

The Strategies for Ending the Civil War: The Royal Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia Between 1993 and 2000 and "Win-Win" Politics

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Abstract

This study will focus on the following basic principles: 1) The formation of the United Nations-led coalition government (UNTAC) shortly before the 1993 national elections. 2) formation of the Royal Government after the 1993 elections, organized with the support of the United Nations (UN). 3) The events of July 5-6, 1997, called the coup d'état. 4) The integration of the Khmer Rouge army in 1998 under the call of the Royal Government of Phnom Penh. 5) The end of the Royal Government's complete civil war with a "win-win" policy. The results of this research article will also focus on the formation of the Coalition Government (UNTAC), the formation of the Royal Government after the 1993 election, the reasons for the events of July 5-6, 1997, the success

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of the 1998 Khmer Rouge integration, and complete peace by the "win-win" policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

Keywords: Strategies, Civil War, Cambodia Government, Win-Win Politics

Introduction

The Win-Win Memorial or Víméan Chhneäh Chhneäh was inaugurated on 31 December 2018 by Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen to mark the end of the prolonged civil war 20 years ago. This \$12 million monument covers an eight-hectare plaza with eight pools and many sculptures. The monument has a 117-member base featuring bas-reliefs depicting the journey to peace in modernist Khmer architecture (Tea, 2019). The Win-Win policy has provided Cambodia with the excellent opportunity to reconsider and resolve legal and international border issues with its neighbors avoiding clashes and conflicts and creating the conditions for further development in the border area. 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, 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 (People living in the Mandalay area receive 5 to 10 hectares of land concessions per family (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 *sin-qua-non* to realize human rights. Since 1989, the United Nations Security Council 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, 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 FitzGerald, 2013).

According to Stern and Öjendal (2010), this UN peacebuilding agenda has its scope and responsibilities for security sector reform, and it becomes embedded in the 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 decades (Galtung, 1964). Researchers have attempted to define the term "peace". The word "peace" in this article derives from national 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 as "the 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 in response to security problems for a limited period. In contrast, development is a long-term strategy carried out under generally peaceful conditions (Kuhne, 1996).

In this paper, insights and analysis are provided of the Win-Win policy set by Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen in early 1998 to bring Cambodia peace to the present time. However, key events 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 period during which the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) came to help organize the election in 1993. In Cambodia, civil war started from a fight between the forces of the Communist Party of Kampuchea against the government forces of Cambodia and, after October 1970, the Khmer Republic.

Between 1975 and 1979, 1.5 to 2 million Cambodian people died; nearly a quarter of the national population (Kiernan, 2003). Cambodian people were forced by civil war to seek resettlement in some selected countries, such as European countries and the United States of America, as a result of the turbulence of civil war (1970–1975), Khmer Rouge (1975–1979) and Vietnamese intervention (1979-1989). Cambodian people rarely lived in peace, although power changed from one regime to another. Cambodia was

liberated from the Pol Pot regime, participated in peace negotiations leading to the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements, and supported UNTAC's role during the transitional period. In 1998, Cambodia implemented the Win-Win Policy that ended the civil war and brought complete peace to Cambodia.

Methodology

The field research methodology was used to write this Article. Existing tools and data are used to support the above-mentioned theories and highlight the Royal Government of Cambodia's strategy for an end to the civil war between 1993 and 2000. Strategic documents, policies, scientific publications, and dictionaries in both national (Khmer) and foreign languages are used to describe and indicate the complete strategy for ending the civil war of the Royal Government of Cambodia between 1993 to 2000. Primary data is used to write this publication. Interpretations, on the other hand, are based on existing data, with valid citations, and are also discussed based on the original concepts and conclusions.

