC Mission

After the meetings between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen, and the Paris Agreements of 1991, the national elections in 1993 were held in Cambodia, organized by the United Nations (Chhay, 2012). The national election in 1993 reflected the will to re-establish a constitutional monarchy, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk was crowned King of the Second Kingdom of Cambodia (Hang, 2019). The results of that national election also show that Prime Minister Hun Sen became the second Prime Minister and Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh became the first Prime Minister in the coalition government under the head of state King Norodom Sihanouk (Chhay, 2014). Following the Royal Constitution in 1993 and the formation of the National Assembly, the UNTAC mission ended. However, Cambodia's complex internal conflict did not end after the withdrawal of the United Nations (UNTAC)(2019).

If the internal political conflict was not properly resolved, Cambodia could have divided into two parts, with the part to the East of the Mekong River ruled by one party, and the part to the West of the river ruled by another (Chhay, 2012). Moreover, CPP and FUNCINPEC troops tested each other's strength, with FUNCINPEC as the initiator. FUNCINPEC leaders had gone abroad to escape the conflict. Prime Minister Hun Sen dressed in military uniform, commanded the troops of the Cambodian People's Party, and attained victory (Chhoy, et al, 2007). While the King was out of the country, on July 5-6, 1997, fighting erupted between FUNCINPEC and the CPP. Especially between officials loyal to Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh and officials loyal to the Prime Minister Hun Sen (Chhay, 2014). Two distinct sites of conflict existed: (1) Banteay Yot, Wat Phneak in Kampong Speu province; and, (2)

O Bek Kam, Phnom Penh (Pol, 2014).

3.3 The 1998 national election and the Khmer Rouge integration in 1999

Once the events of July 5-6, 1997 were over, the national election of 1998 was organized by the RGoC independently, albeit with some international assistance (Chhay, 2012). After the elections in 1998, Cambodia set out again to foment development in all areas of the economy (Chhoy, et al, 2007). On August 5, 1998, the National Election Committee (NEC) announced the official election results, of the 39 registered parties, the CPP won with a total of 64 seats, FUNCINPEC received 43 seats, and the Sam Rainsy Party obtained 15 (Chhay, 2012). In 1998, after the national election, the United Nations (UN) recognized the government as legitimately borne of the will of the people (Chhay, 2012). In 1999, Cambodia became a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Chhay, 2012).

Therefore, the Khmer Rouge rebels were considered outlaws (Chhay, 2012). On the other hand, the Khmer Rouge rebels lost the support of the outside world, leading to their isolation (Hang, 2019). In 1998, Khmer Rouge leader Mr. Pol Pot died in Anlong Veng of disease (Pol, 2014). The Khmer Rouge's political organization began to weaken, and finally the Khmer Rouge military integration with the Royal Government of Phnom Penh took place (Pol, 2014). In 1998, the RGoC achieved the successful integration of the Khmer Rouge military through a meeting between Prime Minister Hun Sen, Mr. Khieu Samphan, and Mr. Nuon Chea. The aspects of the agreement included: (1) that the remaining Khmer Rouge forces must end fighting and join the RGoC; (2) that there would be signs to tell the Cambodian people about the end of Cambodia's civil war; and, (3) that businesses, investors, and tourists could freely come to invest and travel in Cambodia (Hang, 2019). In 1999 the Khmer Rouge military merged with the Phnom Penh government (Pol, 2014).

3.4 Importance of Win-Win Policy and social development in Cambodia

The full peace attained by the "win-win" policy of the RGoC came after the complete

integration of the Khmer Rouge military in 1999, and the complete dissolution of the Khmer Rouge (Hang, 2019). In establishing complete peace through "win-win" politics, Prime Minister Hun Sen outlined five strategies to overthrow the Khmer Rouge political and military organization. These five tactics are called "DIFID Strategies", (Pol, 2014). The first tactic (1987-1993) was "Divide (D)" (Pol, 2014). The tactic was used to isolate the Khmer Rouge by disbanding allies from various movements, losing international support of countries that had provided assistance to the rebels, and forcing the Khmer Rouge rebel allies to condemn the crimes of the genocidal regime (Pol, 2014). The second tactic (1993-1995) was "Finished (F)" (Pol, 2014). This tactic was in accordance with the Royal Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, which did not allow territorial divisions and did not allow the Khmer Rouge rebels to remain outside the law.

This tactic was used to dismantle the rebels' battlefield areas and illegal occupation of lands, leaving the Khmer Rouge organization weak, isolated, without financial aid, without military assistance, through the occupation of rebel-held territory by the Royal Government, and by surrounding them and recapturing them (Pol, 2014). The third and fourth tactics were "Integrate & Develop (I&D)", (Pol, 2014). This tactic was used by the Royal Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, led by Prime Minister Hun Sen, to help the Khmer Rouge rebels group integrate by maintaining their security, life, property, as well as their status and role in the security services (Pol, 2014). Tactic 5, or "development", also means "destruction" (Pol, 2014), given that rebels groups that refuse to accept the RGoC and integrate must be dealt with by force, in order to prevent further civil unrest (Pol, 2014). The ending of the entire Khmer Rouge political organization occurred on March 6, 1999, when a number of top-level Khmer Rouge leaders were arrested for crimes against humanity. The reintegration of Khmer Rouge forces occurred in tandem with the occupation of areas previously held by the Khmer Rouge rebels, making that territory legally controlled by the Royal Government. Thus, the "DIFID Techo Sen Strategy" brought unprecedented peace and national unity which had not existed for almost 1,000 years,

following the fall of the Angkor civilization (Pol, 2014).

