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**Memory, Ethics and Dark Tourism -  
The contested historical heritage of Anlong Veng District,  
Cambodia**

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## ***Abstract***

The purpose of the present thesis, “Memory, Ethics and Dark Tourism”, was to investigate to what extent a contested heritage site like Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, can be experienced as a dark tourist destination worth visiting. It was attempted to show, that a proper assessment of morally questionable sites such as Anlong Veng can only be reached if the meaning of such sites for the affected themselves is taken into consideration. Finally, it was intended to examine how far the site is able to reach its overall objective to foster the reconciliation process in Cambodia in the meantime. The research was conducted by means of interdisciplinary and qualitative methods. With the aid of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) five internet travel weblogs have been analyzed regarding the experiences of international visitors on site. The qualitative research data consisted of five in-depth interviews with experts in the field of reconciliation and remembrance, conducted in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The results revealed that moral concerns are justified and also that the site is experienced as not worth visiting by international tourists. However, it was also discovered that Western perceptions of morality and proper heritage management are not applicable to the Cambodian context, as well as that the contested site can be in a metaphorical sense very valuable for Cambodians themselves. The principal conclusion was that the significance and value of visiting such a site depends on the consciousness of the visitor and how he interacts during the cultural encounter.

## ***Kurze Darstellung***

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit, “Memory, Ethics and Dark Tourism”, war es zu untersuchen inwiefern ein umstrittenes historisches Erbe wie Anlong Veng, die letzte Hochburg des völkermörderischen Pol Pot Regimes in Kambodscha, als sehenswerte Dark Tourism Destination verstanden werden kann. Unter anderem war es beabsichtigt zu zeigen, dass nur unter Berücksichtigung der Bedeutung der Stätte für Kambodschaner selbst eine angemessene Einschätzung der touristischen Erfahrung dort erreicht werden kann. Letztlich wurde untersucht inwiefern das Denkmal gleichzeitig auch seine eigentliche Hauptintention, die Förderung des Wiederversöhnungsprozesses in Kambodscha, vorantreibt. Für die Untersuchung wurden interdisziplinäre als auch qualitative Methoden verwendet. Mit Hilfe der Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) wurden fünf Reiseblogeinträge aus dem Internet auf Erfahrungen der internationalen Touristen untersucht. Die qualitativen Forschungsdaten resultieren aus fünf qualitativen Leitfadenterviews mit Experten in den Bereichen Wiederversöhnung und Erinnerung, aufgenommen in Phnom Penh, Kambodscha. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass moralische Bedenken durchaus gerechtfertigt sind und der Besuch der Stätte von internationalen Touristen als nicht lohnenswert empfunden wird. Unter anderem wurde jedoch herausgefunden, dass das westliche Verständnis von Moral, sowie die Erwartungen bezüglich des Managements solcher Stätten, nicht auf den kambodschanischen Kontext übertragen werden können, sowie dass das historische Erbe Anlong Vengs durchaus einen positiven Einfluss auf den nationalen Wiederversöhnungsprozess haben kann. Die Schlussfolgerung besteht daraus, dass die Bedeutung des Besuchs vom Bewusstsein und Interagieren mit der Stätte, während der kulturellen Begegnung, abhängt.

## ***Foreword***

*No-one but the tourist is so blatantly,*

*Conspicuously dissolved in numbers, interchangeable, depersonalised. . . .*

*Moral proximity, responsibility and the uniqueness*

*irreplaceability – of the moral subject are triune; they won't survive*

*(or, rather, they shouldn't have been born) without each other.*

*Moral responsibility vanishes when 'everybody does it' . . .*

*The tourist is bad news for morality. (Bauman 1996, p. 54)*

The impetus to write about this topic arose from my first trip to Cambodia in 2007. As much as I was aware of the humanitarian circumstances of the country, I was not prepared for what I wanted to encounter. However, it was a single and actually very random experience that caused more and more questions in my mind about peoples' presence at places where they are maybe not supposed to be. I was wondering if the sole possibility to reach every corner of the world may have made us inconsiderate.

The random experience I just mentioned was the unwarranted visit of a shooting range nearby Phnom Penh, just after visiting Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and before heading towards the Choeng Ek Memorial site - the killing fields. Experiencing the two memorials as an already haunting tourist destinations, the not more than five minutes I spent at the shooting range have been a much more disturbing experience for me. While getting presented a menu printed on a cardboard, which offered me the choice from hand spray weapons to a Kalashnikov, I heard permanent gunfire just behind a free standing wall a few metres from our Tuk Tuk. Watching the depressive faces of the Cambodians around us, obviously living in poverty and misery, made me feel very uncomfortable.

Leaving the site as quickly as possible, I was wondering who is able to enjoy shooting weapons in hearing distance from war experience coined people. Obviously, others have no problem to do so, which is why the shooting range is promoted as a destination like the Royal Palace itself. My subsequent wandering through the killing fields was grotesque and I felt like an intruder. Since then, I have been bothered by the question if simply the possibility to do so, justifies our touring of places like the killing fields of Cambodia, and what the nationals may think about the international visitors' interest in the sites actually dedicated to the victims of genocide.

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## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1. Statement of the problem**

As recent trends in travel and leisure show, the modern tourist tends to include heritage sites into beach vacations and wants to experience the living culture of the toured destination. She/He wants to separate herself/himself from mass tourism and is interested in culture, adventure tourism and education (Lennon & Foley 2000; Novelli 2005). Accelerated mobility, a feature of globalization, and the demand for educative tourism are enabling a kind of comeback of the 17th century Grand Tour, just in a global dimension. According to estimations of the United Nations World Tourism Organization, globally, heritage tourism shows the highest rate of growth and represents one fifth of the tourism market, whereby Asia and the Pacific are expected to become the second most important tourist destinations by 2020 (UNWTO 2010).

Widely interpreted as a vital force for reconstruction and reconciliation, featured by poverty alleviation and economic growth, this trend has shown to be especially profitable for developing and post-conflict countries (Winter 2007). Besides cultural tourism, sites of notable political violence, mass atrocities and disaster are receiving mounting interest from international tourists in these regions. Their rising demand to tour such site recently even called for differentiation and was thus defined as ‘dark tourism’ (Lennon & Foley 2000). Destinations like the prison of Robben Island, South Africa, wartime heritage tourism in Vietnam, as well as the possibility to do guided tours through the death zone of Chernobyl, Ukraine, are just a few examples.

As a result of these transformations in travel behaviour, “even the most extreme corners of human imagination can be catered for in a packaged way” (Novelli 2005). Specifically, lately genocide haunted countries like Serbia, Rwanda and Cambodia have also began to offer their war and genocide related sites to tourists. Monuments and memorials, initially dedicated for victims’ commemoration and higher goals like national reconciliation, nation building, symbolic justice and the overall intention to prevent further genocide, are being promoted as historical heritage with educative values (Beech 2009).

The negative side effect of these economic opportunities is that wartime heritage could become “another casualty vulnerable to exploitation for economic and political gain as well as other distortions arising from a confusion of standpoints and meanings” and can influence the representation of the sites (Henderson 2000). In this regard, warnings have been voiced about the utilization of war, its interpretation and representation to visitors (Timothy 2009). It is shown that the educative value of such “dark tourism” destinations can constitute a matter of contestation. Especially in countries where democracy is absent, the possibility of utilization in order to represent reshaped realities is considerably higher (Lennon & Foley 2000).

Eager to create the perfect tourism product, the appropriateness of representation sometimes seems threatened. The sensitivity of the subject matter and the need to show respect to the dead and injured can conflict with the tourists' gaze and demand for education (Henderson 2000; Seaton 1999). For the sake of economic gain, ethics and morality seem to vanish in the development of some sites. Moreover, when the affected are still alive and the deadly incidents are within living memory, the moral behaviour of visitors themselves, as well as of the operators, is argued to be under contestation. If participants of the tourist industries may be colleagues of aggressors of the past, the situation could be even more debatable (Timothy 2009, Henderson 2000).

Because of these reasons, the international media reacted with negative criticism when Cambodia's prime minister Hun Sen announced the touristic development of Anlong Veng district in March 2010. Disgusted about the circumstance that the grave of the genocidal Pol Pot constitutes one of the main attractions, the world's attention got directed towards the impoverished country. Known as the main perpetrator of the Cambodian genocide between 1975 and 1979, Pol Pot was responsible for the death of up to two million people. Furthermore, the area is still populated by former Khmer Rouge adherents, and the town is considered as one of the last few nests of the former Khmer Rouge who abandoned in 1999.

However, triggered by the rising interest of international tourism at Cambodia's already existing genocide related destinations, the project is expected to cause economic gains for the development of the remote jungle town. As the cabinet of Prime Minister Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge himself, argues, the development would allow "national and international guests to visit and understand the last political leadership of the genocidal regime" (Phnom Penh Post, 10th of March 2010). Constituting one out of 14 sites labelled as worth visiting, the "living museum" is being preserved for future generations and is dedicated to the facilitation of the national reconciliation process in Cambodia.

The present thesis investigates how far the development of a dark tourism destination like Anlong Veng, labelled as controversial, is actually able to accomplish its set objectives. Taking a closer look at the sites' representation and interpretation to its visitors, as well as its overall meaning for nationals themselves, the thesis evaluates, if this dark destination can be considered as worth visiting. Furthermore, it is examined if the moral concerns of the international media are warrantable, and if higher goals like reconciliation can be fostered with such an undertaking in a post conflict context as in Cambodia.

## 1.2. Purpose and Need of the study – the research question

Recent trends in travel behaviour are encouraging the development of war-related sites as a tourist attraction (Henderson 2000). Especially governments of developing and post-conflict countries do not shy away from taking economic advantage of their 'difficult heritages', meaning 'dark tourism' destinations. Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Cambodia are just the more recent ones to mention. Choeung Ek for instance, the conveniently reachable killing field nearby Cambodia's capital city Phnom Penh already constitutes a major financial contributor to the national economy (Lunn 2007, p.82). However, before labelling such destinations as amoral, a closer look is necessary. As Lennon and Foley argue, the "analysis of such dark tourism sites in terms of their selection, interpretation, use of media and the understanding of motivation for visitation, it is important to develop an understanding of human behaviour and understanding events in the 'other past' " (Lennon & Foley 2000, p.32). Otherwise, proper appreciation is impossible, whereby the 'other past' consists the untold stories and backgrounds which are not desirable to be told from the respective sites' initiators point of view. However, because the average tourist would not be able to analyse a site like Anlong Veng in such a way, it is in the responsibility of scholars.

Regarding the analysis of the representation of dark tourism sites which are displaying mass political violence and atrocities, lots of attention has been paid to the examination of the battlefields of the two World Wars (Seaton 1999, Lloyd 1998). Furthermore, Holocaust Memorials and Museums, which have been established almost everywhere in the political West, have already received considerable attention (Paul Williams 2004, Henderson 2000). Nevertheless, sites outside of Europe have been investigated comparatively scarcely by the scholars engaged in the so far fragile dark tourism research. Williams, a valuable contributor of scientific research concerning dark tourism in Cambodia states: "It is arguable that more than other genocides, the Cambodian case has remained in the shadow of the holocaust, both in the Western historical consciousness and in genocide studies" (Williams 2004, p.235).

While a few scholars and organizations contributed some significant interpretations and surveys concerning the international visitors' experience of the two already well frequented dark tourism sites of Cambodia, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and Choeung Ek Memorial (Ledgerwood 1997; Williams 2004; Hughes 2008; Moore 2009), little attention has been paid to the experiences at and meanings of the sites for nationals. So far, it is unclear if the assessment of the absence of such contributions means disinterest of scholarly attention or the actual absence of Cambodians at the two already well frequented dark destinations in Cambodia. Taking this lack of knowledge into consideration, the present thesis claims that it is necessary to include the

overall relation of the nationals to the respective travel destination into the research of dark tourism destinations.

That the development of some dark tourist destinations is perceived as questionable, as indicated by negative criticism in the international media, is reflected in the endeavours of several institutions that established guidelines for proper management. For instance, besides the infliction of values through the popular UNESCO world heritage scheme and the International Center of Transitional Justice (ICTJ), private organizations like the US-American International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) are also engaged in this field. Furthermore, the “Global Code of Ethics for Tourism” (GCEI), facilitated by the United Nations World Tourism Organization in 1997, reflects the existence of ethical challenges in this regard. Incorporating guidelines to ensure responsible tourism encounters, the comprehensive set of principles tries to include the needs of all stakeholders of the industry (UNWTO 2010).

While the UNWTO principles emanate from the best conditions, which are not always given, the other organizations are just accepting sites that display already the best conditions. However, the participation of all stakeholders in the development of a site can not be taken for granted. Nevertheless, tourism in developing countries is in the first instance identified as an important economic source, and remembrance is considered as globally important for future generations. In favour of the concentration on economic activities and gains - which is what constitutes the standard concern of the main textbooks in the field - the abstraction of cultural and social practice provides little information about the qualities of tourist experiences and their impact on the host cultures (Rojek & Urry 1997). However, “There is no evidence that sites are uniformly read and passively accepted by visitors” (Rojek and Urry 1997, p.14). Moreover, although urging the tourist to be informed as much as he can and emphasizing the importance of proper management and representation of a site, the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism and others are not questioning the development of a site in general. Thus, what if recent trends in travel and leisure lead to the showing of places that have never meant to be displayed for tourists’ gaze?

**Accordingly, the present thesis tries to answer the following research question:**

To what extent will the touristic development of Anlong Veng district, Cambodia, be the creation of a valuable destination (regarding representation, interpretation, education and overall meaning) for national and international visitors, as well as a vital source for reconciliation?

### **1.3. Research methodology and outline**

The thesis will set out with a theoretical framework, giving an overview of important terminologies and concepts. In outlining what has been done so far concerning dark tourism research, the origins of the term ‘dark tourism’ as well as the debate about its meaning and scope will be discussed. A feasible definition will be substantiated for further investigation. Following, the overall purpose, utilization and capabilities of memory and heritage sites will be described, whereby emphasizing that memory is a highly political tool. Furthermore, the decisive elements of the representation and interpretation of dark destinations are outlined. Finally, the ethical considerations and tensions between the tourists, pilgrims and locals at heritage sites are illustrated and discussed.

The second part of the thesis, the background section, contains all the information necessary to appreciate the specific setting of Cambodia as an international tourism destination. Initially, Cambodia’s national history and current political, social and economical situation is outlined, which is followed by an overall description of the development and characteristics of international tourism in the country. Subsequently, the role of memory in Cambodian society is analyzed in order to understand the national awareness, attitudes and feelings towards the Pol Pot regime. Finally, the already existent dark tourism research connected to Cambodia’s securely established dark tourism destinations is summarized, thereby completing the foundation for the main part of this thesis, which is to follow.

The main part of the present thesis contains the empirical analysis of the value of the historical heritage of Anlong Veng district consisting of three parts. Primary and secondary sources have been collected during the researchers’ field research at Phnom Penh and Anlong Veng, Cambodia in May/June 2010

Initially, the project itself is presented by means of governmental documents and statements, as well as respective information gathered during a personal talk with the Minister of Tourism of Anlong Veng. Secondly, the representation and interpretation of the site is outlined by the researcher, followed by the analysis of experiences by international tourists in Anlong Veng. Since the researcher did not meet any possible interviewees during her stay in Anlong Veng, she compensates the lack of resources by means of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of travel logs about international tourists’ experiences in Anlong Veng. This interdisciplinary method allows the researcher to present insights into the way discourse reproduces the fascination or disgust of this dark tourism destination (Titscher & Jenner 2000). The de-constructive reading and interpretation of these texts enables an understanding of the experiences at the heritage sites in

Anlong Veng and offers a way of approaching and thinking about possible resulting controversies. Therefore, five posts of travel weblogs concerning experiences at the historical heritage sites have been selected and analyzed. The selection has been made by the density of information in order to best display the variety of ‘dark tourists’ visiting the sites.

Thirdly, attempting to find out what kind of attitude Cambodians keep towards the development of the historical heritage of Anlong Veng district, qualitative semi-structured interviews with experts in the field of reconciliation and remembrance have been conducted. These interviewees, considered as experts, were supposed to most accurately know about Cambodian attitudes and relations towards the dark tourism sites of the country. An important part of the interviews focused on the life among victims and former perpetrators, the Cambodian attitude towards the touristic development of Anlong Veng and of the different public opinions existent in Cambodia concerning the dark destinations.

From the five interviews conducted (see Fig. 1), three have been held with Cambodians, of which two have been working in a Cambodian research institution, and the third inherited the position of the chair of a national NGO. One further interview was conducted with a German inheriting a leading position in a German international NGO, while the last one was held with a French University professor teaching at a Cambodian University. The last mentioned interview was accompanied by a student, who got especially invited by the interviewee himself, who believed that he would enrich the interview situation and results.

<b>Date/Time</b>	<b>Name *</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
May 18 <sup>th</sup> 2010 3.10pm	Mr. Anselm	50	German	Coordinator and representative of a German international NGO
May 20 <sup>th</sup> 2010 2pm	Mr. Bokat	25	Cambodian	Deputy Director of a Cambodian independent research institution
May 21 <sup>st</sup> 2010 4pm	Mr. Cham	30	Cambodian	Team Leader of a program of a Cambodian independent research institution
May 24 <sup>th</sup> 2010 2pm	Mr. Dong	40	Cambodian	Executive Director of a Cambodian NGO
May 25 <sup>th</sup> 2010 12am	Mr. Elian	60	French	History Professor at a Cambodian University

*\* anonymised                      age estimated by the author according to information provided by interviewee*

**Fig. 1: Interviewees**

In March 2010, first contacts have been established with German international institutions and organizations. Recommendations by Thomas Heilmeier, the deputy of the German

ambassador in Phnom Penh, facilitated the researcher's approach with the later German interviewee. After an email conversation and the generous support by the transmission of relevant resources, the cooperation was arranged.

The first Cambodian researcher has been selected due to his position of the Deputy Chair of the leading Cambodian research institution regarding the Cambodian genocide. The second Cambodian researcher has written the first comprehensive Cambodian high school history book and is leading the genocide education programme of the mentioned research institution in collaboration with the Cambodian Ministry of Education. Both of them are engaged in outreach programmes and community based reconciliation projects in remote areas of Cambodia. They showed a very supportive and interested attitude towards the researcher, so that the interviews could be arranged in advance as well.

The interview with the chair of the national NGO has been marshalled on site in order to conduct national insights independent from bigger institutions. Furthermore, the NGO showed a good reputation with its innovative programmes to foster the reconciliation process on the community level. The interview with the French professor has been arranged with support by a personal contact (former student of the researchers study program, Cambodian himself). The professor was engaged in the nationwide collection and documentation of evidence of the Cambodian genocide, edited a book about the Khmer Rouge regime and visited Anlong Veng already by himself with a group of students. Furthermore, he lived before and after the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and can thus be considered a direct witness of societal changes. The accompanying students' discipline was historical sciences, a course he is teaching at a private school in Phnom Penh.

The research was conducted by doing qualitative interviews, because the direct access to the mindset of Cambodian society would be difficult or even impossible because of the traumatic experiences under the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime. Furthermore, the complexity of the subject matter demands specialised language competence. Additionally, the direct receipt of insider knowledge enables the researcher to abbreviate otherwise long lasting observation processes which would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis (Bogner 2005).

Since qualitative methods live from the saturation of information, the five interviews, each lasting between one and two hours, lead to a representative amount of information to answer the outlined research question. The variety of the selected interviewees and the willingness of them to contribute to foreign scholarly interests in Cambodia were decisive in enabling this result. For the detailed interview structure, see appendix A.

#### 1.4. Abbreviations

CPK	Communist Party of Kampuchea (leading political party in Cambodia today)
DC-Cam	Documentation Center of Cambodia (leading independent research institution concerning the genocide in Cambodia, promoter of remembrance and justice)
DK	Democratic Kampuchea (Pol Pot regime)
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Khmer Rouge tribunal)
ICTJ	International Center of Transitional Justice (Non Governmental Organization)
KPRP	Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (predecessor of CPP, leading communist political party until Pol Pot's takeover)
MOT	Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PRK	Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (Vietnamese occupational government between 1979 and 1989)
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
S-21	Security Office 21, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (ruled the country between 1991 and 1993)
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1. Dark Tourism – A matter of debate

As widely agreed, dark tourism can be defined as the visiting of places affected by death, suffering, violence and disaster. Although it appears to have been discovered recently as a new phenomenon, it is also argued that as long as people have been able to travel, they have been drawn to such locations. According to the latter argument, gladiatorial games and public executions in the Middle Age could be interpreted as early ‘dark tourism’ destinations too (Sharpley & Stone 2009). Out of this controversy, the scholars endeavoured in the relatively new field of ‘Dark Tourism’ research are still debating about the framework and scope (from destinations like the London ‘Dungeon’ through places of pilgrimage such as graves, battlefields and monuments of the World Wars to sites of genocide, major disasters or atrocities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) of the concept. In the following, the most applied terms and definitions are outlined and discussed.

The most frequent terms identifiable within the yet rare literature concerning the topic are ‘dark tourism’, ‘thanatourism’ and ‘grief tourism’, which are basically inter-changeable due to the persistent insecurity of terminology.

However, the lately evolved interest and scientific debate arisen from the phenomenon got stimulated by the scientists John Lennon and Malcolm Foley when they coined the attention attracting term ‘dark tourism’ in 1996 (Sharpley & Stone 2009). According to their comprehensive account “Dark Tourism – The attraction of death and disaster“, dark tourism is a recent phenomenon and constitutes “an intimation of post-modernity“(Lennon & Foley 2000, p.11). Lennon and Foley back their argument with the finding that global communication technologies create familiarity and interest in specific sites, and that these sites conversely introduce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity. For instance, just as the visit of the assassination site of JFK questions democracy, the visit of Auschwitz would question humanity as a whole (Lennon & Foley 2000).

On the contrary, A. V. Seaton, who coined the earlier term ‘thanatourism’, includes all dark events of history within his terminology. According to him, ‘thanatourism’ is embodied by the desire for symbolic or actual encounters with death, whereby it doesn’t matter if wholly or just partially motivated to do so (Seaton 1996). In describing the battle of Waterloo as a tourist attraction since the battle itself, immediately afterwards as well as today, he emphasizes that the phenomenon, indeed, has already existed before the age of Modernity (Seaton 1999). David W. Lloyd strengthens this argument with the concept of ‘battlefield tourism’ which he discovered

also as a phenomenon already existent during the half century before the Great War, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the modern tourist industry evolved (Lloyd 1998). Sharpley and Stone, who published the most recent broader analysis of dark tourism, “The Darker Side of Travel”, are also supporting a more simple and general definition of the phenomenon and define it “as the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering, and the seemingly macabre” (Sharpley & Stone 2009, p.10).

As mentioned earlier, contemporary trends in travel indicate that heritage tourism is on the rise today. Especially the increasing interest in sites related to recent mass atrocities, death and disaster indeed deserves more attention, because of its peculiar character. The increased interest in dark tourism can be at least considered as an intimation of post-modernity, due to its feature to be fostered by the highest rate of mobility ever, as well as the felt boredom of traditional travel customs.

Another approach, which supports the necessity to separate the more recent phenomenon from earlier manifestations of dark tourism, constitutes the invention of the term ‘grief tourism’. The term got introduced in the connection with the murders of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman, when a significant number of people visited the village of Soham in Cambridgeshire following their murders in 2002 (Sharpley & Stone 2009). That the “terms grief tourist and grief tourism have subsequently been associated with visitors to Ground Zero in New York” (MacMillan online 2010), is underpinning the requirement of differentiation within the broad scope of the dark tourism manifestation.

Although several theorists emphasize the necessity to investigate dark tourism regarding the motivation of tourists to visit the sites, the impetuses to do so are subsidiary for the background of this thesis. Instead, the impact and overall meaning of the specific dark destination is considered as important, which is why the present thesis concentrates on the representation and experiences at the respective site. Agreeing with Lennon and Foley, it is argued that stops at death sites on a tour itinerary can have the same amount of significance for tourists as individual trips to such destinations. Therefore, “those who visit due to serendipity, the itinerary of tour companies or the merely curious who happen to be in the vicinity” are understood as the basis of dark tourism (Lennon & Foley 2000, p.23). Conclusively, the experiences of researchers, politicians or specialists on site are not adequate to answer the outlined research question. Likewise, Tony Walter, professor of death studies at the University of Bath, UK, argues that there is indeed no specific motivation to investigate. The visiting of dark tourism sites is more likely to

happen by accident or randomly and is not encouraged by the wish to encounter death and disaster (Walter 2009).

Nevertheless, while Lennon and Foley's approach mainly concentrates on representation, interpretation and consumption, Walter emphasizes the necessity to also include the meaning of memories related to the site into the analysis of dark tourism destinations. Otherwise it would be a one sided endeavour. However, Walter agrees with Lennon and Foley that dark tourism can inherit the feature to question modernity.

## **2.2. The politics of Memory and Dark Tourism**

As Walter argues, in order to understand the phenomenon of dark tourism, the relationship that the living have with dark tourism sites needs to get included into the investigation. Accordingly, dark tourism has to get located within the institutions which link the living to death and to the dead. Only then can we find out what functions such sites may hold for society as much as for individuals (Walter 2009). Such institutions constitute for instance memorials and museums dedicated to the victims of political violence and mass atrocities, typical destinations of dark tourism. They are tools of transitional justice and reminders of the past.

Since the French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs coined the term "collective memory", it is widely agreed that memory is socially constructed. It "is a process of constant negotiation among various groups and social forces that compete with one another over which aspects of the past future generations will remember" (Bickford 2009, p.15). Since the most powerful competitor constitutes the state, its interests are decisive in how human rights abuses and atrocities are being recalled and remembered. "The memorials a state erects, the national holidays selected, the museums subsidized, the politicians' speeches celebrating or mourning the past and defining a state's self-perception, all contribute to a collective memory that changes over time" (Adam 2000, p.88). Historical memories consisting of public memorials, monuments, and museums about past human rights abuse, crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide offer physical spaces for the mourning and healing of victims and survivors (ICTJ online 2010). However, if no collectively accepted perception of the past exists and societies are divided, "opinions can legitimately differ about this interpretative and moral truth" of a memorial (Adam 2000, p.88). In this case, sites of remembrance are considered as contested, thus showing that it is always necessary to differentiate between collective memory and historical facts.

According to Lisa M. Moore, humanitarian policy officer in the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in New York, four primary motivations for the construction of a memorial can be identified. Initially, memorials can be a form of symbolic justice to “affirm the humanity of those who were killed and ascribe accountability for their deaths, thereby fighting a culture of impunity often endemic after violence” (Moore 2009, p.56). Furthermore, memorials can serve as vehicles of reconciliation and nation-building, whereby the latter depends heavily on how useful memorials may be as arbiters of history making. “In the spirit of Benedict Anderson’s imagined communities, memorials provide the victors regimes with a mechanism of imagining a new nation through the narratives of the past they disseminate” (Moore 2009, p.57). Finally, the motivation to proclaim the lesson “Never Again”, immanent in the Holocaust Memorials proliferated all over the world, tries to prevent through education (Moore 2009).

The construction of memorials constitutes one of many possibilities of transitional justice after human rights abuses have occurred. However, the various ways of grappling with the past, like truth commissions, trials and justice, lustration, restitutions, amnesia and re-education are also shaped and influenced by the politics of memory, means the interest of the powerful. If memories are divided, “remembering cannot be the same for perpetrators and victims”(Adam 2000, p.108). And if the powerful try to do so, both groups of society can fall into false memories. If this is the case, historical heritage is endangered to be again victimized by political re-education and amnesia in form of ignoring the precarious truths. For this reason, memorials are shaped by certain interest groups and are dealing as much about the past as they are influencing the future.

### **2.3. Selection, representation and interpretation of Dark Tourism sites**

As Lennon and Foley show with their broad analysis, the representation and interpretation of dark tourism destinations is heavily dependent on the socio-political situation of the respective countries. Besides their use for a variety of purposes, including entertainment, preservation, information, education and profit, they can get utilized for propaganda, serving as objects of transitional justice, or their message is determined by political interests. Nevertheless, since dark tourism is booming, the economical factor plays a decisive role in the selection of a site and is rising in importance. Moreover, destinations can evolve by accident, thus meaning by tourists’ interest, as much as “communication technologies have shaped perceptions of what are the significant sites in the political history of the twentieth century” (Lennon & Foley 2000, p.20).

Although some sites may be ordinary and familiar for locals, they are experienced as extraordinary, unique and exotic by tourists. However, since the benefits of globalisation challenge the existence of traditional lifestyles and historical sites, the representation of them is often vastly different than to what they were actually like in the past. From this follows that the question of the authenticity of a site is a very important point to consider when assessing dark tourism sites. As it is shown above, memorial sites are influenced by many factors, which is why authenticity seems to be an overall relative concept. Nevertheless, the sanitization and idealization of places and events for the sake of the final tourism product constitutes another influencing factor. Despite everything, no account of the past can claim to be authentic since it is represented in the present (Prideaux, Timothy, Kaye 2009).

It has to be differentiated whether a site is a primary or secondary location of represented events. It is argued that “there is a difference between sites *associated with* death, disaster, and depravity and sites *of* death, disaster, and depravity” (Miles 2002, p.1175). Understandably, the visit of Auschwitz would be darker tourism than the visit of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, where just simulations, replications and virtual experiences are displayed (Lennon & Foley 2000). Being where it actually happened is supposed to constitute a more intense and authentic experience than consuming a sanitized copy of it. However, commercialization can abbreviate the authenticity of a site as is shown by the representation and operation of the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, also called “Auschwitz land” among scholars and journalists. The authenticity of the site got distorted over regime changes and was accommodated for mass tourism, which is why the visit is today considered more like an experience than commemoration. Thus, “its relationship to tourism and its potential appearance as spectacle and entertainment are problematic” (Lennon & Foley 2000, p.58).

While scholars are still debating about how much authenticity is appropriate at all, the expedient representation and interpretation of mass killing and political violence seems to be a seemingly impossible undertaking. For instance, it is shown that dark destinations “are especially marketable if they were notorious, if the perpetrators of death or pain were especially cruel, if the historic regime was manifestly unjust, or if those who suffered were famous or especially sympathetic victims” (Strange 2003, p.389). Such developments can be followed up in the omnipresence of war as a tourist attraction in Vietnam, well promoted and advertised in the country and abroad. Advertisements like “In 1967, the safest place for a newborn was 6 feet underground”, in which an advert at the Malaysian airport tried to attract the interest in the Cu Chi tunnels as a “heritage experience” are impartial of the Vietnamese experience (Lunn 2007, p.89). The firing of actual weapons, a tour of the Ho Chi Minh trail, as well as the War Museum in the capital complete this experience.

Nevertheless, if properly conserved and interpreted, the sites mentioned above are considered to possibly enable a better understanding of the socio-cultural and political situation of the toured country (Prideaux, Timothy, Kaye 2009).

#### **2.4. Ethical considerations - Living memories and the tourist gaze**

Memorials are getting erected to offer an open space for the commemoration and remembering of the dead as well as to contribute in an educative way positively for persistent peace after atrocity occurred. By doing so, they can constitute a sacred space at which the living relates to the dead. Therefore, as the dark tourist arrives on the scene and exploitation of tragic history may take place, tensions can arise. “In the recent decades, as the pace of tourism has increased, heritage has become an important selling point, but is often sold to the buyers who have little real interest in, or concern for, the meaning of the culture they are gazing upon” (Prideaux, Timothy, Kaye 2008, p. 2).

Cases like Bosnia, Cambodia and Chernobyl show that dark tourism in both, its production and its consumption generates a certain amount of moral commentary in the media. Although it is criticized that this media coverage may be selective, partly dogmatic and not accurate, the freedom of the press is considered as advocate for moral dimensions never to be far from commentary and academic discourse. Nevertheless, dark tourism media coverage “identifies moral perils as an apparent consequence and offers a parochial view of morality and ethics”, which is what has to get resolved (Stone 2009, p.60).

As Lloyd argues, tensions between the tourist and the pilgrim have already been existent since Waterloo. When the memorial got an attraction, the sacred got in tension with the profane. The preparation of the site for mass tourism (roads, accommodation, cleaning up) lead to the trivialization of the war experience. At Waterloo, “tourists got identified as war profiteers, who had not participated in the sacrifices to win the war”, what shocked the veterans when seeing fun and frivolity on the battlefield (Lloyd 1998, p.43). Furthermore, the language of anti-tourism which arose in the interwar period “offered a means for individual travellers to define themselves as different and superior to the other ‘tourists’ they encountered” (Lloyd 1998, p.19). Parallels to today’s developments seem obvious. Interestingly enough, tourists did not perceive themselves as tourists at Waterloo, but as promoters of international peace (Lloyd 1998).

Indeed, if those who have been affected by the displayed atrocities are still alive and are using the site for commemoration and remembrance, conflicts between them and the actual tourists on site are obvious. Tunbridge and Ashworth, who contributed a significant account about the proper management of dark tourism sites, argue that “the living memory must actually expire

before the question can be dispassionately weighted” (Henderson 2000, p.115). A more recent example of this dichotomy between those who use a site for the remembrance of loved ones and the ‘gazing’ tourists constitutes Ground Zero in New York. As some scholars have warned, “the refashioning of punishment as a tourism product raises ethical questions about the commodification of suffering and its evident entertainment value” (Strange 2003, p.401). “The predicaments of managing wartime heritage as a visitor attraction are especially acute when occurrences are within living memory, exemplified by instances in Southeast Asia” (Timothy 2009, p.79). Recreations as in Vietnam can easily get transformed in ghoulish voyeurism, especially when economic pressure occurs.