Results

Relationship between the Paris Peace Agreement and Win-Win Policy

Cambodia during the Cold War fell into civil war for nearly 30 years. In the 1970s, Cambodia suffered side effects of Vietnam and massive bombing by US forces. In 1970, the Lon Nol government was the result of a coup de-ta of King Norodom Sihanouk (Jonh Tully, 2005). After that, the Khmer Rouge guerrillas stood up to the Lon Nol government. Pol Pot and Noun Chea ruled Cambodia from

1975-1979 with the mass killing of Cambodian people. After the Khmer Rouge lost their power through the intervention of Vietnam and Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation. After the Khmer Rouge had fallen, a new regime was formed, called The People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) supported by Vietnam, which existed from 1979 to 1989 (Dy, 2007). Later on, there were three more parties to oppose the government of PRK. Those three parties were FUNCIPPEC (Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independent, Neutre, Pacifique, et Cooperatif), KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) and the Khmer Rouge regime. The four parties fought with one another with support from some countries such as China, the US, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and some ASEAN member states. After the decline of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, it gave 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, there was a fierce battle with Khmer Rouge forces and government troops near the border of Thailand, with foreign sponsors. For national reconciliation and reunification, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Techo Hun Sen met five times before the Paris Peace Agreement effected into practice. The first meeting was held on 18th December 1987 in Paris, the second on 21st January 1988 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, located on the outskirts of Paris, France, 3rd meeting on 8th November 1988 in Jakarta, Indonesia, 4th meeting on 2nd May 1989 in Jakarta, and the last meeting held on 25th July 1989 in La-Celle-Saint-Cloud in the palace of the French Foreign Minister. The last meeting was attended by H.E Roland Dumas, the French Minister of Foreign

Affairs, and four Cambodian factions, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Samdech 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 four Cambodian factions and 18 other nations in the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General (Curtis, 1993). The components of the Paris Peace Agreement include France and Indonesia as co-chairman, and 18 countries, namely 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 Cambodian Peace Agreement, commonly referred to as the Paris Accord, was comprised of four parts signed on the 23 of October 1991 and ending the conflict in Cambodia. The Comprehensive Agreement consists of 1) The final act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia 2) An agreement on the Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict 3) An agreement concerning the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability, and national unity of Cambodia 4) A 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 under Hun Sen and three opposition factions: The Khmer Rouge, the royalist FUNCINPEC party, led by 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 disarmament of their military forces. The demobilization of at least 70 per cent of such troops before the completion of Electoral registration, demobilization of the remaining 30% or their incorporation into a new national army immediately after the election. Then 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 parties pledged to withdraw any remaining foreign forces from Cambodian territory, end military assistance to any of the Cambodian parties. This also assist in implementing the Accords and recognize and respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, inviolability, neutrality, and national unity of Cambodia (Findlay, 1995). On November 11, 1991, Samdech 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 three decades of civil war, instigated mainly by foreign interventions. People were the victims of the Cold War and great power politics. Learning from past experiences, Cambodians can only rely on themselves to

protect their national interests and to seek peace. National reconciliation must first come from within, with national ownership as the determining and defining factor. People have learned that nothing is more valuable than independence and self-determination (World Summit, 2022). Peace 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. What follows is the researcher's personal experience growing up and living through decades of the civil war in Cambodia. "I was forced to quit my study in 1970 when my country became deeply divided, and the war was looming. My childhood and teenage life, which should have brought great joy if the country had been peaceful, faced only hardship and suffering. I was in great despair about my own and the future of my country" (Sunhak Peace Prize, 2022).

Before the second legislative election, scheduled for 26th July 1998, there were three significant events. The first event was the destruction of Khmer Rouge bases in Anglong Veng by the Royal Government and the troops' defeat of Ieng Sary. The second event is Pol Pot's death on April 15, 1998, and the third event was Prince Norodom Ranariddh's return to Cambodia on March 30, after being exiled for almost one year. A year before Pol Pot's death, in 1997, the Khmer Rouge Leaders disintegrated and the entire Khmer Rouge movement was in turmoil, which foreshadowed the end of the famous Rouge movement. On August 8, 1996, Ieng Sary, the second top leader of Khmer Rouge after Pol Pot, was stuck in a peace deal with Prime Minister Hun Sen and days later led a mutiny of thousands

of Khmer Rouge fighters to join the government, which was the prelude to the movement's total collapse in 1998 (Kaonn, 2010).

