The Kingdom of Cambodia: An Isolated Nation Transformed by Globalization

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by
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I first traveled to Cambodia with my family in August 2007. My first experience in Cambodia was the beginning of my interest and love for the nation. Since 2007, I have returned to the nation twice to work with an international NGO and to further my exploration. My admiration for the nation and its people has grown during my time there. They are the inspiration for my exploration into their tumultuous past and to understand their challenging present. I hope to take this knowledge and find ways to support Cambodia. I was only able to successfully write my thesis with the support of my family, friends, and advisor, Professor Richard Parmentier. My family unbelievably supported me throughout the process. They gave me the sounding board to discuss complex topics, and celebrated the process and its completion. My confidant and advocator, Tyler Belanga, supported me throughout the process spending late nights at Brandeis and cheering after every chapter. My best and brightest cheerleaders, Rachel Danzig, Natali Baner, Talya Kahan, and Hannah Blumberg, and all Brandeis global studies graduates showered me with enormous encouragement and love throughout the process. Without my network of supporters, this process would have been far more daunting. They showed me the light at the end of the tunnel and gave me the confidence to see it too.
ABSTRACT

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A thesis presented to the Graduate Program in Global Studies

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Cambodia, a nation controlled by kings, dictators and pummeled by foreign intervention, was finally ushered into an era of globalization in 1990 after decades of isolation and neglect. That year marked a turning point for the United Nations (UN). The Cold War had just ended and the organization’s capability and interest in humanitarian intervention had changed. No longer struggling under Cold War politics, the UN had the capacity to pursue peacekeeping missions. The missions were transformed by the ever-globalizing world, both in nature and in numbers. One of the first major UN missions after the Cold War was the peacekeeping mission to Cambodia. The operation was named the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). The Global community began to support this ailing nation that was isolated by civil war, genocide and occupation. Since the end of the peacekeeping mission in 1993, which established a
democratic government, constitution and regular elections, Cambodia has become a participating member in the global community. Cambodia has a fully liberalized economy and is an active member in forty-four international organizations, including the World Trade Organization, which granted membership in 2004. This paper examines the effects of Cambodia’s moving from isolation to globalization in the 1990s, how the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia aided this transition, and how the nation has developed and joined the global community in both trade and partnerships.
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ACRONYMS

ANKI  Armee Nationale pour un Kampuchea Independent
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Nations
BLDP  Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party
CMDG  Cambodia Millennium Development Goals
CPAF  Cambodian People’s Armed Forces
CPK  Communist party of Kampuchea
CPP  Cambodian People’s Party
CSE  Cambodian Stock Exchange
DK  Democratic Kampuchea
DSRSG/RC/HC  Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General/Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator
FUNCINPEC  *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif* (United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia)
GATT  The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDK  Government of Democratic Kampuchea
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
IBRD  International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICORC  International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia
IMF  International Monetary Fund
KPNLAF  Khmer People’s National Liberation Armed Forces
KPNLF  Khmer People’s National Liberation Front
KR  Khmer Rouge
LDC  Least Developed Country
MDG  Millennium Development Goals
MLTC  Military Liaison Team in Cambodia
NADK  National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
NGO  non-governmental organizations
NUPC  National Unity Party of Cambodia of Cambodia
ODA  Official Development Assistance
P-5  The five Permanent Member of the Security Council
PDK  Party of Democratic Kampuchea
PRK  People’s Republic of Kampuchea
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post-traumatic stress disorder</td>
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<td>SNC</td>
<td>Supreme National Council</td>
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<td>SOC</td>
<td>State of Cambodia</td>
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<td>SRSG</td>
<td>Special Representative of the Secretary General</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNAMIC</td>
<td>United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia</td>
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<td>UNCT</td>
<td>United Nations Country Team</td>
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<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority In Cambodia</td>
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Map 1: Present Day Cambodia

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Introduction

Cambodia has been transformed by globalization since 1990. Until that time, decades of civil war, genocide and the Vietnamese occupation, the nation was isolated from the global arena. The Khmer Rouge returned Cambodia to the “year zero” utterly destroying the nation in 1975. They marched into Phnom Penh, the capital and ravaging the country for the next four years. The regime murdered over twenty percent of the population, initially targeting educated Cambodians. The Khmer Rouge attempted to transform an increasingly impoverished nation back to its former agrarian glory. Over the course of four years, the Khmer Rouge regime completely tore at the social and economic fabric of Cambodia. All markets were closed and the means for production, distribution and exchange were abolished. Their policies rendered the local currency valueless and the nation moved into darkness and complete autarky.

Vietnamese troops marched into Cambodia in 1978, at a time when the world was divided by the Cold War. Replacing the Khmer Rouge regime, the Communist Vietnamese military’s successor was punished by West. Cambodia, a nation reeling from years of genocide, was further isolated under the Vietnamese forces. The nation faced a complete economic and political embargo until the late 1980s.4

The situation in Cambodia began to change with the end of the Cold War when as scholars Margret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst describe it, “the international system shifted from a bipolar structure to a post-Cold War structure that was simultaneously unipolar and nonpolar, networked system of a globalized world.”5 The world shifted

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towards economic liberalization and political democratization under the guidance of the west. This shift played a significant role in the growth and importance of international institutions including the United Nation, non-state actors and civil society organizations and associations. From 1982–1991, with Javier Perez de Cuellar, its fifth Secretary-General at the helm, the UN was transformed after the Cold War, “from the brink of irrelevance in the 1980s to an active instrument for resolving conflict and promoting international peace.” His successor, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, understood the global disorder that followed the Cold War and, within the process of globalization knew it would be the force that would push the UN into new territory, including peacekeeping in Cambodia. Though UN peacekeeping missions were deployed during the Cold War, starting in 1949 these missions have been dramatically transformed since the end of the Cold War. The rise in both the nature of and the number of peacekeeping missions was dramatic. This can be explained in part by the ending of the Cold War. To fully grasp Cambodia’s transformation, it is important to examine the impact of globalization, which Peter Viggo Jakobsen describes as “the causal mechanisms linking the end of the Cold War to the transformation of peace operations.”

The United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia October 1991 – March 1992 and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, which succeeded it from February 1992 to September 1993, was the catalyst to reintroduce Cambodia into the

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global community. This would not have happened without the acceleration and possible emergence of a new world order of “globalization.” The effects of globalization brought peacekeeping into the nation with “no strategic interest to anyone”\(^{10}\) and transformed its infrastructure and government. Once Cambodia was exposed to the global community, it began to transform because of globalization. Since the end of the peacekeeping mission Cambodia has developed a liberalized economy, which was non-existent in Cambodia prior to 1990. Its informal economic system was destroyed under the Khmer Rouge and stagnant under the Vietnamese occupation.\(^{11}\) The UN peacekeeping mission that ended in September 1993 changed the nation dramatically. Although considered a “Least Developed Country” (LDC) a designation the UN gives impoverished nations with poor human resources, low wages, and economic vulnerability.\(^{12}\) Cambodia requires ongoing foreign aid and assistance to address their citizen’s basic needs. The country has experienced double-digit growth throughout the late-1990s until 2008, when the global economy suffered a major downturn. The country has still experienced major growth of 7.1% in the last four years.\(^{13}\) Cambodia is a member of over 44 international organizations, including the World Trade Organization, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United Nations.

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\(^{10}\) Joel Brinkley, *Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land* (Public Affairs 2011). 68.


Chapter One

Cambodia’s Demise: The Khmer Kingdom until 1985

In the 9th century, the Khmer Kingdom was ruled by powerful kings who controlled most of Southeast Asia. This robust kingdom built Angkor Wat, an elaborate collection of Buddhist temples in northwest Cambodia constructed in the twelfth century, which has become a major tourist destination in Cambodia. The Khmer way of life was fruitful, commanding and successful. The economy was based upon rice farming and the kings actively participated in stockpiling and maintaining irrigation canals for more effective harvesting. The Angkor Empire declined after a successful and long-lived powerful reign and its causes are vastly unknown.

In the early 1500s Cambodia was so vulnerable to its neighboring countries that the nation became allies with whichever bordering nation who claimed to protect it from invaders. Cambodia began to suffer from continual invasions and internal conflicts. The country took on “an overwhelming sense of dependency”14 beginning in the 16th century.15 Siam (present-day Thailand) and Vietnam regarded the Cambodian nation with little respect, and beginning in the 1600s they fought over her domination. The Vietnamese successfully began controlling the Southern Delta Region, while the Siamese (Thais) attacked Cambodia from the west.16

After two centuries of fighting off invaders, King Norodom turned to France in 1863 for protection from its neighbors and Cambodia was taken under their colonial rule. The weakened nation had one million inhabitants in 1863 that greatly needed protection.\textsuperscript{17} For about 100 years, the French did select successor leaders including King Norodom (reigned 1860 -1904),\textsuperscript{18} King Sisowath (reigned 1904 –1927), King Sisowath Monivong (reigned 1927 – 1941), and King Norodom Sianouk (reigned 1941 – 1955).