Particularly if victims are still alive, the operation of sites of mass atrocity and political violence is contentious. Considering that many contemporary genocide sites, like for instance Rwanda, Bosnia and Cambodia, are kinds of ‘live’ mass graves, where human remains and artefacts are still being discovered, tourists may be seen as intruders. Especially those who have no personal connection to the genocide, its victims or perpetrators could be disturbing factors in the healing process of a nation (Beech 2009).

However, as much as dark tourism is booming, an outstanding question remains: what has to be marked as a site and what does not? While some argue that remembering is always better than forgetting, a few scientists are wondering if some historical sites have never been meant to be displayed, but rather forgotten (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Indeed, some places of mass atrocities and political violence are not managed because they are too difficult to manage (Reeves 2009), even if the resulting historical landscape is incomplete. One example for this type of neglect is the German attitude towards the “Gestapo Gelände” and the “Führerbunker” in Berlin. Worried that sympathizers could pilgrim to the sites, they are not preserved, which also resembles the obliteration of memory (Lennon & Foley 2000).

### 3. Background

#### 3.1. Characteristics of Cambodia as a tourist destination

Cambodia's feature as a tourist destination is characterized by its tragic history, which will be outlined initially. The foremost known historians of Cambodian history, Adam Chandler and Ben Kiernan, as well as genocide researcher Craig Etcheson, constitute the respective sources in this regard. Subsequently, the current humanitarian and political situation will be outlined, what is to be followed by an overview about the overall tourism development and its impacts on the country.

##### 3.1.1. Decisive stages in Cambodian history

Although the more recent history of Cambodia, the 'genocidal Pol Pot regime', may constitute the main decisive historical stage for the background of this thesis, some preceding and subsequent happenings as well as Cambodia's geographical location are important to consider.



Fig. 2: Map of Cambodia (<http://www.yatesweb.com/cambodia/images>)

Initially, the region known nowadays as Cambodia was the location of the great Angkorean Empire inaugurated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when "Khmer kinship gave rise to one of the most powerful and long lasting hierocratic states in the world" (Dutt 1996, p.219). During this glorious stage of Khmer history, the impressive temples of Angkor got erected, which play the most

decisive role in Cambodia's tourism industry today, as well as representing the national pride of many Cambodians. However, since the Empire's downfall in the fifteenth century, Cambodia's fate has been determined by its two stronger neighbours. Thailand and Vietnam absorbed and encapsulated the Cambodian territory since then, which was usually preceded and followed by ruinous civil wars (Chandler 2000). It should be noted that Cambodians always felt closer to the Buddhist Thai culture than the Sinic-Vietnamese one. The harsher and more violent approach of the Vietnamese neighbours was decisive for the fate of the country and characterizes the foreign relations of Cambodia up to this day (Chandler 2008).

#### *Under French occupation*

In 1864, Cambodia got forced to search French protection, because of the pressure from their neighbouring countries, wherewith a century of French occupation went its course. Besides the self-interested construction of roads and railways that led to a short economic boom during the 1920s, the French showed little interest in the underdeveloped country (Chandler 2000). Nevertheless, they retook Angkor from Thai rule and restored its archaeological sites, which has shown to be essential for the monuments' popularity and significance today (Kiernan 2004). Politically, the governing elite were allowed to function ceremonially, but the bureaucracy was largely staffed with French speaking Vietnamese, stirring up even more hatred against this neighbouring state (Chandler 2000).

#### *Cambodia after independence*

After gaining independence from France in 1953, Prince Sihanouk performed a relatively stable aristocratic government from 1954 to 1969, anxious to pose a neutral position during the Cold War (Chandler 2000). However, the strong political left, which emerged with the development of Cambodian self-awareness, described a serious threat for his reign. Embodied by the emerging Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP), this faction recruited mainly returning students from France, full of rising anger against the Vietnamese. For them, the liberation from the French was just "a stage in the Cambodian Revolution rather than a goal" (Chandler 2000, p.182). After a coup in 1970, King Sihanouk fled to China and Prime Minister General Lon Nol, backed by the US, overtook the government. The strong political left, labelled as Khmer Rouge from outsiders, aligned with King Sihanouk, terrorized the civilian population and gained control of a significant amount of Cambodian territory during Lon Nol's reign (Buckley 2001).

### *Cambodia as a side show of the Cold War – Genocide in Cambodia*

Saloth Sar, better known under the name Pol Pot, was one of the earlier mentioned returning students from France. He was inspired by the ongoing Maoist Cultural Revolution in China and led the former KPRP since 1966, now renamed Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). Intended to fight the communists in the area, an US bombing attacks killed up to 100,000 peasants and devastated the countryside in the north-east of Cambodia by 1973. Different than was intended, this incident gets attributed to have helped the violent communists to recruit even more supporters (Kiernan 2004). Moreover, some scholars agree that “the US ‘intervention’ was probably the most important single factor in Pol Pot’s rise” (Buckley 2001, p.637). In April 1975, Pol Pot and his adherents overthrew the Lon Nol regime and proclaimed the revolutionary regime of Democratic Kampuchea (DK), which turned out to be a nightmare for Cambodian society (Chandler 2000).

In order to alter Cambodia into a self-sufficient agrarian country free from subjugation by foreign and class enemies, cities got evacuated and a two class society, egalitarian in racial and rural terms, got erected. Money, markets, formal education, Buddhism, books, private property, diverse clothing styles and freedom of movement were destroyed or abolished (Chandler 2000). Due to the destruction of family ties, individuals’ past got erased and the youth indoctrinated as well as manipulated with DK’s ideology. Possible enemies of the regime, officials of prior regimes, ethnic minorities like the Cham Muslim’s, Thai, Chinese and ethnic Vietnamese, educated Cambodians and religious leaders got systematically executed. Furthermore, people died as direct result of DK policies and actions, including overwork, neglect or mistreatment of the sick and distribution of too less food than needed to survive. Under DK, up to 2 million innocent civilians, meaning one out of five Cambodians in the country, got killed or died within just three and a half years between April 1975 and January 1979 (Kiernan 2007).

### *The end of DK, Vietnamese occupation, civil war and the United Nations in Cambodia*

A split within the leading parties weakened the revolutionary movement from within and defectors went over to the communists in Vietnam at the end of the 1970s (Chandler 2000). Territorial demands of DK, its pro Chinese alignment and overall unpopularity mirrored by the masses of refugees forced Vietnam to invade Cambodia in 1979. The atrocities discovered at this point in Cambodia were used for the justification of the invasion and the following occupation of the destructed country by Vietnam during the 1980s (Morris 1999). The “Vietnamese puppet government”, the socialist Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), faced a run-down country, characterized by a population in shock, famine, shortages, a countryside spread with landmines, and insecurity in 1979 (Dutt 1996, p.228). Additionally, the country was again split and torn by

civil war, making development nearly impossible. Furthermore, in the shade of the Cold War, or “for geopolitical reasons” (Kiernan 2004, p.17), the international community kept accepting the exiled genocidal DK governments’ representative within the United Nations General Assembly throughout the 1980s (Chandler 2008). Not until the end of the Cold War the international community recognized the deteriorated situation in Cambodia and negotiated a ceasefire between the fighting factions in Paris in 1991. However, despite representing the largest UN peacekeeping operation ever, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), dispatched until 1993, was not able to restore democracy for a longer period. Instead, a coup by one of the coalition Prime Ministers Hun Sen, “ended democracy in Cambodia” again in 1997 (Buckley 2001, p.643). Simultaneously, the 1991 already backed out Khmer Rouge guerrillas kept killing Cambodian troops and civilians until they got finally defeated in 1999, shortly after Pol Pot’s death in 1998 (Kiernan 2004).

### **3.1.2. Political, social and economical situation – Impunity in Cambodia**

Despite the endeavours of the United Nations, “Cambodia today is controlled by most of the same people who gained power in 1979”, argues Duncan McCargo, professor of Southeast Asian politics at the University of Leeds (McCargo 2005, p.109). Indeed, today’s Prime Minister Hun Sen, a in 1978 defected Khmer Rouge, dominates the country since Vietnamese occupation. Under his reign, instead of criminal prosecution, governmental campaigns against the Khmer Rouge guerrillas have been combined with offers designed to encourage defection for national reconciliation. In order to prevent further civil war, surrendering Khmer Rouge soldiers received royal pardon or got absorbed into the national army throughout the 1990s (Chandler 2000).

According to genocide researcher Craig Etcheson, this circumstance “fed cynicism in the international human rights community about the seriousness of Cambodia’s verbal commitment to retributive justice” (Etcheson 2000, p.115), which is why from 1997 on-lasting negotiations led eventually to the international tribunal named “Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia” (ECCC) in 2003 (ECCC website 2010). However, many scholars are arguing like Buckley that the courts would be a clumsy political compromise. Taking place on Cambodian ground with a majority of Cambodian staff and a still existent lack of accountability, Hun Sen’s influence in the proceedings keeps secured (Etcheson 2000).

Indeed, the long-lasting negotiations and delayed factual opening of the tribunal in early 2007 may be dedicated to Hun Sen’s aim “to protect certain members of his own government that were once Khmer Rouge members”, as well as to the fact that “he has granted amnesty in exchange for political support to many senior regime leaders” (Buckley 2001, p.648). This

circumstance reasons also his previous policy of “enforced amnesia”, as broadly outlined by Chandler (Chandler 2008). Moreover, complicating factors include the possibility that a more widely defined judicial process could indict Hun Sen or King Sihanouk themselves, why the UN “has been obliged to agree upon a formula that would focus the tribunal on a small group of leaders” (McCargo 2005, p.105), sentencing just “serious crimes committed during the Khmer Rouge regime 1975-1979” (ECCC website/intro 2010), thus ignoring among others crimes under the regimes of Lon Nol and Hun Sen himself.

Nevertheless, observers attribute the trial as a vital and urgently necessary tool to open a public debate about Cambodia’s past. The possibility to debate about the DK regime is considered as more valuable than accepting orders from above that the period should be forgotten (Chandler 2008). Guek Eav Kaing, alias Duch, the Secretary of S-21 (the security centre widely known as Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum), has been sentenced for “Crimes Against Humanity, Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and Homicide and Torture“ to life-long imprisonment in September 2009 (case information sheet for case 001, ECCC website 2010). The second case, the trial of the second head of state, Nuon Chea, is ongoing now. Observed from the outside, the trial of solely five (originally seven, but two died while awaiting trial) prosecutors of a regime which killed up to two million people, may seem more likely to be a symbolic endeavour than an actual attempt at justice.

The Pol Pot regime and its following decades of civil war devastated the once prosperous country of the 1960s, why it is counted to be one of the Least Developed Countries in the world today (UN-OHRLLS 2010), ranking on place 137 out of 182 countries within the human development index of the United Nations (UNDP 2010). David Chandler confirms that certain elements of Cambodian life and thinking, especially in rural areas, did not change so much over the last thousand years (Chandler 2000). Almost two decades after UNTAC, Cambodia stays aid-dependent, receiving for instance US\$500 million foreign aid in 2004 (McCargo 2005, p.101). According to estimates, 35% of the population are living below the national poverty line, whereby more than 80.5% of the population is living in the countryside of the agricultural shaped country (Asian Development Bank 2009).

Furthermore, two decades of civil war turned Cambodia into one of the most mined countries of the world. With the projection that the country will never totally be demined, the hidden dangers are still injuring and killing people (Stuehrenberg 2003). Moreover, the outlined political situation fosters corruption, thus becoming a central concern for donor states and Cambodians themselves (Transparency International 2008). Shockingly, a “national survey showed that people view the Ministry of Justice as the most corrupt government agency”

(McCargo 2005, p.102). Nevertheless, the impoverished country attracts a rising number of tourists since the middle of the 90s, which will be outlined in the following section.

### **3.1.3. Tourism development in Cambodia**

Already during the 1960s, Cambodia was one of the most popular tourist destinations in Southeast Asia with annual visitor numbers of approximately 50,000 to 70,000 people (Hall & Ringer 2000). However, in contrast, the following two decades of turmoil, revolution and civil war made tourism development inside the country impossible.

However, the designation of the temples of Angkor Wat as a world heritage site by the UNESCO in 1992, recalled attention to the slowly recovering country. The immense historical importance and global prestige of the site got emphasized, leading to an enormous influx of international assistance. “Since the early 1990s more than 20 countries – including France, Japan, China, India, America, Germany, Italy and Australia - have together donated millions of dollars to help safeguard the temples” (Winter 2008, p.528).

The circumstance that monumental reconstruction was tied together with socio-political reconstruction at Angkor made the site additionally serving as a keystone in the reconstruction of a Cambodian national, cultural and ethnic identity (Winter 2008). Moreover, the characteristic of being a world heritage site led to a greater visibility of it and conclusively to the return of increased interest in the country as a whole (Timothy 2009).

In the middle of the 90s, the touring of Cambodia was possible again, but was crippled by assaults of Khmer Rouge guerrilla fighters until the end of the 1990's. War-torn conditions like “poor roads, sparse adequate accommodations, few capable staff and a dearth of health facilities” reflected the larger post-conflict situation of the country, bothered by a lack of human capital and weak government institutions (Wood 2009, p.98; Winter 2008).

With growing political stability in 1999, Cambodia was engaged in significant regional cooperation measures and organizations in order to promote its tourism potential more sufficiently (Wood 2009). With tourism receipts contributing around 16% to Cambodia's GDP in 2007, up from 6.3% in 2000 (IFC, WB, MPDF 2008), tourism represented (besides agriculture and the garment industry) a significant contributor to the country's economy in 2009 (World Bank 2010).

The following diagram of the Ministry of Tourism most recent “Tourism Statistics Report 2009” reflects these numbers (MOT report 2010):

<b>Visitor Arrivals, Average Length of Stay, Hotels Occupancy and Tourism Receipts 1993 - 2008</b>					
Years	Visitor Arrivals		Average Length	Hotels Occupancy	Tourism Receipts
	number	change (%)	of Stay (days)	(%)	(million US\$)
1993	118,183	0.00	N/A	N/A	N/A
1994	176,617	49.44%	N/A	N/A	N/A
1995	219,680	24.38%	8.00	37.00	100
1996	260,489	18.58%	7.50	40.00	118
1997	218,843	-15.99%	6.40	30.00	103
1998	289,524	32.30%	5.20	40.00	166
1999	367,743	27.02%	5.50	44.00	190
2000	466,365	26.82%	5.50	45.00	228
2001	604,919	29.71%	5.50	48.00	304
2002	786,524	30.02%	5.80	50.00	379
2003	701,014	-10.87%	5.50	50.00	347
2004	1,055,202	50.53%	6.30	52.00	578
2005	1,421,615	34.72%	6.30	52.00	832
2006	1,700,041	19.59%	6.50	54.79	1,049
2007	2,015,128	18.53%	6.50	54.79	1,400
2008	2,125,465	5.48%	6.65	62.68	1,595
2009	2,161,577	1.70%	6.45	63.57	1,561

**Fig. 3: Cambodia visitors' statistics (Ministry of Tourism 2009)**

Nevertheless, the tourism industry is not as vital for the economy as it could be, because it is characterized by instability (political insecurity, financial crisis ...) and the major revenues get spent on foreign companies (organized group tourism) (Wood 2009). Furthermore, recent economic growth “is urban-focused, with limited linkages to the rural economy, where 80.5% of all Cambodians (and 92% of poor people) live” (Asian Development Bank 2009). Uneven incomes within the centres, the exclusion of local producers and the lack of physical infrastructure are further development hampering factors (Wood 2009; Winter 2007). Consequently, the government engages in the development frameworks of sustainable tourism, meaning the inclusion of rural communities within their promotional framework, the provision of training in tourism-related skills and the improvement of linkages between the rural and urban populations (UNWTO 2010; Wood 2009).

### ***Origin of Cambodia's tourists and sites of interest***

The majority of Cambodia's visitors are from the Asian and the Pacific regions (63.27%), mainly arriving from South Korea, Vietnam and Japan, followed by visitors from Western and Northern Europe (Germany, France, United Kingdom) and the United States (Ministry of Tourism 2010). Cambodia's popularity among tourists arises mainly from the interest to visit the temples of Angkor (Winter 2007). In 2009, almost half of Cambodia's visitors, 46.17% of 2,161,577 tourists, came directly to Siem Reap to visit the UNESCO world heritage site, while the remaining tourists also toured Phnom Penh and other destinations (Ministry of Tourism 2010).

This development of Angkorian centric heritage and tourism industries led to concerns that the country could trap itself into a “mono-cultural, mono-ethnic national identity” (Winter 2008, p.532).

In order to counteract the mentioned concentration of tourists at Angkor, the city of Siem Reap, the Ministry of Tourism is, as has already been mentioned, very much engaged in the promotion of tourism to the remaining parts of the country. Ecotourism in the western provinces and the coastal destinations besides the well frequented beach of Sihanoukville is supposed to enhance the Cambodian spectrum of tourist destinations. The promoted sites include nature reservoirs, beautiful landscapes, pagodas and waterfalls (Ministry of Tourism 2010).

Nevertheless, the country’s capital Phnom Penh constitutes the second most visited tourist destination. Thereby, Phnom Penh hosts besides attractions like the National Museum, King Palace and Wat Phnom, also the two most popular dark tourist destinations of the country. These constitute the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and Choeng Ek Memorial, which are elaborated later more detailed, but explained shortly at this point.

Situated within the Phnom Penh area, the two dark tourist sites are among the top tourist destinations. As indicated by the following photograph of a Tuk Tuk advertisement in Phnom Penh, they are included in the proposal of every city Tuk Tuk tour.



**Fig. 4: Tuk Tuk advertisement**

The Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes in the centre of Phnom Penh was formerly a high school called Tuol Svay Prey (the hillcock of the wild mango) (Ledgerwood 1997). However, during the DK regime, the site served as a secret center for systematic torture and murder, code-named S-21 (Security Office 21). More than 14,000 innocents, mainly cadre who were accused of betraying the revolution, got brought to the facility, where they were tortured and killed (Williams 2004).

While some died in the prison itself, most of the prisoners were sent to Choeng Ek, constituting the other popular dark tourism site of the country at the outskirts of Phnom Penh

(between 10 and 15 km away, estimates vary). Choeung Ek was originally a Chinese graveyard and got utilized as a killing site and burial ground for an estimated 17,000 men, women, children and infants from 1977 to the end of 1978. In order to save valuable bullets, the victims were brutally beheaded or bludgeoned to death by various tools like hammers and axes right by the pits (Williams 2004). The killing field of Choeung Ek was discovered just a year after liberation. When the Vietnamese realized its significance, resulting from the huge amount of mass graves, they turned this site into a place of evidence.

The Ministry of Tourism may refrain from mentioning these sites as attractions, but believing the major guidebooks and brochures of Phnom Penh as well as guesthouse recommendations, these sites are part of the Cambodian tourist experience. Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge situated in the Northwest of the country, is considered to constitute the third dark tourist destination in this regard.

#### **3.1.4. Images of Cambodia**

Touristic images of Cambodia are determined by the two ubiquitous themes, Angkor and the legacy of the Khmer Rouge, the killing fields. As Winter argues, for “the vast majority of tourists who have toured the country since the early 1990’s, an inherently complex cultural and social history spanning thousand of years has been dissolved into two overwhelmingly dominant, yet polarized, episodes: one modern and ‘tragic’, the other ancient and ‘glorious’” (Winter 2006, p.37). Winter offers four analytical themes to explore the ways in which the country is (re)presented to, framed and known by today’s international visitor, which will be summarized in the following section.

The first theme considers the temples and artifacts as still *buried deep in the jungle*, whereby the temples are actually far from isolated but within “a landscape of tourism tropes - including souvenirs, postcards and themed restaurants” (Winter 2006, p.40). Furthermore, the jungle is getting associated with still hiding Khmer Rouges and the political others, darkness and luring bombs, which would converge within the single narrative represented in guidebooks (Winter 2006). The setting of the American blockbuster “Tomb Raider” at Angkor’s temple Tha Prom confirms this image. Unfortunately, the movie promotes a volatile picture of the accessibility of the temples, whose existence is already endangered due to the touching and climbing by visiting tourists (Winter 2002).

The second theme concerns the advice to stay at the *well-trodden path*, which is why the warning of landmines constitutes another omnipresent feature of all guidebooks on Cambodia. The narrative of Cambodia as a country once again “opening up” makes the tourist feel to be an explorer of yet not touristic regions, an adventurer or thanatourist, who encounters sites of war and genocide (Winter 2006, p.43).



**Fig. 5: Satisfaction of images of danger**

The resulting associations of Cambodia with violence, danger and dependency are also reflected in the T-Shirts printed with “Danger: Mines” and “I survived Cambodia” (Hughes 2008).

The *revival and restoration* of the temples of Angkor Wat describes the third theme, widely considered by global media coverage. Winters’ last discovered theme constitutes *Megalomania*, the fact that the fascination of the ancient contradicts with the interest in the recent inhuman history of Cambodia.

Winter states that the tourist's fascination in the sculptures and artefacts would in some kind contradict with the interest in the macabre, embodied by the shopping of stone carvings as well as biographies of the survivors of the Pol Pot regime (Winter 2006).



**Fig. 6: Survivor biographies of the pol pot regime**

Images of Cambodia are also communicated via movies and films. The British drama “The Killing Fields” produced by Warner Brothers in 1984 constitutes a very popular account. Directed by Roland Joffe, the film narrates the survivor story of the Cambodian Dith Pran and the American journalist Sydney Schanberg, who are reporting from Phnom Penh about the revolution in Cambodia. Pran’s story under the regime is considered as a unique and detailed portrayal of Cambodia between 1973 and 1980. The film’s description “was responsible for alerting audiences worldwide to the Cambodian genocide” and received various awards (Hughes 2003, p.31). In British society, it meanwhile inherits cult status and is understood as “unstinting in its cinematic and, more broadly, political intelligence”, which is what made it to be one of the “finest British films of the last 50 years” (Film4 2010).

The German drama “Same same, but different”, a film directed by the German Detlev Buck in August 2009, constitutes another true, but more recent story of Cambodian reality. It treats the

topic of war and sex tourism in Cambodia, in order to describe the love story between the German backpacker Ben and the Cambodian bar girl Sreykeo, who is HIV-positive. Although criticized for offering too little explanation and keeping on the surface in regard to the love story itself, the film got awarded by Variety, an American show-biz-magazine. It certainly describes the most recent and substantive display of the Cambodian reality of today (Höbel 2010; Same Same But Different 2010).

### **3.2. Memory in Cambodian Society**

In order to comprehend the significance of genocide related dark tourism destinations in Cambodia for Cambodians themselves, it is necessary to grapple the way how, and how far, these people handle and understand their past. The subsequent abstracts will outline the culture of remembrance in Cambodia, which is determined by various factors. Subsequently, the existent memories of DK are represented. Finally, the impact of the ECCC will be depicted.

#### **3.2.1. The culture of remembrance in Cambodia**

The understanding, interpretation and dealing with the past in Cambodia, the Cambodian culture of remembrance, has proven to be very problematic. Reasons for this are the overall lack of historical records, poor or not existent history education, the misuse as well as rewriting of history in favour of the politics of the ruling elites and repression of experiences under DK.

##### ***The lack of historical records***

As Ben Kiernan argues, the little awareness that Cambodians have about their past begins with the long lasting and yet not existent written history of the country. The lack of records and history writing “prevented the Khmer people from weighing their experiences in historical perspective” (Kiernan 2004, p.16). Indeed, the documentation and writing of Cambodia’s history proved to be very problematic for historians. Seven regime changes, various civil wars, five relocations of the capital and three foreign occupations lead to the destruction of archives, the vanishing and erasing of records as well as the partly artificial construction of records by rival regimes (Kiernan 2004). For these reasons several events will never be made accessible and some marvellous fates passed into silence for ever.

A very good example for this lack of historical awareness shows the rediscovery of the Khmer peoples’ glory of the Angkor Empire by the French colonizers. Until they engaged in restoring and researching at the archaeological sites during the protectorate, the Cambodians even “ignored the fact that the ruins were evidence of a Cambodian Kingdom” (Chandler 1979, p. 412).

Instead, they believed the religious construction to be the work of gods or giants up to the 1960s. Since the rediscovery of its glorious past, Angkor got used in many different ways to demonstrate Khmers' actual greatness, among others by its leaders. Furthermore, the construction embodies the pride of many Cambodians and adorns the national flag today (Chandler 1979).

### ***The lack of history education***

Education, especially history education, has proven to be very poor during the last two centuries in Cambodia. Initially, the lack of sources got backed by the disinterest of the French colonizers to educate the natives, which is why pagoda schools declined and the illiteracy rate fell during the protectorate. Following the country's independence, Prince Norodom Sihanouk initiated an expansion of education, but the kingdom prohibited the publication of serious works on history, politics, economics or literature in Khmer (Kiernan 2004). As was already mentioned, during DK's rule almost all intellectuals including all educators and potential educators (up to 90%) were killed. The existing society was systematically deconstructed in order to construct a new egalitarian one. Teaching facilities were destroyed and, for instance, the Royal University of Cambodia got turned into a farm (Clayton 1998). They "scattered libraries, burned books, closed schools, and murdered school teachers" (Kiernan 2004, p.80). The intended construction of a new society may have failed finally, but the deconstruction of the former one has been realized properly.

Afterwards, under PRK, history education was banned from Cambodia's anyway scarce school curriculum and was eventually reinvented with the reopening of the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP) in 1988. There had been no lessons on the Khmer Rouge genocide until Western scholars perused the archives of the Tuol Sleng Museum in 1989 (Kiernan 2004; Hughes 2008). Stemming out of their endeavours and through international aid, the first comprehensive account of DK is being published and distributed in Cambodia since 2007 onwards. However, although the literacy rate increased during the 1990s to 76.3% (UNDP 2010), only four percent of the students in Cambodia are estimated to finish High School. Conclusively, the majority of the students do not enjoy the recently re-invented history education (Kinseth 2009).

### ***Manipulation and Re-writing of history by the state***

The understanding and awareness of the past is heavily influenced and manipulated by political interests of the country's particular leading elites. While prime minister Hun Sen promoted the collaboration with the perpetrators and the simultaneous forgetting of the past during the first half of the 1990s, the preceding PRK government, also dominated by Hun Sen himself and Samdech Heng Samrin (a former Khmer Rouge and defector of 1978 too), coined a narrative of the past which is accepted by the majority of Cambodians until today. The overall claim of this narrative is that the Vietnamese invasion was actually liberation. "According to the state explanation, it was the (newly renamed in 1979) Kampuchea People's Revolutionary Party who had gained a glorious victory over the imperialist Americans in 1975" (Ledgerwood 1997, p.90). The victory would have been stolen by a small number of murderous criminals named "Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique" by the PRK government. This clique would have been solely responsible for the mass killings that followed. With this simplistic explanation the actual facts have been narrowed down. They have been personalized for the sake of the regaining leading positions within the PRK government by former remnants and defectors (Ledgerwood 1997). Accordingly, the central message of the government was: "you must support us because to fail to do so will result in the return to power of the Khmer Rouge" (Ledgerwood 1997, p.91). Memorials filled with human remains existing out of bones and skulls of DK victims were erected in order to remind the population of what could happen to them if they were not to support the existing government. Choeung Ek Memorial and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum also got established to serve as evidences of the manipulated narrative.

### ***Trauma in Cambodian Society***

State accepted impunity and the collaboration of perpetrators with and within the government are accompanied by the circumstance that "twenty years of UN silence on Khmer Rouge genocide encouraged Cambodians to ignore the past" (Kiernan 2004, p.17). Moreover, the repression of traumatic events, "events outside the range of usual human experience which could be markedly distressing to almost everyone" (CSD 2007, p.13) and the existent constrained freedom of expression kept the people from coping with their past. "Not surprisingly, then, Cambodia bears the unfortunate burden of having one of the highest rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the world" (Kinseth 2009, p.4). Estimates indicate that 14.2% of Cambodian adults aged 35 and older suffer from PTSD, as well as around 40% of the population is affected by mental and physical disability (Kinseth 2009).

Some common tendencies of people sick with PTSD are the avoidance of talking, emotional detachment and the treating of others how they were treated (CSD 2007, p.52/53), which is

considered to be reflected in the high criminality rates and problematic wider socio-economic circumstances of the country.

One further consequence of the nationwide request for repression and literary avoidance of atrocities under DK is that Cambodia's genocidal past often appears unrealistic. Particularly the younger generations tend to perceive the told stories as exaggerated and unbelievable. They still know very little about the country's recent history as well as what happened to their family members during DK. For this reason they are not able to understand the social, economic and emotional difficulties in their country today (Kinseth 2009). Thus, the society runs in danger that this decade may as well vanish from the already scarce historical records.

### **3.2.2. Memories about Democratic Kampuchea (DK)**

Challenged by the above outlined factors, the Cambodian society "has yet not been able to agree on its collective identity" (Taum 2005, p.11). From this follows, that multiple collective memories, hidden as well as public, are dispersed in the societal landscape of the country. Memories about life under DK mostly stay fractional and divided without framing the wider context. Supposedly there are collective memories of victims and of perpetrators, memories influenced by the state, memories of those who are aware of this misuse, transmitted memories and memories which are kept to oneself in silence. Besides trauma, the persistent impunity keeps many Cambodians from talking about their experiences under DK. Moreover, it is argued that the vast majority of the population lives in poverty and therefore has concerns other than collective memorialisation (Kinseth 2009).

#### ***State sponsored memory***

The most forms of remembrance in Cambodia are state-sponsored, which means that "they are deliberately created by the recent authorities to gain political support" (Taum 2005, p.11). From this follows that the state narrative, which has been promoted since 1979 (as outlined above), constitutes the most widely known and accepted collective memory about DK (Ledgerwood 1997). Concentrating on the promotion of the fact that genocide and other atrocities happened in the country, Choeng Ek Memorial and Tuol Sleng Museum stand for the central evidences in this regard. The two foremost dark tourist destinations were intended by PRK as a "chilling reminder of the brutalities of the genocidal KR regime" (Taum 2005, p.6). Additionally, commemorative ceremonies got inaugurated and politically exploited to recall the justification of the regimes which followed.

While the celebration of the Day of Liberation (Pram Pi Makara) on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July is meanwhile disputed among younger generations today (Taum 2005), the other PRK sponsored holiday, the Day of Anger (Tivea Chang Kamheng) on May 20<sup>th</sup>, is still celebrated in most parts of the country. Formally promoted until 1991, it was marked by significant ceremonies with political speeches in Phnom Penh and provincial centres throughout the country. People were instructed to publicly condemn the crimes committed by the Pol Pot regime. In this regard, “emphasis was given to the strong feelings and actions that arose from acts of recollection, rather than on memories themselves,” in order to keep the people vigilant and solidly united towards the successor regime (Hughes 2005, p.280). The holiday served to publicly affirm the relationship between PRK and Vietnam and the ongoing fight against the genocidal clique during occupation.

However, as Rachel Hughes argues, because the perpetrators were not sufficiently held accountable, “it is inadequate to term the Day of Anger a day of memorialisation” (Hughes 2005, p.281). The negotiations for an international trial of the perpetrators during the 1990s increased domestic and international interest in Cambodia’s past, which was reflected in the recalled importance of the holiday since 1999 (Hughes 2005).

### ***Standardized memory: “The Standard Total View”***

The expression “Standard Total View” (STV) got coined by the historian Michael Vickery, who wrote one of the first detailed accounts on the life under DK and the first years thereafter in Cambodia. Vickery argues that the memories about life under DK are standardized across time and geographical space, in refuting some of the main commonly told stories of the period. For instance, narratives that all children got taken from their parents, that there were no hospitals and that everyone with glasses for bad eyesight got killed. The reason for this generalization could have been that the only informants about what happened within Cambodia have mainly been urbanites and intellectuals who fled the country. They were not used to hard labour, which is why they emphasized the suffering so much. Furthermore, Vickery argues that the foreign journalists at the refugee camps would have selected the most sensational information, originated by the anti-communist rhetoric of the West (Ledgerwood 1997). This argument is backed by other scholars who argue that the most literary accounts of life under DK are edited and published by intellectuals and educated Cambodians, which however delivers just a partial picture (Chandler 2008). Narratives by the rural and less educated population are scarce. Judy Ledgerwood argues that the extreme narratives of the STV would even agree with the manipulated state narrative, namely “that the ultimate goal of DK was literally genocide” (Ledgerwood 1997, p.93). She also argues that not only refugees are telling this standardized narrative. Khmer in Cambodia, like farmers and fishermen, also “extend their own individual indignities and sufferings and project

them across space and time”, in order to meet the suffering of their nation (Ledgerwood 1997, p.93). Conclusively, the identified standardized narrative overlaps and corresponds with the imposed state narrative.

### ***Individual private memories***

Besides the state sponsored and the standardized memory, memories about DK tend to be private. Although the majority of DK victims are traumatized, it is shown that the majority of the younger generation (84%) receives their still limited knowledge about the regime through oral history, while only 6% acquire it at school (HRC 2009). Recognizing this actuality and the fact that oral history usually does not last longer than two generations, various NGOs are engaged in documenting living memories for future generations.

One example for such endeavours is the study “So we will never forget”, a population-based survey undertaken by the Human Rights Centre, an initiative of the University of California, Berkeley. Besides the documentation of memories in a 90 minutes lasting film, they recorded that among those who lived under the Khmer Rouge regime (69.3% of 1000 randomly chosen respondents from all over the country), 86% have experienced starvation/lack of food, lack of shelter, personal property stolen or destroyed and forced evacuation. Every fourth of them has been tortured and 30% witnessed torture and/or killings (22%). The majority of them have been forced to labour and got separated from their families. Two percent were forced to physically harm someone, while two percent were even forced to kill someone (HRC 2009).

According to a survey undertaken by DC-Cam in 2002/2003, victims are generally recalling killing, hunger and hard labor. The same haunting experiences were also recalled by the paintings of an art therapy project of the national NGO Youth for Peace. A vast selection of paintings got published in the memory art book “Eyes on Darkness – Paintings of Memories”, which displays forced labor, killing, hunger, how people got taken away to never come back, inhumanity and dying because of diseases on every single page (YFP 2009).