The Khmer Rouge's (KR) plan to integrate into the newly elected Royal Government of Cambodia 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 whole country needed peace, which led the KR leadership lost their popular support. Among of KR leaders, Ta Mok began the first round of negotiation with FUNCINPEC in February 1997. Ta Mok made contact with the late Hem Bun Heng, then FUNCINPEC's second deputy governor of Siem Reap province. The secret negotiation was conducted without Pol Pot's recognition. 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 talks. Hem Bun Heng was injured in the leg and died on the way to Anglong Veng, and ten other negotiators were killed, arrested, and detained in Anglong Veng. Soon after the failure of the first attempt, FUNCINPEC and Ta Mok began the second attempt at negotiations. Nhem Bun Chay and Khan Savoeun (the top FUNCINPEC military commanders), and Tun Chay (FUNCINPEC Siem Reap Governor), and Long Sarin (FUNCINPEC's secondary of Cambodia Embassy in Bangkok) were the government chief negotiations. The KR side was represented by Ta Mok. Khieu Samphan, Tep Khunnal, and Long Tem continued to serve as the main channel and point of contact for the two sides (Dy Khampoly, Christopher Dearing, 2014). In 1998, the commanders of Division 980 led by Yim San, Yim Phanna, and his colleagues secretly began the last round of negotiations.

Instead of negotiating with FUNCINPEC, the commanders negotiated with Hun Sen without Ta Mok's knowledge. In 1998, Prime Minister Hun Sen played the leading role to deal with Khmer Rouge leaders and commanders in Anglong Veng, a stronghold of the Khmer Rouge. To reconcile and finalize the civil war with the Khmer Rouge, Prime Minister Hun Sen used his talents and great communication methods to persuade the Khmer Rouge to surrender to integrate with the Royal Government of Cambodia. To negotiate with Khmer Rouge commanders, Hun Sen remarked:

“I was also a former KR cadre myself, but I joined the government ahead of you, I was not the one who created the war. You, Yim Phanna, were also not the one who had the ability to created war. They [the senior leaders] created war and dropped it on us. We are the ones suffering because of them. So please, let us stop fighting each other and work together for national reconciliation and national unity.”

The KR military commanders at the meeting were moved by Hun Sen's vision, and they requested three conditions for their defections: (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 positions in their former strongholds. P.M Hun Sen agreed to all requests (Dy Khampoly, Christopher Dearing, 2014). Hun Sen used a smart and long-term negotiation approach to national unity and reconciliation. Hun Sen sacrificed both physical and mental strength for the Khmer nation.

The National Election in 1993 and the End of UNTAC Mission

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

The results of the withdrawal of the United Nations from Cambodia in 1993 did not end the internal conflict. Cambodia, on the contrary, was divided into two parts: (1). The eastern part of the Mekong River was ruled by one party and (2). The western part of the Mekong was ruled by the other party (Chhay, 2012). One bloody event (cook kampis⁴) is the event of July 5-6, 1997 (Chhay, 2012). Also, through the event, senior officials of the Ministry of Interior of Cambodia, senior officials of the FUNCINPEC Party, and senior officials of the People's Party, gritted their teeth in a state of turmoil (Chhay,

⁴ The phrase "A bloody event, cooking kampis" is taken from the document of Mr. Chhay Sophal "Hun Sen", politics and power in Khmer history for more than 40 years, published by the author in 2012, p. 206.

2012). On the other hand, the CPP and FUNCINPEC troops tested each other's strength, with FUNCINPEC as the initiator. FUNCINPEC leaders went abroad to escape the conflict. Instead, Samdech Hun Sen dressed in military uniform commanded the troops of the Cambodian People's Party and won the victory (Chhoy, et al., 2007). The events of July 5-6, 1997 erupted in the absence of the King's presence in the country and a blood feud erupted between FUNCINPEC and the CPP, especially between officials loyal to Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh and officials loyal to Samdech Hun Sen (Chhay, 2014). Two distinct military positions were used: (1). Banteay Yot, Wat Phneak in Kampong Speu province and (2). Forces stationed around O Bek Kam, Phnom Penh (Pol, 2014).

The National Election in 1998 and the Khmer Rouge Integration in 1999

The national election in 1998 was organized by the Government of Cambodia directly with some international assistance (Chhay, 2012). In 1998, Cambodia set out again to develop in all areas after the 1998 national elections (Chhoy, et al., 2007). As a result, on August 5, 1998, the National Election Committee (NEC) announced the official election results, with the CPP winning a total of 64 seats, FUNCINPEC 43 seats and The SRP winning only 15 of the 39 registered parties (Chhay, 2012).