This period of colonization was the beginning of foreign Western extension into Cambodia.\textsuperscript{19} In exchange for protection, France had access to all of Cambodia’s natural resources. The French protectorate was politically repressive to Cambodians, though they worked with King Sisowath to regain territory the Thais had usurped. The French were economically repressive and unjust and during their 90-year occupation. They denied Cambodians access to education – except the very few Cambodians that were sent to France to be educated to supply the colonizers with cheap Cambodian administrators in the colonial government.\textsuperscript{20} The Cambodians sent to Paris to be educated were astonished by the outside world, having never interacted with people other then their community in the village. Saloth Sar, better known as Pol Pot, who led the genocide in Cambodia from 1975 – 1979, was one of the few Cambodians sent to Paris. His education there was his first introduction to Communism, an ideology he wholeheartedly embraced and brought back to Cambodia.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{17} Sorpong Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}? (St. Martin's Press, 2000). 119.
\textsuperscript{18} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}?: 120.
\textsuperscript{19} B.Ikubolajeh Logan, \textit{Globalization, the Third World State and Poverty-Alleviation in the Twenty-First Century} (Ashgate, 2002). 2.
\textsuperscript{21} Brinkley, \textit{Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land}: 27.
During the French occupation in the 1930s, Cambodians began to develop a sense of nationalism based upon a shared cultural heritage, literature and folklore. This beginning phase of nationalism in Cambodia was not driven by political implications.\textsuperscript{22} Cambodia’s nationalism was propelled in part by the nation’s fear of disappearance, having been told by the French that they were a “vanished race.”\textsuperscript{23} With its long history of invasion and demise, the nation was almost destroyed several times. This fear caused Cambodia to begin to push for reform and was propelled, by a unified sense of Khmer nationalism. Though Cambodians pursued smaller revolts against the French in the late 1800s, it was not until the mid-1930s that Cambodians began a nationalist fight for independence. The first Khmer language newspaper, was established in 1936, became was a forum for the few educated Cambodians to have a dialogue about the future of the nation. French colonizers banned the newspaper in 1942, and that year anti-French colonial protests brought thousands of Cambodians into the capital.\textsuperscript{24}

Although Vichy France declined during the Second World War and fell in 1945, Cambodia did not gain independence from France until 1953, with the help and leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk (one of the French handpicked kings).\textsuperscript{25} Independence was officially declared in 1954.\textsuperscript{26} During the nine decades France controlled Cambodia, the population quadrupled in size and was approximately four million in 1954.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{22} Edwards, \textit{Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860-1945}: 7.
\textsuperscript{25} Brinkley, \textit{Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land}: 27.
\textsuperscript{27} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?}: 119.
From 1953 to 1970 Cambodia was under a constitutional monarchy. King Norodom Sihanouk resigned from the throne in 1955 and created a political party. He took on the title Prince Sihanouk and led the nation with paternalistic authoritarianism until 1970. While in power, the Prince received over 483 million USD from the United States. However, this aid did not benefit the impoverished Cambodians: it went rather to support his lavish lifestyle. In 1965, he terminated ties with the United States because he wanted to avoid Cambodia’s involvement in the Vietnam War. He began to improve Cambodia’s relations with China instead and moved the country towards communist ideology. Prince Sihanouk’s shift in allegiance resulted in significantly reduced foreign aid. He received 6.5 million USD from the Soviets and the equivalent of 5.5 million USD from the Chinese, which is hundreds of millions less then the United States had given.

In 1970 an “American backed republican coup d’état” overthrew the constitutional monarchy, and General Lon Nol established a republican dictatorship. Lon Nol had contacted the United States two years prior to arrange for U.S. aid, to support his regime politically and militarily. During this time at the height of the Vietnam War the Nixon administration was actively recruiting Cambodian officers to fight against the Viet Cong, and Lon Nol benefited from Cambodia’s strategic location. The United States’ intervention in Cambodia was extremely detrimental to that nation, which would

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30 Peou, *Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?*?: 125.
31 Peou, *Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?*?: 120.
eventually lead Cambodia from a constitutional monarchy to being controlled by the Khmer Rouge.

From 1970 to 1975 the U.S. gave Lon Nol 1.18 billion USD in military assistance and 503 million USD in aid for economic development. Much of the aid was poorly accounted for and was syphoned off by Lon Nol and other government officials’ bank accounts. The people were not in favor of Lon Nol’s leadership since they maintained allegiance to the Prince Sihanouk. When they protested Lon Nol they were murdered, which gave numerous villagers the impetus to join the growing communist forces, known as the Khmer Rouge, who had been gaining support and power since the 1960s.

Under Lon Nol, an active supporter of the United States, Cambodia was being dragged into the Vietnam War (referred to as the American War in Southeast Asia). During the war there was substantial bombing along the Cambodian-Vietnam border in order to destroy Viet Cong strongholds that occupied the Cambodian side. The U.S. bombings in Cambodia from October 4, 1965 to August 15, 1973 began during Lyndon Johnson’s presidency. The extensive database of bombings in Cambodia, illustrated in figure 1.1 was missing until President Bill Clinton’s administration released Air Force data on American bombings from 1964 - 1973.

Prior to 1970, most of the bombing was closer to the Cambodian-Vietnam border since President Richard Nixon promised Congress that the bombings in Cambodia would

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33 Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, "Timeline: U.S-Cambodia Relations " 467.
34 Taylor Owen and Ben Kiernan, "Bombs Over Cambodia: New information reveals that Cambodia was bombed far more heavily than previously believed," The Walrus 2006.
35 Kiernan, "Bombs Over Cambodia: New information reveals that Cambodia was bombed far more heavily than previously believed."
remain within 30 kilometers of the Vietnamese border. However, Nixon called his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, on December 9, 1970 and told him, “They have got to go in there and I mean really go in…I want everything that can fly to go in there and crack the hell out of them. There is no limitation on mileage and there is no limitation on budget.” Nixon did request Kissinger to send more U.S. Air Force planes into Cambodia to bomb deeper into the country beyond the agreed upon 30 kilometers. Kissinger concurred with Nixon’s requests and agreed to “get it done immediately.”

After this brief phone discussion between Kissinger and Nixon, the U.S. began to heavily bomb the country. Prior to 1970, 475,515 tons of bombs were dropped on Cambodia and after the phone call until 1973; 2,281,426 tons of bombs were deployed in a short three-year span. This is now known as the “secret war” which killed over 700,000 Cambodians. This brutal war instigated many villagers and rural people to join the Khmer Rouge.

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36 Kiernan, "Bombs Over Cambodia: New information reveals that Cambodia was bombed far more heavily than previously believed."
38 Nixon and Kissinger, "Nixon and Kissinger escalate the bombing of Cambodia, Dec. 9, 1970 (declassified transcripts of telephone conversations)."
39 Kiernan, "Bombs Over Cambodia: New information reveals that Cambodia was bombed far more heavily than previously believed," 67.
The Cambodian nation was devastated by war and political turmoil under its previous leaders and then fell under the complete control of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge’s goal was to reclaim the country and return it to its past Angkorian glory, transforming the rural nation back to its agrarian past. When the Khmer Rouge took control from Lon Nol in 1975, their intentions were unknown. The United States Embassy in Phnom Penh was evacuated and from 1975, the international community had little knowledge of the atrocities that occurred. The United States no longer in the throws of the Vietnam War turned their back on Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge forced the Cambodian people into the countryside to work in the rice fields under grueling conditions. They also brutally killed and tortured men, women and children, targeting

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mostly urban dwellers, ethnic minorities and rural villagers who had been suspected of being traitors because of their connections to past local officials. They systematically killed teachers, doctors, intellectuals, government officials, and educated Cambodians and anyone whose hands were not rough from fieldwork. Many people died of starvation and exhaustion from being over worked in poor conditions. They also expelled all the Vietnamese from Cambodia. Cambodians who fled the Khmer Rouge, fled into Vietnam and Thailand and many disappeared. In 1977 Hun Sen a former division commander and collaborator of the Khmer Rouge defected and took refuge in Vietnam during the genocide. He returned to Cambodia and was chosen by the Vietnamese to become the Prime Minister of Cambodia from 1985, through present day.