Prime Minister Hun Sen used the “DIFID Techo Sen Strategy” as part of a “win-win” policy to dismantle the remaining Khmer Rouge political and military organizational capacity to mobilize against the government in remote areas, and to integrate the remaining Khmer Rouge forces. This enabled peaceful coexistence under the authority of the Royal Government. The “win-win” policy ended the bloody war between Khmer and Khmer, turning the country from a battlefield into a rapidly developing country, and transforming a country with many dominions into a country where different factions cooperated. The Royal Government had sole control and sovereignty over the territory (Pol, 2014).

With this tremendous achievement, Cambodia has the potential to transform itself into an upper-middle income country by 2030 and a high-income country by 2050. The “win-win” policy ended the bloody war between Khmer and Khmer, enabled development everywhere, turning the country from a battlefield into a developing state, and transforming a country with many dominions into a country a single sovereignty. That is, the Royal Government had sole control over the territory (Pol, 2014). In light of its successful application in Cambodia, the so-called ‘win-win’ policy could serve as a conflict resolution model in other settings. The Afghan government is currently pursuing a two-track reconciliation plan to end war with Taliban regime by negotiating with Taliban leaders and persuading low-level Taliban combatants to lay down their guns in exchange for jobs and development projects (Partlow, 2010).

The Win-Win Policy refers to the national reconciliation policy crafted and implemented by Prime Minister Hun Sen from 1996 to 1998 to end more than three decades of the civil war by dismantling the Khmer Rouge’s political organization and integrating them into the social, economic, and political life of Cambodia. Not much research has been done on this specific topic due to the international perception that peace was fully restored after the 1993 United Nations-brokered elections (Pol, 2014). However, this perception has gradually changed. More

scholars and media organizations have started to acknowledge that the 1993 election was merely one cornerstone of a longer peace-building process and was not the definitive attainment of peace.

Learning from the Cambodian experience with the benefit of hindsight can contribute to the assessment of the reconciliation policy in both Afghanistan and Thailand. The Win-Win Policy (CNV, 2028), which ended the over-30-year-long civil war in Cambodia, was set forth without any external impetus or assistance. The war lasted more than 30 years and ended when the Khmer Rouge defected and joined the legitimate government. Prime Minister Hun Sen also mentioned that “our strategy was to prevent the return of Pol Pot’s regime”. It is true that UNTAC came and helped Cambodia by bringing three out of four groups together to implement the Paris Peace Agreement (CNV, January 23, 2028).

As a result of the Win-Win Policy, the war and armed conflict completely ended. Cambodia could resolve all kinds of problems based on the trust developed between Khmer and Khmer (Council of Ministers, 2018). After the liberation of Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge regime at the end of 1998, the new regime, led by the PRK, could focus on restoring the Cambodian economy. According to Vickery, there were three economic organizations that coexisted in the economic system adopted by the People’s Republic of Kampuchea. First, there was the state which controlled large industry, finance, transport, official foreign commerce, and some large agricultural plantations. Second, there were the collectives, called solidarity groups, which controlled agricultural production such as land and agricultural equipment. Third, there was the families which were involved in small trade, handicrafts, and additional agricultural work, which households could engage in once they finished their obligations to the solidarity group.

4. Conclusion

The Win-Win policy refers to the national reconciliation policy crafted and implemented by the Prime Minister Hun Sen from 1996 to 1998 to end more than three decades of civil war through dismantling the Khmer Rouge’s political organization and integrating them into the social,

economic, and political sectors of Cambodian society. However, in relation to the implementation of the Win-Win policy in Cambodia, there are three important events which warrant discussion. These are: (1) the meeting between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Prime Minister Hun Sen which resulted in the Paris Peace Accords in 1991; (2) the National Election in 1993 and the end of the UNTAC Mission; and, (3) the National Election in 1998 and the Khmer Rouge Integration in 1999. As for the first, following the meeting between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen and the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991, Cambodia had not yet achieved full peace.

- ◆ The first meeting focused on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country.
- ◆ The second event is the preparation of the National Election in 1993 and the end of UNTAC Mission. Despite the UN mission in Cambodia, Cambodia's civil war continued until the full integration of the Khmer Rouge in 1999, which ended the complex civil war.
- ◆ The third event is the National Election in 1998 and the Khmer Rouge Integration in 1999. Despite the second national election in 1998, the Cambodian government still did not have complete territorial control. The RGoC, headed by Prime Minister Hun Sen, continued the Win-Win strategy to dismantle Khmer Rouge resistance and integrate its forces for the purpose of creating complete peace for the nation. The dissolution of the Khmer Rouge military and military organization by the "Win-Win" policy of Prime Minister Hun Sen, ended the long civil war and enabled Cambodia to become a country with a government, a controlled territory and peace. After the win-win policy was introduced, Cambodia achieved peace, the people lived happily and the Cambodian economy grew from year to year. The Win-Win policy fully brought peace and development.

Acknowledgments

None.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

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