### **3.2.3. Impact of the Extraordinary Chambers of the Courts in Cambodia**

Since 1989 foreign scholars, NGOs and others are promoting remembrance and caught up justice for the crimes by the Khmer Rouge. They are convinced that just learning to cope with the past will enable the nation to recover. The ECCC, the biggest achievement of their endeavours, is considered as a vital tool in the public thematization of experiences under DK. One of the main reasons for this, besides the prosecution of the “main” perpetrators, is the enhanced recognition of the victims in the tribunal. Since December 2007 the participation rose from 480 to 8202 victims, something that can be ascribed to the engagement by the mentioned range of organizations and the ECCC itself, which disseminate information and advertise the active involvement in the proceedings. Recognized as joint plaintiff the participating victims are getting psychological and judicial support from various organizations (ECCC 2010).

However, according to the above mentioned survey of the Human Rights Center Berkely, 39% of the 1000 interviewees from all over Cambodia had no knowledge of the ECCC, and nearly half only knew a limited amount about it. In fact, no respondent of the survey participated actively in the trials. Furthermore, one third of the informed victims claimed the court to not be neutral, while 23% argued it to be corrupt. Finally, more than half of the participants (53%) seemed to have no use for collective, moral and symbolic reparations in form of statues, memorials and days of remembrance. Instead, in expecting reparations such as social services and the development of new infrastructure, it seems as though the majority of the people misunderstood the overall intention of the trials (HRC 2009, p. 36-44).

### **3.3. Experiencing dark tourism in Cambodia**

The touring of genocide related sites by international tourists constitutes a crucial part of Cambodia's tourism offers. Already a few months after "liberation" in 1979, when the Vietnamese discovered the torture facility S-21 (Security Center 21), they realized its significance and introduced the prison with the name "Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum" in order to justify the invasion. Soon after, the traces of torture were complemented by the physical evidence of the genocide, the mass graves at the outskirts of Phnom Penh, labelled "Choeung Ek Memorial". Besides justifying the Vietnamese invasion the two memorials embody the manipulated state narrative of the past as well as aiming to promote the lesson of "Never Again".

The rising number of visitors of these sites confirms recent travel trends. Moreover, they fulfil the demand for the second popular tourist image of Cambodia after the ancient glory of Angkor, the image of the Cambodian "killing fields". According to the visitor statistics of Choeung Ek, the number of visitors rose from 4,449 in August 2005 to 22,512 in January 2008 of which 86 visitors were from overseas NGOs, 21,494 tourists were internationals and 935 were national tourists (Choeung Ek Genocidal Center 2010). Similarly, the visitor numbers of Tuol Sleng increased tenfold from an average of 50 visitors a day in 2005 to 500 visitors a day in March 2010 (Phnom Penh Post on March 17, 2010). As Paul Williams argues, these sites do constitute not just the primary evidence of Cambodian genocide since more than two decades, "they also have become two of the city's foremost tourist attractions" (Williams 2004, p.235). Furthermore, existent surveys about the two sites, their representation and consumption as well as their meaning for nationals, can give insights into the prospects of Anlong Veng. For this reason the state of the art in dark tourism research related to the two sites will be illustrated in the following.

#### **3.3.1. Promotion and representation**

Although the rising interest in the sites seems obvious, the promotion of them shows to be contradictory, as outlined in the following. The representations of the sites are to be displayed by the researcher herself, supplemented by additional sources, giving insights into how Cambodia's leaders still adhere to the evidential character of the respective sites. Furthermore, the drastic experiences of the consumption of the two foremost genocide related sites in Cambodia cannot be understood without imagining the actual representation and interpretation of the sites.

### *The promotion of the sites*

Unsurprisingly, the visit of the two sites has been compulsory for international visitors during the PRK in order to distribute the manipulated narrative around the world. Visitors of the country, which in these days tended to be journalists and members of socialist parties from abroad, got brought to Tuol Sleng in order “to convince them of the extent of Khmer Rouge atrocities” (Ledgerwood 1997, p.88).

However, the opposite is the case today, when the two sites do not even appear in Ministry of Tourism publications or on its website. “Ministry officials consider images of Tuol Sleng and its sister monument, the Choeung Ek ‘Killing Field’ site southwest of the country, as undesirable for major promotional advertising” (Rachel Hughes 2008, p.322). Concerned that international tourists could get the impression Cambodia would not be a good destination for a holiday, the sites should not get marketed to international tourists (Hughes 2008).

Nevertheless, the two dark destinations are ever-present for Phnom Penh’s visitors. Recommended on sign-boards of guest houses and travel agencies to be two of the top destinations in the capital, the sites are also listed as two of the seven most popular sites in the “Phnom Penh Visitors Guide” and other complimentary publications and tourist maps, offered in bars, restaurants and hotels. For the sake of historical context the guide recommends to visit both sites, whereas Tuol Sleng is considered as the more informative one (Online version of Phnom Penh Visitors Guide 2010). Rachel Hughes argues that the directing of tourists to Tuol Sleng Museum can be defined as “routinely” (Hughes 2008, p.323), whereby she could also mean the general dropping of tourists at the site while doing a compact city tour by Tuk-Tuk.

The sites are furthermore featured in international traveller guide books from the Lonely Planet to National Geographic. In the most recent version of the German guide “Reise Know-How Kambodscha” the author even describes the interrogation camp as a concentration camp similar to the ones in Europe, and defines it as a vigorous monument of the traumatic Cambodian past, listing it under the five sites absolutely worth seeing in town (Neuhauser 2010). Some guide books, like for instance Lonely Planet, suggest to watch the movie “The killing fields” or to read the survivors account of Loung Ung “First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers”, as well as David Chandlers account “Voices from S-21” (Lonely Planet 2006). All this contextualizing information can be purchased at the stalls at touristic sites in the capital, Siem Reap and Sihanoukville.

### *The representation of the sites*

Arriving at the sites, the primary common feature of the two dark tourist destinations constitutes their untouched appearance. Eager to preserve the evidential character of them, they are basically presented to the visitors in the same way they were discovered in 1979, up to this day. As Williams argues, “tourists to other sites of genocide have become accustomed to artefacts and buildings presented ‘as is’ that are, in fact, heavily mediated”, like for instance the Holocaust Museum in Washington as well as Auschwitz concentration camp. In contrast, “at Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek the general absence of guards or other visitors provides the opportunity to explore – to one’s nervous limits” (Williams 2004, p.242). Why visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek can be such a limited experience, will be explained in the descriptions of the sites which are to follow. In order to describe the sites in the most complete picture possible, the researcher compared her vision of the sites with those of the other researchers.

*Tuol Sleng genocide Museum* is located in a small bumpy side street in the southern part of Phnom Penh. Without knowing about the memorial, the entrance would probably be pure and simply overlooked. The interior grassy-covered courtyard presents itself as quiet and peaceful. After entering the compound, the visitor gets charged 2\$ entrance fee (just internationals, same as at Choeung Ek) by the staff, waiting in a wooden administration building right at the entrance in the centre of the compound. Some other stalls on the right are offering the common Cambodian souvenirs from copies of S-21 related books to the T-shirts printed with “Danger: Landmines”. The Museum compound consists of four slightly decayed white concrete three-story-high buildings, encircling the administration. After approaching a set of graves of the fourteen bodies, which were discovered in the torture rooms of the facility in 1979, the visitor proceeds with exploring the single buildings from the left to the right. The first building displays the spacious torture rooms.

In every room an enlarged photograph is fixed on the wall, showing how the room looked like when it was discovered, in each case displaying one of the disclosed corpses. Many of the dead bodies are surrounded by blood, which is at some places also still visible around the metal bed frame at the centre of each room.



**Fig. 7: Display of a torture toom at Tuol Sleng**

The second building contains mostly photographs of prisoners of all ages. The majority of them are mug-shots taken simply for the record, but some are also taken under torture or in death. They offer no way of identification since the depersonalization of the regime left no information about them. Expressing their deepest fear and other extreme feelings, Williams argues that just these mug-shots are able to reveal the humanity of the victims, with haunting anonymity (Williams 2004). The additional display of old prisoners' clothes in a glass cabinet may be associated as similar displays at European concentration camps.

Buildings two and three both accommodate numerous tiny brick cells, every one of them with an ammunition box for human excretions. Among others, the third building shows that more important prisoners were kept in individual cells, while the majority of people were assumingly held in the classrooms along metal racks, "shackled together and to the floor in long rows" (Ledgerwood 1997, p.84). Compared to the first two buildings, the third and fourth buildings are considered to be rich of information set up by the Vietnamese. Photographs, maps, translated letters and the paintings of Vann Nath, one of the seven survivors, depict methods of torture to prove the genocidal proceedings in the prison ("drowning, whipping, electrocution,

cutting, suffocating, dismemberment, and the insertion of poisonous reptiles into prisoners' orifices") (Williams 2004, p.239). Finally, the visitors can watch a documentary about experiences under the DK.

After around forty minutes lasting Tuk-Tuk drive through Phnom Penh's dusty and busy suburbs, sometimes interrupted by rice paddies, visitors arrive at the huge sign "Choeng Ek Genocidal Center". After entering the site through a big concrete gate, the visitor's attention is directed towards the 30m high memorial in the centre of the field. "Shaped like an elongated stupa (dome shaped Buddhist monument), the building with glass walls and an orange-tiled pagoda roof," contains more than 8,000 skulls arranged by sex and age (Williams 2004, p.240). Despite its overall unchanged display of Tuol Sleng, Choeng Ek memorial received some renovations in 1988, when the from the Vietnamese removed skeletal remains got relocated from the former wooden structure into the newly erected proper Memorial stupa. At the same time, some sign-boards about the operation of the site got added (Hughes 2005).

The actual killing field is a grassy field spotted with fruit trees. Some of the exhumed mass graves (43 out of 129) are signed with the labels "women", "children," or "headless skeletons".



**Fig. 8: Signpost which indicates how children have been killed by the Khmer Rouge**

While the signposted pits are fenced, the other ones are open to explore, marked by the earthy embankments in between them. Visitors are expected to explore the site existing out of scattered human remains by themselves.

No signs or official guides are there to suggest an approach of the site (Williams 2004, p.240).



**Fig. 9: Little guidelines how to approach the sites**

When the researcher visited the site the second time (first time was in December 2007) during the undertaken field research in May 2010, the site was enhanced by a small museum and a show room, where a documentary film about the proceedings at the killing field is shown.



**Fig. 10: Museum built in 2009**

According to an employee working in the administration office, the structure of the museum was finished and opened in 2009. The museum displays biographical information about leading Khmer Rouge officials, the ECCC and its prosecution of Duch (former administrator of S-21), as well as the history and proceedings of the site itself. Some show cases exhibit tools of killing,

display the traditional Khmer Rouge clothing as well as other remains. The information is cited to be received from the DC-Cam. Moreover, a slight fence was added in order to prevent the visitors to step on bones which have been brought to the surface and washed out by rain. Also a show case with personal belongings added, which may again be associated with European Holocaust memorials.

### **3.3.2. Experiences of international tourists and meaning of the site for nationals**

Although dark tourism sites outside of Europe, especially sites of political mass violence, did not receive as much scholarly attention as sites in the Western hemisphere, some scholars and organizations engaged in significant research related to Cambodia's dark destinations. In the present section, the experiences of international tourists are presented, followed by an outline about the meaning and controversies of the sites for national visitors. Since no research about Anlong Veng exists in this regard, international visitor experiences at the both sites will give some indication about.

#### ***Experiences of international tourists***

Generally, the present surveys proved that most of the tourists arriving at the sites have little knowledge about the Khmer Rouge period. While Rachel Hughes states that the majority of visitors consulted their guidebooks or something similar before visiting Tuol Sleng, the results of a survey by the International Centre of Transitional Justice (ICTJ) prove that approximately three quarters of the visitors at Choeung Ek knew nothing about the history of the Khmer Rouge before visiting the site (Hughes 2008, Bickford 2009). This means that their knowledge about the Khmer Rouge regime is mainly formed by their personal experience at the respective sites. The display outlined above and the reasons for their establishment indicate that the sites are not purposed to educate the visitors about their overall meaning or wider political and historical contexts. According to the state narrative, they solely convey horrific torture techniques and instruments of mass killing under the DK in a harsh way, while unambiguously condemning the Khmer Rouge (Bickford 2009). According to the researcher, also the recent additions at Choeung Ek, the museum and film, are not able to tackle this deficiency satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, other motivations and expectations besides education may be satisfied. While pilgrimage can get excluded from possible motivations by international visitors, adventure seekers may find what they are looking for. However, assumingly no interviewee of a survey would confess that his or her visit originates out of a thirst for adventure. Supporting this assumption of

the researcher, the respondents of Hughes survey at S-21 were not able to answer the question how they came to visit the museum. The experience of Tuol Sleng seems to leave them unwilling to admit that they came maybe unthinkingly, indifferently, out of curiosity or whether their visit was an impulse purchase (Hughes 2008).

The generally unexpected authenticity of the site shows to have a disturbing and unsettling impact on the visitors when strolling through the museum. To witness such recent traces of torture and to watch the reality of the most inhuman cruelties in such an immediate way that one can literally even “touch” it (because no guard is watching), “produces a heightened sensitivity about how far to enter and how long to stay” at both places (Williams 2004, p.242). It is shown that visitors at Tuol Sleng “are almost always silent for extended periods of their visit, and they appear (or speak of being) concerned to behave appropriately. Many do not feel comfortable taking photographs or video footage inside the museum and express shock, revulsion, amazement and sometimes anger as they move through the museum” (Hughes 2008, p.324). A survey undertaken at Choeng Ek figured out similar circumstances at the sister monument. It is shown that many visitors felt uncertain about stepping on bones. Moreover, they were wondering why there are no walkways for tourists (Bickford 2009).

Many respondents of the survey undertaken by Rachel Hughes as well as respondents of the survey undertaken by the ICTJ stated that the specific sites would be even more haunting when considering the recentness, especially when the visitor was aware that he or she was already alive when it happened (Hughes 2000; Bickford 2009). These statements clearly approve Lennon and Foleys analysis. However, many visitors also argued “that the shock value of the site is part of its effectiveness”, so that they would never forget it (Bickford 2009, p.8). Originating out of the haunting experience, also the visitors at Tuol Sleng seemed to broadly agree upon the museum to be a “must stop” (Hughes 2008, p.323).

When talking about the individual experiences at Tuol Sleng Museum, the visitors indicated that the objects, which were encountered in the museum, were attached to already existing images of Cambodia. Thereby, common images like the perception of Cambodia as an impoverished and paradoxical place were enhanced with the image of Cambodia as a pawn by larger geopolitical powers and a place of international significance transmitting the message “never again”. Moreover, Tuol Sleng invoked steadily the comparison with the European Holocaust and recalled the narrative of secret bombings by the US. It was generally felt that too little is known about Cambodia’s past (Hughes 2008). Some visitors at Choeng Ek are shown to have made similar linkages (Bickford 2009).

Finally, unlike “other genocide museums, Tuol Sleng does not explicitly encourage visitors to identify with those who were persecuted,” which is indicated by the anonymity of the mug-shots

and concentration of the perpetrators killing techniques (Williams, p.242). Tuol Sleng and particularly Choeung Ek, where just skulls remained, would urge the visitor to engage with the sites themselves. They have to find their own meaning of their visit. Conclusively, “the experience is no longer epistemological, but testimonial, not ‘I now know more’ but ‘I visited,’” while hoping that being there was at least significant (Hughes 2008, p.325; Williams 2004). Hughes goes even further and argues that many visitors respond to the poor educative and interpretative outcome of their visit by reconceptualising the experience into a symbolic gesture. “In this sense, tourism is considered as a form of second-order humanitarian work” (Hughes 2008, p.327). Tourists get enabled to perform as advocates such as diplomats and peacekeepers. Also the ICTJ’s survey at Choeung Ek showed that the “most interviewees believed that they would be better global citizens as a result” of the visit (Bickford 2009, p.7). For instance, interviewees spoke about their purpose of donating money, blood, clothes or work voluntarily after visiting the sites (Hughes 2008).

### ***The meaning of the sites for national visitors***

Besides the intention to justify the following regimes, the sites were actually also dedicated to the victims of the DK. However, as outlined with the figures above, the dark tourism sites are rarely visited by national visitors.

The first reason for this may be that survivors of the regime, let alone following generations, have no connection to the site. Except the seven survivors of Tuol Sleng and perpetrators of Choeung Ek, there are no witnesses who have memories related to the site or can tell about what happened there. The victims displayed there are nameless and lost individuals, serving solely as evidence of a mass killing, but not for the commemoration of loved ones. Moreover, except plainly displaying the techniques of torture under the DK, Tuol Sleng “may less directly relate to Phnom Penh resident’s living memory of forced agrarian collectivization” (Williams 2004, p.247). Additionally, considerable ongoing rumours about its authenticity, that it would intentionally be shaped into a “holocaust” site by its Vietnamese designer, that the skulls would not be from Khmer (rumour by former Khmer Rouge) or that it would have been mainly established for international tourists, are discouraging visits by nationals (Ledgerwood 1997).

Nevertheless, its archival character shows to be an attracting feature for nationals to visit the site. When Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum got opened on the 13th of July of 1980, more than 30,000 Cambodians visited the museum within the first week. Although the museum was opened for the public on the following Sunday, more than 320,000 people went through its buildings until October of the same year (Ledgerwood 1997). However, their occupation of the site was not for the sake of commemoration, but mainly in the hope to find information about

disappeared relatives and friends (Williams 2004). Still, as documented by Judy Ledgerwood, Khmer from overseas were visiting the museum in the beginning of the 1990s, “looking through the pictures for relatives missing then for nearly twenty years” (Ledgerwood 1997, p.85). As stated in a report about a community outrage trip to Phnom Penh, organized by the DC-Cam, Cambodians are still scanning the mug-shots when visiting the site (DC-Cam, Searching for The Truth 2010). Unfortunately, there are no more sources available about the experiences of the few Cambodians visiting Tuol Sleng.

The overall reason why Cambodians are reluctant to visit Choeung Ek actually is the design of the new memorial stupa. Erected by the Vietnamese occupiers in the course of the revival of Buddhism in Cambodia in the end of the 1980s, the design of the memorial shows to fail the needs of Cambodians. While demanding to be a traditional religious monument, it assembles multiple cultural details out of Khmer cosmology and mythology. Furthermore, usually just the remains of a single person, inheriting a high social status, are getting placed enclosed in stupa. At Choeung Ek none of these principles is implemented. However, the most controversial detail is the fact that the remains are not cremated. Therefore, “Cambodians consider Choeung Ek as a highly dangerous place and refuse to visit the Memorial. In addition, to have the not cremated remains *on display* is considered by some to be a great offence, and tantamount to be a second violence being done to the victims” (Hughes 2005, p.276).

Nevertheless, Choeung Ek is being used as a venue for certain ceremonies. In order to calm the restless souls of the murdered and not cremated, people celebrate the Khmer Buddhist “festival of ancestors” (phchum ben) also at Choeung Ek today. Since the true resting places of many victims of the genocide remain unknown, the site “allows for the performance of rites of spirits who lack a proper place of death“, although the monument is not a wat (religious building) (Hughes 2005, p.282). During the ceremony, over a period of fifteen days, the living award offerings to the spirits of their hungry and restless ancestors.

Furthermore, the site constitutes the main venue for the ceremony of the earlier outlined “Day of Hate” on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May. PRK-sponsored ceremonies used to draw large crowds to the Memorial. Since the revival of the holiday in the end of the 90s the site is well frequented on this day (Williams 2004). Like for instance in 2007, when “monks and the CPP party faithful gather[ed] at Choeung Ek for the annual government-sponsored commemoration of the day of hate” (RNW Online 2008). Considering that the first of the two mentioned ceremonies constitutes a desperate gesture to calm the souls of nameless victims, and the second exists to express anger and hate towards the Khmer Rouge in public, these acts are hardly commemorative.

The not cremated consistency of the skulls constitutes an official point of debate since December 1994, when King Norodom Sihanouk offered to pay the costs of their cremation in order to encourage the reconciliation process. However, the CPP was opposing the offer, which is why the idea was dropped (Ledgerwood 1997). Today, the opinions about the cremation are still divided. While the CPP (for the consolidation of political loyalty for the party of liberation (Williams 2004, p.285)) and some other actors, including also Cambodians, hold on the necessity of the evidence at least until the ECCC tried all the accused (Williams 2004; Hughes 2005), some others are still discussing and proposing the cremation of the unsettled souls. Scholarly voices, among others visitor voices of the ICTJ survey at Choeung Ek, are asking: “Since all sectors of Cambodian society were traumatized by the Khmer Rouge period ... what is the need to preserve the proof of the past if it is ingrained in everyone’s psyche?” ( Moore 2009, p.53)

Nowadays, it is transmitted that the few Cambodians visiting the site are usually arriving as school classes or in groups, initiated by NGOs, the ECCC or for instance the DC-Cam (Interview Mr. Bokar, Appendix C 3). Unfortunately, no detailed deliverances about the experiences of Cambodians visiting the sites are available.

### **3.3.3. Conclusions and contemporary debates**

The results of the available surveys outlined above emphasize that Cambodia’s foremost two dark tourism destinations are not able to educate its international visitors about the background and wider context of the Cambodian genocide. They do not enhance the visitor’s cultural and historical knowledge regarding the toured country. Instead, they solely prove that genocide happened, which is the only service they have been designed for as explained in the previous paragraphs. However, confirming already previously existing images concerning the killing fields, the evidential design of sites can be very disturbing for the visitor.

Since only some of the visitors noticed the harsh tone of the signboards at Choeung Ek, it can be assumed that most of the dark tourists do not necessarily recognize the implemented state narrative. Furthermore, since the average stay at Tuol Sleng takes about thirty minutes (Hughes 2008), the visitors do not seem to study the signboards in depth. Conclusively and generally speaking, the governmental rewriting of history in favour of nation-building has no significant impact on the international tourist.

On the other hand, the mentioned unexpected appearance and shocking experience communicates the message of “Never Again” quite effectively, despite the fact that it was not intended on a global scale initially. In this regard, the memorials are estimated to have a similar impact as European Holocaust Memorials. Furthermore, Choeung Ek Memorial expresses and

proves to the visitor quite plainly and in a very harsh way that genocide does happen indeed. It also refreshes the tourist's memory that the message of "Never Again" has not been adhered so far. In fact, the modern, united international community and its humanitarian agenda did fail in Rwanda and Bosnia into preventing further genocide, which is why the evidential character of the site stays as significant for internationals as it is for nationals.

The meaning of the sites for nationals is certainly more complicated to estimate. The little research that has been done so far is not able to properly illuminate the relation of the nationals to the site. All that is known is that the design of Choeung Ek conflicts with religious and cultural values of the people. Furthermore, ordinary Cambodians seem to have no incentive to go to Tuol Sleng. As shown by the above outlined culture of remembrance, Cambodians are more likely to repress their memories than to confront themselves with them. However, the two evidential sites are estimated to urge the undesirable remembrance of the past, which is also promoted by the government as a past that has to be forgotten. As much as the nationals' relation to the site is unknown, their thoughts about visiting foreign tourists are obscure too.

However, the sites are facing considerable changes recently. Since the new museum did not exist when the surveys were undertaken at Choeung Ek, it is unclear how far the Memorial has improved in its educative value meanwhile. The entrustment of the memorial to a Japanese firm, which is rendered responsible for the sites' operation for the next thirty years, led to concerns about the commercialization of the site. In contrast, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum "is quite literally fading away" because of missing preservation endeavours by the state (Ledgerwood 1997, p.95). Being evidence for genocide, the museum's meaning must be accommodated to the circumstances that it is not genocide for what the perpetrators are accused for at the ECCC, but crimes against humanity. Being afraid of the dismantling of the repressive state narrative and so far successfully hidden guilt, the government is told to be very nervous about the future of the site (Mr. Anselm, Appendix 3).

Recognizing the importance of the archives at Tuol Sleng Museum, the former torture facility got registered as "Memory of the World" by UNESCO in 2009. The programme is aiming at the preservation and dissemination of valuable archive holdings and library collections worldwide and will assist the museum to preserve its historical documentary collection (photographs, confessions and biographical records) (UNESCO website 2009).

#### **4. Empirical Studies – The historical heritage of Anlong Veng**

As outlined in the introductory chapter, the empirical section of the present thesis consists of an analysis which can be divided into three parts. To start off, the facts about the touristic developments in Anlong Veng will be outlined by means of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources have been acquired through a personal talk with the local Minister of Tourism of Anlong Veng, as well as through own observations by the researcher on site. Secondly, a delimited discourse analysis will outline the experiences of international tourists in Anlong Veng. For this analysis, the researcher scanned travel weblogs about international tourists' experiences at the heritage sites, whereby five travel logs have been especially selected for closer investigation. The original entries of the weblogs can be found in Appendix B, ordered according they are introduced by the researcher in section 4.3. The third part of the analysis is the most extensive one. It concerns the attitude of Cambodians towards the development of the site. The results of the five undertaken semi-structured qualitative interviews with experts in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, will be presented in the next chapter.

##### **4.1. Anlong Veng district – A dark tourist destination**

Anlong Veng's historical relevance is argued to be substantiated in the circumstance that it served as the last stronghold and final headquarters of the Khmer Rouge leaders. The narrative of the area concerns the last remnants of the murderous movement, the last Khmer Rouge adherents and their families. They kept unrepentant hiding there, also after hundreds of Khmer Rouge soldiers defected to the national army in 1996. While Pol Pot himself was in frail health, Ta Mok, a brutally military leader, also known as "The Butcher", was the effective leader. In June 1997 they came apart and Pol Pot ordered the assassination of a high ranking cadre, Son Sen, and his family. Senior officials were shocked and afraid to be the next, which is why Pol Pot got captured and set under arrest. Accused for the murder of Son Sen and the reproached try to restart the Cambodian civil war, Pol Pot got condemned to lifelong imprisonment in the mountains near Anlong Veng, where he died ten months later in 1998 (Chandler 2000).

The historical heritage of Anlong Veng includes the burial sites of three leading perpetrators of the Cambodian genocide, Pol Pot, Son Sen and Ta Mok. For this reason and due to the fact that their dark deeds have been done during the lifetime of the visitors themselves, Anlong Veng qualifies to be a dark destination regarding the widely accepted definition (see Chapter 2). Clearly, the visit of the murders' houses and other structures which were initiated by them can be defined as a macabre encounter for visitors. Interestingly, it is delivered that about four to five hundred

tourists visit the site per month. Thereby, the most of the visitors would be nationals, than Thai people and finally about 60 or something international tourists (Wood 2009). The circumstance that so many nationals are actually visiting this site, differentiates this third dark destination from the other two (previously portrayed) enormously. However, the figures vary a lot. They are assumed to be estimates and may even exaggerate (Mr. Elian, Appendix C 5).

The development of Anlong Veng into a tourist destination is not a recent development as indicated in the media in March 2010. A governmental circular resolved the plans in December 2001, when Hun Sen encouraged the Ministry of Tourism (MOT), local authorities and all relevant ministries to continue “to eradicate mines, to prepare a sound master plan, to research document, to establish a historical museum, and to search for sources of grant in order to preserve all historical evidence and to transform Anlong Veng into a national region of historical tourism“(Governmental Circular December 2001, DC-Cam database 2010). It is argued that the project fits well into the government’s strategy of development through tourism (Wood 2009).

After twenty-eight sites considered as historical heritage got tagged with blue placards by the MOT in 2002, the developments proceeded sluggishly. Through the opening of the Anlong Veng border to Thailand in 2003, touristic developments in form of the proliferation of guesthouses and restaurants got reinforced (Wood 2009). Moreover, since Highway 67 got properly reconstructed, the distance between Anlong Veng and Siem Reap can be travelled within just two and a half hours. This makes the town appear reasonably strategically located. As a consequence, it can offer a convenient stopover to the temple site of Praeh Vihaer in the north as well as to the nearby border to Thailand.

According to the new master plan of March 2010, the formerly twenty-eight sites got reduced to fourteen historically relevant sites. These would help “national and international guests to visit and understand the last political leadership of the genocidal regime” (PPP, 10th of March 2010). The content of the plan would constitute a “win-win policy” to defeat the former Khmer Rouge in the area (PPP, 10th of March 2010). According to the news coverage regarding Anlong Veng, the approved master plan did not attract any financial resources for realization yet. However, the photographer of Tuol Sleng serving under the DK, Nhem En, has begun to build a museum at his own costs in order to display “his collection of regime memorabilia, including what he says are Pol Pot’s shoes and toilet” (PPP, 18th of June 2010).

Timothy Dylan Wood’s states that, like at Choeung Ek and Tuol Sleng, the Anlong Veng project “appears to participate in a similar consolidation of state myth that employs a simulation of history, using geographical reference as its primary claim to validity” (Wood 2006, p.186). Local narratives would have been intended to exclude in order to impose the state narrative on the last remnants of the Khmer Rouge (Wood 2006).

## 4.2. Experiences of the researcher

When I arrived in Anlong Veng town after a 2.5-hour-lasting bus ride, there was just one English speaking driver available. Since everybody else seemed to ignore me, I had no choice but to rely on him. During my two-day stay in Anlong Veng I met no other tourists – neither at the sites nor at the guesthouse. According to my driver (25years old, son of rice farmers), there were just seven sites of interest, one of which were the temples of Prach Vihear. However, an ongoing armed border conflict prevented me from visiting the site.

### *The historical sites of Anlong Veng*

The town itself is very rough and dusty. It is made up of a main road, lined with houses, garages and stalls on each side. We left the town in order to get to the Dangrek Escarpment where Ta Mok's mountain top house is situated. After 10km tarred main road and an approximately 20-minute-long adventurous motor cycle ride on bumpy dirt roads, we passed the Cambodian side of the border to Thailand. The border looked impoverished. The dirt path was lined with wooden barracks and stalls. As we reached the top of the escarpment, the view was more exciting than the looted remains of the small concrete structure of Ta Mok's house.



**Fig. 11: Ta Mok's mountain top house**

Sprayed with graffiti it was an overall creepy experience and I felt embarrassed by showing my interest in the structure. We left again soon and headed towards the place where Pol Pot was sentenced where I recognized from far away that it consists of nothing more but a few wooden poles in an overgrown grassy field. On the way to the cremation site my driver showed me a field which has not yet been demined. His facial expressions seemed tired as he named it “the mine

field”. He expected me to be excited about this additional destination, signposted with a red “Danger Landmines” sign.

The cremation site of Pol Pot is situated near a tarred street and more easily reachable than the other two sites. A small, dwindling walking path leads from the road to the grave, located at the hillside. My driver told me what he knew about each specific site, but his knowledge was limited. However, he emphasized how many good things Pol Pot and Ta Mok actually did for the community. When asking him whom he and his community would prefer, he answered that he thinks that Ta Mok is better and also more popular than Pol Pot. The reasons therefore would be the infrastructural improvements Ta Mok undertook in Anlong Veng (also a recognized fact in Woods investigations). When I showed myself surprised at how presentable Pol Pot’s grave looks, my driver confirmed what I had already read in several online news articles. He said that some Thai visitors and Cambodian nationals believe that Pol Pot still has mystical powers, which is why the visitors bring their lottery numbers and beg for good health or good luck.



**Fig. 12: The grave of Pol Pot**

When we were surprised by a monsoon shower at the ghoulish site, we looked for shelter at the place of the nearby living policemen. He explained me that the surprising aesthetic appearance of the site would be motivated by the expectation of arriving tourists. Signposted as an historical site which needs to be preserved, the grave presents itself to the arriving tourists cleaned up and decorated with fresh flowers. As this site was a strange and indefinable experience for me, I was glad to leave again soon.

On the second day, we passed the three story hospital built by Ta Mok, his sponsored school and one of his bridges, and headed towards the legendary lakeside house of Ta Mok. It constitutes the destination worth seeing most in town, which is why an entrance fee of approximately \$2 is being charged. The two-story concrete house is partly open-sided towards Ta Mok's artificially laid out lake. The swampland-like lake is sprinkled by barren trees and appears as creepy-crawly in its appearance. The house is almost unfurnished. It has tiled floors and impresses the visitor with its murals, which reveal some aspects of the Khmer Rouge ideology (Khmer society in sunrise, map of Cambodia that ignores the existence of South Vietnam...) (Wood 2006). In the first story of the building a little shrine is located. The driver showed me the bathroom with a Western style toilet and a cleverly located estimated kitchen storeroom in the neighbouring building. Moreover, I was shown the basement of the house, where the fact that the house was built with huge whole trunks was supposed to impress me. Respectfully indicating that I was impressed by what I had seen, my guide went on by offering me to climb into the iron cage Pol Pot was held in. This made the whole situation a little scary again. After refraining from climbing in, he pointed to the little truck in the front yard of the house and explained that this was considered to be a mobile radio station of Pol Pot, but that he himself did not believe that.

### *At the Anlong Veng Tourism Office*

The Anlong Veng Tourism Office, housed in a wooden hut nearby Ta Mok's house, was not occupied. However, my driver was looking for the minister who was observing the area around the house. The minister considered himself as a very important person and was excited about my interest. He eagerly told me about the new master plan. Although my guide was anxious to perform as a translator, the discussion was very cumbersome due to his poor English skills. Furthermore, it was very difficult for me to estimate what would be okay to ask and what not, especially after knowing myself among former Khmer Rouge cadre. Nevertheless, we spent an hour on the offices' veranda together, although sometimes unpleasant pauses arose.