The Khmer Rouge killed more than 1.7 million Cambodians from 1975 – 1978, which was roughly 21% of the Cambodian population, according to Yale University’s Genocide Program findings. During the genocide, the Khmer Rouge was supported by China, Thailand and the United States. These governments, especially the United States, supported the Khmer Rouge because they were interested in supporting the regime that fought the Vietnamese communists. China and Thailand supported the Khmer Rouge for “geopolitical reasons.”42 They were interested in providing a counterbalance to the Vietnamese communists.43

The genocide ended with the invasion of Vietnamese troops on December 25, 1978. The Vietnamese invaded because of the ongoing violence along the Cambodia-Vietnam boarder. This invasion killed many Khmer Rouge soldiers and drove the Khmer

Rouge to the Thai border where they took refuge and received support from the Thais, the communist Chinese, and the anti-communist Americans. The Vietnamese took over Democratic Kampuchea and renamed the nation as The People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). The Vietnamese had control over the nation in 1978 and created a new communist government, which was comprised of former members of the Khmer Rouge.\textsuperscript{44}

After the genocide, over 650,000 Cambodians died of starvation, disease, and by landmines left by the Khmer Rouge.\textsuperscript{45}

The Vietnamese began to assess the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge and to expose it to the international community and to receive some foreign assistance. However, Cold War politics were dictating the flows of aid, and the Vietnamese led Government of Democratic Kampuchea (GDK) was cut off because of its communist ties. The five million Cambodians who survived suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), starvation, and disease, but were still ignored. Cambodia was again isolated from the international community.\textsuperscript{46} However, the Khmer Rouge on the Thai border was viewed as a force against the Vietnamese communists and they continued to receive U.S. aid funneled through Thailand.

The Vietnamese-led government in GKD was headed by Khmer Rouge defectors and Vietnamese officials. They brought in Heng Samrin as the Prime Minister and replaced him in 1985 with Hun Sen. The Vietnamese ruled the nation with rigidity and controlled the people under the communist framework. Hun Sen, with the support of the Vietnamese, created The People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). The PRK was later

\textsuperscript{44} Curtis, Cambodia Reborn? The Transition to Democracy and Development: 5.
\textsuperscript{45} Brinkley, Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 53.
\textsuperscript{46} Brinkley, Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 13.
adopted by the State of Cambodia (SOC) and later became associated with the
Cambodian People Party (CPP) still dominant today.47

47 Caroline Huges, Dependent Communities: Aid and Politics in Cambodia and East Timor
(Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications 2009). 27.
Chapter Two

The Emergence of a New World Order: Globalization and Its Influence on Humanitarian Intervention

Cambodia was isolated under Vietnamese communist rule, but the world was shifting. Mikhail Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985 and his agenda differed from his predecessors. He was interested in shifting domestic and foreign policy in order to ease decades of tense relations with the United States. The Cold War divided the world from 1945 – 1989, during these tense years over 25 million people were killed in the Third World, considered “highly contested zones”\(^48\) where the two superpowers fought and pursued their political agendas.\(^49\) The Soviet Union fell and the Cold War ended four years after Gorbachev gained power.

The Cold War had sharply embedded the globe under two different economic systems. In contrast, the post-Cold War era is vastly different since nations are compelled to work within one economic framework under a “single set of rules within an increasingly competitive world economy.”\(^50\) This began the emergence of a “new world order,” globalization, which is regarded “as a set of economic, political, social and cultural processes that increase the degree of interconnectedness and interdependence

\(^{48}\) Michael Cox, "From the cold war to the war on terror," in The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, ed. John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (Oxford University Press, 2008), 72.
\(^{49}\) Cox, "From the cold war to the war on terror," 72.
\(^{50}\) Cox, "From the cold war to the war on terror," 74.
between societies across the globe, thereby shrinking distances and making the world a smaller place.\textsuperscript{51}

Globalization is a highly disputed concept, and scholars have continuously debated its root causes, sequence of events, as well as the trajectory, impact, and scale of globalization. Academics are unable to agree upon the essence of globalization and what drives its complex process. Some view economics as the driver, while others see culture, politics, and ideology as the core of globalization.\textsuperscript{52} Despite the ongoing dispute, there is overlap in numerous disciplines definitions of globalization, highlighting the accelerated interconnectedness and interdependence of social networks and exchanges.\textsuperscript{53} With the help of technological advances in communication, local events are shaped by external forces happening across the globe and vice versa. The rise in rapid communications has led to the “CNN effect.” Media can now expose major news events and, in the case of Cambodia, reveal instability and atrocities, in real time. Live media coverage can dramatically affect the “conduct of U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy”\textsuperscript{54} and promote action. This has varying effects on the positive and negative implications of globalization.

Thomas Friedman’s \textit{The Lexus and The Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization} is an important book that dives into the origins of globalization. Freidman acknowledges elements of globalization prior to the First World War from the middle of the 19th century


\textsuperscript{54} Steven Livingston, "Clarifying The CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," (Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1997), 1.
until the Great Depression, with the rise in trade, capital and labor flows, which he refers to as “first era of globalization.” However, past globalization occurred in an era when the sovereignty of the nation-state hindered globalization. The development of the nation-state emerged in 1648, after the treaty of Westphalia. Peter Dicken describes the nation-state as a container, “hermetically sealed off from the outside world.” Nations were separate entities that conducted trade on a small scale. Peter Dicken writes in the *Global Shift* that past global integrations were “shallow” before 1914. According to him, these transpired “largely through arm’s length trade in goods and services between independent firms through international movements of portfolio capital and relatively simple direct investment.”

However, this first era of globalization excluded most of the developing world, including Cambodia. The first era of globalization was dismantled by World War I, the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression, which fractured the globe, followed by World War II, which was preceded by the Cold War leading to further division and stagnation of globalization. The end of the Cold War ushered in a new era of globalization, which is more inclusive of the entire globe and had different attributes then previous globalization.

This era of globalization has dramatically progressed in terms of technological advances, which enables people to produce, distribute, exchange, communicate, sell and trade globally and more rapidly. Globalization enables the developing world to better

control their resources, and to no longer be fully dependent on the West to take its natural resources and produce commodities.\textsuperscript{59}

This era of globalization beginning in the early 1990s differs greatly, in that it is dominated by America, unlike previous eras of globalization, which were dominated by the British Empire.\textsuperscript{60} Though America’s role in globalization is disputed today with the rising economies in Brazil, Russia, India, and China. However, for this chapter I will focus on globalization in the early 1990s. America was the victor of the Cold War, which has influenced this era of globalization, culturally altering the process towards the “spread (for better or worse) of Americanization.”\textsuperscript{61} This has had major implications for the spread of the “western model of governance, characterized by market economy, democracy and human rights to the rest of the world.”\textsuperscript{62} Many critics argue that the process of globalization is unequal because the West is dictating political and cultural norms. Globalization has been referred to as the process of “Westernization.”\textsuperscript{63} Especially in the early 1990s, the United States has been a dominant power shaping global governance and the global economy towards its interests.\textsuperscript{64}

The Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, which established International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD – now part of the World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), these institutions, headquartered in Washington, D.C. are highly influenced and directed by the United States interests. (The General

\textsuperscript{59} Friedman, \textit{The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization}: xviii.
\textsuperscript{60} Friedman, \textit{The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization}: xix.
\textsuperscript{61} Friedman, \textit{The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization}: 9.
\textsuperscript{64} Karns and Mingst, \textit{International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance}: 29.
Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established at the conference but was located in Switzerland.) The United States holds the largest quota of shares at the IMF, which grants the U.S. the largest voting power\textsuperscript{65} out of any of the other member nations, roughly 17\%.\textsuperscript{66} The U.S. also has the largest subscription to the World Bank and controls 16\% of the vote.\textsuperscript{67} In the early post-Cold War days, these institutions promoted a policy framework that promoted market liberalization. This is referred to as the “Washington Consensus,” a term coined by John Williamson in 1989 for a list of ten policies that promoted market and trade liberalization, deregulation and privatization of government institutions.\textsuperscript{68} For many of the developing nations that adopted these policies, of rapid liberalization it did not lead to more economic growth, it led many of these nations to instability.\textsuperscript{69}

The combined factors in globalization have promoted a new era of humanitarian intervention. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, the author of “The Transformation of the United Nations Peace Operations in the 1990s: Adding Globalization to the Conventional End of the Cold War Explanation” argues how these combining elements of globalization have led to humanitarian intervention, specifically the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. The CNN effect, combined with conditionalities that led to state collapse and conflict in the developing world, the Western promotion, support, and emphasis on

\textsuperscript{65} BBC, "Profile: International Monetary Fund and World Bank " \textit{BBC News} April 13, 2012.
\textsuperscript{69} Stiglitz, \textit{Making Globalization Work}: 16.
democracy and human rights. This yielded to a new era of humanitarian intervention and UN peacekeeping operations.