In 1998, after the national election, the United Nations recognized the legitimate government born of the will of the people (Chhay, 2012). In 1999, Cambodia was included in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Chhay, 2012). Therefore, the Khmer Rouge rebels were considered outlawed (Chhay, 2012). On the other hand, the Khmer Krom rebels lost the support of the

outside world, leading to the isolation of the rebels (Hang, 2019). In 1998, Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot died in Anlong Veng of a disease on the ridge of Dangrek Mountain (Pol, 2014). Pol Pot's cremation was not traditionally performed with old car tires (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 Royal Government of Phnom Penh achieved the successful integration of the Khmer Rouge military through a meeting between Samdech Hun Sen and Mr Khieu Samphan, Mr Nuon Chea on the following terms: (1). The remaining Khmer Rouge forces must end the fighting and join the Royal Government, (2). Signs to tell the Cambodian people about the end of Cambodia's civil war and (3). Businesses and investors and tourists can freely come to invest and travel in Cambodia (Hang, 2019). The Khmer Rouge military integration merged with the Phnom Penh government in 1999. (Pol, 2014).

Importance of Win-Win Policy and Social Development in Cambodia

The complete peace through the "Win-Win" policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia came after the complete integration of the Khmer military in 1999 and the complete dissolution of the Khmer Rouge (Hang, 2019). 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)", which means "divide", (Pol, 2014). The tactic was to isolate the Khmer Rouge by

disbanding allies from various movements, losing international support and countries that had assisted the rebels, and forcing the Khmer rebel allies to condemn their crimes-the so-called genocidal regime (Pol, 2014).

The second tactic (1993-1995) was "Finished (F)", which means "finished" (Pol, 2014). This tactic was following the Royal Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, which did not allow territorial divisions and allowed the Khmer Rouge rebels to remain outside the law. This tactic was used to dismantle the rebels' battlefield and illegal occupation, which left the Khmer Rouge organization weak, isolated, without financial aid, and without military assistance, and the rebel-held territory occupied by the Royal Government-surround and recapture (Pol, 2014).

The third and fourth tactics (1994-1999) are "Integrate & Develop (I&D)", which means "integration and development" (Pol, 2014). This tactic was used by the Royal Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, with Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo Hun Sen, the founder of the "Win-Win" policy, to help the Khmer Rouge rebel group, which was integrated into the Royal Government of Phnom Penh, to maintain security, life, and property and maintain their status and role (Pol, 2014).

Tactic 5 "D" means "development" and also means "destruction" (Pol, 2014). This tactic meant "destroyed" if the rebels continued to stubbornly refuse to return to life with the government and continued to create social unrest (Pol, 2014).

The end of the entire Khmer Rouge political organization was on March 6, 1999, when several front-line Khmer rebel leaders were arrested for their crimes against humanity and the and the area

occupied by the Khmer rebels was legally controlled by the Royal Government. Thus, the "DIFID Techo Sen Strategy" brought unprecedented peace and national unity almost 1,000 years after the fall of the Angkorian era (Pol, 2014).

Mr Prime Minister Hun Sen used the "DIFID Techo Sen strategy" with a "win-win" policy to dismantle the remaining Khmer Rouge political and military organizations mobilized against the government in remote areas and integrated them. This "win-win" policy brought peace to the motherland for the first time in the 400-year history of Cambodia. The "win-win" policy ended the bloody war between Khmer and Khmer and fostered development everywhere. It turned the country from a battlefield into a developing country with a Royal government with single control (Pol, 2014).

With this tremendous achievement, Cambodia has the ambition to create national pride by transforming herself to become an upper-middle income country by 2030 and a high-income country by 2050. The Prime Minister highlighted that the Win-Win Policy comprises three key components: Ensuring everyone with the right to life, ensuring everyone with jobs and careers for decent living, and ensuring the protection of all their assets. As a result of the Win-Win Policy, he added, the war and armed conflicts completely ended and Cambodia could resolve all kinds of problems based on the trust developed between Khmer and Khmer, which is the factor bringing about peace that has deeply rooted in the society for the last 20 years.

The Win-Win Policy refers to the national reconciliation policy crafted and implemented by Prime Minister Hun Sen from 1996 to 1998 to end the more than three decades of civil war by

dismantling the Khmer Rouge's political organization and integrating them into the social, economic, and political life of the Cambodian state. 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. However, this perception has gradually changed. More scholars and social media communities have started to acknowledge that the 1993 election was merely one building block of the long peace-building process and was not a definitive point of peace attainment.