**Fig. 13: The Office of Tourism in Anlong Veng**

When we talked about the Khmer Rouge in the area, the three attendants told me that people from everywhere moved to Anlong Veng because of business (tourism business and border transactions). However, all of the three attendants at the office were still sympathizers of Ta Mok and Pol Pot and believed that the two leaders had never killed anyone by themselves. When I asked them what they had done during the DK and afterwards, they said that they had been soldiers of Pol Pot since the age of 14. Sun Riong, for instance, was born in 1972 and had to join the army like every boy at the age of 14 in 1986. He got injured by a landmine three years later and lost a leg. Afterwards he assisted in the construction of Ta Mok's house. Meanwhile, he raised a family. The three officials emphasized that they had no choice, because they had to join the army, mirroring the earlier outlined victims discourse. Everybody had to fight against the

government and the Vietnamese. Unfortunately, I have no clue what they thought about me and what impression I made on them.

The minister showed me the geographical map of the 14 sites as well as a in Khmer script written list of them, displayed in the following (translated by the researchers guide, see figure 14).

1	Cremation Site of Pol Pot	12.04.1998
2	Pol Pot was sentenced	28.03.1997
3	Ta Mok's Mountain Top House	07.09.1995
4	Place Pol Pot made weapons*	09.05.1994
5	Khieu Somphang House*	06.05.1995
6	Parking Place Ta Mok/ Pol Pot near the mountain*	08.02.1995
7	Cremation Site Son Sen*	20.01.1997
8	Ta Mok's Rice Field*	17.08.1994
9	Parking of Ta Mok*	02.01.1992
10	River and Bridge made by Ta Mok	
11	Ta Mok Museum (Ta Mok House)	17.10.1993
12	Hospital	05.01.1993
13	School of Ta Mok	01.04.1993
14	Bridge of Ta Mok	01.01.1996

**Fig. 14: Tourism History of Anlong Veng - 14 Sites**

During the talk with the Minister and the two other assisting officials, it was remarked that some of the places are not accessible yet (marked by a star \*).

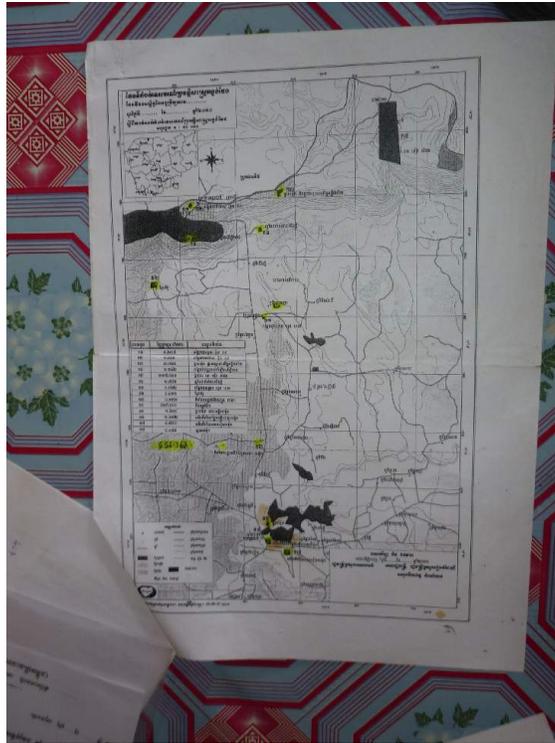


Fig. 15: Map of the 14 sites locations


**ក្រសួងកសិកម្ម រុក្ខាប្រមាញ់ និងនេសាទ**  
**អគ្គនាយកដ្ឋានស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ**  
**អគ្គនាយកដ្ឋានស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ**

**គោលនយោបាយស្តីពីការកំណត់ទីតាំងស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ**

លេខស្នូល	ទីក្រុង/ខេត្ត	ឈ្មោះស្ថានីយ៍
ក១	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក២	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៣	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៤	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៥	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៦	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៧	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៨	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក៩	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក១០	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក១១	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក១២	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក១៣	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ
ក១៤	កំពង់ចាម	ស្ថានីយ៍ប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ ភ្នំ ១៥ គីឡូម៉ែត្រ

អនុលោមតាម៖ ១៥/០៤/២០១៧  
 លេខ៖ ១៥/០៤/២០១៧  
 ថ្ងៃទី ១៥ ខែ ០៤ ឆ្នាំ ២០១៧  
**អគ្គនាយកស្រូវ**

ការិយាល័យប្រតិបត្តិការស្រោចស្រាវជ្រាវស្រូវ  
 ក្រសួងកសិកម្ម រុក្ខាប្រមាញ់ និងនេសាទ  
**ស៊ុន ឌុន ឌុន**

Fig. 16: Official list of the 14 sites - master plan

While the destinations in Anlong Veng town and the nearby Trabaing Prey commune encompass infrastructural improvements initiated by Ta Mok, the mountaintop area in the Dangrek Range nearby the Thai border – approximately eleven kilometres away – accommodates the cremation site of Pol Pot, the place where he was sentenced, “Pol Pot’s house” in the mountains and “Ta Mok’s mountain top house”.

#### **4.3. Discourse Analysis of web travel logs about Anlong Veng**

When scanning travel logs about Anlong Veng the first prevailing impression is the circumstance that it rarely constitutes an intended travel destination. Anlong Veng tends to get visited as a stopover on the way to Siem Reap, Thailand or Praeh Vihaer, like expected by the initiators of the research. Many travellers do not even stay overnight, but visit the sites considered to be relevant (Pol Pot’s grave and Ta Mok’s house) within a few hours and then head on. For this reason, experiences in Anlong Veng are often just mentioned in two or three sentences between descriptions of other destinations. The town is perceived as small and dusty and thus it is generally not considered as worth staying longer. That the destination is considered as overpriced is also a feeling expressed by the majority of travellers visiting the town. Furthermore, the tourists often had problems finding English speaking guides or had to accept the single one who was available. These circumstances seem to leave the tourists in an inconvenient situation, which influences their stay right from the beginning.

##### ***About the selection of the web travel logs***

The selected five posts out of web travel logs will give more detailed insights into how the site is experienced by an international audience. They have been chosen by the density of information as well as their capability to mirror the variety of ‘dark tourists’ visiting the sites. Seeing that almost nothing changed since the sites got tagged with blue placards in 2002, all posts from then up to today have the same relevance for the investigation. The first blog entrance (A) was posted on the third of December 2008 and indicates how an adventure seeking ‘dark tourist’ experiences the heritage site. The second blog entrance is composed by a woman (B) in January 2010 and illustrates a feminine point of view. The third one was drafted anonymously, but the person kept returning three times to Anlong Veng to see how it progresses (C) – the last visit was in January 2005. The fourth blog post was composed by a traveller in 2004, who seems to have been very engaged to learn more about the site, even showing himself interested in conversations with locals (D). The fifth blog mirrors the experience of a whole group and has assumably been written by a man in January 2008 (E).

### ***Recurring impressions***

Initially, the fare to get from Siem Reap to Anlong Veng is a recurring issue. Since no signboard of a travel agency in Siem Reap's touristic city centre indicates Anlong Veng as a destination yet, the agents feel free to charge whatever they want. When the researcher herself asked notwithstanding for a ticket to get there, people came across bewildered. It can be assumed that the historical sites do not get accessed regularly by tourists. Agents charge rates from \$120 (B) to \$200 (A) for a private taxi, which resulted in the travellers feeling ripped off. However, while one tourist (B) eventually paid \$15 for the ride in a shared taxi, another (A) did the same trip by the GTS bus company for about \$7. All writers of the selected posts indicate that they have been the only tourists in town, which is similar to the researcher's experience.

Another big issue mentioned in almost every blog concerns the condition of the roads. Although the anonymous writer (C) remarks that the condition of Highway 67 today is a lot better since the road got improved in 2005, some tourists still complain about the fact that it takes two and a half hours to travel a distance of only 130 kilometres. Tourist A for instance emphasizes with quotes that it "only" took him 2.5 hours to get to Anlong Veng. Nevertheless, the conditions of the dirt paths to the mountain top, to the border crossing and several other sites, have been a bigger concern than the tarred Highway. While tourists A and C criticize that the road to the escarpment is considered as a "road" at all, tourist D wrote about how much he enjoyed the steep, rocky and sandy paths.

That seemingly nobody in town spoke English was considered as a serious problem by the international tourists, as was already mentioned. Insecure to find the historical sites by himself, tourist D spent hours looking for an English speaking guide. He finally found an English speaking restaurant owner, who agreed to accompany him for the following day. Tourist B felt herself harassed by the frivolous remarks of her guide. Unsatisfied and incapable to make themselves and their needs understandable, the tourists left the town soon after they had arrived.

In the travel logs discussing the travelling experiences Pol Pot's house is described as the "remains of a concrete structure" looking like a "bunker" (D), a "ruin" (A.) and a place where there is not much left, that's sprayed with pornographic graffiti (C). According to the experiences of tourist D at the site, the house of Pol Pot was not even marked by a sign in 2008. He states: "There is nobody and nothing here to educate us about the historical significance of the place." Since his guide, the restaurant owner, did not know more about the house than the tourist himself, and both of them felt insecure to move around the area because of the possibility of landmines, they didn't stay at the site for very long. According to the post of tourist C, the visit of the site was possible only with a paid escorting security soldier until 2005 because of land mines.

Visiting Ta Mok's mountain top house, calls up similar impressions to the concrete structure of Pol Pot's house. It is perceived as "another half standing house in the bush" covered with graffiti (A), which "has been stripped of its furnishings" (C). However, the view from the escarpment is considered as "spectacular" (C) and as nice as expected (A).

The place where Pol Pot was sentenced is perceived as "some place with some poles and a sign saying 'Pol Pot's was sentenced here'", so that one can suppose that there was once a house (A).

Pol Pot's cremation site is considered as a main "attraction" and has been visited by all the tourists whose logs are being analysed (A). While tourist C reports the grave has been just a pile of ash in the grass in 2000, "they had already constructed some sort of crude memorial over the ashes" in 2001. In 2004, the popular appearance of the grave, sheltered, fenced and marked by a blue sign of the Ministry of Tourism was completed and recognized by the tourists (A). Tourist C remarks: "Those spots would be difficult to find if there were not signs telling the visitor what he sees." His experience of the site as covered with rubbish is not recalled by other tourists. On the contrary, the tourists show themselves disgusted by the presentable arranged appearance of the burial site. Tourist A states, that "there was even one of those [sic] birdhouse looking mini-temples erected beside the grave. There was some fresh incense on it, which you otherwise find in front of Buddha-statues." Tourist B is also disgusted by the ghost houses, due to the incense and the fresh food in front of the grave, which is why she is wondering if the people are seriously praying for the good or more likely to worship some murders. Tourist A and B had a similar feeling at the statue of the beheaded soldiers, which got the same sacrificial gifts as Pol Pot.

Ta Mok's lakeside house near the town of Anlong Veng had a quite different impact on the visiting tourists. While tourist A considered it as a "waste of time", it got perceived as an average experience (B) or as quite interesting (by the more detailed description of C and D). Again, the site got perceived as a "half finished building" (A) and "stripped of almost all its furnishings" (C). Furthermore, the structure was defined as roomy (B, C). The paintings on the wall are mentioned by four of the five tourists and are described as "tucky" by one tourist (A). While talking with his guide, tourist D learned that the house was used as a meeting hall for the highest Khmer Rouge leaders and that the artificial lake behind the structure was built with one of Ta Mok's dam projects. Furthermore, he reports about the bomb shelters in the basements. Finally, some of the tourists mention the remains of Western style toilets at the site (C, D).

Disappointed remarks such as that the streetscape is not characterized by Khmer Rouge sandal and weapon stalls anymore (C) as well as dissatisfaction about the invisibility of former Khmer Rouge (E) show that some visitors are eager to experience the dark images of Cambodia. Disappointed, it is remarked by the authors of the travel logs that the economic developments

would have “affected much of the ‘charm’” the tourists “expected to find in this dusty frontier town.” (E). One tourist rigorously states that there is really nothing to see and that the sites would not be recommendable for the average tourist: “You need to be really interested to make the effort to see these not-looked-after-places” (A).

Nevertheless, also if not as “dark” as expected by some tourists, landmines are a recurring topic (A, C, D). One tourist neither felt safe with and nor without a guide and did not want to see more sites without information and actual understanding of what he sees (D). Stating about Ta Mok’s lakeside house that “the lake caused those trees to die and shaped the bizarre sight of the surroundings” (D) reflects recurring ghoulish experiences like the mentioning of the possibility to dig in Pol Pot’s remains for a piece of bone as a souvenir (A, C, D). Remembering the disgust about the decoration of Pol Pot’s grave, a trip to Anlong Veng is in some cases perceived as disgusting as expected or unexpectedly macabre. Tourist C formulates an impression that all the posts online seem to reflect: “This is definitely a frontier town, you really feel like you are at the end of a long road from nowhere.”

#### 4.4. Conclusions

Visits of Anlong Veng are not part of tour itineraries yet. Going there independently, tourists are aware about what happened in Anlong Veng generally. However, their knowledge about the historical sites still remains limited, which may be due to the scarce presence of the site in guidebooks and an overall recurring issue of lack of records (Wood 2006). Usually, visitors seem to stop on purpose there, having certain expectations and images in mind. The outlined experiences of the researcher, as well as the displayed discourse analysis above both prove that neither educational purposes nor the imposing of the state narrative can be recognized so far. Furthermore, no proper guides are available similar to the other two dark destinations. Empty structures of houses without any contextualization do not explain how it ended, but solely “that” it ended, just like they in the same way prove “that” genocide happened. Since the project aims to reintegrate the former Khmer Rouge back into the society and is intended to foster reconciliation, the message of “Never Again” is not incorporated at this genocide site.

Furthermore, since the structures are looted and the grave is obviously sanitized for the arriving tourists, the expected authentic value of the site seems to be elusive. Some tourists may seek the confirmation of images showing the rawness of the remote, by former Khmer Rouge populated area. They are leaving the *well trodden path* in order to experience something of the formerly political danger *deep in the jungle*. However, they are then disappointed by the disappearance of danger and have to consume the macabre leftovers instead. These are embodied

by not existent criticism towards the perpetrators as well as in the fact that they are neither defined as murders nor condemned as perpetrators at all.

Despite the exclusion of pilgrims at the other two sites, the grave of Pol Pot proves to be a place of pilgrimage for national and Thai tourists. This circumstance differentiates the site from the others, although the decorations of the grave are partly seen as being intended for tourists. As the tourists do usually not know that the site is sanitized, they perceive the grave as continuously visited by adherents anyway. This again pulls the authenticity back to the sites and emphasizes the recentness of the regime, which is so fascinating for the dark tourists.

Regarding the factor of identification, it is impossible for the visitors to identify with neither the victims nor the perpetrator in Anlong Veng. Instead, they have to find themselves in a row with people who pay homage to a mass murder by visiting Pol Pot's grave. Through their interest, they confirm the significance of Pol Pot and indirectly even trivialize possibly its evil character.

Obviously, there are still many adherents of former Khmer Rouge living in the area, some of whom inherited official positions thanks Hun Sen's policy. However, after three decades of indoctrination they are supposedly not changing their mindsets just because the movement ended. Taking into account the little knowledge they probably have about what actually happened in the country during the period of the DK, it is not surprising that some of them still praise their leaders. As adherents of the communist regime, they enjoyed more infrastructural improvements and better living circumstances than others.

The museum area of Anlong Veng claims to facilitate the higher goal of reconciliation, but seems to actually intend the re-education and control of its former enemies while making money. However, the state narrative seems to not reach the remote jungle town so far. Instead, the site represents not the brutality of the perpetrator like at the other two sites, but his popularity. Conclusively, especially in Anlong Veng, the tourists have to be engaged with the site in order to receive a meaning and understanding from their visit – otherwise the visit keeps undesirable testimonial. The historical heritage of Anlong Veng is not considered as a “must stop” for international tourists yet.

## 5. Empirical Studies – the meaning of Anlong Veng for Cambodians

As outlined earlier and also emphasized by Tony Walter, it is necessary to include the relation that the living have with the specific site into the analysis of dark tourism destinations (Walter 2009). Otherwise, it is just a one-sided analysis, concentrating only on the needs and satisfaction of the foreigners, what cannot assess the overall value of the site. The five semi-structured interviews with experts in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, have been conducted in order to unveil the so far obscure attitude of Cambodian nationals towards the country's dark tourist destinations. The main objective was the disclosure of the Cambodian attitude towards Anlong Veng and what kind of meaning the site has for nationals themselves.

It is necessary to be aware of the different backgrounds of the interviewed experts in order to understand their way of thinking. Initially, the answers of the two Europeans sometimes differed heavily from the Cambodian responses. Especially the French professor, Mr. Elian, had a very stable and confident opinion about the historical heritage of Anlong Veng. Since he has been living in Cambodia before and after the Pol Pot regime, and assisted in the documentation of the evidence of the genocide, he showed himself informed and aware of the sociological, economical and political circumstances in the country. He considered the transformation of sites of mass killing into tourist destinations to be disgusting. The German interviewee, Mr. Anselm, had a Jewish background and lost his grandparents in Auschwitz. Due to this circumstance his answers were often very emotional. Passionate about what he is actually doing, he was anxious when feeling empathy with the victims as well as the perpetrators, putting him sometimes in seemingly impasse situations.

While both of the younger Cambodian researchers were not directly affected by the Democratic Kampuchea regime, Mr. Dong, the executive director of the NGO Youth for Peace, was born during the civil war in the beginning of the 1970s. He experienced displacement after the collapse why he has been engaged in peace activities since then. Mr. Cham has a rural Cambodian background. He is convinced and enthusiastic about the impacts of his history book, published by DC- Cam, and the related genocide education program. The family of Mr. Bokot, deputy director of DC-Cam, fled to Vietnam right at the beginning of the regime. There, they had to work in forced labour, which however was not nearly as horrible as life in Cambodia according to Mr. Bokot. The responses of the latter interviewees both display the more distanced attitude of the younger generation towards the genocide.

Generally, the rising interest of tourists in Cambodia was interpreted as a positive development by the interviewees. All of them assessed tourism to be subsidiary to Cambodia's economy and its people. Furthermore, the possible exchange of ideas is emphasized to be very

valuable for Cambodian society. Only Mr. Bokot remarked that while the influence of the visitors is mainly positive, tourism also has some negative aspects such as sex tourism and HIV/Aids.

### **5.1. Among victims and perpetrators**

Like in other countries where human rights violations occurred, the discourse about who can be considered as a victim legitimately is getting stronger as time passes. However, even if certain victimhoods are formally acknowledged, the living side-by-side does not necessarily work in real life. Forgiving seems to be possible from a distant position, but is shown to be difficult in practice.

#### ***Victims discourse***

According to Mr. Anselm, 90% of the Cambodian population feel to be victims themselves. This circumstance could get attributed to the stronger victims discourse, encouraged by the ECCC. For instance, during a public forum session of one of his partner organizations in Anlong Veng, a former female commandant claimed to be a victim as well. Responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Cambodians during the construction of a water reservoir in Banteay Meanchey, she was afraid to get called to the tribunal and felt insecure. The in the narrative displayed fact that former perpetrators perceive themselves as victims is considered as a positive development, because it simultaneously results partly in an admission that Pol Pot was a perpetrator.

While the just narrated case may still be debatable, it is recognized that people had no choice under the DK regime. In order to survive they had to do what the Khmer Rouge told them. This is why especially child soldiers, children who have been forced to join the movement in an age when their mind was considered to be still open for DK indoctrination, are accepted as victims.

*Sometimes it was a test of courage for child soldiers to kill their own parents in the rice field.*  
(Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 475- 477) [sic]

As Ben Kiernan argues, “children were employed as militia, to spy on their families, and as soldiers and executioners” (Pran & DePaul 1999, p.11). Trauma experts note that little is known about the mind of the perpetrators, but they can suffer adverse psychological effects, similar to victims (Ea & Sim 2001).

All interviewees approved the outlined discourse by arguing that it would be dependent on the gravity of compliancy of former Khmer Rouge in Anlong Veng if they are acceptable as tour guides or not. If they had been only soldiers, their performance would not be a problem for the

victims. Even Mr. Elian stated that there is nothing to criticize against the poor, who are looking to get a little money out of the sites in Anlong Veng in order to survive.

*Khmer Rouge cadre are also people, they are also human, they are Cambodians and can be considered as the victims of the Khmer Rouge as well. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 415-418) [sic]*

*I think they have a right to live in Cambodia and to enjoy its resources. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham 420-421) [sic]*

*If they were the victims, the young adolescent soldiers, when they were recruited they were victims of the Khmer Rouge like everybody else. You know they were made to kill. They did not want to do that. They were drawn. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 778-781)*

Accordingly, the Minister of Tourism in Anlong Veng as well as his assistants can be considered as victims as well, because they state to have been forced to join the army in the age of fourteen.

### ***The reality of life among victims and perpetrators***

As outlined in the earlier section about impunity in Cambodia, the trial is considered as contested for various reasons. According to Mr. Dong, Hun Sen's reconciliation policy works very well on the national level, but not on the community level. Pursuing the implemented state narrative and overstating the trends of the just outlined discourse, Hun Sen argues that "those who served under the Khmer Rouge revolutionary process were both brutal executioners and victims of the terrorist regime" (Ea & Sim 2001, p.12). However, the criminal prosecution of the top leaders encourages other perpetrators to hide their identities from other villagers. As single truth telling sources for many Cambodians, former Khmer Rouge simply blame Pol Pot or died already instead of helping the victims and the following generations to understand what happened in Cambodia. Conclusively, the question of why genocide happened stays unanswered, because the victims and perpetrators are not enabled to blame each other.

According to Cham,

*There must be some people who trust Pol Pot, and who loved Pol Pot, but not all, and those who liked Pol Pot, I am sure they know the truth as well. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 401-403) [sic]*

Bokat reported about certain communities who still believe that Pol Pot and the other leaders were good people. Like in Anlong Veng, infrastructural achievements established during the DK regime are the reason for this. Although he reminded the above mentioned people that the expenses for the improvements were too high, since hundreds or even thousands of people had to die, they still support Pol Pot. Bokat expressed his feeling that they had been too much indoctrinated by the Khmer Rouge ideology. Some of them are apparently not able to mix with the local population anymore and, thus, live in separate villages.

*In some villages they live together, in others they live side by side, they live in a different village. They have to confront each other you know, and most of the time the result is not talking to each other that much. (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokat, 595-599) [sic]*

Indeed, just because it is quiet in the communities, this does not mean that everything is repaired. One example for such “silence” is a story told by Mr. Bokat. In one of DC-Cam’s projects they investigated a conflict in a Cambodian village. A villager killed the father and husband of a woman living in the same village. Instead of taking revenge, the women decided to keep quiet, because she did not want to hurt the innocent wife of the man by forcing her to take care of the family by herself. Believing in Buddhism, the man is supposed to suffer already from bad Karma and is very unpopular in the village. Bokat argued that the experience from several other surveys by DC-Cam shows similar circumstances. These unveil a different kind of transitional justice than is promoted by the ECCC.

## **5.2. The Cambodian way – Or just a dream**

The two Cambodian researchers and the European interviewees showed themselves familiar with the meaning of the concept of reconciliation. This is not surprising knowing that all four of them studied at Western Universities. However, Mr. Dong and Mr. Anselm unveiled that the expression “reconciliation” does not really exist in the Cambodian context.

### ***Kar Psah Psah - Social reconstruction***

Mr. Anselm argued that Cambodians would use the expression “Kar Psah Psah” more likely than reconciliation. This Cambodian expression translated into English means “Social Reconstruction”.

*Kar is the activity, the reassembling and reemerging, like with an iron wheel which is broken and has to get constructed together again by a smith. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 630-633) [sic]*

Kar Psah Psah could be compared with “healing”, healing of a society living in mistrust. Mistrust towards each other is assumed to be the main problem in Cambodian life, which has its roots in corruption, insecurity and impunity since the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed.

Mr. Anselm emphasized the divergence of reconciliation and Kar Psah Psah by narrating a conversation with Chum Mey, one of the survivors of Tuol Sleng. Chum Mey conceived the segmentation of joint plaintiffs into four groups at the ECCC as not necessary. He argued:

*Actually, we should be just one group ... look, under certain conditions I would be prepared to speak with Him Bui (one of the executioners at Choeung Ek), in order to establish a survivor association. If he is honest, so if he excuses himself honestly, after that I would be able to do so. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 600-609) [sic]*

While Mr. Anselm understood the wish to be in a common group of victims in front of the ECCC, the desire to collaborate as a victim with one of the perpetrators was incomprehensible to him. Comparing it with the Jewish fate, he argued that Jews may move back to Germany because they feel there safe today, but they would never meet with one of the former perpetrators nor would want to establish an association with them. However, Chum Mey's thinking displays the wish for Kar Psah Psah in Cambodia, the wish to overcome the mistrust and live together in peace again.

*This society dreams actually from Kar Psah Psah, the restoration of fraternity and sorority. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 660-662) [sic]*

Mr. Anselm assumed that this forgiving attitude is referable to Buddhism. Deep in their hearts, Cambodians want to share everything with each other in order to be "bongpaeon" (sisters and brothers again). A good example for this would be the momentaneous high rate of Khmer weddings within the post-conflict generation. At their celebrations, former perpetrators and victims have to sit together at round tables during the celebration.

*If something serves Kar Psah Psah in Cambodia than it is the wedding, because people from all political factions, various civil war factions, would sit together at tables and be nice to each other. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 696-699) [sic]*

The anthropological gesture of kindly handing food and drinks to each other is traditional and displays the persistent wish for bongpaeon and Kar Psah Psah in Cambodian society. Moreover, it has been told that the daughter of Pol Pot married someone in the bourgeoisie, which indicates that Kar Psah Psah can indeed work. However, in a larger scale "bongpaeon" is illusionary, because the wealthier population would not care about the poor when it comes to the point.

*All those with the black lexuses float on bongpaeon, if they hit someone at night and simply leave him on the street, there is not much left of bongpaeon. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 745-748) [sic]*

In Phnom Penh the rumor exists that the better off ones always have to carry one hundred dollars in their pockets. If hitting a poor person by car at night, it would be enough to throw the money on the corpse and go further. In the same way, bongpaeon seems to be illusionary in Anlong Veng, where business people from outside are told to have pushed the former Khmer Rouge out of town.

### ***The nation has to be healed***

Showing to be not very familiar with the concept of reconciliation, Dong preferred the expression “healing” when talking about the necessities for the Cambodian people. He seemed to support Kar Psah Psah as well, because he considered the trials as contributing to the healing process. In order to heal the nation, trust would be needed to get reconstructed among people.

*The court can not tell the question why to the people ... because the policy leader, the top leaders ... are the perpetrators ... so in this court you can not expect that ... the court can bring truth. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 389-400) [sic]*

Accordingly, criminal prosecution is not considered to bring perpetual peace to Cambodia.

The nation’s only way to get healed is the exchange between perpetrators and victims. If they are enabled to talk with each other, they are considered to fight the mistrust and may understand “why” it happened. Emphasizing the necessity to answer the question “why” Khmer killed Khmer, Dong argued that

*one way is to encourage the former Khmer Rouge to tell why ... what is the experience ... and recall all those stories. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 404-407) [sic]*

Mr Elian supported his argument and emphasized that the people need to understand why it happened in order to prevent further atrocities in the future. Furthermore, the Cambodians agreed that the construction of memorials can contribute to improve the living side-by-side, because memorials offer public spaces to talk. However, in order to make the memorials into centres of dialogue, Dong emphasizes that it is important to include and consult people in the community.

*We think this process (the construction process) is important, because ...people have the feeling of ownership, people own the process, people invest the initiative to bring up ... this process of memorialisation, so that they can remember. They can have to tell a story to the next generation if they have conversation around the place. So we transform those mass killing sites into the centre for dialogue, and centre for discussions and story telling. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 204-210) [sic]*

The success of a site depends on the design and its way of telling history, something that can be followed at Choeung Ek. Excluding the affected from the decision of the memorial design, a stupa with skulls like supported by the government does not assisting in the healing of the nation.

### **5.3. The attitude of Cambodians towards Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek**

Although approving the scarce visit of the two sites by Cambodians themselves, the expert estimates of the Cambodian attitude towards the touring of them by international visitors vary heavily between the European and Cambodian point of view.

#### ***Solely the evidential character counts***

Although recognizing Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek as political instruments and in the first instance initiated for international tourists in the 1980s, their evidential character is still estimated to be very important for ordinary Cambodians too. Taking into consideration that impunity persists and that many people do not engage in coping with their pasts, the sites are understood as important physical evidences of the genocide. Due to their capability to educate the visitors, their existence is important for the public as well as the tourists, as argued by Dong. Furthermore, they were argued to contribute to the telling of the truth at the ECCC and the reconciliation process in Cambodia.

*The transformation of such history-connected places into sites of tourism helps to understand the war and atrocities; is very important for learning from the past. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 6-10) [sic]*

All interviewees except Mr. Elian stated that they wish the sites would be more frequently visited by Cambodians. They acknowledged the figures outlined earlier, that mainly foreigners are visiting the sites. Besides the outlined contested design of the memorial stupa at Choeng Ek, one problem remains the missing incentive to go to such a site, which is caused by the low level of education. Cambodians only go to these places for special events, if at all. As Cham argues, living in one of the most impoverished countries of the world,

*going to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek for the sake of remembrance, that is not their first priority. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 148-150)*

*Cambodian people are not interested at all. (Appendix C 5, Student, 518)*

#### ***Europeans have moral concerns***

Losing his grandparents at Auschwitz, Mr. Anselm tried to project his thoughts into the victims' perspective and argued that as much as he wouldn't like to go to Auschwitz, they do not like to go to Choeng Ek, essentially. None of the employees at Tuol Sleng would have gone there voluntarily in the 80s, but got ordered to do so from above. Moreover, he showed himself inconveniently attached to the three still living survivors of Tuol Sleng, which are dependent on working as guides in the torture facility in order to pay their livelihood by being witness of

genocide. Seeing them how they tell their stories and experiences in such a straightforward way made him feel very sorry for them.

Mr. Elian, on the other hand, showed himself highly disgusted about the international tourists' interest in the sites. These sites should be places for education, for people with a special interest in history, for research and academics, but not for tourism. The displays of the mug shots at Tuol Sleng as well as the displayed human remains at Choeung Ek are an offence according to his opinion. He condemned the compulsory visiting of the sites, encouraged by Tuk Tuk drivers and bus loads.

*The idea of making money out of suffering, out of the people, is quite horrendous to me. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 490-491)*

However, after he remembered that he is speaking from a European judicial perspective, he remarked that responses may be different in Cambodia.

*The Khmers react in a very different way. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 495-496) [sic]*

### ***Tourists are actually very welcome***

Indeed, although locals do not visit the sites and some outsiders may be disgusted, tourists are actually very welcome to visit the dark destinations. Their interest is considered as positive and their visits reconfirm the reality of genocide in Cambodia. Tourists enable the memorials to be public spaces for the exchange of ideas, at least at a certain level. They are not perceived as disturbing, but as promoters of the Cambodian fate to the outside world.

*It's a good sign that many tourists come to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 160-161)*

*A museum or memorial built in a quiet place, it does not contribute anything to the people. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong 298-300) [sic]*

*They never really show being disturbed when people visit mass graves or Tuol Sleng or other places ... they are not at all disturbed. (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokar, 132-137) [sic]*

Even though people are poorly prepared when visiting Cambodia, without a clue about what is going on, they are still welcome and assumed to understand the situation of the people when seeing the poor, the waste, the careless traffic behaviour and the beggars on the street.

*They will face it, they will learn from what they see. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 685)*

#### 5.4. The development of Anlong Veng – No topic of interest for ordinary Cambodians?

Except Mr. Cham, none of the interviewees recognized significant news coverage about Anlong Veng. Generally, the touristic development of Anlong Veng does not seem to be in the peoples' interest. However, people seem to know that Anlong Veng was the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge, that Pol Pot and Ta Mok lived there as well as that it is the place where Pol Pot died. While the broader population is not aware of the governmental developments in Anlong Veng, the people are nevertheless informed about the recent availability of telecommunication there, as well as the fact that the road from Siem Reap has been reconstructed. Nationals recognize the high prizes of land in the region and the connected influx of Cambodians from other parts of the country.

All interviewees heard about the plans of the former photographer of Tuol Sleng, Nhem En, to open a museum in Anlong Veng. It is told he has already collected Pol Pot's Western style toilet seat and his sandals to display them in his museum. These endeavours were commented by cynical and sneering remarks. The interviewees did not take him seriously.

*He is working and living too close with the garment officials and business people, so what he sees into that direction today is making money and business. (Appendix C 2, Mr. Boket, 174-176)*

Mr Anselm stated that the interest in the site depends on the media coverage. If "Radio Free Asia", a "non-profit corporation that broadcasts news and information in nine native Asian languages to listeners who do not have access to full and free news media" (RFA online 2010), is interested in the topic, people would come to know about it. Anselm argued, if the same thing would happen in Germany with the Wolfsschanze, one of Hitler's headquarters, demonstrations and public outcries would prevent the enterprise from its realization. But there have been no such discourses about developments in Anlong Veng so far.

*When the state bondage media recognizes that the government has a problem with the topic, it is not being thematized. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm 1320-1322) [sic]*

According to Mr. Anselm, the government has already recognized the implementation of the project as problematic, which is why the museum has actually been prohibited so far. But the fact that Nhem En is building the museum in the meanwhile shows that Anlong Veng may be too far away to be controlled anyway.

Nevertheless, state-censorship and self-censorship would prevent ordinary people from receiving critical news like the international press is actually distributing about Anlong Veng.

Approving that analysis, Mr. Elian argued that only a small percentage (2%) of the population has access to this kind of articles. The sensitivity of public space in Cambodia is treated in the upcoming section.