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Chapter Three


United Nations humanitarian intervention has changed in this era of globalization, both in the nature of the missions and the sheer number of missions. In the post-Cold War era, international relations are no longer shaped wholly by state actors. They are shaped by intergovernmental agencies, like the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations.\(^\text{71}\) This shift towards globalization has been considered the “end of the nation-state or the reconfiguration of state sovereignty.”\(^\text{72}\) In Stanley Hoffmann’s *Clash of Globalizations: A New Paradigm*? Hoffmann highlights that in the 1990s the erosion of the traditional order in which states were considered the primary actors coupled with unstable nations no longer under colonial rule who struggle with poor institutions without internal cohesion and stability have amplified the importance of humanitarian intervention. However, this comes at the “expense of the hallowed principles of national sovereignty and nonintervention.”\(^\text{73}\)

Humanitarian intervention prior to 1989 was dictated by the Cold War system.


Peacekeeping was initiated and invented by the UN during the Cold War beginning in 1949, when other measures like sanctions were not always feasible.\(^\text{74}\) The Security Council was paralyzed under the system. The Security Council’s obligation is to establish peacekeeping operations, which determines the time and place to deploy an UN peacekeeping mission. The Security Council can also decide when to prolong or end a mission and can amend the mission’s mandate.\(^\text{75}\) Based upon Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, all member nations must agree and support the Security Council’s decisions.\(^\text{76}\) Two of five of the Permanent Members of the Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union, both had the ability to use their veto power. This ensured that all the missions deployed to nations where the “interests of the United States and Soviet Union were not directly at stake.”\(^\text{77}\) In addition, the Cold War system’s emphasis on the protection of sovereignty frequently prevented humanitarian intervention and “marginalized the United Nations in what had been intended as its central role – the provision of a credible system of international peace and security.”\(^\text{78}\) The Cold War dynamics meant that numerous issues relating to peace and security were never added to the UN’s agenda, including the Vietnamese invasion of a genocidal Cambodian regime in 1979, even through according to the UN Charter this invasion was considered a violation


\(^{76}\) United Nations, "Role of the Security Council".


of Article 2 (4).\(^{79}\) However, it is well known that the Vietnamese intervention was considered humanitarian in nature because it did lead to the end of the genocide.

The United Nations Charter, which was created in the aftermath of the Second World War, is the organization’s constitution and treaty.\(^{80}\) This charter has been amended (a lengthy process) and reinterpreted and made applicable for different situations. The charter is not considered a “static document,” which allows the UN to create peacekeeping missions with some leeway and work within a gray zone.\(^{81}\) There is no charter provision for peacekeeping missions specifically, meaning that UN peacekeeping missions falls in a “gray zone”\(^{82}\) between Chapter VI, which contains a “peaceful settlement provision” and Chapter VII with its “military enforcement provision.”\(^{83}\) Chapter VII also maintains peace and deters the “breach of peace and acts of aggression.”\(^{84}\) These missions are “guided by a largely unwritten body of principles”\(^{85}\) and are informed by the UN’s past missions and experiences in peacekeeping.\(^{86}\) Though peacekeeping missions have become a major tool of the United Nations to fulfill its original mission to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”\(^{87}\) and maintain


peace and security, peacekeeping is based on unwritten rules.\textsuperscript{88} When the Security Council deploys a mission it has no obligation to refer to the chapters that support the decision, even though these chapters are the legal basis for the missions in the first place.\textsuperscript{89}

Prior to 1989, these missions were referred to as “traditional” peacekeeping. The traditional missions “consisted of unarmed military observers and lightly armed troops with primarily monitoring, reporting and confidence-building roles.”\textsuperscript{90} The famous UN troops, known for people wearing light blue helmets, provided a buffer zone in interstate conflict between aggressive forces. They were allowed to use force only for self-defense. These missions did not require crossing the “gray zone” and were straightforward missions with one-dimensional mandates.

The initial two peacekeeping missions sent by the UN were to the Middle East and to India and Pakistan. In both missions the UN peacekeepers were unarmed. The first armed mission was to Egypt in 1956. In the 1960s and 1970s the UN deployed smaller peacekeeping missions, with the exception of the mission to the Congo. In total, the UN deployed 14 missions from 1949 – 1988 and all 14 peacekeeping missions were addressing interstate conflicts.\textsuperscript{91}

During the Cold War the “balance gave the two superpowers and their respective allies geopolitical incentive to take an interest in conflicts anywhere on the globe, the new balance of power in the 1990s gave the remaining superpower and other states little
geopolitical incentive to involve themselves in conflicts outside their own sphere of influence."92 This poses the difficult question: should Western nations care about conflict in the developing world? The answer is addressed by Jakobsen, “globalization of democracy and human rights triggered by the end of the Cold War and the emergence of global instant communications and a global mass media made it politically desirable” to support and provide resources for the UN peacekeeping operations in the developing world.93 Most Western nations focused their foreign policies towards addressing human rights abuses and promoting democracy. Based on this new rhetoric western nations now had the obligation to intervene.94 The increased importance of democracy and human rights changed how the UN peacekeeping missions intervened and responded to conflict.

The missions were no longer geared solely towards buffering and ending conflicts; they were focused on creating ongoing stability and preventing further aggression. These missions were aimed at building stable institutions and democracies. The UN defines multidimensional peacekeeping missions as the “implementation of comprehensive peace agreements and assist in laying the foundations for sustainable peace.”95 However, this does not fully encompass how dramatically peacekeeping missions have changed.

Since success of a mission is “defined in terms of post-conflict peace-building involving the (re)building of civil society, state institutions and democracy”\textsuperscript{96} there was a need for additional personnel that could successfully work towards the new demand.\textsuperscript{97} The UN, no longer solely deploys UN peacekeeping military staff. Their missions now include: administrators, economists, police officers, de-mining experts, legal experts, electoral observers, human rights monitors, civil affairs and governance specialists, humanitarian workers, communications and public information experts among other personnel needed which is based on the mandates requirements.\textsuperscript{98} The UN elects a Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) to oversee the mission and the “SRSG is supported in this task by a “triple-hatted” Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General/Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator (DSRSG/RC/HC).\textsuperscript{99} Though the Security Council has the overall control of the mission, the SRGR developed a framework, that guides the complex activities of the operation the assigned United Nations Country Team (UNCT).\textsuperscript{100} The DSRSG/RC/HC is the liaison and reporter between the SRSG and UNCT.

The UN illustrates the core business of the Multi-Dimensional United Nations Peacekeeping Missions in Figure 3.1, illustrates the complexity of peacekeeping. Each mission now mandates that the UN to undertake the key roles of the failed state, by temporarily controlling or establishing both the legislative and administrative tasks to ensure a peaceful transfer towards a stable sovereign nation. They help the failing nation

\textsuperscript{98} United Nations Peacekeeping, "Post Cold-War Surge".
implement stability and peace through dialogue and reconciliation between the aggressors.\textsuperscript{101} In addition, the UN peacekeepers support law enforcement and maintain the rule of law, and secure government institutions, key ports and other infrastructure to support the citizens of the nation maintain their movement within the nation. To ensure peace, stability and development, the UN works with other organizations and actors in multiple phases to achieve a better long-term outcome.

Figure 3.1 The Core Business of Multi-dimensional United Nations Peacekeeping\textsuperscript{102}

Since the end of the Cold War, the UN has deployed over 68 peacekeeping missions from 1989 – 2013.\textsuperscript{103} This large increase is illustrated in Figure 3.2: Size of Peacekeeping Forces from 1947 - 2011. Today, the United Nations has access to over 110,000 troops, which are contributed by 114 of the 193 member nations. The UN also have access to 46 air planes, 12 ships, 147 helicopters, over 33,000 vehicles, 22 UN hospitals, and 252 UN clinics.\textsuperscript{104}

Figure 3.2: Size of Peacekeeping Forces from 1947 – 2011\textsuperscript{105}

The transition from traditional peacekeeping to multidimensional peacekeeping after the Cold War led the UN into Cambodia. This was the first multidimensional mission and “since the UN had never undertaken a mission of this magnitude, there were no precedents.”\textsuperscript{106} The UN’s deployment into Cambodia of over 22,000 troops and approximately 2 billion USD from 1992 – 1993 was its largest multidimensional mission ever. The UN never engaged in an operation “as ambitious as this one.”\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{106} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 70.
\textsuperscript{107} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 81.
Chapter Four

Turning Point in Cambodia: The International Community Steps In

The ending of the Cold War changed Cambodia’s fate. By the late 1980s, the Communist Vietnamese were open to compromise, which was led in part by the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN), China and the west. In November 1987, Hun Sen met with Prince Sihanouk in Indonesia and these negotiations were moved to Paris. These talks culminated in the withdrawal of Vietnam in 1988 – 1989. Before Vietnam withdrawing from Cambodia, Vietnam had established Hun Sen as Prime Minister, which continues today. He runs the Cambodia People’s Party (CPP) and is considered the dictator of Cambodia.