In light of its successful experience 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 the war with the 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, February 04, 2010). Similarly, the current Thai premier has presented his reconciliation road map intending to resolve the recent political crisis in Bangkok (Thai PM Offers, May 03, 2010). Therefore, the hindsight of the Cambodian experience can contribute to the assessment of the reconciliation policy in both Afghanistan and Thailand.

The Win-Win Policy (Council of Ministers, 2018), which ended the 30-year-long civil war in Cambodia, was set forth without any external order or assistance. The war lasted more than 30 years and ended when the Khmer Rouge defecting and joining the legitimate government.

Prime Minister Hun Sen also said that "our strategy was to prevent the return of Pol Pot's regime. Finally, he succeeded in

dissolving the Khmer Rouge politically and militarily through a win-win policy. It is true that the UNTAC came and helped Cambodia at least to bring together 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 conflicts completely ended. Cambodia could resolve all kinds of problems based on the trust developed between Khmer and Khmer (Council Minister, 2018). After the liberation of Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge regime at the end of 1998, the new regime, so-called The People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) was left with little to restore the Cambodian economy. According to Vickery, three economic organizations 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 family which involved small trade, handicrafts, and side agricultural works, which households could engage in once they finished their obligations to the solidarity group.

Discussion

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 civil war by dismantling the Khmer Rouge’s political organization and integrating them into the social, economic, and political life of the Cambodian state. However, before the Win-Win policy was implemented, there

were three significant events: (1). The meeting between Sihanouk-Hun Sen and the Paris Peace Accords in 1991, (2). The National Election in 1993 and the end of UNTAC Mission, (3). The National Election in 1998 and the Khmer Rouge Integration in 1999.

The meeting between Sihanouk-Hun Sen and the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 was a stepping-stone to peace in Cambodia. The first meeting focused on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The second meeting was a small concession from the withdrawal of only 50,000 Vietnamese troops and also an opportunity for the military and the Khmer Rouge to seize power. The fourth meeting was a small concession on the formation of the Supreme National Council and the caretaker government and towards elections. The fifth meeting was a concession to establish an SNC and resolve the remaining issues.

The second point is that after the National Election in 1993 and the end of UNTAC Mission, Cambodia's civil war continued until the full integration of the Khmer Rouge in 1999, ending this complex civil war.

The third point is that after the National Election in 1998 and the Khmer Rouge Integration in 1999, Cambodia still had one territory of control, despite the second national election in 1998. The Royal Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, headed by Samdech Hun Sen, continued the policy of "Win-Win" to to create complete peace for the motherland.

The end of dissolution of the Khmer Rouge military and military organization by the "Win-Win" policy of Samdech Hun Sen ended the long civil war in Cambodia to become a country with a government, a controlled area, and peace.

Conclusion

Cambodia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia that has suffered the effects of the Cold War from the world's great powers. Cambodia has also been hit hard by attacks on communist and liberal blocs, which have devastated much of the country's infrastructure, especially the lives of many Cambodians, as well as those killed in the war. Through more than three decades of foreign-influenced wars as well as conflicts, Cambodia has come to know all the tragedies that have caused the Cambodian people so much suffering. After the overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1970 by General Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, civil war erupted until the Pol Pot-Nuon Chea regime came to power and nearly two million Cambodian people were killed. After ruling the country for more than three years, the Democratic Kampuchea regime collapsed and was replaced by a new regime. Although the Democratic Kampuchea regime collapsed, the leadership structure of this regime is still alive. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, leaders and factions fled along the Thai border, especially in Pailin and Oddar Meanchey provinces, which formed guerrillas to wage war on government troops. In 1991, after the Paris Peace Accords, in 1993, the Cambodian people came to learn about true democracy. The Cambodian people went to the polls to elect their favorite leaders, organized by UNTAC. However, in this election, the Khmer Rouge boycotted the election and the war continued until 1998. In 1998, the war ended after Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen launched a Win-Win policy and after the Khmer Rouge organizational structure collapsed. After the Win-Win policy was introduced, Cambodia realized peace, the Cambodian people lived happily, and the

Cambodian economy grew from year to year. The Win-Win policy has fully brought peace and development to the country.

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