### **5.5. The absence of Public Opinion in Cambodia**

One of the main objectives of the expert interviews was to find out how the public is actually thinking about the touristic development of Anlong Veng. It has been shown that the overall concern to survive, the fear of former Khmer Rouge in leading positions, the not existent freedom of the press and low standard of education condemned a public opinion from the Cambodian landscape.

#### ***Fear in Cambodian society***

Hun Sen's reintegration policy causes perpetual fear in the people. They do not want to be involved in politics, hide their identities and refrain from talking about the DK.

*When Hun Sen said that we should prosecute more people at the ECCC, more Khmer Rouge leaders, we might have civil war ... Hun Sen said he might have a lot of reverberations ... among the villagers... among those who fear. (Appendix C 1, Mr. Bokar, 578-584) [sic]*

The ruling party in Cambodia, the Communist Peoples Party (CPP), does not want the people knowing or talking about their past. Instead, the party wants to control the people by imposing the state narrative on them. As indicated by the outlined decisive stages of history, the people in Cambodia are trained to follow their leaders without speaking out their mind. Mr. Elian stated that the people are afraid of Hun Sen's police, why the country is basically ruled by the CPP. The opposition appears to be very weak.

*There is no public opinion really, because people do not like to discuss. Because under the Khmer Rouge it was very dangerous to discuss about general problems, under Heng Samrin regime the same, you could go to prison and to death too ... so you don't discuss, you don't protest, you are very calm you just enjoy live, you go to karaoke. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 891-897) [sic]*

The former perpetrators fear justice, while the victims fear further violence. Conclusively, the people stay silent and live their lives. According to Mr. Anselm, joint plaintiffs refrain from claiming their right because they otherwise have to speak in public about their pasts. Mr. Dong argued that the situation is not that different from what it was like during the DK regime itself, since there is no freedom of expression. Understanding their fear would help others in understanding the current society.

*You can not say everything (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 622)*

*They are just subjects, they have been subjects since independence (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 325-326)*

### ***The absence of critical thinking in Cambodian society***

While the two younger Cambodian researchers seemed to take this fear not that seriously and argue that

*They seem to take their own suffering for granted (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 475-476)*

Mr. Dong stressed the fact that they just want to prevent their children from being involved in politics. That may be the reason why they do not talk to them about the Khmer Rouge. Teaching history at the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP), Mr. Elian argued that the younger generation is not interested in the backgrounds of their leaders. When he started teaching in Cambodia, he urged the Minister of Education to teach the younger generation in critical thinking. However, nothing to support his idea has happened until today.

*Because knowing your history, at least the history of the last fifty years since independence is a political minefield (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 266-268)*

He tries to teach them that no official, no right or wrong history exists, that everybody can have his own opinion about it. However, frustratingly to him, the students study very slowly and repeat what he says rather than making up their own mind. Regarding the new history book of Mr. Cham and DC-Cam, Mr. Elian argued that it summarizes what happened under the DK regime quite objectively, except that it does not explain the reasons or backgrounds why certain things happened. Also Mr. Anselm and Mr. Dong criticized the new book for not answering the important question of “why” everything occurred. While Mr. Cham showed himself confirmed in his endeavours, because the government voiced no criticism so far, the others argue that the book constitutes nothing more than another account about the fact “that” genocide happened and how people were killed. The political questions that result from the genocide education remain unanswered.

*But of course they find none of these answers in the book, because these questions have been taboo. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 122-123)*

Challenging the attending student, it became apparent that he does not know the truth about why Hun Sen joined the Khmer Rouge. Nevertheless, the student had more freedom to teach about the reason why than others, because he was teaching at a private school. Elian himself did not even have a proper contract – he never had to sign anything at the university. He sort of

teaches “undercover”, which is why he lives in financial insecurity, yet he also has some freedom about what he teaches. However, the vast majority of the people lives in the countryside and has even less access to proper education. They live in the same communities where also the former defectors and today’s bondage constituencies of Hun Sen’s leadership live today.

### ***Overall poor thinking***

The outlined fear, existent traumatisations and the low level of education in Cambodia are considered as bereaving the Cambodians of their own mind and thinking.

*The vast majority of the people can not think because the standard education is very low and there is no freedom of media (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 335-338) [sic]*

*... those who experienced so much, might not think properly, the way they think is, was clearly weak... (Appendix C 2, Mr. Boket, 245-246) [sic]*

Dong argued that ordinary Cambodians are not able to protect a place like Anlong Veng from tourism. It would be hard for them to mobilize themselves, recall memories and think about the meaning of the respective site. Especially, if the project is under the control of the state, individual narratives are as impossible as the participation of survivors. For this reason

*survivors can not come into that analysis. (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 326-327) [sic]*

They are unable to question the touristic development of Anlong Veng unlike Mr. Anselm would question possible developments at the Wolfsschanze in Germany. Neither are they able to feel offended by the broadcasting of their relatives’ photographs from Tuol Sleng as Mr. Elian would be.

## 5.6. Pol Pot's grave – An attraction for Cambodians, too

When the interviewees were asked about how they can explain that so many Cambodians are visiting Anlong Veng each month, all of them were surprised about the presented figures. The attempts to explain the phenomenon varied heavily between the foreigners and the Cambodians.

### *An inexplicable phenomenon for foreigners*

While Mr. Anselm and Mr. Elian felt a little helpless and shattered in the first instance, they assumed that curiosity, the wish to see the formerly invisible, or maybe the need to convince themselves that Pol Pot is really dead, would create that interest. Trying to see things from the perpetrators perspective, Mr. Anselm guessed that the visit could maybe help some former Khmer Rouge to close this chapter of their life. Being apprehensive that violations towards the grave could occur, he argued that his grave should at least not get desecrated.

*However, I think it would be better when his ashes would have been dispersed somewhere, so that no one can find it anymore. The Israelis have done that consciously, they dispersed the ashes over the Mediterranean Sea, so that no neo nazi knows where to go. I would prefer that, but since the stupid grave is there now, it is difficult to say... (Appendix C 1, Mr. Anselm, 876-882) [sic]*

Since Cambodia is at best will no welfare state according to Mr. Anselm, he elaborated that transportation costs for nationals are very high. Conclusively, he assumed the visitors to be mainly people of the new middle class. Mr. Elian was worried that the visitors could even worship Pol Pot in the end. According to Mr. Bokar exactly this may be the case.

*I think many people in Cambodia, they still want to go to see Pol Pot's grave. They have never seen him before; have never seen this guys face. And he has been famous for many years. He was responsible for the Khmer Rouge. (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokar, 249-253) [sic]*

The responses of the Cambodian experts unveiled a quite different perspective towards the perpetrator's grave.

### *Khmer cosmology and the mystical spirit of Pol Pot*

Mr. Cham showed himself as very well informed about what happened in Anlong Veng then as well as today. As he is reading the news, he knew that a lot of Cambodians indeed pray at Pol Pot's tomb for lottery numbers, good health and happiness in the future. This behaviour is rooted in the superstitious traditional belief of Cambodians that people have had for many centuries. By narrating a delivered folk tale about a simple man who received a magical black stick, became powerful and conquered the position of the king, he explained the magical feature of Pol Pot. The man was considered as "neak ta" – as having the power to give happiness or

harm. He made himself king, but was defeated again soon. However, his powerful spirit gives people a reason to pray to him and worship him up to this day.

*And it's the same thing with Pol Pot. He committed a lots of crimes in Cambodia, he lead a convey [sic] which literally killing in the death of million of people, but after his death he became the magical powerful spirit for the peoples. Like the black stick, like the black stick king. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 204- 208)*

*...neak ta is like a grandfather who died, but his spirit is still powerful. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 215-216) [sic]*

Rachel Hughes mentions this traditional belief-system briefly in connection with local-level memorials. She states it could be another belief-system, one of Khmer cosmology. “Neak ta” stands for powerful guardian spirits which reside in the landscape. “The neak ta is the most omnipresent figure of the divinities which populate the supernatural world of the Cambodian countryside ...the neak ta is not just a kind of simple spirit but rather a phenomenon or energy force relating to a specific group such as village community” (by Ang Choulean 2000, in Hughes 2005).

Accordingly, Pol Pot is worshipped like a god. Admitting that they may worship the killer, Cham argued that poverty would be one of the main reasons that lead Cambodians to worship Pol Pot.

*They do it for happiness, to avoid disease. So they don't consult a doctor but Pol Pot's spirit to get rid of the disease people try to seek any opportunity, any reputation they can take, they could have to safeguard themselves from the bad things and to improve their economics opportunity. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham, 323-327) [sic]*

The outlined derivations about the Cambodian interest in Pol Pot's grave clearly emphasizes that the outsider's view may be too biased in order to reconstruct the broader meaning of Pol Pot's grave.

## 5.7. The touristic development of Anlong Veng from the experts' perspective

In general, the development of Anlong Veng into a tourist destination is considered as a positive endeavour. Tourists are assumed to bring development and progress to the remote town and thus to support the poor people in the area. However, while the two young researchers seemed to be more mindless regarding the site, the other respondents voiced some concerns about the representation.

The Cambodian responses emphasized it to be just one site among many in the country which could be turned into a tourist destination. Mr. Cham located the site in one row with Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and is not at all concerned about the development.

*I don't think it is immoral to preserve this kind of places as a tourist place ... it is a place for remembering, can be developed into a museum like Tuol Sleng. Ta Mok's house can be developed into a museum for people to learn ... to take their children there. (Appendix C 3, Mr. Cham 702-707)*  
[sic]

The European respondents on the other hand emphasized the dangerous attendance of former Khmer Rouge soldiers, who basically tell the people whatever they want. Mr. Anselm showed himself to be embarrassed about the circumstance that the last remnants still praise their former leaders, which he attributes to the inclusive policy of Hun Sen. Time seems to have stood still in the region, so that the former perpetrators there may feel too safe. Thus, the destination must be differentiated from the two others.

Bokat, on the contrary, saw this circumstance as vital for the endeavour of reconciliation. The touristic development of Anlong Veng

*may give us a good starting point to educate people in Anlong Veng about genocide (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokat, 301-302)*

Dong emphasized that the site itself is not that important, but its connection with the history is what is decisive. Otherwise the site would be only a place, like many other killing sites in the country. If a public space for talk and a place of education is being created, the project could be very vital for the healing process and the reconstruction of trust between the people in Anlong Veng, former perpetrators and victims. The exchange of ideas and the challenging of wrong stories told by guides are considered to bring change into the mindsets of the people.

However, if the government is involved in the representation, the projects' implementation is judged as being questionable by the Cambodians. The government would not include all narratives (like also supported by Mr. Anselm) and could hinder vital exchange due to the

imposing of the “official” story. It would constrain locals from participating in the process, thus hampering the reconciliation objective of the project.

Acknowledging recent governmental decisions regarding Choeung Ek, the commercialization of Anlong Veng constituted a general concern.

*Money money, they hope that it will create a few jobs that's all ... no interest in history on the government side (Appendix C 5, Mr. Eian 658-661) [sic]*

*...business ... may affect ... the stories, affect on the history, the understanding of the people ... there may not go deeper ... on the root causes why ... the aspect of education, reconciliation is very important ... not just for entertainment or tourist (Appendix C 4, Mr. Dong, 277-285) [sic]*

*Business does not go with this kind of things (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokat 352-353)*

According to Henry Elian, the development of Anlong Veng can not at all be contributed to a better understanding about the past, because

*It is Cambodian present and nothing about the past. (Appendix C 5, Mr. Elian, 727-728)*

The past of the Cambodian Communist movement would be in Hanoi, Beijing and Paris. The promotion of Khieu Samphan’s house as a tourist attraction, while Samphan is still awaiting trial was a horrendous thought for the French professor.

## 6. Discussion of the Findings

The present thesis aimed to investigate to what extent a dark tourist destination like Anlong Veng, labelled to be contested, is able to cope with the needs of its visitors. The preceding chapters analyzed the site regarding its meaning and impact on nationals as well as on internationals. While the results of the discourse analysis indicate that Anlong Veng may not be a site worth visiting for the average international tourist, the results concerning its meaning for nationals are shown to be highly complex. It is therefore indicated that the meaning of the site for nationals may apply value to the otherwise possibly as amoral perceived visits by international tourists. In order to estimate to what degree the site can foster the reconciliation process in the country, the results have to be combined and discussed.

As argued in the beginning of the present thesis, various circumstances suggested qualitative interviews with experts to be a useful method to shed light on the meaning of Anlong Veng's heritage for Cambodians themselves. Moreover, this was additionally approved in recognition of the fact that ordinary Cambodians do not actually have the ability to think critically about the development of Anlong Veng into a dark tourist destination. Of course, superficially treated, Cambodians do not seem to be interested in the government's present engagement, because they are not much aware or informed of what is going on in Anlong Veng. Though, the actual reason for their inactivity has shown to be the fact that they do not have access to international independent media coverage – this being the only public voice criticizing the governmental engagement in Anlong Veng as amoral. Furthermore, ordinary Cambodians are argued to have other, for them more essential concerns. Generally fearing the involvement in governmental issues and politics since the DK regime, repressive policies, corruption and impunity keep them away from engaging in a debate about the development of such a site. As follows, the Cambodian society does not enjoy the privilege to have a public opinion like other societies usually have in the political West. But most importantly, due to the poor level of education in the country, ordinary Cambodians are incapable of even considering the analysis of and the condemning of the touristic development of Pol Pot's last resting place.

Departing from this analysis the international media can be interpreted as an advocate of the speechless. It inherits a meaningful role in the raising of attention and interest in the dark destinations, labelled as morally questionable, as indicated by Lennon and Foley. In this way, the international media opens up a transnational space which enables the discussion of a conjuncture which could not be identified as contested otherwise. However, since this transitional space is not reachable for Cambodians, it appears like parallel universe, far away from the actual problems on the ground. Neither within this universe nor in the country itself Cambodians are able to argue

for their point of view as outlined above. For this reason, the by the media created dark tourists' interest may appear grotesque.

Nevertheless, the interviewed experts show to be able to deduce a meaning and function of the site for nationals. Due to this circumstance, the present estimates of the meaning and capabilities of the site for nationals, negative as well as positive, have to be deduced from the thoughts and reactions on this matter of scholars and specialists.

Initially, compared to the negative criticism about the morally questionable inclusion of Anlong Veng as a third genocide "attraction" into Cambodia's dark tourism trail by the international media, Cambodians seem to actually appreciate the presence of tourists at their genocide places. Like Judy Ledgerwood already assumed about the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum at the beginning of the 1990s, Cambodians want the "foreigners to go to the museum so that they can understand what happened, in much the same way as Khmer-Americans want their American friends to see the movie "The Killing Fields"" (Ledgerwood 1997, p.94). Living in impunity, they want the world to know what is going on in Cambodia. As stated by Mr. Cham, also uninformed tourists are very welcome. They are assumed to face Cambodia's socio-economic situation while touring the country and will thus eventually understand the Cambodian reality too.

However, the aid-dependent post-conflict Cambodian government lacks money and expertise to manage a site like Anlong Veng according to expectations of visitors from the Westerner world. Instead, the site is representative like many others in Cambodia, solely by its existence. Similar to its two sister monuments, Anlong Veng's value is emphasized to be embodied in its evidential character, which proves once more the reality of recent genocide. Meaningful through its evidential "authenticity", it comes across that the necessity to mediate the site is initially secondary. Instead, it performs the physical insurance that the past cannot be forgotten, almost like a substitute for the missing history education in the country. Accordingly, the site is supposed to be able to teach the younger generations about the end of the Khmer Rouge regime. Incomprehensible for the moral value system of scholars from the democratic political West, they do not differentiate between the site of a perpetrator of genocide and the sites dedicated to the victims of it. Already used to the existence of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek as tourist destinations, Anlong Veng is perceived as just another site.

Lennon and Foley argue that the preservation of sites representing the perpetrator can in some contexts be more valuable than simply forgetting them, which is considered as the preferable solution for some places in Germany, such as at the Gestapo-Gelände in Berlin. Its appropriate interpretation and representation has shown to be very controversial. Because of the

fear of voices of sympathizers, the site got obliterated from the historical landscape (Lennon & Foley 2000). In Anlong Veng on the other hand, adherents of Pol Pot and his mystical spirit seem to be widely accepted at the site. Acknowledging that the representation and interpretation of the site may be indeed questionable, it is emphasized that the project could more likely fail in the first instance because of the involvement of the repressive government which excludes unwelcome perspectives of the past. Secondly, it could be miscarried through commercialization. The possible profit-making from genocide sites, as can currently be perceived at Choeung Ek, is generally seen as a negative outcome of tourism in Cambodia.

Nevertheless, international tourists from the political West are not capable to identify the above mentioned paramount evidential value of the offered site and experience it as not worth visiting. Triggered by the wish to be educated about the end of the Khmer Rouge regime, or by the search for experiencing something of the political other deep in the jungle, they anticipate some kind of living museum or at least a remote undiscovered part of the world. However, Anlong Veng neither offers Western style museum standards and infrastructures nor does it inform or educate about the life of the Khmer Rouge in the area. Instead, the dark destination indicates once more “that” historically important events happened there, but not why or how. It fails its educative objective and leaves the information seeking visitor once more lost in Cambodia’s historical landscape.

The mentioned visitors which are looking for the macabre left overs of the rough Khmer Rouge atmosphere have to realize that globalization did not spare to influence the remote jungle town. Disappointingly for some dark tourists, modernity and economical interests are continuously reshaping the area and its population, which is why the Khmer Rouge experience is perceived to have no more than a relative authenticity. Increasingly populated by businessmen from all over the country, the “real” Khmer Rouge are told to have been pushed out of the city and are living in poverty outside of town (Wood 2006, Neuhauser 2010). However, since perpetrators hide their past identities and “Khmer Rougeness” is not visible from simply observing people, nobody can claim such a situational condition nor conclude the opposite of it. Clearly, former Khmer Rouge do not walk around in Khmer Rouge sandals, carry sticks and sing revolutionary songs like they did during the DK regime. Fearing hatred and revenge from others and emphasizing their own victimhood since recently (90% of the population, as told by Mr. Anselm, Appendix C 1, line 439), they eagerly try to live ordinary lives.

Factually, when touring the remotest areas of the world, tourists looking for authenticity have to keep in mind that the past can never be represented wholly authentically. Depictions of the past are always influenced and shaped by the present, especially in a globalized world like ours. If recreations and simulations of the DK regime are desirable or possible at all in the Cambodian

context is to be seen in the future. However, it is obvious that public simulations of former “Naziness” for instance, would not be possible in Germany. Notwithstanding, in still believing in the existing danger of landmines beside the tourist trail (although they are told to be removed from broader tourist areas), as well as adhering in the existence of Khmer Rouge honouring Pol Pot, what is proven at his grave, the visitors who are looking for such realities receive some satisfaction.

However, European-style expectations may be misguided anyway, when considering that Anlong Veng is located in one of the poorest countries of the world in Southeast Asia. Visited mainly by national and international tourists from inner-Asia, the satisfaction of the touristic needs of international visitors from the political West has to be recognized to not be the main concern of the sites’ operators. As Winter argues, inner-Asian tourism is on the rise and should be recognized, because “much of the literature on tourism continues to conceive globalization in terms of Westernization, resulting in attention being principally given to the broader social, cultural, and economic consequences arising from the consumption practices of a prototypical Western tourist subject” (Winter 2007, p.41). As much as other cultures can’t expect the West of inheriting their sophistications in aesthetics, morality and museum techniques, the West can not expect them to do so. Unfortunately, there are rarely or no sources available of Asian visitor experiences at Cambodia’s dark tourism destinations, supposedly reasoned in language barriers by so far mainly Western scholars investigations in the field (like for instance indicated in the survey of the ICTJ, Bickford 2009). Because of this reason, we will actually remain unaware of this very important feedback and perspective. Since the demand of these consumers is steadily rising, they may get more out of the site than for instance visitors from the political West.

Representing the perpetrator of genocide, it appears to be problematic for Anlong Veng’s international dark tourists to engage with the historical heritage there. Being no item of regular tour itineraries so far, the visiting of the site is still exceptional and basically solely undertaken by individual travellers and backpackers. Compared to visits of Tuol Sleng and Choueng Ek, a trip to Anlong Veng can hardly be reconceptualised into a symbolic gesture dedicated to the victims of genocide. On the contrary, the visit approves Pol Pot’s popularity. Assuming to possibly do so, Mr. Elian for instance preferred to wait down at the main road while his students observed the grave of Pol Pot. He did not want to pay homage to the perpetrator by visiting the burial site.

Having the privilege to evaluate the site from the experts’ point of view, the preceding results deliberated the actual representation of Pol Pot’s burial site as being sanitized for arriving tourists. Furthermore, the results of the undertaken interviews indicate that hatred is still felt in the people about the perpetrator buried there. Nevertheless, there is also a significant number of people living in the area, generally poorly educated, who still believe in Pol Pot’s and Ta Mok’s

greatness. For this reason, the touring of this respective dark destination can indeed be interpreted as a support of the greatness of the perpetrators towards those who do not know it better. Through gazing upon his grave, comparably well educated international tourists from the political West could actually trivialize the dark abnormality of Pol Pot officially, or strengthen the belief in his mystical spirit. Visually approving the site as worth visiting by touring it, dark tourists have already encouraged the community to take care of its appearance, which assumingly contradicts many victims' mindsets in the country. In this regard, tourists themselves trigger the sites' transformation towards sanitization and the inauthentic. By touring the sites, it has to be assumed that visitors are more likely to harm victims than help them. Remembering the evil character of Pol Pot or possibly even suffering from PTSD, the world must turn upside down when watching tourists honouring the perpetrator.

However, the interviewed Cambodian experts in reconciliation and remembrance support a quite different point of view. Like Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are considered as functioning like a mouthpiece to tell the outside world about what happened in Cambodia, they argue that the outside world is able to challenge the indoctrinated mindsets of the former Khmer Rouge living in Anlong Veng district. When the visiting dark tourists would challenge the incomplete and indoctrinated world views of former Khmer Rouge there, they could foster the reconciliation process in Cambodia actively. For this reason, concerns about the stories possibly told at the site by former Khmer Rouge are considered to be unnecessary. Although approving Moore's and Albert's assumptions that divided memories and diverse experiences of survivors hamper the creation of a proper memorial that includes all perspectives, Hun Sen's objectives to reintegrate former Khmer Rouge back into society may be facilitated by means of the site nonetheless – though in another way as he may have intended.

Accordingly, the dark tourist destination is considered to be a public space where the indoctrinated worldviews can be challenged by visiting tourists who are assumed to be aware about what happened in Cambodia. Completely without prosecution and transitional justice, they are assumed to function as a vital tool to bring the former Khmer Rouge back on the right track. Frequented on a regular basis by national tourists, it is also argued that the heritage sites of Anlong Veng offer a vital space for the interaction between conflicting mindsets among the various inhabitants and visitors, thereby fostering the healing of the nation.

It is assumed that the controversy of the site could constitute its second most important asset. As scholars focusing on heritage studies agree, the more controversial a memorial is, the better it is in raising consciousness (Lennon & Foley 2000, Adam 2000). Adam argues, that “the most useful memorial for past injustice is keeping the debate about it alive, rather than freezing it

in a monument. Past victims are best honoured by sensitizing a new generation for future injustice” (Adam 2000, p.108). In this regard, the main feature of the sites which are criticized to be amoral could actually constitute the circumstance that it is contested, a circumstance identified by the international media. Being controversial by solely existing, the site is secured to receive perpetual attention, just like, for instance, the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. The latter is considered as controversial because of its selective dedication. Instead of dedicating the memorial to all victims of fascism, due to political reasons it was decided to dedicate it solely to the European Jews. However, its overall value is even strengthened by this controversy, which triggers perpetual discussions about guilt and victimhood (Adam 2000). In a similar way, the decision to develop Anlong Veng led to headlines in the international media. This again brought the problems of the country as well as the still ongoing trials at the ECCC and impunity back into the awareness of others.

Ideologically as well as financially supported by the political West, the transitional justice efforts enacted by the ECCC and the government are considered to be half-hearted by ordinary Cambodians, if they know about this engagement at all. Instead of trusting in international law which only calls to account the main perpetrators, the Cambodian way to overcome the years of civil war and genocide is embodied in the wish to heal the nation from below. Preferring the expressions “healing” and “social reconstruction” (Kar Psah Psah) to the more unfamiliar terminology of the term “reconciliation”, indicates that another context may call for other solutions.

Believing in Buddhism, Cambodians trust in brotherly love (boangpeon) and the re-uniting of the society living in mistrust without outside support, law or forces. They wish to be able to forgive each other and to redress their past in order to heal the nation. This Cambodian way of thinking indeed makes sense for the people living on the community level, a level which is not reached by international law. Dreaming of an ordinary life in peace, they prefer to live in silence and do not take revenge or confront each other. However, the Cambodian way is also detected as not that practicable on the ground, because not everybody can forget what happened, like it would also be supported by Hun Sen. Instead, it is proven that 76.17% of the respondents of a survey by DC-Cam still can't forgive what happened (Linton 2004).

Being aware that the Cambodian society still suffers from the legacy of the Khmer Rouge, we know that the years of genocide and civil war are still in the living memories of many Cambodians. However, while people still feel like meeting with a victim when encountering a Jew, no matter from which generation, they behave comparably inconsiderate in the Cambodian “historical” landscape, which is not really even history yet. Khieu Somphang's house for instance,

is included in the fourteen dark tourism sites of Anlong Veng while he himself is still alive and waiting trial at the ECCC. As Williams argues for the visiting of Choeung Ek and Tuol Sleng, “those who, for the 1980s and most of the 1990s, lived with the persistent threat of the KR as constant reminder of the genocide years do not enjoy the luxury of distancing themselves the same way” like for instance international tourists (Williams, p.243). Conclusively, the fourteen sites of Anlong Veng display the present situation of impunity, which is continuously affecting the people living in Cambodia today. However, the average dark tourist at the site is assumed to not be much concerned about the victims and more about the perpetrators which he wants to encounter. Though, if just taking a look at the site, they may possibly do more harm than they are able to support the reconciliation process in Cambodia.

Conclusively, it is approved that the relation the nationals have with the respective dark destination has to be included into the analysis of dark tourism as claimed by Tony Walter and the author of the present thesis. If excluding the meaning of Anlong Veng for Cambodians themselves, the site would have been immediately identified as amoral and considered to be not valuable for the average international tourist. Doing so, the paramount evidential value of the site would have been overlooked. Furthermore, if the political context and the Cambodian situation would have been ignored by the present analysis of Anlong Veng, the discovered feature of the site, to offer a public space for interaction and confrontation, would have not been replicable from the Western point of view. Furthermore, it has been found out that it is overbearing to judge the site from a solely European or Western consumer’s point of view.

In particular, by using the contested public space of Anlong Veng for the exchange of world views, the touring of the site can be valuable for international tourists, also if just in a metaphorical sense. If interacting with the site and its inhabitants, every single international tourist is considered to have the opportunity to foster the reconciliation process in Cambodia actively. By challenging backward mindsets, international tourists are enabled to perform as advocates of the telling of the truth as well as transitional justice. By encountering the local as the global, the touring of the site can be more than an undesirable symbolic gesture which adores the perpetrators’ greatness. However, this may unfortunately not be the intention of the average tourist who donates just one or two days of their trip to the site, being unaware about its political power and his personal responsibilities at the site. Underestimating the seriousness of impunity in Cambodia, the visit keeps solely testimonial. If not engaging as previously explained, the visit can more likely be considered as an inhuman and amoral act and thus would constitute an uneasy experience for both encountering cultures.

## 7. Conclusion

Supporting Lennon and Foleys argument that recent cataclysmic events bring populations to the intersections between the local and the global, I agree with the argument that global communication technologies are creating interest in dark tourism destinations like Anlong Veng. As much as people from the industrialized world are informed about what is going on at the other side of the globe, they are able to confirm the unbelievable within just a few hours of travelling. Due to this circumstance, a significant amount of tourists from the “safe” parts of the world seem to have replaced the cultural destinations of the 17<sup>th</sup> century European Grand Tour by going global and visit places of recent mass political violence and conflict, meaning places of the 20<sup>th</sup> century narrative.

Triggered by a fascination in the recentness of such events, the rising demand to tour places displaying humanitarian and political catastrophes, can be indeed defined as an intimation of modernity, just as much as the toured events themselves. People are increasingly aware of global interrelations and dependencies, which creates a new kind of consciousness towards the not so privileged parts of the world. Despite arguing that dark tourism is challenging the project of modernity as Lennon and Foley do, I would define the phenomenon as a process indicating the parochialism of the Western perception of modernity. The reason for this argument is that dark tourism destinations are indicating that Western modernity is solely a partial reality. And this is according to my opinion the central lesson for international tourists visiting dark sites like Anlong Veng. By touring shocking destinations displaying human cruelty that happened while self was already alive, can be a limit experience that will never forgotten. However, it was shown that the international visitor experience should have actually not the privilege of being the central value that needs to get assessed.

Although the economic value and its acknowledgement in the analysis of dark tourism destinations in post conflict countries like Cambodia may provide crucial information concerning the site’s respective value for the country as a whole, the present thesis approves that this alone is also not enough to agree upon the existence or value of a site. A solely economic analysis says little about the actual quality of the tourist experience and how the toured culture feels by being gazed on at their sites displaying recent incidents. As much as it is claimed to include all related perspectives into the construction of a memorial design in order to make it valuable, all related perspectives need also to be included in the analysis of a respective site. Otherwise, the actual value of the dark destination can be overlooked. Especially when a site is labelled as contested or amoral from a certain point of view, an inclusive assessment is imperative.

The recent interest in heritage sites creates a certain supply of destinations in developing and post conflict countries which should not get inconsiderately consumed like other as cultural

experience labelled destinations. Concluding by means of the present investigation, I am arguing that if the touring of dark tourism destinations is amoral depends on the behaviour of the respective visitor. Taking possible expectations of the affected people of the toured destination into account, the tourist has a certain responsibility to fulfil. If just consuming the site, taking a quick photo, disturbing maybe the commemoration of the victims' relatives and friends and buying merchandise articles at the tourist information on site, if existent, tourists perceive the site as an attraction, like a blockbuster.

Dark destinations, which are most of the time memorials and places of remembrance originally, are supposed to be more than an experience. Dark tourism sites tend to be very political, which is why visitors should be encouraged to think critically and consciously in order to identify the implemented politics of memory and transitional justice efforts intended by the initiators of a site. The showing of respect through proper behaviour and awareness about the site's meaning for the toured society, living memories and oneself should be self evident.

As visitors from the political West have the privilege of being informed about the situation in the respective toured destinations, I argue that they also have the responsibility to make proper use of it. The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism by the UNWTO recognizes this necessity by insisting on proper behaviour. However, the principles fail to bring across the seriousness of some toured destinations which are for instance contested or attached to existing living memories. Furthermore, the promotion of the principles is weak since hardly anyone knows about their existence. The necessity of separating certain destinations from the whole mass of heritage tourism products, especially within the scope of dark tourism destinations, seems to be not adequately realized so far. However, the visiting of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Kennedy's death site or places displaying evidence of Agent Orange in Vietnam, can not be expected to be experienced in the same way as cultural displays such as dance, art and musical performances.

Nevertheless, taking the present research into account, hasty or Eurocentric conclusions are shown to be inappropriate at places outside the political West. It has to be considered that certain destinations, which have been criticized as being amoral, are possibly not considered as such by the respective host countries themselves. In the Cambodian case, it is shown that the debate about morality happens solely within the transnational space, remote from the awareness of the people themselves. Similarly, it is shown that transitional justice concepts of the West as well as Western development assistance jargon is not applicable globally. As already emphasized in the body of this thesis, it has to be considered that other contexts may call for other solutions. That would be not be the first time that the West has had to make concessions in this regard.

In connection to the interpretation and representation of dark tourism sites like the ones displaying genocide and mass political violence, it has to be taken into account that there will

never be a proper, authentic way of display. The demand to feel comfortable when encountering a genocide site is misleading. Instead, the visitors have to understand themselves as kind of political actors when encountering dark tourism destinations, or have at least to find a meaning for their acting. By supporting the claim for more moral justice in the future, by teaching the lesson of never again, by assisting in nation-building or by performing a symbol of justice for the victims of atrocities, the mentioned sites demand more than just their consumption or experience. As the human geographer Tim Cresswell states, “the movements of people (and things) all over the world and at all scales are, after all, full of meaning” (Cresswell 2006, p.2). Detecting tourism as not simply being the consumption of destinations, Cresswell supports the visitor’s responsibility towards the toured culture as shown at the historical heritage of Anlong Veng.

To summarize, I would argue that contested or morally questionable dark destinations that claim to be worth visiting, can offer indeed valuable encounters. The value of the visit depends actually on the visitor, who is forced to make use of his own consciousness, within the own mind or through interactions with the people offering the site.

## **8. Research Perspectives**

As indicated by the present thesis, it is recommended to include all related perspectives and meanings of a destination into the analysis of dark tourism destinations. It has to be recognized that tourism is not just the consumption of a certain product, but a cultural encounter which affects both in the dark tourism experience participating mindsets. This circumstance is not a new finding, but its relevance has to be emphasized in relation to dark tourist destinations displaying recent mass political violence and disaster. It has to be acknowledged that differentiation is needed between those events which are still connected with living memories and other sites, whose events lay back for a century and more.

Furthermore, the so far predominantly Western discourse of dark tourism research needs to be broadened. Destinations outside of the political West need to be included and investigated, as much as foreign perspectives are indispensable to assess the enacted political power of the respective sites. The Cambodian example indicated forcefully, that the citizens of some nations may have no space and possibility to criticize certain heritage sites. For this reason, scholarly engagement should be encouraged outside the political West. Furthermore, it has to be recognized that the term “international tourism” is not any longer solely dedicated to tourists from the political West, but is also embodied by inner-continental and South-North tourism streams. Because of this reason, other moral mindsets and expectations than the ones of the West have to deserve the same attention in future investigations of dark tourism sites displaying recent mass political violence and disaster.