After the Vietnamese troops evacuated from Cambodia in 1979, the fear of the Khmer Rouge returning to power in Cambodia was beginning to spread in the west. Though Pol Pot was living a luxurious life in the northeastern jungles of Cambodia, he wanted to reenergize the troops but the troops were not interested in fighting. Although Pol Pot no longer was pushing his troops to retake the capital of Cambodia, the West was unaware.

The French government was particularly concerned with the Khmer Rouge and set up meeting in Paris in August 1989. President George H.W. Bush sent the U.S.

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Secretary of State James Baker, and over twenty other foreign ministers attended the conference. At the meeting, four political factions of Cambodia were present (refer to Table 4.1), including Prince Sihanouk’s United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia, (the acronym for the party is based upon the original French name FUNCINPEC), the non-communist Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF) which was led by Son Sann (the former Prime Minister under Lon Nol’s government), the Khmer Rouge, also referred to as Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK), and the PCC, led by Prime Minister Hun Sen. The agenda of the meeting was for the international community to help the four Cambodian factions work towards a compromise. During these meetings, the four factions created the Supreme National Council (SNC), which was supported by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. The SNC comprised six members from Hun Sen’s government, two from FUNCINPEC, two from KPNLF and two from PDK – this would become a mostly symbolic advisory board.

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Table 4.1 The Four Political Cambodian Factions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Factions</th>
<th>Electoral Name</th>
<th>Led by</th>
<th>Armed Forces</th>
<th>Years Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People’s Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (State of Cambodia –SOC)</td>
<td>Cambodian People’s Party (CPP)</td>
<td>Prime Minister Hun Sen</td>
<td>Cambodian People’s Armed Forces (CPAF)</td>
<td>1979 – Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif</td>
<td>FUNCINPEC</td>
<td>Sihanouk (until 1991, then by Prince Ranariddh)</td>
<td>National Armed Forces, the acronym is based upon the original French name ANKI</td>
<td>1981 – Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF)</td>
<td>Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP)</td>
<td>Son Sann</td>
<td>Khmer People’s National Liberation Armed Forces (KPNLAF)</td>
<td>1979 – Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK)- Khmer Rouge (KR) or Democratic Kampuchea (DK)</td>
<td>National Unity Party of Cambodia of Cambodia (Kana Mamakkhi Chet Kampuchea NUPC)</td>
<td>Khieu Samphan (nominal leader, the actual leader was Pol Pot)</td>
<td>National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK)</td>
<td>1981 – 1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Back in Cambodia, Pol Pot was utilizing his army to takeover Palin, a provincial capital near Thailand. His aim was to sell the rich gems and other resources found in Palin to increase his personal wealth and support his troops. Hun Sen’s weak army was

114 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 2.
119 Leifer, Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia: 152.
120 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 2.
121 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 2.
unable to challenge Pol Pot’s, which sent a distressing signal to the international community. The US Congress became acutely aware of the Khmer Rouge’s atrocities and they were distressed about Khmer Rouge’s actions in Palin.\textsuperscript{123} Senators began contacting the President George H. W. Bush saying, “the Khmer Rouge represents an unacceptable threat to the people of Cambodia, and that American Policy should be based, first and foremost, upon preventing the return of the Khmer Rouge.”\textsuperscript{124}

This panic unfolding in Washington, D.C. finally set the United States government and international community on track towards aiding Cambodia. Finally, the U.S. stopped supporting the Khmer Rouge, which it did throughout the genocide and the Vietnam invasion until 1990. Even though the United States knew of the atrocities the Khmer Rouge had committed, it took another ten years before the U.S. reacted. The U.S. also decided to begin sending humanitarian assistance to Cambodia. Since the Cold War was over the five permanent members of the Security Council, France, Russia, the United States, Britain, and China were all in agreement that they needed to address the issues in Cambodia.\textsuperscript{125}

With the help of the international community, on October 23, 1991 these parties ratified the Paris Peace Accords, which were signed by nineteen countries including Cambodia. The signing of this intensely negotiated agreement was to call a necessary ceasefire in Cambodia and to usher in elections in the near future, which would be monitored and implemented by the United Nations. Though the objectives of the agreement were known, its hidden aspects were not as apparent. The unspoken elements

\textsuperscript{123} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 62.
\textsuperscript{124} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 63.
\textsuperscript{125} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 63.
of the agreement are outlined in a report by William Shawcross, a British journalist who has been following the plight of the Cambodians since the Khmer Rouge.

The Paris Agreements had many purposes, several of them unspoken – and certainly unwritten. One was to remove and impediment to U.S. – Soviet – Chinese détente. Another was to get the international community off the hook of recognizing the Khmer Rouge and their allies as the legitimate government of Cambodia. Many people involved in the peace process expected that the elections to be held by the U.N. would allow the legitimization of the Hun Sen regime, perhaps in coalition with other parties.\(^{126}\)

With the ratification of the Paris Peace Accords, the French government held a ceremony celebrating this enormous milestone. The U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker, spoke at the ceremony saying, “What makes the case of Cambodia so extraordinary and its claim for international support so compelling is the magnitude of the suffering its people have endured.”\(^{127}\) This speech highlights the impact of globalization and the mass media and the renewed focus towards human rights and democracy that brought to light the atrocities of the Cambodians, a nation with “no strategic interest to anyone.”\(^{128}\)

\(^{126}\) Shawcross, *Cambodia's New Deal* 11.
\(^{128}\) Brinkley, *Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land*: 68.
Chapter Five

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)

The UN was entering a nation in disastrous shape because of the Khmer Rouge’s decades of genocide, the Vietnamese invasion and implementation of communism, and unrest from rivaling political parties and corruption. Cambodia was in dire need of rebuilding. Cambodia struggled with a chaotic and corrupt political structure, weak economy, poor infrastructure, lack of human capital, and the difficult realities of its rural landscape. The UN turned to this weak nation with the optimistic goal of taking the first steps towards necessary change.

With the signing of the Paris Accords in October 1991 the UN had the obligation to implement the peace agreement immediately. The UN sent a smaller mission, referred to as the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) in October 1991 (not part of the Paris Accords), prior to deploying the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in March 1992. The UNAMIC was sent to Cambodia while the UN was preparing for the larger mission it would deploy six months later. The mandate for UNAMIC was very limited because it was considered phase one of the ceasefire in Cambodia, which was supervised by Ataul Karim from Bangladesh. Since the primary purpose of this mission was to enforce a ceasefire which required deployment and the support of military personnel. The military component was headed

130 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 22.
by Brigadier-General Jean Michael Loridon from France.\textsuperscript{131} He would continue to serve the UN in the UNTAC mission.

UNAMIC’s authorization assigned 1,504 personnel to the UN mission including military and civilians who would be assigned to one of the four parties’ military headquarters. During the Khmer Rouge genocide, six million extremely dangerous mines\textsuperscript{132} were placed throughout Cambodia, predominantly in the more rural areas. In light of this problem, the UNAMIC mission also included personnel to begin mine clearance.\textsuperscript{133}

Though UNAMIC was addressing key issues in Cambodia, the situation in Cambodia began to deteriorate and the demand for UNTAC deployment became dire. The four Cambodian factions needed a neutral intermediary to quell the violence. The Party of Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge) violated the ceasefire agreement on numerous occasions, and riots were erupted in the capital.\textsuperscript{134} SNC and PDK/KR pleaded to the UN to deploy UNTAC,\textsuperscript{135} which was odd considering the PDK/KR restricted the UNAMIC’s movement and often violated the peace agreement. UNAMIC became an ineffective mission because it did not have the mandate or resources to organize for UNTAC’s deployment and arrival into Cambodia.\textsuperscript{136}

UNTAC was fully established by the Security Council under UN Resolution 745, in February 1992.\textsuperscript{137} Yasushi Akashi from Japan became the SRSG\textsuperscript{138} of the mission,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[131] Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 22.
\item[133] Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 23.
\end{footnotes}
with the support of John Sanderson from Australia.\textsuperscript{139} The elections would be held in May of 1993, and the deadline for a new constitution and government would be August 1993. These two deadlines forced the UNTAC to work quickly to ensure they were met. The UN deployed over 22,000 personnel from 46 nations including many nations that had not participated in past peacekeeping missions which included, Japan, Germany, Brunei, Bulgaria, Uruguay and Namibia.\textsuperscript{140} Two-thirds of the personnel were military, with the rest divided between civilian police, civilians and volunteers. This mission also included over 7,000 Cambodian\textsuperscript{141} citizens who supported the electoral staff and were interpreters, which was not included in the 22,000 deployment.

UNTAC was an enormous mandate that included seven components: military, civil police, human rights, electoral activities, civil administration, repatriation and rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{142} These seven components had assigned responsibilities, which are described in Table 5.1.