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## Appendix A: Questionnaire

### Employment and function

- First of all, could you tell me a bit about your (family) background and from which region of Cambodia are you from?
- Could you tell me a bit about your work and what you are actually doing?
- Why do you think is the work of your organization/programme so important?

### Thoughts about tourists visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek

- What do you think about the rising tourist's presence in Cambodia and Phnom Penh?
- What kind of experiences did you have with tourists so far?
- Choeng Ek and Tuol Sleng constitute the testimonies of the crimes committed during Democratic Kampuchea, as well as they should serve for the commemoration of the victims. What do you think about the tourists' presence at these sites?
- How far are Cambodians using these sites?

### About Anlong Veng

- What kind of stories and news did you hear about the region since 1998?
- Are the people informed about what is going on in Anlong Veng?
- Are you talking much with others about the developments there?
- What do you think about the governmental decision to develop Anlong Veng as a destination for national and international tourism?
- It is reported that about 2000 Cambodians are visiting Anlong Veng each month. Can you explain their interest in the site? And who are these people?
- Do you know details or news about the government's master plan concerning Anlong Veng?

### Representation of the site

- According to Hun Sen, visitors will have the possibility to learn and understand Cambodia's past better if visiting Anlong Veng. What do you think about that?
- Do you think it matters that former Khmer Rouge are operating the sites of Anlong Veng?
- What do you think about the governments' decision to promote Anlong Veng as a tourist destination?

### Remembrance

- How far do you get in contact with Cambodia's past?
- Do you personally think much about the past?
- Why do you think Cambodians need to cope with their past, and are some people against doing so?
- What kinds of groups or people do want to talk more likely about their stories and their past?
- Are there disagreements between former Khmer Rouge and other people, or within groups themselves?
- I read that inhabitants of some regions in Cambodia are afraid of a comeback by the Khmer Rouge. What do you think about that?

### Cambodia as a tourist destination

- Do you think Cambodia and its inhabitants are ready for tourism besides the cultural centres?
- How far do you think do visitors know about the socio-political situation and impunity in Cambodia?
- Do you think the Anlong Veng project is amoral?

## Appendix B: Web Travel logs

### Appendix B 1: Tourism Macabre

By Andy L., on [www.travelblog.org](http://www.travelblog.org), December 3, 2008

Available at:

<http://www.travelblog.org/Asia/Cambodia/North/Anlong-Veng/blog-350848.html>

[Accessed August 22, 2010]

Remark: Photographs are excluded

I finally got to Anlong Veng after a lot of "no it's impossible" or "very expensive sir. 200\$" everywhere I asked in Siem Reap. I had the pleasure of riding with the infamous GST bus service but to my big surprise the trip was fairly painless, except for the usual karaoke-video... The ride cost me 7\$ and that was on the expensive side as I purchased the ticket in a travel agency. The return ticket only cost me 4,50\$. For locals it's apparently only 4 bucks. It "only" took us 2,5 hours to get there as some parts of the road were good and others not so good. The worst part was just before getting into town.

I stayed at the Phnom Dangrek GH which was a quite crappy place. I had the room right next to the "reception" so it was extremely noisy with crying and screaming kids and hollering women. In the evenings a loud TV and noisy conversations were added to the mix and as there was a big ventilation gap over my door, they could just aswell have been screaming in my ear... During one night some rabid dog was barking its ass off and of course you had the coked up cock (rooster) who insisted on doing his serenade in the middle of the night AND early in the morning. The electricity was limited to be working only between 5PM and 10PM and a while during the morning, but this was in the entire village! Furthermore, the toilet came with manual flushing and some tap was leaking so the entire bathroom floor was wet. For this lovely joint I haggled the price down to 9\$ for two nights. Where are all those places I hear of, cheaper than this, with warm showers, cable TV, nice balcony and AC??? Of course not in Anlong Veng, but I always seem to find the shittiest and most overpriced places.

Anyway, after a bad night's sleep and a token breakfast (expensive as shit!) I hopped on my guide's motorbike and we headed up to the Dangrek mountain where the Khmer Rouge "tourist traps" are. So the latest update is: Yes, the road, about 10km, up to the mountain is very good and my guide "floored it" (how's that possible on a bike?) up there. I've read that the road was supposed to be "wretched" after that - NO

LIE!!! Atrocious! I thought the roads to the wats outside Battambang were bad, this road blew those suckers off the map! Stones, rocks, potholes you name it. Some parts were like beach sand and we were slipping and sliding from side to side, other parts just rock surrounded by dried up mud. When the path cleared up just a tad bit my guide took the opportunity to step on the gas, by which he always kept me alert...

The "road" seemed to go on forever but finally we stopped at Pol Pot's house, which of course wasn't the actual house he was living in but something built on the spot after his death. It's just a ruin though. Beside it, a short walk into the bush, is some overgrown pool were I guess he could enjoy his house arrest.

After this we backtracked to Ta Mok's house, another half standing house in the brush, but this

one was covered in graffiti. Behind it was the famous view and it didn't disappoint - niiiice!

We then headed back to some place with some poles and a sign saying "Pol Pot's Was Sentenced Here"\*. There was supposed to have been a house where the poles were.

After this we rode back to the main "attraction": Pol Pot's cremation site. It looked pretty much like the pictures I've seen although there were more flowers there now. Good ol' Brother Number One still has quite a following I guess. There was even one of those birdhouse looking mini-temples erected beside the grave. There were some fresh incense on it, which you otherwise find in front of Buddha-statues.

On our way down the mountain we stopped at the old Ta Mok roundabout, with the shot-up KR monument. However, the fans have found their way here too and the place is covered by tributes to the nice boys of the Khmer Rouge.

Halfway back we stopped at Ta Mok's grave which is a construction in progress. Apparently the old KR leader's daughter and grandkids live right next to this place and they spare no expenses to build a glorious mausoleum for the deceased dude. Right now it's nothing more than a concrete box but I was shown a picture of what it's supposed to look like when finished (see picture).

Finally, some kilometer before getting back to Anlong Veng, we took a look at Ta Mok's headquarters. In my mind a complete waste of time and 2\$. It's just some half finished building with really tacky wall paintings. Nothing to see really. I guess the other sites aren't much to see either, but it felt more like an adventure going to these remote places (and they were for free...) I wouldn't recommend this for the average tourist though. You need to be really interested to make the effort to see these not-looked-after-places. Apparently the government hasn't made any effort of milking these sites for tourism by making them more accessible and looked after. The military checkpoints I've been reading about were reduced to only one and they just wanted to make sure I wasn't Thai. No Thais allowed. I guess there are still some hard feelings since the last border incident...

\*sic! sic! sic!!!

## Appendix B 2: Fast einen Monat in Kambodscha - Reisebericht und Fotos

By Indrid Cold, on [www.traveltalk.weltreiseforum.com](http://www.traveltalk.weltreiseforum.com), January 21, 2010

Available at:

<http://www.traveltalk.weltreiseforum.com/ftopic11900.html>

[Accessed 22 August, 2010]

Remark: This is the excerpt about Anlong Veng out of a broader travel report.

20.12.2009: Im Internet empfahl man mir, auf dem Weg zum berühmten Preah-Vihear-Tempel eine Übernachtung in Anlong Veng einzulegen. Das Hotel sagte mir nichts von einer Busverbindung zwischen Siem Reap und Anlong Veng. Einen Privatfahrer für 120 Dollar war mir zu teuer, daher entschied ich mich für das Sammeltaxi (15 Dollar). Hinten und vorne sassen je vier Leute, zwei konnten etwas Englisch, stiegen aber vorher aus. Der Ort war klein, die Sehenswürdigkeiten (Pol Pots Grab, Rote Khmer Statuen, das Haus von Ta Mok) waren in einer Stunde gesehen, keine anderen Touristen waren vorhanden, selbst im Hotel (das mehrere Stunden keinen Strom hatte) konnte niemand Englisch, das Essen in den Restaurants schmeckte nach nichts und der einzige etwas englisch sprechende Typ war der schleimige Motorradfahrer.

Die Fahrt startete am Morgen und vor der Mittagszeit war ich in Anlong Veng. Das Monorom Guesthouse bot Zimmer für neun Dollar an und das Essen hier war ausgezeichnet, die Angestellten freundlich.

Ich versuchten den Preis für die Motorrad-Fahrt runter zu handeln, und er willigte ein, jedoch nur minimal. Komisch kam mir schon vor, als im Hotel einer auf Khmer etwas sagte, was ich nicht verstand. Laut dem Motorradfahrer sagte der Mann, dass er mich schön finde. Ich liess das mal unbeantwortet und wir zogen los. Und der Fahrer versuchte auf Buddy zu machen, in dem er z. B. fragte wie alt man sei. Und nachdem man antwortete kam seine überraschende Antwort: Ich auch. Auch beim Gewicht, wieder eine Gemeinsamkeit. Hurra. Und als er meine Kamera sah erwähnte er noch mal das Runterhandeln des Preises, obschon so ein Teil sicherlich sehr teuer wäre (ich habe ihm dann absichtlich gesagt, dass das Teil 2000 Dollar gekostet habe). Nur bei der Körpergrösse, als er wieder sagte, er sei auch so gross, platzte mir dann fast den Kragen, da ich fast einen halben Kopf grösser war als er und auf ihn herunter blickte. Er korrigierte sich und wir fuhren weiter. Auch musste er natürlich bei Pol Pot Grab erwähnen, dass das Haus vorne an der Strasse ein Bum-Bum-Haus war. Wie originell.

Aber alles verlief gut.

Anlong Veng war die letzte Bastion der Roten Khmer. Soldaten haben den Statuen die Köpfe abgeschlagen. Pol Pot starb hier eines natürlichen Todes, nachdem er Jahre lang im thailändischen Grenzgebiet gelebt hatte. Beide Orte sind voller Geisterhäuschen, Räucherstäbchen, Früchte usw. Ob die Leute wirklich nur für das gute beten oder hier gewisse Mörder anbeten? Wer weiss das schon.

Ta Mok war ein Offizier der Roten Khmer und an umfassenden Säuberungsaktionen beteiligt, was ihm den Beinamen "Der Schlächter" einbrachte. Obschon das Regime 1979 entmachtet wurde, konnte er weiterhin im Norden des Landes seine Befehlsgewalt durchsetzen. Er starb 2006 in Phnom Penh im Gefängnis eines natürlichen Todes ohne vorher verurteilt worden zu sein.

Sein Haus war ganz nett, es muss viel Platz geboten haben. Malereien sind an den Innenwänden

zu sehen und es scheint auch zwei, drei kambodschanische Touristen gehabt zu haben, die sich das anschauten.

### **Appendix B 3: Anlong Veng - Normalcy returns to the former Khmer Rouge stronghold**

By anonymous on [www.talesofasia.com](http://www.talesofasia.com), July 2000 to February 2005

Available at:

<http://www.talesofasia.com/cambodia-anlongveng.htm>

[Accessed August 22, 2010]

Remark: Photographs are excluded

#### **Original story from July 2000**

**Updated December 2001, January 2003, February 2005**

Anlong Veng, in Oddar Meanchey province, is by first appearance just another small Cambodian town badly in need of an economic boost. However, as it was the final stronghold of the Khmer Rouge, this remote town near the Thai border is anything but just another small town. Now, after years of isolation, Anlong Veng is seeking to attain some level of normalcy at least comparable to the present state of the rest of the nation.

For over two decades there was virtually no contact with the outside world. When the area did finally come under government control in the spring of 1998 lack of infrastructure continued to inhibit interaction with the rest of the nation. A ride up Highway 67 from Siem Reap could take two days or two weeks, as much of the 120-kilometer trip was over what was little more than ox-cart paths. But earlier this year, Highway 67 was upgraded and now Anlong Veng is welcoming visitors.

#### **Anlong Veng**

It's a quick two and a half hours from Siem Reap to Anlong Veng thanks to the reconstruction of Highway 67. The trip begins by following the road to the famous Banteay Srei temple. Just beyond, a sign proclaims the completion of the new highway. For about thirty minutes one passes an endless line of stilted houses and busy villagers. After passing the Kulen mountains the landscape begins to change. First is the tiny village of Srei Noi (Little Woman). For years, this stood as the de facto boundary between government-controlled territory and Khmer Rouge-held territory. This area was a frequent battleground, and as such, the village hasn't fared well over the years. Just beyond the village, a team of CMAC workers clear minefields while red land mine warning signs line the road every few hundred meters. You're definitely not in Kansas anymore.

For the next sixty kilometers there are few signs of civilization. First, the area is lightly wooded, then it changes to a dense jungle of soaring hardwoods. There is the occasional squatter's dwelling, often nothing more than a blue tarp covering a wooden platform - a place to sleep and store a few personal possessions. Small roads disappear between the trees - one more frightening sign of the unbridled pace of deforestation in Cambodia. There is little effort to conceal the carnage, huge tree trunks lie on the ground awaiting removal. Someone is getting very rich here. Finally, the jungle breaks and we arrive in Anlong Veng.

The road leads us past a few wooden homes and the small town market. Dominating the town is the new Hun Sen monument, a reminder of just who is the new leader around here.

Other than seeing the town simply for what it is today, the main attraction is Ta Mok's old home. Ta Mok, now under arrest and held in a Phnom Penh prison, was the chief of the Khmer Rouge armed forces and final leader of the organization after Pol Pot's arrest. A roomy abode, it's been stripped of almost all its furnishings, save a couple of western toilets, a dozen or so chairs, and wall murals. A number of police have taken up residence in the house. (Word to the wise: They provided me with totally false information about access to the Dangrek Escarpment, however, accurate information may be obtained from the Reaksmey Angkor Guesthouse - the only guesthouse in town.) Ta Mok's home fronts a large lake created by one of his many dam projects. The numerous tree trunks confirm that it was once dry land around here.

Near Ta Mok's home lie a pair of old rusting tanks. I was to see several more equally dilapidated tanks on the way to and up the Dangrek Escarpment. [Update: December 2001: These tanks have since been moved to the government war museum in Siem Reap.]

This is definitely a frontier town, you really feel like you're at the end of a long road from nowhere. A walk around town doesn't take long. I draw a lot of mostly friendly attention, though there are a few residents that look at me with unease, projecting seemingly inimical stares. Whether it is surprise, unabashed curiosity, or old feelings of enemy hatred I have no way of knowing.

Other than having the frontier feel, the town really is starting to look rather normal. There aren't weapons in the market, rebels clad in red-checkered scarves, or clearance sales on tire-rubber sandals.

The market is nothing of note except for the mere fact that it exists at all, and that is reason enough to have a look. Under the Khmer Rouge, markets, or anything to do with capitalism ran counter to the ideology promoted in this one-time hard-line communist enclave. I'm told that many of the sellers in the market are not original residents but people who moved in (or back) after the government regained control of the area. A walk through the market brings a lot of attention from the sellers, much as if my presence is the highlight of their day. My limited Khmer language skills are enough to decipher that many of the comments are along the line of "foreigner coming with a big camera" followed by shouts and laughter.

After a trip up the Dangrek Escarpment, I stop at the river just north of town. Dozens of locals cast nets here for catching small fish. Though most are quite camera shy and I respect their wishes, one girl is remarkably cooperative. Wading through the river myself, I give the locals a good laugh when I end up ankle deep in water after missing a rock. The experience, in its normalcy, is what makes it special.

### Dangrek Escarpment

The Dangrek Escarpment is the mountain ridge about ten kilometers north of Anlong Veng marking the border between Cambodia and Thailand. For years it served as Pol Pot's home and as a Khmer Rouge hideout. After his 1997 arrest by Ta Mok and subsequent show trial and purge, Pol Pot was kept under house arrest in a simple dwelling elsewhere on the mountain. He died in that home and was cremated a few meters away.

At the time of my visit (July 24, 2000), the mountain was officially closed to tourists. However, if you don't arrive as a group and can tell the military a good story (bring an interpreter for this) it may be possible to look around at least part of the mountain.

I hired a pair of local motodops - one for me, one for my interpreter - and headed up the mountain. The road to the mountain is in excellent shape, however the road up the mountain isn't even fit to be called one. It's a steep rocky rugged incline that looks more fitting for a glacier than for a road and our pace up the mountain is no quicker.

Halfway up is the Ta Mok roundabout. This former checkpoint and monument to the Khmer Rouge has received proper respect. The heads have all been shot off.

Passing another pair of decaying tanks shoved off to the side of the road, we reach the top and the first of many military checkpoints. My interpreter tells them a good story on my behalf and I'm allowed to proceed. The road forks, but to the left several barricades make it clear not to continue that way. Too many mines they tell me. The other fork leads across the mountain to both Ta Mok's and Pol Pot's old homes, and also to the Thai border. I'm told the road itself is safe, but don't even think about stepping on the grass. Do it in the road.

Reaching Ta Mok's residence, we find a number of heavily armed, unsmiling RCAF soldiers have set up camp nearby. A commander emerges who happens to be an old friend of my interpreter. That's good news. He escorts us to the home, but not before one of the soldiers photographs me for identification purposes. The house is quite a bit smaller than the one in town, and it too, has been stripped of its furnishings and adapted to the personal use of several soldiers.

I'm then lead to a small ledge providing a spectacular view of Oddar Meanchey province. Enjoying the view which reaches as far as the Kulen Mountains, I ask the commander about the viability of tourists on the mountain. "We aren't ready yet," he says, "the mountain is not safe. Perhaps next year, but now, still too many mines." As we're ready to leave, a young woman emerges from a nearby dwelling. Unsmiling and looking a bit peaked, it doesn't take much to figure out what she's doing in this remote outpost.

We continue a few more kilometers reaching another military post at the Thai border. A narrow road leads off into the trees where I see a single makeshift gate separating Cambodia from Thailand - porous, to say the least. A small payment and I'm allowed to continue towards Pol Pot's old home, but not before another military post requires another stop. As usual, nobody smiles much and a few dollars are requested to pay for my mandatory escort. My escort looks like he should be back in school instead of shouldering an automatic weapon.

[Update: January 2003: I was to learn in late 2002 that CMAC pulled over 200 land mines out of the ground along the short path that leads to Pol Pot's old house.]

There's not much left of this house which served as Pol Pot's home from 1993 to 1997, just a single room at one end and a long tile floor in front. Inside, pornographic graffiti covers the walls. A porcelain stub is all that remains of the western-style toilet which received a lot of notice in the press earlier this year. First for its existence, then for its disappearance. The toilet seat appeared later in the Ivy Guesthouse in Siem Reap..

Returning to the first checkpoint at the front of the mountain, an escort shows me where it all came to an end. Walking through the brush he leads me to the spot where Pol Pot lived his final months. After his purge, he was placed under house arrest in a simple dwelling where he remained until his death on April 15, 1998. The house is gone now. While some reports say it was hit by an RCAF shell, my escort tells me a simpler tale. After Pol Pot died, the house was stripped, the materials taken elsewhere. The only signs of past habitation are a slab of cement, a broken toilet, and a few medicine jars and other personal effects. I ask my escort if they'll let this

toilet disappear. "No, then there will be nothing left for the tourists to see," he tells me. But he offers me a token piece of broken toilet. A souvenir of Pol's last pot.

A few meters away from the home site is a pile of ashes with a couple of sticks on top. It is Pol Pot. His body, thrown on a pile of tires was most unceremoniously cremated here. My escort reaches into the ashes pulling out what he tells me is a bone fragment. He offers it to me. A souvenir of Pol Pot.

### Education and Development

While there's no place in Cambodia that can't use a good shot in the arm of educational and infrastructure improvements, it's fair to say that Anlong Veng is certainly at the top of the list of areas needing assistance.

Under the Khmer Rouge, school was not a place to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, rather it was a place to learn more important things like building booby traps, making and placing land mines, and staging assaults on the enemy. Not surprisingly, illiteracy in the Anlong Veng area, estimated at over 65%, is among the highest in the country.

I dropped in on the old Ta Mok school. Located just east of town, this was where the children learned how to become good revolutionaries. Next to this old school construction is well underway on a new school building - a common sight throughout the Anlong Veng area.

When I arrived, a single class was in session on the first floor. The teacher, a kind man by the name of Sonn Niem warmly welcomed me in. A girl was at the front of the room shouting out what was written on the chalkboard, simultaneously hitting at each word with her stick. The class, standing at their desks, responded in unison behind her - shouting back whatever she said. Mr. Sonn was happy to have me move among the students taking photographs. The students tried to maintain composure, but many failed, erupting in giggles and laughter as I snapped photos.

The isolation of Anlong Veng continues to inhibit development in the area. While Highway 67 now connects Anlong Veng to Siem Reap, soon road construction will bring another important landmark into reach. The magnificent Preah Vihear temple, about sixty kilometers to the east of Anlong Veng, is presently accessible only from Thailand, cut-off from Cambodia due to bad roads and mines. This situation is set to be rectified possibly as early as next year.

Anlong Veng remains a victim of its history. Whether that history can return economic benefit to the area is yet to be seen. The road network isn't complete, there's but a single guesthouse in town (about a dozen rooms, \$2 or \$3 depending on their mood), and the Dangrek Escarpment isn't officially open. But Khmer Rouge history ranks highly with tourists. After the Angkor temples, the most popular tourist attractions in Cambodia are the Tuol Sleng Museum and the Killing Fields Memorial at Choeung Ek. It only stands to reason then, that Anlong Veng may someday become another stop on the Cambodia tourist loop.

### **Update : December 16, 2001**

Curious to check out the extent of tourism development in the region, I returned on December 16, 2001.

Highway 67 is holding up pretty good. There are some rough spots between Banteay Srei and Kbal Spean and again north of the village of Srei Noi. I still made the trip in about two and a half

hours. The stretch of magnificent hardwood forest has been thinned out a bit. But everyone knows that quality wood furniture always comes from Anlong Veng.

The town now has two guesthouses, both very basic. Several places advertise themselves in English as restaurants though neither one could serve me any food when I asked. One pointed me to the other which pointed me to another which told me to go to the market. The tanks in the road have been removed and are now in the new War Museum in Siem Reap run by the Ministry of Defense.

The road up the Dangrek Mountain is as wretched as ever though there was some heavy earth moving equipment and one stretch had seen some new dirt recently thrown down, but it's still mostly one big rock field. Once on the mountain, the military still runs the show but they are a lot more relaxed now. I still had to check in at the front but it wasn't necessary to explain my purpose. Only a couple of soldiers now hang out around Ta Mok's villa.

Going out to Pol Pot's house, the road is still blocked - this is because the Thai border is only a few meters away. But they didn't ask me for any money or demand that I use and pay for an escort. As a matter of fact, further down the road towards Pol Pot's place the former military station was devoid of soldiers. I was able to go all the way to Pol Pot's place unescorted, which other than being a bit more overgrown around the villa it's much as it was in July 2000.

Pol Pot's cremation site is the one the government seems most interested in promoting for tourism - so consider this: When I visited, there was a gate near the first military checkpoint blocking access to it. Hungry, I chose to leave well enough alone. I'd seen it before, had heard they had already constructed some sort of crude memorial over the ashes, and figured if there's a gate, then somebody will probably want money for me to visit the site. So it was with some surprise that I heard on the 31st of December - two days after a friend of mine visited Dangrek - that the military refused to allow him and his two companions to see the site. My friend reported that the military person they spoke with was extremely rude and nasty saying things along the line of - Who are you to visit this place? This place isn't for you. Get lost. And so forth. This hardly sounds like the proper attitude to take for an area which PM Hun Sen is insisting be developed for tourism - *and* with Pol Pot's cremation site the main attraction.

And that was that. The area is open and if you can get yourself up there nobody's going to bother you about visiting these places - with the possible exception of Pol Pot's cremation site - but you'll probably need somebody to show you around as you can get lost up on the mountain. Or follow my map.

### **Update : January 15, 2003**

I passed through briefly on my way to Preah Vihear and found for the most part the town looks pretty much the same as it always has. The road from Srey Noi north is in very good condition. There are a couple of guesthouses now and a new restaurant, the Choum No Tror Cheak Restaurant is worth a look. If it walks, crawls, swims, or slithers - it's on the menu, however, the menu is in Khmer and Thai only. Go left at the Hun Sen Monument and the restaurant is a few hundred meters up on your left, near Ta Mok's old villa. The road to Preah Vihear is finished and is very fast.

## Update : January 24, 2005

The following report is courtesy "Richey", who was kind enough to offer this update:

- The road from Siem Reap to Anlong Veng has deteriorated extremely during the last 2 yrs, as locals explained to me why the trip now takes \*at least\* five hours! Its condition is so bad that though the humble mentality of the fellow Cambodians, many car drivers are already angry at the government as almost no vehicle can do the trip without any damages to the car. Example: my way from SR -> AV took me \*\*10\*\* (!) hours because the pick-up broke down and had to be pulled to Anlong Veng by another one called from there. So it had to do the way from Anlong Veng to us, stuck in the middle of nowhere, and because of it's load the way back, it could only crawl like a snail .. we arrived in Anlong Veng at deep night, what fun. However, that way I could see the tremendous amount of burning-down the jungle in this area people do preferably in the protection of the dark. You could see all the embers and partially metre high fires quite well during the night. Regarding the road condition: a repair of it is promised for this year (2005), however, most locals seem to doubt it will happen because of the lack of money for such things.

- I could now count a total of 6 guesthouses in the town

- Against the Lonely Planet, all prices (including entrance tickets, room rates, mototaxi fees etc.) seem to have doubled in the area. Negotiate hard, this 100% increase is ridiculous and not arguable by any improvements in the area or the services they provide...

- Still, I was the only western tourist in the area during the three days of my stay

- Prasat Preah Vihear is reachable in a 3+ hour motobike trip by an experienced driver, the road to the mountain is in very good condition now. However, the road from the base of the mountain up to the top is a real nightmare, and from my experiences I can strongly dissuade anyone to move up there even with the guides that offer the ride with their stronger bikes! You really risk your health on a bike there, and the next hospital is far away. On certain parts of the way up and down none of my two drivers was in full control over their bikes. I had to change the one bringing me up since he was drunk as I guessed from the odor emitting from his mouth, he had two accidents with me. They are building a concrete way up there now, until it is finished I would recommend to buy two bottles of water at the base and walk up (est. time: 1-1.5 hrs). Yes, it hurts seeing the perfect, asphalted street on the Thai side when you're on top, and having to watch the styled tourists leaving their tourist minibuses, not having any idea what kind of a trip YOU have behind you... However, visiting Preah Vihear is a 'must', enjoy the stunning views from there (and keep resistant to the offers of real tiger tooth there, for the sake of this rare species). Even when walking up the mountain, the tour is easily possible within a day, especially when both of you start in the early morning hours.

## Appendix B 4: Preah Vihear Eighth Days: Anlong Veng to Siem Reap.

By Stefan, on <http://cambodia.mellenthin.de>, January 20, 2004

Available at:

<http://cambodia.mellenthin.de/archives/2004/01/20/entry00122/>

[Accessed August 22, 2010]

Remark: Photographs and connected remarks are excluded. This is the excerpt about Anlong Veng out of a broader travel report

Next day I get up at seven and go to the restaurant again to have breakfast. The plan is to spend some hours around Anlong Veng, to visit the relevant Khmer Rouge places. In the afternoon I want to leave Anlong Veng and ride to Siem Reap provincial capital, which is about 200 km from here.

After breakfast I kick off with the owner of the restaurant. We go with my bike. By now I don't mind taking people on my bike. Everybody does. First we visit the local tourism office. The door is open but nobody is here. We find a name card and I call the guy. I learn that he is in the mountains right now, taking pictures for the provincial department of tourism's homepage. He suggests we ride up the mountain and meet him there.

And this is what we do. Maybe for about 10 km we follow the main road to the north, which is broad and easy to ride. This changes when we reach the bottom of the mountain. Some distances are pretty steep. Others are covered with rocks or sand. However, it is not too steep and I even enjoy the rough road.

On the way we pass the statues of some soldiers, carved out of a single rock by Khmer Rouge members. Government soldiers have decapitated those statues.

After another 20 minutes we reach the top of the mountain range, which marks the border to Thailand. There is an accumulation of stalls which serves as local market. We park the bike and follow a guy from the tourist police about hundred meters, before we reach the place where Pol Pot was cremated and buried. Those spots would be difficult to find if there were not signs telling the visitor what he sees. Apparently not much attention is paid to those sites and they are covered with rubbish.

By accident, we meet the French guys who I was talking to yesterday before they left. They actually found a guesthouse up here and told me about the beautiful view they have had from their balcony. And we meet Un Khemara, who works in the local tourist office and is the guy I was talking to on the phone. We arrange to meet later in town to visit Ta Mok's house close to the town.

In order to visit Pol Pot's residence in the mountains we have still about 15 km to go. We pass the market and continue on a narrow road, which however is an easy ride. We ride mostly through forest. Sometimes we come across people, mostly in uniforms. Other than that the places we pass are not without beauty. Sometimes we see small lakes.

We pass a guard and pay some money for the privilege of visiting Pol Pot's house. After a few minutes we reach the remains of a concrete structure. There is a basement from concrete, which looks like it served as a bunker. Unfortunately my guide does not seem to know much more

about the place than I do. There is nobody and nothing here to educate us about the historical significance of the place. We come across some sort of basin but do not know whether it served as swimming pool or for irrigation. We assume the surroundings are mined and leave the place after few minutes. I do not feel like I want to visit more places like that without understanding what I see. So we ride all the way back, passing the market and the statues and speeding a bit on the rest of the road back to Anlong Veng.

I bring the restaurant owner to his restaurant and tell him I will be back for lunch after one hour or so. Then I ride back to the tourist office, but Un Khemara is not here again. Instead I talk to his colleague. I call Khemara again and learn he is at Ta Mok's residence, which is just around the corner. Un Khemara picks me up at the office and we ride to the place. This is located at an artificial lake. This lake caused those trees to die and shaped the bizarre sight of the surroundings.

This house was set up first by Ta Mok and he lived in it for some time. The radio for leading the battle with government forces was close by. Un Khemara is about 30 years old and claims he was adopted by Ta Mok when he was a child. He also goes by the name So Phorn but I do not know why it is that he has so many names. Ta Mok had three daughters but no boys and took care of him.

Later a more solid house with a concrete structure was constructed. We enter and find the walls of the basement covered with paintings of Angkor Wat and Preah Vihear Temple. This is where meetings of the highest ranking Khmer Rouge took place.

We spend some time talking. Un Khemara tells me on various occasions about the dam which is the cause of the artificial lake outside. Ta Mok wanted to create this lake to provide water for humans and animals and for irrigation. However, Pol Pot was opposed to the idea.

Furthermore I am told the Thai government provided support in exchange for timber and ancient remains from the temples. At some point supposedly the Thai government demanded Prey Vihear in exchange for such services, but Ta Mok rejected this idea.

Later we go the basement, where we find Ta Mok's bathroom. There are actually bunker under two of those buildings, which were used when the houses came under fire.

After some time we leave. Something at the stand of my bike is broken, but it is a minor problem and I bring the bike to one of the local mechanics. Un Khemara insists that we ride to his house first so that he can give me his name card. He serves as teacher, too and what I find is a small school with this tiny classroom and many students.

After some time we ride back to the restaurant to have late lunch. Afterwards we hang out and talk, which is interesting.

I learn that the owner moved actually only recently to Anlong Veng and lived in Kampong Cham before. It is getting later and later. Finally I say bye, pick up my bike at the mechanic and ride back to the guesthouse. I pack my stuff and attached it to the bike. Then I head to Siem Reap.

## Appendix B 5: KR Territory

By Lochlanjw, on [www.travelpod.com](http://www.travelpod.com), January 24, 2008

Available at:

<http://www.travelpod.com/travel-blog-entries/lochlanjw/christmas/1201149000/tpod.html>

[Accessed 22 August, 2010]

At last we make it to Anlong Veng - stronghold of the Khmer Rouge until 1998 and home of Brother Number 1 Pol Pot and Brother Number 2 Ta Mok - two of the most ruthless men to have lived in the past century.

As we have arrived so late, accommodation is almost impossible to find. Andres and I stayed in a room which was literally a straw mat with a mosquito net on the floor with 4 wooden walls surrounding it and a plethora of various insects and creepy crawlies content to share the room but not the bill.

Elisa and Esta had the room next to ours for about 10 minutes before screaming and heavy footsteps signalled their flight to the parked van outside. They, along with Alana, Amanda and Dara all slept in the van while Alex set up his hammock out the front of the guesthouse.

The next morning we went to visit Ta Mok's house along with what is left of Pol Pot's residence before taking a trip up to the Thai border. Alex interviewed several locals about their thoughts on the Khmer Rouge though it seems that many of the hardcore KR supporters have been pushed out to the surrounding villages while Anlong Veng has been filled with more moderate migrants forced out here by the Cambodian government following Anlong Veng's surrender in January 1998.

This, unfortunately, has affected much of the 'charm' we expected to find in this dusty frontier town.

## Appendix C: Transcripts of the Interviews

The semi structured interviews with experts in Cambodia, recorded between the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2010 and 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2010, are transcribed in the conversation analytical transcription system (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem (GAT)). Developed in 1998, this system creates a coherent convention in order to enable a more uncomplicated exchange of data between different academic disciplines.

The transcripts of the five interviews set out in each case with a short introductory section. This section contains an overall description of the specific interviews, relevant information about the participants, an assessment of the interview situation, as well as all for the present thesis relevant information. As required by the used transcription system, the transcript is held in the font of “Courier New” in type size ten. Furthermore, the transcripts are throughout written in lower case letters, which enables the visualization of accents in capital letters.