\textsuperscript{138} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 26.
\textsuperscript{139} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 69.
\textsuperscript{140} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 27.
\textsuperscript{141} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 27.
\textsuperscript{142} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 28.
Table 5.1 Components of the UNTAC Mission and Primary Responsibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component of the UNTAC Mission</th>
<th>Primary Responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Guaranteeing and maintaining the stability of the nation and promoting peace between the conflicting parties(^{143})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Police</td>
<td>Controlling and overseeing the Cambodian police force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>“Fostering an environment in which respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was ensured”(^{144})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Activities</td>
<td>Establishing, organizing and directing “free and fair election”(^{145})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Administration</td>
<td>Controlling all the existing administrative structures in Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repatriation</td>
<td>Working with the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees to return and resettle Cambodian refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>“Attending to food, security, health, housing, training, education, the transport network, and the restoration of Cambodia’s basic infrastructure and public utilities”(^{146})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deployment of the UNTAC was scheduled for March 1992. Components of the mission were staggered which negatively impacted the mission. Akashi arrived in the Phnom Penh on March 15, 1992. Frustrated by the deployment issues, he publicly announced, that this would impact the effectiveness of the mission and their ability to make progress.\(^{147}\) Two months later some of the military component was in place, but the fully deployment of the military took another four months. Civil administrators were fully deployed by May 1992. The UNTAC became fully operational six months after the March deployment date\(^{148}\) with all the components in place – which was supposed to have been implemented and deployed soon after the signing of the Paris Accords on October 23, 1991.

\(^{146}\) Findlay, *Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC*: 32.
Phase two of the mission commenced after full deployment, which began with
trepidation since phase one, which included the UNAMIC mission had limited success.
Akashi knew the UNTAC phase two, which included the “cantonment, disarmament and
demobilization of the four factions,”149 was to be an uphill battle. However, Joel
Brinkley, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist for his coverage of Cambodia, recounts that
in 1992 under the UN:

 Freedoms of all kinds flowered. A group of political prisoners let out of jail
opened a legal-aid organization. Under the UN auspices new human-rights
advocacy groups began work; education, agriculture, health assistance and a host
of other civil-society organizations opened shop. Groups like these had never been
permitted by the Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge, or the monarchy.150

 However, throughout the UNTAC mission the PDK/KR violated the Paris
Accords. The UN tried negotiating with the PDK/KR faction but was unsuccessful. So,
The Security Council threatened to withhold reconstruction aid funds. UNTAC Deputy
Military General Loridon advocated the use of force against them, which led to his
departure from the mission when his suggestion was not implemented. However, the UN
decided to discontinue working with the PDK/KR faction, and continued its work with
the other three factions.151 The escalating violence made the Security Council debate
whether the elections in should occur in May 1993. But too much progress had been
made, and the Security Council voted on October 12, 1992 to continue with the scheduled
elections. They reasoned that the “the electoral enrollment had preceded spectacularly

149 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 36.
150 Brinkley, Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 75.
151 Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 38.
well, that the international consensus behind the UNTAC was holding firm and that the KR seemed intent only on boycotting rather than disrupting the election."\textsuperscript{152}

The UNTAC decided to change its strategy in dealing with the PDK/KR. They deployed military personnel in the PDK/KR areas and places where electoral planning was taking place. This enabled the other three parties to act as deterrents to the PDK/KR, to strengthen the UNTAC’s media presence and civic educational programs and overall to take stronger actions against violence and political intimidation.\textsuperscript{153} The Security Council also issued an embargo on petroleum supplies from the PDK/KR, which were not mandatory but greatly impacted the PDK/KR.\textsuperscript{154} However, the Supreme National Council (SNC) ban of mineral, gem and log exports impacted the PDK/KR significantly since this was the faction’s primary source of revenue.\textsuperscript{155}

The PDK/KR was also enraged by Hun Sen’s refusal to relinquish control of the government. The SOC controlled the majority of the government and FUNCIPEC, KPNLF and KR had limited to no control.\textsuperscript{156} As part of the mandate, the UN had the permission and obligation to take over major administrative roles of the government, but it was a difficult to work with the SOC and take full control.

The UNTAC faced numerous difficulties throughout the mission, including suffering a few UN personnel casualties,\textsuperscript{157} but the Cambodian factions suffered great

\textsuperscript{152} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 40.
\textsuperscript{153} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 43.
\textsuperscript{154} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 43.
\textsuperscript{155} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 43.
\textsuperscript{156} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 59.
\textsuperscript{157} Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 73.
casualties because of the escalating violence between them. It was predicted that the elections would also be a “bloody” affair.\textsuperscript{158}

Surprisingly, despite the rising uncertainty and violence, the UNTAC made great progress with many successes along the way. The Cambodian refugees, who flooded the Thai border or fled into other South East Asian nations during the Khmer Rouge’s era of genocide, returned to their homeland after many years of living in refugee camps. Over 360,000\textsuperscript{160} refugees journeyed back to Cambodia, from across South East Asia. The UNTAC made great progress in voter registration and 4.6 million Cambodians\textsuperscript{161} enrolled. This was only successful because of the work of the Information and Education group, which was supervised and organized by the Electoral Activities component of the UNTAC. This group taught and introduced to the Cambodian people the concept of democracy, which was an unknown governmental system to them. Having never voted, Cambodians were walked through the voting process and informed of the concept of secret balloting\textsuperscript{162} and of free and fair elections. As a major incentive to register to vote, Cambodians received voter identification cards, with their pictures and fingerprints.\textsuperscript{163} A major component of the UNTAC was Human Rights whose mandate was considered to be the “most extensive in the history of peacekeeping.”\textsuperscript{164}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{158} Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 74.
\bibitem{159} Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 74.
\bibitem{160} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 52.
\bibitem{161} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 55.
\bibitem{162} Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 75.
\bibitem{163} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 56.
\bibitem{164} Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 63.
\end{thebibliography}
established human rights groups, created a system for investigating human rights abuses, and connected Cambodia to the international human rights agreements. In addition, the UNTAC used innovative ways to disseminate information about human rights, through cultural events and the media. The UNTAC also supervised the initial writing of the new Cambodian constitution, which would ensure the Human Rights of Cambodians. This is clearly addressed in the preamble stating that Cambodians “shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear.”

The UNTAC took steps to reforming Cambodia’s economic system. However, this arduous task would take many years before achieving economic stability. Though the UNTAC began to assess and highlight key areas of reform, their impact varied. In June 1992, the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) surpassed its funding request by 287 million USD, and had 880 million USD for reconstruction projects during the UNTAC peacekeeping mission and after their departure. Representatives of numerous nations entered Cambodia to build and rebuild major infrastructure. Japan, China and Thailand worked on roads, bridges, and airfields. An Australian company revamped and rebuilt the nation’s telecommunication networks. The UN and its affiliated agencies worked on shorter term projects addressing necessary repairs on roads and bridges, improving sanitation and water collection, developing the land and agriculture, and improving education and healthcare facilities. The UNTAC had also been successful in beginning to de-mine the nation, and cleared 300,000 square

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166 Findlay, *Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC*: 68.
meters of land and deactivated over 11,000 mines.\footnote{Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 74.} The nation is still in de-mining the countryside.

The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) began assessing the rehabilitation efforts and the funds required. After several months of assessment, in November 1992, the ADB loaned Cambodia 67.7 million USD.\footnote{Findlay, \textit{Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC}: 71.} By June 1993, over 50 development projects had been approved, with a projected cost of over 400 million USD. These major developments helped the nation prepare for its democratic elections in May 1993.
Chapter Six
Cambodia’s First Election and it Outcome

Cambodia held its first election in 1993, over a five-day period from May 23 – 28th.\textsuperscript{171} The election campaigning began in early April. From the very beginning of its mission, the UNTAC undertook immense work to ensure fair electoral law and to enforce its electoral code of conduct. The UNTAC drafted the electoral law, which was agreed upon by SNC and signed into law in August of 1992. The law ensured all Cambodian citizens the right to vote in fair and free elections at 18 years old.\textsuperscript{172} The law also protected each citizen’s right to personal safety throughout the electoral process.

All political parties had to submit an application to the UNTAC in order to be officially registered and added to the official ballot.\textsuperscript{173} This application for each political party was extensive, requiring the organization’s address, contact information, detailing all assets, liabilities, and all bank accounts including official statements.\textsuperscript{174} Each political party had to agree to Cambodia’s democratic electoral laws and legally respect the outcome of the election.\textsuperscript{175}

Since most of the media was under Hun Sen’s control, the UNTAC regulated the media outlets ensuring no promotion of “violence, deception, confusion, from seeking to

\textsuperscript{171} Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 74. 74.
\textsuperscript{172} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}? 170.
\textsuperscript{173} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}? 170.
\textsuperscript{174} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}? 171.
\textsuperscript{175} Peou, \textit{Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy}? 171.
undermine the secrecy of the ballot, and from using offensive language against each other.”