- Short descriptions of situations are written in double brackets (( ))
- Abstruse comprehensible words or supposed wordings are written in single brackets ( )
- Incomprehensible words are written as xxx in brackets, whereby three x in a row are standing for one syllable (xxx)
- Overlapping segments or simultaneous speaking are marked by square brackets [ ]
- Abbreviations and spellings are spelled in full or written in phonetic syllable,  
Democratic Kampuchea (DK) = de: ka:
- Numerals are spelled in full
- Short pauses are estimated, whereby (.) is a micro pause of circa 0.2 seconds, and (-) a pause of 0.2 to 0.5 seconds; longer pauses are measured and exactly indicated in brackets
- Filled pauses are described as “aeh” (German transcript), and “erm” (English transcript)
- Questions are marked by arrow brackets <<asking> ...>
- Emphasized tag questions as well as metaphorical ones are marked by an “ = ”

## **C 1: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Anselm**

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Tuesday, 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2010  
**Time:** 15.10 pm  
**Duration:** 02.05.39 h  
**Name of interviewer:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Transcribers name:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Language:** German

### **Situation:**

Two weeks in advance appointed semi structured expert interview in the interviewee's personal office in Bueng Keng Kang, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

### **Role of the participants:**

The interviewee, Mr. Anselm, is an expert in the field of development cooperation, specifically reconciliation, in Cambodia. Furthermore, he is the coordinator and representative of a large german international development organization (Ziviler Friedensdienst, ZFD). He is the leader of a vast project for reconciliation and remembrance in Cambodia. The interviewer is a master's student in the field of global studies, conducting the interview for her master thesis.

### **Characteristics of the speaker:**

Mr. Anselm is estimated to be between 45 and 50 years old and has been working in the field of human rights for several NGO's in Germany and abroad.

### **Other information:**

Mr. Anselm showed himself very much concerned in the investigated topic, very passionate in his occupation. The main reason for that is assumingly the personal affection of immediate family members with the Holocaust in Germany during the Second World War. Mr. From time to time very emotional, some questions made him unsettling and apparently helpless. His background is reflected in a strong sense of mission, why Mr. Anselm occupies the most of the speaking time. He is basically leading the conversation and tries to transmit all the information felt important. Since the interview was held in German, the conversation is transcribed in this language too.

**Characterization of the progress of conversation:**

Mr. Anselm started to talk immediately after the interviewer entered the office. After a certain amount of time the interviewer had the possibility to ask questions by herself. However, it has been shown that all previously prepared questions got answered casually during the two hours lasting conversation.

**Processing stage:** The transcript is held fractional

1 A: das ist hier | wichtige | genocide in cambodia | das sind die  
2 dokumente des neunzehnhundert neunundsiebziger  
3 R: mh  
4 A: prozesses  
5 R: <<asking> der vietnamesen  
6 A: genau | und ich mein jedes wort daran ist programm |  
7 R: hm  
8 A: weil aeh genocide hat die bedeutung | aeh | dass die khmer rouge |  
9 aeh | verbrechen begangen haben wie HITLER | und das und das | hier  
10 pol pot und ieng sary | da steht nicht documents from the trial of  
11 the khmer rouge leaders  
12 R: hm  
13 A: sondern man hat das quasi personalisiert = ne | das ist auch dieses  
14 pol pot ieng sary clique | dieses ist auch ein wort das sich hier  
15 durchzieht | das ist wie in china die viererbande | das ist eine  
16 bande | im grunde eigentlich abweichler vom wahren kurs | und wenn  
17 man mit aelteren leuten spricht | wie mit | aehm | es gibt da so  
18 einen | das kann ich ihnen | das darf ich ihnen glaub schenken  
19 ((stands up to get a compact disc from the shelf)) | das ist der  
20 film we want you to know | da hat ein herrn aus (kortsche) | ein  
21 herrn (son lei) | leider ist diese stelle | von der ich ihnen jetzt  
22 erzaehle | nicht auf dem film | wie manches interessante da leider  
23 nicht drauf konnte  
24 R: hm  
25 A: aeh | aber diese szene wurde einfach weggeschnitten aus  
26 platzgruenden | also herr (son lei) singt | spielt auch (tschapei) |  
27 das saiteninstrument  
28 R: hm  
29 A: der singt da von den FASCHISTEN in kambodscha  
30 R: hm  
31 A: damit | der herr ist eigentlich | der herr war mit dabei wie tuol  
32 sleng von den vietnamesen befreit wurde | das heisst die vietnamesen  
33 wollten verlaessliche kambodschaner als zeugen dabeihaben | dafuer  
34 dass sie das nicht alles inszenieren = ne  
35 R: hm  
36 A: was sie da vorfinden | also die wussten durch geheimdienst schon  
37 ungefaehr was sie erwartet | sie waren wahrscheinlich trotzdem ein  
38 bisschen von den sachverhalten | dann doch erschuettert ((smiling  
39 voice)) | sie wussten also schon was sie erwartet | und erm haben |  
40 wollten aber nicht dass irgendjemand sagt sie kommen und  
41 manipulieren

42 R: hm

43 A: das alles | und dieser herr | (son lei) | der von sich sagt | dass  
44 sei schon in den sechziger jahren | wie er mit den vietnamesen  
45 zusammen gearbeitet | erm vielleicht ist er auch ein ehemaliger  
46 KOMMUNIST | und der hat auch diese version drauf | dass es im grunde  
47 genommen faSCHISTen seien

48 R: mh

49 A: ich meine | das ist so ein propagandistisches element | wenn man |  
50 und hier finden sie uebrigens auch wieder die helen jarvis wieder =  
51 ne | die leiterin der victims support section = ne | die helen  
52 jarvis | aehm die

53 R: hm

54 A: die auch eine marxistinleninistin ist | und die auch ein interesse  
55 hatte damals zu sagen | was die khmer rouge gemacht haben | ist eben  
56 nicht kommunistische revolution | das ist | aeh | abweichung

57 R: hm

58 A: das war auch fuer die vietnamesen in dem sinn notwendig | weil es  
59 natuerlich auch waehrend ihrer militaerischen kampagnen gegen die u:  
60 es: a: | und gegen die suedvietnamesese armee natuerlich auch hin und  
61 wieder mal kriegsverbrechen  
62 R: passiert sind

63 A: begangen wurden | die haben manchmal auch kriegsgefangene exekutiert  
64 | wenn das suedvietnamesische kader waren | haben sie nicht lange  
65 gefackelt = ne

66 R: hm

67 A: gesorgt die laufen ihnen dann wieder davon | schiessen | dann  
68 muessen sie sie noch mal einfangen | drum haben sie sie umgebracht |  
69 und das haben sie hier wahrscheinlich in kambodscha auch mit lon nol  
70 soldaten | aeh umzubringen war wahrscheinlich auch aeh im sinne von  
71 hanoi = ne

72 R: hm

73 A: im sinne der vietnamesischen freunde der khmer rouge | damals noch |  
74 neunzehnhundert fuenfundsiebzig | das hat sich ja dann | aeh

75 R: [gespalten | hm ]

76 A: [neunzehnhundert sechsund]siebzig siebenundsiebzig geaendert | aber  
77 ich denke kriegsverbrechen | also natuerlich nicht unter diesem  
78 namen | aber unter historisch notwendigen entscheidungen = ja

79 R: hm

80 A: dass man politische gegner eliminiert | ich denke das war durchaus  
81 im sinne einer | im sinne einer marxistischleninistischen revolution  
82 | wahrscheinlich wird man jetzt nicht so viel hoeren beim tribunal

83           davon = ne  
84   R:   hm  
85   A:   man wird sich auf die grossen verbrechen gegen die menschheit | der  
86        khmer rouge konzentrieren  
87   R:   <<asking> da formuliert man schon vorsichtig | mit dem begriff  
88        genozid oder crimes against humanity>  
89   A:   ja | das ist aeh | nochmal schnell wegen kriegsverbrechen gegen die  
90        menschheit | ne die | das ist ein bissle komisch | an diesem  
91        verfahren wird sein | normal ist es eher umgekehrt | man man kann  
92        vor dem gericht viele crimes against humanity verhandeln | nehmen  
93        sie bosnien  
94   R:   hm  
95   A:   aber dann | sobald man hoeher geht = ne | crimes against humanity  
96        oder gar genocide | wird die luft duenner | dann heisst es eher nee  
97        | aeh lieber nicht | aeh | lieber die leute dafuer dingfest machen  
98        wofuer man gute bewaise hat  
99   R:   mh  
100  A:   ich denke am khmer rouge tribunal wird es umgekehrt sein | man wird  
101        | aeh | ueberall bewaise fuer crime against humanity haben | und  
102        alles moegliche | wie zum beispiel zwangsehe | wird auch als crime  
103        against humanity anerkannt | aber man wird sehr wenig hoeren ueber  
104        bestimmte kriegsverbrechens  
105  R:   hm  
106  A:   kontexte | zum beispiel was habt ihr mit den | ich weiss nicht ob es  
107        ueberhaupt verhandelt wird | ob die frage was habt ihr eigentlich  
108        mit den lon nol soldaten gemacht | und was habt ihr mit den  
109        koenigstreuen soldaten gemacht | was habt ihr mit den anhaengern |  
110        aeh mitgliedern der koenigsfamilie gemacht | ich glaub das wird  
111        alles | jetzt halt im moment glaub ich noch | wenn etwas unter den  
112        tisch kekehrt wird | dann das  
113  R:   hm | neben den allgemein bekannten delikten praktisch  
114  A:   ja weil | zum beispiel koenigsfamilien hat das problem | die will ja  
115        | das sind ja zwei in kambodscha = ne | die norodoms und die  
116        sisowaths | und die sind eng miteinander aeh verbunden = ne | damals  
117        hat norodom sihanouk es toll gefunden | dass die khmer rouge | aeh |  
118        verschiede mitglieder der sisowathfamilie gefangen genommen haben  
119        weil die lon nol unterstuetzt haben | und dieser andere putschist  
120        namens siri matak | und aeh ja | dann eigentlich mit der tragischen  
121        konsequenz dass sehr viele von diesen leuten dann im (poentrobau) |  
122        in der (poetro) high school | wo dann de: ce: cam: die | sein neue  
123        zentrum haben wird ((standing up to look for something))

124 R: mh  
125 A: dort sind diese leute dann irgendwann angeblich verhungert = ne |  
126 und eingegangen | verflixt wo hab ich das | aehm | letzte woche war  
127 hier koenigsgeburtstag | da war wieder ein | hinten auf der beilage  
128 zum cambodian daily war | aeh die aeh | die genealogie des hauses  
129 norodom  
130 R: hm  
131 A: und da gibt unten | etliche prinzessinnen und prinzen gestorben in  
132 neunzehn hundert fuenfundsiebzig | gestorben neunzehn hundert  
133 sechundsiebzig | viel zu viele = ne | in ein zwei jahren | die sind  
134 da letztendlich | da in der (poentrobei) school | entweder man hat  
135 sie verrecken lassen oder irgendwann doch auch umgebracht  
136 R: hm  
137 A: und das ist im grunde genommen die grosse | wenn man will | darf  
138 mans tragik nennen = ne | von sihanouk = ne | dass er im grunde  
139 genommen erst zugestimmt hat | dass diese leute inhaftiert hat |  
140 dass diese inhaftiert wurden | dass er es begruesst hat | mit der  
141 konsequenz dass ein mitglied seiner familie | seiner mutter  
142 R: hm  
143 A: aeh umgebracht werden | und aeh das | was sagte die sisowath  
144 koenigsfamilie dazu heute = ne | da meinte der damalige  
145 pressesprecher der extraordinary chambers of the court in cambodia |  
146 sagte zeitausend (.) und sieben | im august | tja der koenig ist  
147 normaler buerger | den koennen wir auch vor gericht zitieren als  
148 zeugen = ne  
149 R: mh  
150 A: fand er | dann sagte hun sen | NEIN | wenn das gericht unser KOENIG  
151 in den schmutz ziehen will dann schaffen wir lieber das gericht ab =  
152 ne  
153 R: hm  
154 A: und aeh | prinz aeh | sisowath tomiko geschrieben | meinte damals |  
155 als das ist ein berater von norodom sihanouk | und er war so eine  
156 art pressesprecher von ihm | der meinte dann tribunal sofort dicht  
157 machen | majestaetsbeidigung = ne  
158 R: mh  
159 A: dicht machen | sagte | also sagte ein mann = ne | der durch die  
160 khmer rouge und aber auch letztlich durch die zusammenarbeit von  
161 norodom sihanoumk mit den khmer rouge | etwa fuenf sechs | also  
162 mindestens fuenf sechs onkel und tanten verloren hat = ne  
163 R: mh  
164 A: wenn nicht | ich weiss nicht so genau | wenn nicht sogar seinen

165 vater oder seine mutter

166 R: mh

167 A: dann findet der man sollte das tribunal dicht machen = ne | das sind  
168 schon sehr grosse verwerfungen | aehm jetzt noch mal ein | aeh  
169 schlenker zu choeung ek | ah also da ist es setting dass der | dass  
170 der koenig | aeh anfang der neunziger jahre gesagt hat alles

171 VERBRENNEN

172 R: mh

173 A: und aeh | i-ich denke also eins ist einfach nicht schlecht war |  
174 also dass er dem gefuehl dass er von vielen menschen ausdruck  
175 verliehen hat | dass aeh | dass es eigentlich unertraeglich ist = ne  
176 | die leichen so auszustellen | wir haben auch jemand am tribunal |  
177 der herr kasino | das ist ein frueherer funcinpec politiker | jetzt  
178 ce: ce: pe: politiker wie die meisten | und der war in der victims  
179 unit | war outreach koordinator | und das hat dann rausgeplatzt |  
180 WIR haben doch hier eine an sich khmer | eine arier khmer culture |  
181 WIR stellen doch unsere | aeh | toten nicht einfach so aus = ne aeh  
182 | und dann wollte ich ihm widersprechen | und wollte sagen |  
183 <<asking> sind sie aus wien> | <<asking> gisela> | <<asking> sind  
184 sie aus wien>

185 R: aeh | ich komme aus deutschland | eigentlich

186 A: wollte ich sagen | im stefansdom sind doch in den katakaomben | alle  
187 diese pesttoten aufbereitet | das gibt\_s auch in EUROPA = ne | aber  
188 dann ist mir doch | ist mir wieder eingefallen | naja bei den  
189 pesttoten ist es natuerlich auch eine grosse ausnahme | weil damals  
190 so viele menschen auf einmal gestorben sind | und die waren ja  
191 ansteckend = ne

192 R: mh

193 A: das heisst | die leute hatten auch das problem dass sie ihre toten  
194 nicht mehr beerdigen konnten | ne das die letztlich nur noch  
195 eingesammelt und in eine grube ge [gekippt ]

196 R: [geworfen]

197 A: wurden | und von daher stimmte es vielleicht = ne | gut es gibt auch  
198 bei uns gebeinshaeuser = ne | wenn die vierzig jahre rum sind | dann  
199 werden die schaedel wieder ausgebuddelt und im gebeinhaus  
200 ausgestellt werden | ich weiss es auch nicht | aber es gibt  
201 jedenfalls hier in kamboscha viele leute die so empfinden | aber  
202 jetzt ist abgesehen davon was interessantes passiert | die victims  
203 association ksemksam | ka: es: e: em: aeh | ka: es: a: em: | aeh |  
204 <<asking> darf ich schnell>

205 R: ja ((A writes the expression down for the researcher))

206 A: aehm | unsere freunde von der victims association haben eine neue  
207 forderung | und zwar | ahh | de: en: a: analysen  
208 R: <<asking> von den toten>  
209 A: ja | das ist so etwas | also ich hatte immer eine angst davor dass  
210 jemand diese idee in die runde wirft | aber das ist natuerlich aeh |  
211 wenn mans jetzt in kambodscha machen wuerde | ernsthaft = ne | dann  
212 sprechen wir hier etwa von fuenfzig bis hundert millionen dollar  
213 kosten = ne  
214 R: hm  
215 A: die exhumierung von hundert tausenden von schaedeln | mit verfahren  
216 untersuchen lassen | wo also ein set kostet | weiss nicht was es  
217 heute kostet | dreitausend dollar | neunzehnhundert achtundneunzig  
218 aeh | als man ueber toten von srebrenica diskutierte | war es glaub  
219 fuenf tausend mark glaub damals | zweitausend fuenfhundert euro |  
220 weil das so patente drauf sind = ne | man braucht de: en: a:  
221 analyseverfahren wie fuer fossile knochen | also das knochenmaterial  
222 ist in sehr schlechtem zustand = ne  
223 R: mh  
224 A: wie von saurierknochen oder mammutknochen | das macht es halt sehr  
225 verlaesslich = ne | aber auf der einen seite  
226 R: mh  
227 A: aber auf der anderen seite teuer | da muesste man eigentlich im  
228 grunde genommen aus jeder familie eine person blut untersuchen  
229 lassen  
230 R: das waere wahnsinnig aufwendig  
231 A: vielleicht | ich weiss nicht | eine millionen bluttests = ne | und  
232 ich meine das koennte man in kambodscha mit dem roten kreuz  
233 vielleicht organisieren = ne | aber dann braeuchte man halt eine  
234 institution die das moeglichst auch im land | unter sauber und  
235 ausschluss von fehlern | untersucht digitalisiert | dann kann man  
236 diese de: en: a: profile aneinander abgleichen und mit  
237 neunundneunzig prozentiger sicherheit | was auch nicht schlecht ist  
238 R: hm  
239 A: dann koennte man das rein theoretisch technisch machen | nur aeh |  
240 das sind dann | die realitaet ist wahrscheinlich dass alles  
241 ungeheuer langsam von statten geht = ne | mit plaetzen wie choeung  
242 ek ist es relativ leicht | da nimmt man einfach ((slightly laughing  
243 voice)) tschuldigung | man muss halt die knochen theoretisch nur aus  
244 dem regal nehmen | und zu untersuchen  
245 R: aber viele graeber sind noch verschlossen  
246 A: aber viele sind eben noch irgendwo verscharrt | oder zum teil auch

247 wieder verloren gegangen | teils auch doch auch schon verbrannt |  
248 und das waere natuerlich auch unterm gesichtspunkt der erwartungen =  
249 ne | von ueberlebenden

250 R: hm

251 A: unter umstaenden sehr schwer zu handhaben | aber interessant ist an  
252 der forderung | dass es praktisch eine dritte moeglichkeit waere =  
253 ne | weils einerseits heisst | zum einen ist das ausstellen der  
254 knochen auf dauer kein zustand | aber auch andererseits sagen |  
255 haben die leute von ksemksam gesagt | die knochen gehoeren nicht dem  
256 koenig | die gehoeren uns

257 R: mh

258 A: also dass sie nicht wollen dass | aeh quasi das aeh | haus norodom  
259 sihanouk sich quasi gesund stoest an den toten = ne

260 R: hm

261 A: dass quasi so eine art neues | neues | eine neue zeremonie erfunden  
262 wird die es historisch gar nie gab | naemlich die | es heisst  
263 frueher haben koenige grosse zeremonien gegeben wenn koenige  
264 gestorben sind | es gab grossen staatsakt und brimborium | aber es  
265 gibt eigentlich keine zeremonie fuer den tod von hunderttausenden  
266 untertanen | und sie wollten dann nicht dass irgenwas erfunden wird  
267 = ne | dass das der koenig irgendwie

268 R: zelebriert oder so

269 A: was weiss ich | die fackel an einen scheiterhaufen von zehntausenden  
270 schaedeln liegt | oder aehm | das ist alles so-o kompliziert

271 R: <<asking> was denken sie denn wie die bevoelkerung darueber denkt |  
272 auch ueber den beweisharakter der staetten | <<asking> ist es dann  
273 so dass man es schaezt dass besucher sich fuer diesen teil der  
274 geschichte interessieren | oder fuehlt man sich eher gestoert>

275 A: das war so ein bisschen auch ihre frage mit tuol sleng | also ich  
276 aeh | (.) ich | ich weiss zum teil nicht | wie die kambodschaner  
277 dazu empfinden | also eins ist | eins ist | was viele beobachter  
278 sagen = ne | was zum beispiel frau jarvis sagt | oder andere leute |  
279 die in den achtziger jahren hergekommen sind = ne | sie sind  
280 gekommen | sie trafen die kambodschnen | die kambodschaner haben  
281 sofort alles erzaehlt | ob mans hoeren wollte oder nicht = ne | sie  
282 haben alles erzaehlt was sie erlebt haben | und so weiter | es ist  
283 nicht so wie manche sagen | die kambodshaner reden nicht darueber |  
284 die haben erst sehr VIEL darueber gesprochen | und dann kam in den  
285 neunziger jahren irgendwo die zeit wo sie aufgehoert haben

286 R: hm

287 A: viele aufgehoert haben | wo sie sich viele gedacht haben | ich kann

288 das nicht hundertzweihundert mal erzählen | ich komm nicht weiter |  
289 oder (.) oder die leute glauben mir nicht mehr | oder kinder glauben  
290 mir gar nicht | oder den kindern will ichs nicht erzählen weil ich  
291 die nicht belasten will

292 R: hm

293 A: oder so | was wir jetzt nun uebers tribunal erleben | dass dieses  
294 schweigen = ne | frau jarvis hat es ueberwinterung genannt | das  
295 von vielen wieder gebrochen wird | und sie werden jetzt nebenklaeger  
296 | oder erzählen was im radio | oder erzählen tatsaechlich auch in  
297 ihren familien aus anlass des tribunals | es gibt uebrigens | also  
298 meiner meinung gibt es noch einen zweiten grund weshalb die opfer  
299 jetzt | aeh wieder viel sprechen | das ist jetzt nicht einwandfreies  
300 sozialwissenschaftlich untersucht | aeh nur ich | das ist eine  
301 vermutung | wenn man hier in phnom penh in den letzten drei monaten  
302 durch die stadt gefahren ist | man ueberall auf eine hochzeit  
303 gestossen | die die | die erste generation der nachgeborenen | also  
304 die die nach neunzehnhundert neunundsiebzig geboren sind die sind  
305 jetzt im heiratsfaehigen alter.

306 R: hm

307 A: die heiraten mit dem ganzen brimborium = ne | das hier dazu gehoert  
308 | aber es ist doch auch so dass viele faktisch die familien  
309 verlassen | und zwar beide | also die maenner ziehen nicht mehr bei  
310 der schwiegermutter ein wie das hier eigentlich ueblich war | war  
311 ein patriarchales land | bisschen ueberspitzt gesagt = ne | aber  
312 aber | es gibt einige zuege der kultur die dafuer sprechen | und das  
313 bedeutet eigentlich dass viele ueberlebende erleben dass ihre kinder  
314 sie alleine lassen | oder sie lassen sie nicht allein | aber sie  
315 erleben dass sie den kindern mit ihren staendigen medizinischen  
316 problemen auf der tasche liegen = ne | und einmal zum arzt gehen ist  
317 fuer viele kambodschaner ein halber lohn | oder ein drittel  
318 monatslohn | einmal zum arzt gehen | und eine krankheit und  
319 spitalaufenthalt fuehrt fuer viele zu erheblicher verschuldung

320 R: hm

321 A: und aehm | das ist auch der grund weshalb viele kambodschaner | aehm  
322 wenn man | <<asking and upstanding> ich hoffe dass haben sie>

323 R: <<asking> das ist das von de: ce: cam:>

324 A: nein | das ist vom berkely human rights center | wenn man so we will  
325 never forget und berkely googelt

326 R: hm

327 A: das ist eine population based | aehm poll | ueber die haltung der |  
328 attitudes about social construction at the extraordinary chambers of

329 the court of cambodia | aeh gefuehrt | aeh september zweitausend und  
330 acht | publiziert januar zweitausend und neun | das sind aeh hier |  
331 das ist hervorragend = ne | weil das | ich meine man kann natuerlich  
332 immer bissle unterschiedlicher meinung sein zu quantitativen  
333 umfragen = ne | sagen wir so | aber es ist jedenfalls interessant |  
334 es ist sehr gut weil die fehlerquote hier etwa so niedrig ist wie  
335 bei einer umfrage zu einer amerikanischen praesidentenwahl  
336 R: mh  
337 A: und die muss natuerlich gut sein | sonst kriegt man aenger = ne |  
338 von den parteien | weil das ist hier totally randomized = ne  
339 R: hm  
340 A: die leute | die umfrager sind mit einem palm rumgelaufen | das ge:  
341 pe: es: hat = ne | das heisst sie konnten den ort | mussten sie gar  
342 nicht selber eingeben | sondern die maschine hat ihn angegeben | das  
343 heisst wenn sie den auftrag hatten an dem ort zu fragen | dann hat  
344 die maschine | hat nicht erlaubt zu betraegen  
345 R: okay  
346 A: da mussten sie fragen wie viele haeuser es gibt es im dorf |  
347 aufnehmen | fuenfzehn zum beispiel | mussten sie eingeben | und die  
348 maschinen waelten nach zufallsprinzip das haus aus wo sie fragen  
349 sollen | im haus | wie viele mitglieder hat der haushalt | mussten  
350 familienmitglieder eintippen | maschine entscheidet wen sie befragen  
351 mussten | das hat einen radikal technischer ansatz ((laughing)) | da  
352 gibt es so fragen wie zum beispiel | times of preparation before  
353 respondents | und dann kommen hier | wenn die das erste mal etwas  
354 haben das etwas mit dem gericht zu tun hat | social services | da  
355 koennte man sagen zum beispiel schulen | spitaeler | infra strassen  
356 | economic development programmes | dann kommen memorial | day of  
357 memorial commemoration | <<asking> ja>  
358 R: mh  
359 A: museum hier | aber tendentiell gesagt | bevor die leute so auf diese  
360 sachen kommen die was mit kollektiven memorialischen reparationen zu  
361 tun hat | die ihnen das gericht zur verfuegung stellen kann | sind  
362 sie auf sachen gekommen die generell mit | aeh armut beziehungsweise  
363 wohlstand in diesem land zusammenhaengen | weil aehm | das zeigt  
364 einfach dass viele leute einfach finden | denken sie sind arm wegen  
365 den khmer rouge und der geschichte | und wir wollen es | um uns da  
366 raus zu arbeiten brauchen wir erst mal wieder schulen und strassen |  
367 ganz interessant hier | housing and land | diese landkonflikte | die  
368 in kambodscha toben | und die viele leute verunsichern | haengen  
369 nicht | offenbar aeh nicht mit transitional justice zusammen | oder

370 sprich | mit anderen worten | die landumverteilungspolitik der  
371 kambodschanischen regierung | aeh nachdem die vietnamesen gegangen  
372 sind | hat eigentlich das von den leuten als gerecht empfunden = ne  
373 R: mh  
374 A: es ist schwer | es gibt hier keinen einzigen | also ich kenne keinen  
375 einzigen nebenklaeger der ins gericht kommt und sagt | ich will mein  
376 land zurueck | ich hatte so und so viel hektar und die wurden mir  
377 genommen und ich will genau dieses land wieder zurueck | es gibt  
378 keinen einzigen  
379 R: hm  
380 A: gut vielleicht gibt es die einen | die en: gi: o:\_s haben das eine  
381 oder andere ausgeregelt | dass man es vergessen kann  
382 R: dass es keinen sinn macht | aber es wird eigentlich durch diese  
383 sache hier wieder bestaetigt ne dass | dass eben nur fuef komma ein  
384 prozent der leute fuer land und housing mit transitional justice und  
385 reperationen in verbindung bringen  
386 R: interessant  
387 A: es gibt auch vom tribunal selber noch aehm | eine statistik | aber  
388 das sind aber ganz aehnlich resultate = ne | <<rhetorically asking>  
389 was haben die nebenklaeger in ihren einklagungen geschrieben was sie  
390 wollen>  
391 R: hm  
392 A: ich meine | das war eine zwischenstudie | wir brauchen noch mal eine  
393 endgueltige studie | weil jetzt die | auch die frist abgelaufen ist  
394 R: hm  
395 A: die alle die viertausendundvier antragsteller umfasst = ne | aber  
396 man wird aber auf ganz aehnliche sachverhalte kommen | die meisten  
397 haben quasi nicht verstanden wozu das gericht da ist | indem sie  
398 spitaeler und schulen wollen = ne | haben dinge gefordert | die das  
399 gericht ihnen  
400 R: nicht geben kann  
401 A: nicht geben kann | nicht geben will | die politiker wollens ihnen  
402 auch nicht geben | also jedenfalls nicht durch das gericht | und aeh  
403 aeh | aber zum anderen hat im | vielleicht auch statue memorial  
404 museum | das | das kommt auch vor = ne  
405 R: <<asking> dass sie sich das schon wuenschen>  
406 A: ja | im fall von | im fall eins ist es so dass die ksemksam | also  
407 die victims association hat gesagt | also hat zwei forderungen |  
408 erstens ein denkmal in tuol sleng mit den namen | zweitens de: en:  
409 a: analysen.  
410 R: hm

411 A: und das | ich meine das | aeh | beruht natuerlich auch auf einem  
412 schmerzhaften prozess | in dem man den leuten einfach gesagt hat |  
413 leute vergesst das jetzt mit den finanziellen | aeh forderungen |  
414 oder haltet sie sich fuer spaeteren | ungeheuer zynisch | spaeteren  
415 zeitpunkt | aber im grunde genommen ist es so | wenn es kambodscha  
416 in zwanzig jahren tatsaechlich besser ginge | und dann von den  
417 ueberlebenden von der pol pot zeit nur noch fuenfzigtausend uebrig  
418 sind | fuenfzigtausend die auch noch arm sind dazu | dann koennte die  
419 regierung ja vielleicht irgendeine sonderpension  
420 R: einfuehren ja  
421 A: fuer diese leute beschliessen = ne  
422 R: mh  
423 A: dann so als entschaeDIGUNG = ne | damit die in anfuhrungszeichen in  
424 WUERDE sterben koennen | aber jetzt ned wo es noch fuenf millionen  
425 ueberlebende der khmer rouge zeit gibt | individuell  
426 entschaeDIGUNGEN machen zu wollen = ne  
427 R: hm  
428 A: das ist nicht moeglich  
429 R: hm  
430 A: das ist wie in deutschland mit den zwangsarbeitern | das ist tolle  
431 entscheidung eigentlich | dass es einen entschaeDIGUNGSFOND fuer  
432 ehemalige zwangsarbeiter gab = nicht | aber war natuerlich auch  
433 nicht ganz zufaellig | dass das so lange gedauert hat | bis man sich  
434 dazu durchgerungen hat  
435 R: <<asking> aber wie ist es denn generell innerhalb dieser gruppen> |  
436 <<asking> sehen sich ehemalige khmer rouge auch als opfer>  
437 A: ja  
438 R: schon auch  
439 A: neunzig prozent der kambodschaner sagen sie seien opfer  
440 R: <<asking> also egal bei welcher gruppe sie waren>  
441 A: ja | die die khmer rouge | aeh des waren | koennen sie bei ce: j:  
442 ar: | das ist der nachfolger von ce: es: de: | center for justice  
443 and reconciliation | haben in anlong veng das public forum | die  
444 haben des sicher gefilmt | ich koennte denen vielleicht sagen sie  
445 sollen sie diesen film ankucken lassen | das ist aehm | da hat eine  
446 frau gesprochen | aeh da gibt\_s auch einen kleinen artikel im  
447 cambodian daily | aeh | kann ich ihnen vielleicht zumailen  
448 R: hm  
449 A: die ist vom tribunal verdaechtigt | also ist eine kandidatin fuer  
450 fall drei vier fuenf oder sechs | weil sie war die kommandantin die

451 das grosse wasserreservoir in banteay meanchey | das ist ein ein  
452 riesiger stausee = ne | also wirklich riesig und tief in der mitte  
453 R: hm  
454 A: also ein tolles vogelparadies an einem ende | und aeh | man sieht da  
455 sind auch noch unheimlich viele khmer rouge heute | weil das sind  
456 riesige reiserfelder | fuenfzig hektar im besitz von einer familie =  
457 ne  
458 R: hm  
459 A: das gibt\_s in kambodscha sonst nirgends | das heisst das sind  
460 wahrscheinlich ehemalige khmer rouge | weil die anderen sich gar  
461 nicht getraut haben da hin zu gehen | das wasser reservoir sind  
462 sicher | da muss man de: ce: cam: fragen | aber die todesrate  
463 duerfte in die zehntausend gehen = ne | wenn nicht allein  
464 hunderttausende dort krepirt sind = ne | aber zehntausende bestimmt  
465 | und diese frau war die kommandantin dort | und die kam auch an das  
466 public forum und sagte | ich bin ein opfer der khmer rouge | und ich  
467 habe angst dass ich zu unrecht vor dieses tribunal gezogen werde |  
468 ich fuehle mich unsicher | aber das sagen ja alle khmer rouge = ne |  
469 wir haben auch gehungert | wir haben verwandte verloren | und das  
470 stimmt ((laughing)) wahrscheinlich auch alles = ne  
471 R: hm  
472 A: die khmer rouge haben ja auch auch verwandtschaft | die fuehrer  
473 haben gesagt scheiss auf verwandtschaft = ne | das heisst wenn  
474 jemand erwischt wurde | ein khmer rouge der seine verwandten  
475 betrauert | ja dann war man ja vielleicht faellig | oder manchmal  
476 war die mutprobe fuer kindersoldaten | war die eigenen eltern  
477 umzubringen im reiserfeld = ne | das aeh das heisst es | wenn die  
478 khmer rouge des sagen | dann kann man in den meisten faellen sagen  
479 das stimmt ja vielleicht | dass die leute sich dadurch als opfer  
480 fuehlen | also wenn das kindersoldaten sich als opfer fuehlen ist  
481 sowieso sehr legitim  
482 R: hm  
483 A: jetzt nochmal zurueck zu der frage wie fuehlen sich die  
484 kambodschaner damit | aehm tuol sleng = ne | also das war glaub  
485 neunzehnhundert und vierundachzig | dass es vom militaerisch  
486 abgeschirmten | aeh ort von beweisen = ne | in ein museum  
487 umgewandelt wurde | ich darf jetzt nicht sagen wer | aber jemand im  
488 museum | der dabei ist | der meinte aeh | er sei damals  
489 zwangsabkommandiert worden = ne | das war ein angestellter des  
490 nationalmuseums | und es wurde gesagt | du und du und du gehen jetzt  
491 nach tuol sleng