There were officially 20 parties on the ballot. The major parties established electoral names for the May 1993 election including Hun Sen’s State of Cambodia (SOC) electoral name as the Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), KPNLF’s electoral name as the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP), and FUNCINPEC maintained their party name. Over 96% of eligible voters, or 4.6 million Cambodians, registered for the election. There were 4,011,631 official verified ballots. This was remarkable considering the pre-election violence and intimidation of voters by the top parties. FUNCINPEC received just over 45% of the vote, SOC/CPP received over 38 percent of the vote and the other eighteen parties received a combined total of just over 12% of the vote. The Constituent Assembly had 120 candidates from the four top elected parties comprising of FUNCINPEC with 58 parliamentarians, CPP with 51, BLDP with 10, and Moulinaka with 1. The election process and the elected Constituent Assembly “met basic rules of democracy.”

After the democratic elections, the transition towards democracy was still considered weak and the Paris Accords, which were considered comprehensive, failed to outline how power would be transferred to the elected parties and how power-sharing mechanisms would be established. After a period of debate and instability, the two leading parties decided to form a coalition government, with FUNCINPEC’s Prince

176 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 171.
177 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 172.
178 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 173.
179 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 173.
180 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 173.
181 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 173.
182 Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," 76.
Ranariddh appointed as the first Prime Minister and Hun Sen as the second. The national democratic constitution was passed by the newly elected Constituent Assembly on September 24, 1993. In October 1993 the government changed its name to the Royal National Government of Cambodia. In 1993, King Sihanouk returned to his monarchical role in 1993, which under the new democratic government became more traditional and ceremonial. Also, Cambodia adopted a new national flag and anthem. This represented a major step for Cambodia by officially creating the “procedural conditions for a political democracy.” However, Cambodia’s newly established democracy was “considered weak and largely unconsolidated” until 1995.

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183 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 175.
184 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 201.
185 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 201.
186 Peou, Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Towards Democracy?: 201.
Chapter Seven

Post UNTAC in Cambodia

UNTAC personnel began to leave Cambodia in September 1993,\textsuperscript{187} and by December 1993 all members had left.\textsuperscript{188} The UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali lauded the peacekeepers and “proclaimed the Transitional Authority in Cambodia a glittering success,” in handling the successful election, while not acknowledging the violence, destruction and instability the UNTAC faced during the mission.\textsuperscript{189} The UNTAC’s enormous mandate succeeded despite the enormous errors. The challenges UNTAC faced included late deployment because of terrible planning, poor co-ordination between the seven components and local NGOs, poor communication with Cambodians and the different factions’, UN military and police’s initial strategy. These errors jeopardized the success of the mission and the peace process.\textsuperscript{190} However, the UNTAC was credited for “mediating Cambodia’s return to the international community,”\textsuperscript{191} and it was the necessary step that brought dire international resources into the nation.\textsuperscript{192}

Though the UNTAC teams had left the country, the UN was still interested in monitoring the stability of the newly established country and set up a Military Liaison

\textsuperscript{188} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 98.
\textsuperscript{189} Brinkley, Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land: 81.
\textsuperscript{190} Findlay, Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC: 155.
\textsuperscript{192} Curtis, Transition to What? Cambodia, UNTAC and the Peace Process: 14.
Team in Cambodia (MLTC) of 20 military officers. The MLTC was to report on the progress for the months following UNTAC’s evacuation and stayed in the country till May 15, 1994, after which three MLTC military advisors stayed in Cambodia at the UN office in Phnom Penh.

The ICORC and other international institutions began to assess and fund the future needs of Cambodia, which by all indicators was considered a LDC. In 1993, the economic and social statistics of the nation were still very bleak, despite major institutional and infrastructure changes. Over 47% of the population was living in poverty, according to the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP). With over ninety percent of the population living in rural areas working in the agricultural sector and only ten percent living in Phonon Penh, the nation had a low per capita annual income of 150 USD and the highest annual birthrate in Asia at the time, 40 per 1,000 averaging six births per reproductive Cambodian women. Around twenty percent of Cambodian children would not live past their fifth birthday due to poor sanitation, resources and communicable diseases.

Forty-five percent of the Cambodian population was fifteen years old or younger, and the average life expectancy was just under 50 year of age in 1993. The primary school enrollment rate was 82%, with enrollment in the capital reaching 90 percent and lower enrollment in the rural areas, which ranged from 20 – 80%. Only 15% of students

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195 UNDP Poverty Reduction
would continue on to secondary schooling.\textsuperscript{200} However, the young Cambodian population only had a literacy rate of 30 \%.\textsuperscript{201} Most of the educated population was killed during the Khmer Rouge era. Many of the teachers in 1993 had roughly eight years of schooling and one percent of the teachers had up to eleven years of schooling. These indicators were due to larger structural issues and to poor institutions that could barely support the social sectors. They were riddled with problems, including poor planning and implementation due to the under qualified personnel and poor management.\textsuperscript{202}

Many nations set up embassies in the newly democratic nation, and the United States became one of Cambodia’s biggest allies.\textsuperscript{203} This shift normalized Cambodia’s relations with other nations, and it also established a new “aid market.” After the UNTAC mission was completed, many countries began to flood Cambodia with NGOs and Official Development Assistance (ODA). Cambodian’s governmental institutions were incredibly weak and poorly established. Despite lack of accountability, numerous issues surrounding the monitoring and evaluation foreign aid continued to flow.

According to Grant Curtis, the author of \textit{Cambodia Reborn? The Transition to Democracy and Development}, aid was sent to reinforce the Cambodia’s peace process and her democratic transition. Funding arrived in response to the guilt of the nations who ignored the atrocities under the Khmer Rouge. Cambodia was also considered “virgin territory for players of the aid game.”\textsuperscript{204} The Cambodian government was in a state of utter chaos. The country was extremely under-developed and rural; the nation was in transition and donors saw this as an opportunity to establish themselves and design their

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{200} Curtis, \textit{Transition to What? Cambodia, UNTAC and the Peace Process}: 5.
\bibitem{201} Curtis, \textit{Transition to What? Cambodia, UNTAC and the Peace Process}: 5.
\bibitem{203} Brinkley, \textit{Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land}: 87.
\bibitem{204} Curtis, \textit{Cambodia Reborn? The Transition to Democracy and Development}: 72.
\end{thebibliography}
own development initiatives/ As was often stated, “careers were to be made in Cambodia.” 205

Cambodia was entering into a new development phase solely dictated by donor nations. As long as the incomes of corrupt government officials remained high, they were able to do as they pleased. The only time multilateral and bilateral donors cut off aid to Cambodia was during the 1997 coup led by Hun Sen, when his co-prime minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh was ousted. Though the United States was opposed to Hun Sen, aid picked up its pace after the coup under Hun Sen, now the sole Prime Minister of Cambodia. Having been in power since 1985, he is one of the longest serving Prime Ministers. To maintain his position, Hun Sen has used “his power and wealth to control the entire democratic process. Despite his well-known corruption … Hun Sen remains the West’s go-to man in Cambodia”, 206 without his consent NGOs and development organizations are unable to work within the nation. 207

The nation saw the beginning of its revival with the inflow of aid post the UNTAC. Still ailing from its tumultuous past, the nation was able to develop because of the flow of aid. NGOs and other institutions supported the social sectors, which would otherwise have floundered. According to the Wolfensohn Center for Development at Brookings report on Aid Effectiveness in Cambodia, Cambodia received 5.5 billion USD in development assistance from 1998 to 2007. 208 Cambodia is one of the most aid

205 Curtis, Cambodia Reborn? The Transition to Democracy and Development: 72.
208 Ek Chanboreth and Sok Hach, "AID Effectiveness in Cambodia," (Wolfensohn Center For Development at Brookings, 2008), 6.
dependent nations in the world and aid accounts for over 50 percent of the national budget.\textsuperscript{209}

Corruption has persisted since the nation’s inception and continues to plague the country. This has been addressed by numerous institutions that monitor and evaluate development, track the flow of money, and write extensive reports on aid effectiveness. However, the nation’s dependency on aid has exacerbated the corruption within the nation.\textsuperscript{210} Despite corruption, Cambodia has experienced enormous economic growth and development, mostly due to its entrance into the global economy and to growth in numerous sectors.

\textsuperscript{209} Hach, "AID Effectiveness in Cambodia," 3.
\textsuperscript{210} Ear, Aid Dependence in Cambodia: How Financial Assistance Undermines Democracy: 11.
Chapter Eight

Cambodia’s Rapid Development and Economic Growth

Despite the nation’s multidimensional issues within in the government, there was enormous development within a short period of time. According to the UNDP 2013 report on the Human Development Report: The Rise of the South Analysis on Cambodia “over the past two decades, Cambodia’s economy has been among the fastest growing economies, unmatched by any other post-conflict society. Factors contributing to this fast economic growth included: restoration of peace and security; large public and private capital flows; economic openness; fairly stable macroeconomic conditions; and dynamic integrating neighborhoods.”\(^{211}\) GDP growth in 1994 was 3.5 \% and by 1996, it grew by eight percent, which generated major employment increases.\(^{212}\) The country hit major growth spurt in 1999 with 12.5 \% increase in GDP. However, it dropped dramatically to 6.2 \% in 2002.\(^{213}\) The nation returned to double-digit economic growth in 2004 until 2007.\(^{214}\) Cambodia’s growth during the international financial crisis in 2008, slowed to seven percent.\(^{215}\) The nation’s annual GDP growth has been consistently between 6 - 7 \%.


\(^{212}\) Samreth Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization (Xlibris Corporation, 2011). 9.

\(^{213}\) Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 10.

\(^{214}\) World Bank, "World Development Indicators 2012 " (World Bank, 2012).

\(^{215}\) World Bank, "World Development Indicators 2012 ".

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over the last four years.\textsuperscript{216} Cambodia’s growth has been strong but it is hindered by corruption and the lack of policies to enforce anti-corruption legislation.

Cambodia’s economy consists of four major sectors of growth: the garment industry, agriculture, tourism, and construction.\textsuperscript{217} The nation has been highly agrarian since its inception, with over 80% of the labor force working in agriculture. There has been major industrial growth with the joining of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1999 and the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2004.\textsuperscript{218} Membership in these organizations gave Cambodia access to larger markets and greater opportunities for trade. However, Cambodia’s entrance into the global market increased competition, and their newly established industries no longer protected, had to compete in a global market. The garment industry has been an enormous catalyst for growth. Although the industry is concentrated in lower end garments, it has been a major exporter to the West and to Japan. Cambodia is in fierce competition with the garment industries in Vietnam, China, Bangladesh, and India.\textsuperscript{219} Another major factor that hurts the advancement of the garment industry is the government, which slows down the export process by requiring lots of documentation, signatures from ten different government officials, and over forty days of waiting. This process is the “longest among its competitors.”\textsuperscript{220}

Cambodia’s tourism sector has done extremely well, fueled by the country’s lush countryside, temples, and two United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural

\textsuperscript{216} World Bank, "World Development Indicators 2012 ".
\textsuperscript{218} Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 13.
\textsuperscript{219} Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 14.
\textsuperscript{220} Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 14.
Organization (UNESCO) heritage sites. Tourism employs over 350,000 Cambodians and added 2 billion USD into Cambodia’s economy in 2012.\textsuperscript{221} Cambodia has expanded its tourism sector and improved its ecotourism. The constructions sector is also improving. In June 2013, Im Chhun Lim, Head of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, said that, “Cambodia’s construction and real-estate sector is gaining interest from both local and foreign investors because of the country’s political stability and economic improvement.”\textsuperscript{222} The Ministry and Cambodia’s Constructors Association are working together to improve the quality, building standards and lessen the negative environmental impact.\textsuperscript{223} The sector brought in 1.2 billion USD in projects in 2011 and 2.1 billion USD in 2012.\textsuperscript{224}

Many of the country’s bleak social indicators of 1993 had dramatically changed with the rapid economic growth. For instance, poverty rates dramatically dropped from 47 percent in 1993 to 30.1 \% in 2007\textsuperscript{225} to 20 \% in 2011.\textsuperscript{226} Cambodia has made strides in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which are related to maternal health, hunger, poverty, gender equality, education, disease eradication, child and maternal mortality.

In 2003 Cambodia’s government created the Cambodian Millennium Development Goals (CMDGs) based on the MDGs, which address issues within the local

\textsuperscript{221} Hor Kimsay, "Tourism figures rise in first five months," \textit{The Phnom Penh Post} July 11, 2013.
\textsuperscript{222} May Kunmakara, "Agreement to boost construction sector," \textit{The Phnom Penh Post} June 3, 2012
\textsuperscript{223} Kunmakara, "Agreement to boost construction sector."
\textsuperscript{224} Kunmakara, "Agreement to boost construction sector."
context shown in figure 8.1. This illustrates the CMDG and the progress made which is measured by the distance traveled from the baseline to the target goal.\footnote{\textsuperscript{227} Asian Development Bank, "Cambodia: Country Poverty Analysis," 7.} According to Asia Development Banks report on “Cambodia: Country Poverty Analysis,” Cambodia has made major strides in reducing child mortality (CMDG4) by 83\% from the baseline, by demining major parts of the country and by assisting Cambodians injured by mines (CMDG9) by 66\%, and addressing numerous diseases with a key focus on combating HIV/AIDS and malaria (CMDG6) by 64\%.\footnote{\textsuperscript{228} Asian Development Bank, "Cambodia: Country Poverty Analysis," 7.} CMDGs 4, 9 and 6 are on target to meet the 2015 deadline. With rigorous effort, Cambodia might meet its 2015 goal for improving gender equality (CMDG3) and providing basic education (CMDG2).\footnote{\textsuperscript{229} Asian Development Bank, "Cambodia: Country Poverty Analysis," 7.} However, the nation will not meet its 2015 deadline to eradicate poverty and hunger (CMDG1), improve environmental sustainability (CMDG7) or improve maternal health (CMDG5).\footnote{\textsuperscript{230} Asian Development Bank, "Cambodia: Country Poverty Analysis," 7.}
Cambodia has made major progress since the UNTAC left the nation twenty years ago. It is still struggling and the nation has a long way to go before it meets most of the MDGs. However, the upcoming parliamentary elections in late July 2013 show a more developed and politically engaged nation. Cambodia will hold its fifth parliamentary elections since 1993. Prime Minister Hun Sen is vying for reelection to extend his 28 plus years in power. Cambodian Professor of Law and Economics, Lao Mong Hay, said that Cambodian “people are not only thinking with their stomachs anymore. They are thinking with their hearts, too.” The nation is enjoying economic growth and stability. Cambodia no longer struggles with extensive starvation and the nation’s youth are

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enjoying more economic mobility and education than their parent’s generation and the young adults are fighting for change.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{233} Fuller, "In Cambodia, Shifting Allegiances Shape a Tougher Than Usual Election."
Conclusion

Since the fall of the Angkor Empire in the sixteenth century, Cambodia has relied on external forces to protect and to develop the country. The nation has remained predominantly agrarian even today. The nation has been in a perpetual state of dependency, from the collapse of this once powerful kingdom to its surrender to French colonialism, suffering from ruthless genocides and communist regimes. Cambodians have been brutalized for centuries.

A major turning point and necessary step was the shift towards “globalization.” It raised global awareness to the dire situation in Cambodia and forced the international community to address the ongoing conflict. The United Nations was affected by this global process and changed the way it addressed peace building within the developing world. This necessary shift ushered in a new era of peacekeeping.

The vital deployment of the multi-dimensional peacekeeping mission to Cambodia, “offered Cambodia and its people the best and possibly the only hope for an end to two decades of war, suffering and hardship.”\textsuperscript{234} Though the UNTAC was ill prepared to tackle the challenges of the fractured nation it “did leave Cambodia with an enduring gift – a true democratic system of government.”\textsuperscript{235} This system has brought Cambodians to the polls five times since the first election in 1993.

\textsuperscript{235} Brinkley, \textit{Cambodia’s Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land}: 356.
The small Cambodian nation comprises 14.3 million people. Over 60% of Cambodians have been born after the Khmer Rouge genocide. They possess hope for the nation’s future and for their own educational attainment and employment. According to a survey conducted in Cambodia in February 2009, over 82% of those who responded said that the “country was on the right track.” Having embraced democracy for twenty years Cambodia has enjoyed stability and growth since the mid to late 1990s, their progress is astounding: over 40,000 Cambodian students enroll in college each year and many are the first in their families to attend college. Modernization is permeating the nation, even some rural farmer have access to cell phones.

The nation continues to promote and develop its relationship with other ASEAN nations, including Vietnam. Though Vietnam and Cambodia have a complicated history they are trading more than ever. In the first few months of 2010 trade with the nation grew by 127%. The nation opened the Cambodian Stock Exchange (CSE) in July 2011. Although the nation has one of the smallest economies of the ASEAN members, the CSE highlights the nation’s interest in creating a more robust financial sector.

The process of globalization changed the fate of Cambodia. The process was the guiding force that brought the intervention of the international community. The nation, no longer isolated, has been dramatically transformed. The UNTAC changed the nation’s governance, political, economic and social standing. After the UNTAC left the county, the continuing process of globalization pulled the nation out of debilitating poverty and brought growth, trading partners, technology, communication and much more. With

239 Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 126.
240 Mammoun, The Return of the Kingdom of Cambodia Towards the Age of Globalization: 127.
globalization, Cambodia has made significant strides and has become an active member in the global arena.
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