492 R: hm  
493 A: es wollte niemand | es wollt niemand dort hin = ne | das heisst auch  
494 fuer choeung ek | wenn man dort hin geht | eigentlich | also glaub  
495 eigentlich wollen kambodschaner dort nicht so  
496 R: <<asking> wollen nicht dort sein>  
497 A: die wollen selber nicht hin  
498 R: <<asking> und sie interessiert auch nicht wer dort hin geht>  
499 A: sie wollen selber nicht hin | weil | ich mein ich weiss es nicht ob  
500 das jetzt legitim ist = ne | nur (-) | ich will nicht nach auschwitz  
501 | also meine grosseltern sind dort umgebracht worden | ich will da  
502 nicht hin | ich ((laughing)) war schon in bergenbelsen | und ich war  
503 schon in dachau | aber ich will ehrlich gesagt nicht nach auschwitz  
504 | und jetzt wegen den anderen | aehm | ich meine tuol sleng sind die  
505 | sind die leute eigentlich sehr beflissen | weil es eigentlich  
506 immer noch der auftrag der welt zu zeigen was die khmer rouge  
507 gemacht haben | und das tun sie fleissig | und ich meine es gibt in  
508 tuol sleng etwas | wo diese schildern | die sagen man soll nicht  
509 lachen | aber ich glaube es sind eigentlich | die meisten die lachen  
510 sind die jungen kambodschaner die nicht wissen wohin mit ihrer  
511 verlegenheit.  
512 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
513 A: ich weiss nicht | es kann schon sein dass | dass es auslaender gibt  
514 die da kaltschnaeuzig sind | also die meisten die ich dort gesehen  
515 habe sind sehr bedrueckt und sehr beflissen | aeh dort keine | aeh  
516 emotionen zu zeigen die | die kambodschaner vielleicht beleidigen  
517 koennten | sondern die hoeren sich das alles sehr interessiert | und  
518 aehm  
519 R: ehrfuerchtig  
520 A: wenn nicht ehrfuerchtig an  
521 R: hm  
522 A: dann | fuer mich ist es | was mich sehr unangenehm beruehrt  
523 mittlerweile ist chum mey | einer der ueberlebenden der | er lebt  
524 davon dass er fuehrungen macht | der kriegt auch mehr geld als der  
525 offizielle fuehrer dort | ich meine der hat so ein  
526 sendungsbewusstsein | dass er es den leuten allen erzaehlt | der  
527 fuehrt jeden an den ort wo seine zelle war | dann setzt sich da hin  
528 | grabscht sich die eisenstange | macht sich wieder fest | zeigt so  
529 war sie fest gemacht | und sagt | in diesen munitionskasten mussten  
530 wir kacken | und wenn wir daneben gekackt haben mussten wirs  
531 auflecken | so aeh ich | das ist ein | ich mein | das ist ein mensch

532 | der ist | chum mey ist ein sehr lebenserfahrener | sehr aehm | auf  
533 eine gewisse weise mensch | auf die eine art sehr konkret  
534 R: wie es war  
535 A: der erzaehlt einfach schlicht wie es war | fuer mich der ich das  
536 ankucke | ich kanns kaum ertragen | ich will das ehrlich gesagt  
537 nicht mehr sehen | ich mein | ich hab so viele leute da hingebacht  
538 um das mit chom mey anzukucken | ich hab keine lust mehr | ich sag  
539 ich wills nicht mehr | diese scene will ich nicht mehr  
540 R: sehen muessen  
541 A: sehen muessen | weil es mir irgendwie leid tut dass der onkel hat |  
542 ich nenne ihn onkel | der onkel hat quasi aeh | an dieses tuol sleng  
543 aeh so gekettet ist = ne  
544 R: mh  
545 A: alle drei ueberlebenden | die es jetzt noch gibt | bou meng kommt  
546 immer mit kamerateams hin | der lebt ein bisschen weit entfernt |  
547 den kann man nicht | ist ein bisschen gebrechlicher | den kann man  
548 nicht so schnell (.) schnell engagieren = ne | aber der macht auch  
549 fuehrungen | und vann nath macht jeden samstag fuehrungen | der  
550 haengt an der dyalyse | des ist ein todkranker mensch = ne | der wird  
551 im moment in calmette ((hospital)) wieder zusammengeflickt | der (.)  
552 der bekommt auch einen teil seiner einkuenfte  
553 R: aus den fuehrungen  
554 A: aus den fuehrungen | auch die solidaritaet | wo er im spital ist |  
555 das heisst alle drei muessen ihren lebensunterhalt weitgehend ned  
556 durch ihre zeugenschaft | aeh zeitzeugenschaft bestreiten | das tut  
557 mir irgendwo weh | haette es lieber irgendwie anders | jetzt anlong  
558 veng | ist es aus meiner sicht einfach anders | weil in anlong veng  
559 hocken sie ja wirklich noch | diese ehemaligen khmer rouge | aeh aeh  
560 | muss mal schnell kucken ((is standing up and looking for something  
561 in the shelf again))  
562 R: nochmal kurz zu diesen gruppierungen | ist es dann so dass aehm die  
563 | aehm opfer des khmer rouge regimes | die opfer die sich als opfer  
564 bezeichnen obwohl sie taeter waren | <<asking> anerkennt werden als  
565 opfer oder eher nicht>  
566 A: das ist noch nicht so so hundert prozentig aehm ausgetragen = ne  
567 R: hm  
568 A: aehm im weitesten | haengt den | ich find\_s nicht | komm gleich  
569 drauf zurueck | aehm in laendern wie peru gabs eine  
570 wahrheitskommission | und im zuge der diskussion dieser  
571 wahrheitskommission | ist irgendwie der begriff des ofers durch den  
572 des ueberlebenden ersetzt worden

573 R: hm

574 A: da gabs dann tatsaechlich streit weil einige leute sagten | was ist  
575 hier ueberlebender | es ist wichtig ob er taeter oder opfer war

576 R: hm

577 A: mal ueberlegen | <<rhetorically asking> und warum soll ein  
578 ueberlebender taeter entschaeidigung kriegen> | die taeter haben sich  
579 dort auch vielleicht als opfer gesehen mit schlechten traeeumen bis  
580 heute = ne | hier in kambodscha spielt es jetzt nicht so eine rolle  
581 weil es nicht um geld geht.

582 R: hm

583 A: vielleicht ist es von dem her gar nicht so dumm | dass das tribunal  
584 keine individuellen entschaeidigungen gibt = ne | weil

585 R: <<asking> sonst wuerde man sich vielleicht streiten>

586 A: ich glaub eher nicht | ich glaube es wuerde sehr viel unfrieden  
587 geben | also wenn man jetzt einem nebenklaeger | also wenn mans  
588 jetzt aendern wuerde | okay jeder nebenklaeger tausend dollar auf  
589 die hand | es waere entsetzlich | also ich denke die leute koennten  
590 sich nicht mehr retten vor neid = ne | jetzt chum mey hat einmal  
591 etwas gesagt was ich gar nicht erwartet habe | aeh er sagte | ich  
592 hab ihn gefragt | naja onkel mey wie fuehlen sie sich | sie sind ja  
593 im tribunal als nebenklaeger in vier verschiedene gruppen geteilt |  
594 also vier | sie haben das problem dass diese anwaelte | viele von  
595 den karrieristen | vor allem die internationalen | die wollten halt  
596 sichtbar sein | IHRE gruppe | die de: ce: cam: nebenklaeger sagen  
597 sie haetten die groesste gruppe | ich hab gruppe eins mit anwalt  
598 nummer eins ((ironically laughing)) | aldo und ein sehr ungeheurer  
599 aroganter mensch | und aeh ich fragte chum mey wie er sich da fuehlt  
600 | und er sagte andreas | mein herr neffe | eigentlich sollten wir  
601 nur eine gruppe sein | das hab ich vermutet dass er das sagt | das  
602 wollte ich eigentlich hoeren | doch dann hat er etwas gesagt | das  
603 wollte ich eigentlich nicht hoeren | er sagt naemlich | schau |  
604 unter bestimmten umstaenden waere ich bereit mit (him bui) | das ist  
605 einer der menschen die in cheong ek wahrscheinlich hunderte | wenn  
606 nicht tausende menschen eigenhaendig erschlagen haben | waere ich  
607 bereit mit (him bui) einen ueberlebendenverband zu gruenden | wenn  
608 er ehrlich ist | also wenn er sich ehrlich entschuldigt | dann waere  
609 ich dazu bereit | und aeh | das habe ich irgendwie nicht | das war  
610 mir | solche gefuehle waren mir relativ neu | weil aeh | sie denken  
611 zwischen juden aeh und deutschen aeh hat es so etwas nie gegeben |  
612 sondern die juden die | die heute deutschland vertrauen | zum  
613 beispiel wenn sie von kiev nach deutschalnd umsiedeln um in

614 deutschland zu leben = ne | die glauben halt dass die deutsche  
615 gesellschaft in ihrer verurteilung des naziregimes so verlaesslich  
616 geworden ist = ne | dass belastbar ist und man sicher sein kann | in  
617 fuenf zehn zwanzig jahren werden die deutschen immer noch dieses  
618 naziregime verurteilen | deshalb kann man da gut leben | aber nicht  
619 dass sie sich irgendwie mit | was weiss ich dem bundefuehrer von  
620 birkenau oder dem werfer der zyklon be: kartuschen sich treffen  
621 wollen und sprechen wollen | geschweige denn einen verein gruenden =  
622 ne | und aeh ich weiss nicht | das ist jetzt vielleicht die folge  
623 von buddhismus = ne

624 R: mh

625 A: ist es auch vielleicht die folge oder zeichen davon | also mir  
626 gefaellt der titel eigentlich nicht | social reconstruction | weil  
627 es ist ja | die sagen nicht reconciliation | weil kambodschaner  
628 verwenden das wort KAR PSAH PSAH

629 R: <<requesting> kar psah psah>

630 A: kar ist die taetigkeit | ich schreibs ((writes it down for the  
631 researcher)) | das ist aehm | das wiederzusammenfuegen und zusammen  
632 schmelzen | wie bei einem eisenrad das in seine teile geborsten ist  
633 | und der schmied fuegt es wieder zusammen = ne

634 R: mh

635 A: also das sind die teile | wenn wir es zusammen nehmen koennen wir es  
636 heilung nennen | oder das wieder | oder woertlich das wieder  
637 zusammen fuegen und zusammenschmelzen | oder heilen | oder wenn man  
638 will versoehnen | aber

639 R: also nicht vergeltung | sondern ein ganz anderer ansatz

640 A: das ist so | das ist ein bisschen | das ist eine gesellschaft = ne |  
641 die eigentlich zutiefst zerrissen ist | wo die leute eigentlich  
642 einander nicht mehr trauen = ne | das ist auch eine folge des aehm |  
643 ihnen noch was zum lesen ((standing up to get a book for the  
644 researcher)) | das trauma handbuch | mistrust = ne | aeh gell |  
645 nicht zusammen leben arbeiten koennen | das ist hier in kambodscha  
646 eigentlich eines der grundsachverhalte | ne dass wenn man irgendwo  
647 in einer community was machen will = ja | ein gemeinsames lager fuer  
648 polierten reis = ne | oder eine reismuehle

649 R: hm

650 A: eine mangotrocknungsanlage | oder ein kleines museum | oder ein  
651 widerstand leisten gegen vertreibung und zwangsenteignung | dann  
652 kann man in jedem moment | wieder immer auf das gleiche stossen |  
653 dass die leute einander nicht trauen | dass sie sagen | ja mit dem  
654 kann man nicht | oder man macht was | faengt zusammen etwas an |

655 stoessst dann auf widerstaende = ne | oder auf unterdrueckung wieder  
656 von oben | und dann | fffff | gehen die leute wieder auseinander.  
657 R: also es ist der wunsch sich zu versoeöhnen | und das funktioniert in  
658 der praxis noch nicht dementsprechend | <<asking> kann man  
659 vielleicht sagen>  
660 A: also entsprechend davon traeuimt eigentlich diese gesellschaft davon  
661 | von kap psah psah | das ist eigentlich die wiederherstellung der  
662 bruederlich geschwisterlichkeit | geschwisterlichkeit | der bonkeon  
663 | bon sind die aelteren geschwister und bon ((probably keon)) die  
664 juengeren geschwister | alles zusammen bonkeon | heisst die  
665 geschwister  
666 R: hm  
667 A: das ist das was die | was hier die politiker alle gern sagen | wenn  
668 sie bonkeon | sie schworeen eigentlich dass es eine gesellschaft der  
669 geschwister ist = ne | und | also gerade dann wenn sie das messer  
670 wetzen | oder tschuldigung | wieder eine vertreibung vorbereitet  
671 wird | wird das gerne verwendet | das wort | aber es ist eigentlich  
672 so ein traum dass diese gesellschaft wieder eine gesellschaft der  
673 geschwister werden moechte  
674 R: hm  
675 A: und aeh | das sieht man zum beispiel auch an der hoch | eigentlich  
676 an jeder hochzeit | da hocken die kambodschaner | eine hochzeit in  
677 phnom penh wird in tischen und gerichten gemessen = ja | aeh ich  
678 meine | ich komme gerade von einer hochzeit | <<rhetorically asking>  
679 so wieviele tische wieviele gedecke> | je mehr tische je mehr  
680 gedecke natuerlich desto reicher | an jetzt | an einem tisch sind  
681 immer zehn leute = ne | die sitzen so | was ziemlich eng | so ein  
682 bisschen groesser | ein runder tisch | und eigentlich so ellbogen  
683 und knie beruehren einander ((a demonstrates how it looks like with  
684 armes and body)) | also auch mit fremden = ne | die musik ist  
685 meistens so laut dass man kein | also konversation kannst du da  
686 vergessen | das ganze besteht eigentlich darin dass man dieses essen  
687 einander zureicht | und (.) und | oder in der mitte so ein ding zum  
688 drehen nimmt | und dann dreht man das so dass die oma da drueben  
689 zuerst nehmen kann | und laechelt sich staendig an und schenkt sich  
690 gegenseitig ein | das bier whiskey und das eis | also wenn man zwei  
691 stunden da sitzt ist man staendig damit beschaeftigt anderen kleine  
692 R: gefaellig[keiten ]  
693 A: [gefaellig]keiten zu erweisen | das geben und nach dem  
694 geben nehmen | im prinzip der anthropologen  
695 R: hm

696 A: und das ist das | wenn hier irgendetwas in kambodascha kar psah psah  
697 dient | dann die hochzeit | weil die leute von verschiedenen  
698 politischen lagern | verschiedenen buergerkriegslagern | die sitzen  
699 da dann zusammen an einem tisch und sind nett zueinander | und aeh |  
700 das fuehrt soweit | dass kann man | wie der spiegelredakteur | der  
701 der ein groesseres buch geschrieben hat | aehm  
702 R: ich weiss wen sie meinen | ich hab auch schon buecher von ihm  
703 gelesen  
704 A: der hat geschrieben dass die tochter von pol pot kuerzlich in die  
705 burgoise verheiratet wurde = ne  
706 R: hm  
707 A: was im einzelnen jetzt dahinter steht weiss ich auch nicht | aber so  
708 ist es halt irgendwie | man aeh  
709 R: das leben geht weiter  
710 A: man macht neue seilschaften | das heisst auf kambodschanisch (ksai)  
711 | also seil eigentlich = ne  
712 R: hm  
713 A: so beziehungsfaeden | man knuepft neue beziehungsfaeden | man  
714 vernetzt sich im sozialen umfeld | wenn das funktioniert ist es auch  
715 kar psah psah | aber es ist halt eben auch viel traum dabei =ne |  
716 also die oligarchie | die findet sich mit den leuten da unten  
717 eigentlich nicht wirkich | die empfindet sie nicht wirklich als  
718 bongpaeon | nur in den sonntagsreden und wenn es zu begruendung von  
719 vertreibung und landraub geht | dann wird das wort gerne in den mund  
720 genommen | bongpaeon  
721 R: <<asking> wie schreibt man das denn>  
722 A: be: a: en: ge: pe: a: o: en: | bangpaon  
723 R: hm  
724 A: es gibt so eine art bangpaonitaet | sozusagen geschwisterlichkeit |  
725 das gibt\_s auch irgendwie | also wenn in kambodscha | also was eben  
726 zum teil nicht funktioniert ist politische solidaritaet | aber was  
727 hier staendig und gut funktioniert | ist teilen | ressourcen teilen  
728 | also ich habe zwei kinder = ne  
729 R: hm  
730 A: also wenn ich jetzt | sagen wir mal ich geh mit einem in die  
731 baeckerei | das ist ausprobiert | ausgetestet | und ich kaufe einem  
732 ein stueck kuchen | dann komm wir nach hause | und teile dem kind  
733 mit es muss das mit seiner schwester | aeh teilen | also meine  
734 deutschen europaeischen kinder | NEIN mit der doch nicht | oder okay  
735 NIMMS aber ich ess dann nichts mehr davon | wenn ich das mit einem  
736 kambodschanischen kind mache | geh in die baeckerei und kaufe dem so

737 eine schokokugel | es macht riesengrosse augen und denkt boa  
738 schokokugel | glauben sie wenn ich sage | oh jetzt haben wir  
739 vergessen fuer die anderen was mitzubringen | jetzt musst du teilen  
740 | dann sagt das OKAY | und des | das ist etwas | das ist hier nicht  
741 nur eine ideologie sondern das ist eine figur mit der | in der  
742 hiesigen mentalitaet | die realitaet hat = ne  
743 R: mh  
744 A: die aber auch wieder im grossmassstab doch irgendwie wieder zur  
745 illusion wird = ne | also dass mit bongpaeon | all die mit den  
746 schwarzen nexussen die pfeifen auf bangpaeon | wenn sie dann zum  
747 beispiel anfahren in der nacht und einfach liegen lassen auf der  
748 strasse | da ist nicht viel mit bangpaeon  
749 R: dann ist es wieder egal  
750 A: dann ist es egal | auch eine realitaet | jetzt in anlong veng | das  
751 wollte ich vorher sagen | das ist wirklich eine hochburg | also im  
752 ersten ce: es: de: | das centre of social development | die  
753 vorgaengerorganisation von justice and reconciliation | das ist die  
754 organisation die dieses buch gemacht hat | unsere  
755 partnerorganisation | die waren vorher schon mal in anlong veng |  
756 und da war auch | das war auch dominiert von ehemaligen khmer rouge  
757 R: hm  
758 A: und da sass | da gibt\_s auch ein bild | ich hab das aber nicht | da  
759 sass der presssprecher des tribunals da in der ersten reihe | mit  
760 grossen augen | er auch in der ce: pe: pe: | und da sagte der  
761 district gouvernor | oder wie auch immer | aeh auch ce: pe: pe: |  
762 aber ehemaliger khmer rouge | pol pot war ein grosser patriot und  
763 eigentlich ein ehrenmann | er wollte nur die heiligen grenzen des  
764 (mohanoko) | des reiches sage ich jetzt mal | verteidigen gegen die  
765 boesen feinde von aussen | das wollte pol pot = ne  
766 R: mh  
767 A: die sagen das | und der presssprecher sagt | nicht ich will auch  
768 was dazu sagen | das war ein verbrecher | wenn er noch lebte wuerde  
769 er angeklagt | das hat er ueberhaupt nicht gesagt dort |  
770 <<rhetorically asking> warum nicht> | aeh ruecksichtnahme | partei |  
771 aeh aeh partei | nicht staatsressorts sondern parteiressort = ne  
772 R: hm  
773 A: weil man braucht ja diese ehemaligen khmer rouge in pailin | in  
774 anlong veng | in in aeh malai district | in samlot district wo duch  
775 verhaftet wurde | wo andere kandidaten fuer\_s tribunal sitzen | man  
776 braucht die ja um die waehlerschaft zu binden = ne | diese leute  
777 sind nicht nur selbst in die ce: pe: pe: uebergelaufen | sondern an

778           denen haengen auch constituencies | waehlerschaften die diese auch  
779           mitgebracht haben | das ist wie beim aeh | aeh es gibt ja zwei  
780           grosse strategiespiele auf der welt = ne | das eine ist schach das  
781           andere go | das chinesische go  
782       R:    hm  
783       A:    beim schach toetet man den gegner und fegt ihn vom vom brett | und  
784           bei go wird er umzingelt = ne | so lange bis | bis bis er  
785           eingekreist ist und dann hat man gewonnen = ne  
786       R:    hm  
787       A:    das wird nicht vollzogen | aber das ist | in europaeische variante  
788           des rebers werden aber die steinchen umgedreht | das ist hier  
789           eigentlich das ideal der kriegsfuehrung | das sieht man auch bei  
790           souzu | die kunst der kriegsfuehrung | man versucht eigentlich zu  
791           vermeiden = ne | den krieg so weit zu treiben dass man alle gegner  
792           toeten muss | sondern wenn es gut laeuft dann zwingt man sie zum  
793           ueberlaufen  
794       R:    hm  
795       A:    ganze regimente = ne | das wurde eigentlich hier | das praktiziert  
796           eigentlich hun sen hier bis heute = ne  
797       R:    hm  
798       A:    und zwar nicht nur mit den khmer rouge | aber mit den monarchisten |  
799           mit den ehemaligen republikanern | die lon nol leute | da gibt es  
800           keine nebenklaeger weil die | die grossen leute alle aemter in der  
801           regierung haben | und die | die aeh | aeh wo waren wir jetzt | und  
802           in anlong veng aeh | ich meine das koennte man bei ce: es: de:  
803           fragen = ne | was hat sich veraendert gegenueber dem ersten public  
804           forum und dem zweiten | ich weiss nicht ob ce: es: de: zeit haben  
805           mit der frage zu beschaeftigen | aber ich vermute es hat sich  
806           einiges veraendert | ich vermute dass dieser opferdiskurs der taeter  
807           staerker geworden ist | also dass sie noch staerker sagen auch wir  
808           alle opfer | weil opfer sein ist irgendwie die | die indirekte  
809           anerkennung dass | dass pol pot und konsorten verbrecher | taeter  
810           waren = ne | das ist das was die anderen ja nicht sagen | die sagen  
811           er war ein grossartiger patriot und verteidiger des vaterlandes = ne  
812           | wenn die sagen ich bin ein opfer von dem | aeh dann ist das eine  
813           verschiebung im diskurs  
814       R:    <<asking> und das kann man jetzt beobachten>  
815       A:    ich glaube ja | aber  
816       R:    das letzte was ich gelesen habe | das aktuellste von diesem wood |  
817           der zwei jahre dort war und seine dissertation darueber geschrieben  
818           hat | der hat darueber geschrieben dass man sich wohl momentan | vor

819 zwei jahren | darueber gestritten hat wie man das museum jetzt  
820 ausbaut wird | ob es pro pol pot oder pro ta mok wird | und dass es  
821 wohl zwei lager gibt die sich darum streiten wie sie das museum  
822 einrichten | wer dort jetzt als held betont werden soll | <<asking>  
823 das wiederlegt sich somit wieder denken sie>  
824 A: ja | also ich meine | dass diese leute sich ueber so was streiten  
825 zeigt einfach dass die zeit dort irgendwie stehen geblieben ist  
826 ((slightly excited and angry)) | die sind noch | vor zwei jahren  
827 waren die offenbar noch auf dem stand dieses streites = ne | der  
828 auch dazu fuehrte dass pol pot zu aehm hausarrest verurteilt wurde |  
829 und aeh | und dass er entweder dort eingegangen ist oder man hat  
830 nachgeholfen | aber das ist eigentlich die situation | damals wie  
831 pol pot gestorben ist | und irgendwo zeigt es natuerlich auch wie  
832 bequem diese leute es hatten | dass sie eben zehn jahre lang | aeh  
833 dass hun sen\_s versprechen | ihr lauft zu uns ueber | dann bekommt  
834 aemter und werdet generaele | als politiker | bekommt aemter in der  
835 partei | dass es eigentlich sehr belastbar war | sehr ernst gemeint  
836 | und aeh | und implementiert wurde = ne | so dass sie sich\_s  
837 leisten konnten ueber diese dinge zu sprechen | ich meine | ich  
838 weiss nicht wie sich das verschieben wird | ich meine | eine | was  
839 jetzt dieses museum angeht | auch was dieser fotograf das tuol  
840 sleng da machen will | er hat ja irgendwelche preziosen | ich weiss  
841 nicht | irgendwie schuhe von pol pot  
842 R: [persoenliche gegenstaende ]  
843 A: [ich weiss nicht | die brille] von duch oder sonstige | (goap) | aeh  
844 wertgegenstaende | indogermanisch sanskrit | (goap) ist  
845 wahrscheinlich wert | also solche ah objekte auch einer positiven  
846 kommemoration = ne  
847 R: hm  
848 R: das dings dort | wo pol pot da verbrannt wurde | das ist ein  
849 todesort | oder ist ein bestattungsort | ich | ist schwie | ich  
850 persoendlich sage ich | es ist schwierig | ich war letztes | letzten  
851 sommer in deutschland im frankenwald = ne | da auf einer grossen  
852 lichtung in der mitte ist ein | so ein eichenhain | oder ein  
853 eichenwaeldchen  
854 R: hm  
855 A: na sehr schoen | das heisst es war mal ein germanischer tingplatz |  
856 stimmt | und ich weiss nicht | es koennte sein | weil wirklich so  
857 schoen rund mit eichen | und da war ein grosser stein | und da stand  
858 aeh | unseren gefallenen kameraden nummer sowieso | el: a: ha: | das  
859 heisst leibstandarde adolf hitler | das war eine der es: es: | aeh

860 waffen es: es: division | und mein erstes gefuehl war sprengen | was  
861 wollen die leute da | da gibt\_s ueberhaupt nichts zu kommemmoriere  
862 | nur ist mir dann eingefallen dass ein onkel muetterlicherseits |  
863 aeh war aeh | bei der leibstandarte | zum glueck ist er nicht  
864 gestorben sondern nur den heimatausschuss damals gekriegt = ne | hehe  
865 R: hm  
866 A: aeh und dich mein ja | wenn der jetzt andere junge menschen nebenbei  
867 | kindersoldaten haeufig | und der hat die dann dann neben sich im  
868 maschinenfeuer | gewehrfeuer der roten armee fallen sehen | ich  
869 meine vielleicht waere er auch da hingegangen und haette gesagt |  
870 man ich hab schweineglueck dass ich ueberlebt habe und meine  
871 kameraden von damals nicht | und vielleicht hat ja jemand sich sogar  
872 fuer ihn geopfert und oder irgendsowas tiefgruendiges | und auch das  
873 ist so etwas wo ich sagen wuerde okay | jetzt wo sie diesen bloeden  
874 gedenkstein haben | dann will ich aber auch nicht die totenruhe dort  
875 stoeren | drum aeh weiss ich persoendlich jetzt auch nicht | ich  
876 meine aeh | faends eigentlich besser dem seine asche waere wie die  
877 von eichmann irgendwo verstreut worden dass kein schwein sie findet  
878 | also die israelis haben das bewusst so gemacht | die haben den  
879 ueber dem mittelmeeer verteilt damit niemand weiss wo sie jetzt  
880 irgendwie | aeh rosen austreuen | dass kein neonazi weiss wo er  
881 hingehen muss | mir waere das eigentlich auch lieber | aber jetzt wo  
882 des bloede ding da ist | ich finds schwer zu sagen aeh  
883 R: hm  
884 A: aeh das ist gewalt | wenn es jetzt einplaniert | oder auch wenn mans  
885 aeh | es ist die stoerung einer totenruhe = ne  
886 R: hm  
887 A: und das ist etwas was natuerlich auch wieder viele kambodschaner so  
888 auch nicht wollen | es so dass sie eben sagen sie wollen jetzt nicht  
889 eine fliege da rache ueben | sondern das ist auch okay | der hat  
890 auch da einen platz | lass mich in ruhe damit  
891 R: hm ja  
892 A: jetzt fuer die touristen ist es so | in anlong veng | ich hatte  
893 jetzt das unglueck dass ich beim letztem public forum wollte ich  
894 eigentlich hineilen | war aber anderweitig beschaefigt | sie haben  
895 wahrscheinlich das glueck dass sie da mal hingehen duerfen | ich  
896 lese gerade dschungelstadt | ich weiss nicht wie viel noch uebrig  
897 ist vom dschungel | <<rhetorically asking> vielleicht ist da ja mehr  
898 als in anderen teilen kambodschas noch>  
899 R: hm  
900 A: ich weiss ja auch nicht ob\_s dort schoen ist | ob\_s schoen gruen ist

901 und so | aeh

902 R: <<asking> heisst das sie wuerden | wenn sie jetzt als tourist  
903 hingehen wuerden | nicht primaer wegen den historischen staetten  
904 hingehen | sondern natuerlich auch wegen der umgebung>

905 A: ich weiss nicht | wir werden vielleicht in battambang jemand haben  
906 der sich dort im department of tourism eingesetzt ist | und das ziel  
907 waere irgendwie erinnerungskultur fuer kambodschaner mit  
908 internationalem tourismus | aeh aeh irgendwie in ein verhaeltnis zu  
909 setzen | also eigentlich hoff ich dass es so sein wird dass  
910 kambodschaner in zukunft schon auch nach tuol sleng oder nach phnom  
911 sam poh | oder wie die orte alle heissen | dass die da hin gehen |  
912 sie zum beispiel auch auch auf dem flughafen kampong chhnang | da  
913 gibt\_s ein tunnelsystem | das die | wahrscheinlich die chinessen  
914 gemacht haben zu khmer rouge zeiten | also voellig voellig abstrus |  
915 wie ich das auf bildern gesehen habe | habe ich gedacht da kann man  
916 wirklich paranoid werden | dass vielleicht die chinessen gedacht  
917 haben lass pol pot mal die kambodschaner ausrotten | und wir  
918 besiedeln das land dann frisch mit unseren reisbauern | also es  
919 haben sich ganz ganz komische dimensionen | aeh hat das dort

920 R: aha

921 A: aber das waere heute eigentlich fuer kambodschaner auch ein  
922 wunderbarer ausflugsort | weil\_s zum glueck da unten keine leichen

923 R: hm

924 A: gibt | und das waere etwas wo kambodschaner auch jetzt ihrer  
925 geschichte begegnen koennen | mit ich meine

926 R: verhaeltnismaessig neutral

927 A: ja | ich mein ich weiss | auch schon als junge ziemlich  
928 kriegsinteressiert | also das museum von der maschinolinie hat mich  
929 schon sehr beruehrt | das mal zu sehen | so kriegsmuseen | das waere  
930 vielleicht interessant | auch in der umgebung von phnom penh | aeh  
931 ich denke es ist nicht aeh

932 R: <<asking> wie heissen die tunnel noch mal>

933 A: also am flughafen von kampong chham ist so ein riesen gefaengnis |  
934 also ist auch ein riesen killing field dort | da gibt\_s da ganz so  
935 ein | auch tunnels | die sind noch nicht der oeffentlichkeit  
936 zugaenglich | eine franzoesisch kambodschanisches historiker team  
937 hat das praktisch erst mal erschlossen | das gehoert wahrscheinlich  
938 der armee | die ist wahrscheinlich zu fantasielos oder hat keine  
939 lust drauf was draus zu machen

940 R: hm

941 A: ich meine jetzt aeh | das ist nochmal fuer die diese orte wie pnom  
942 sam poh oder tuol sleng | ich meine wenn das so ist | wenn das ein  
943 genocide tourism gibt | also wenn es leute gibt die an einen solchen  
944 ort ueber die conditio romana | also ueber die banalitaet des boesen  
945 | und irgendwie was erfahren moechten | und moechten das mal sehen  
946 wozu menschen in der lage waren | ja warum nicht | und wenn  
947 kambodschaner das auch eines tages tun | sich mit der schule an so  
948 einen ort gehen | okay | nicht | und wenn es vielleicht  
949 zweisprachige tafeln gibt | kambodschanisch englisch | also  
950 praktisch den touristen und den kambodschanern das gleiche gesagt  
951 wird | warum nicht

952 R: <<asking> wenn es eine geschichte gibt die beiden erzaehlt werden  
953 kann>

954 A: ja | weil es ja irgendwie war | also die kambodschaner | viele junge  
955 kambodschaner haben das problem dass sie sagen sie koennen das nicht  
956 glauben | weil <<rhetorically asking> why did khmer kill khmer>

957 R: hm

958 A: und also manchmal heisst es sogar ich glaube das gar nicht | das ist  
959 so abstrus dass ich das gar nicht glaube | und manchmal ist aber  
960 auch wirklich die | die tiefe erschuetterung mit | was sind wir  
961 eigentlich fuer ein volk | das das sagen wir auch | ich mein aeh |  
962 also ich mach mit den leuten manchmal | ich sag ihnen aeh | wie |  
963 wir deutschen sind hier bei euch um mit euch eine erinnerungskultur  
964 zu schaffen weil wir in unserer geschichte auch so was haben | ja  
965 wir haben sechs millionen ermordete juden im holocaust in europa  
966 ermordet | wir haben die sinti und roma | wir haben tote  
967 kriegsgefangene | zwangsarbeiter und so weiter | und dann sagen die  
968 kambodschaner | ja aber pol pot | wir waren doch schlimmer weil wir  
969 das an unseren eigenen leuten gemacht haben = ne

970 R: hm

971 A: und dann fuehren die das manchmal weiter | es ist schon natuerlich  
972 ein | eine art spezifische note in diesem trauma | und aeh fuer  
973 junge menschen ist es manchmal wirklich erschreckend | aeh ich  
974 gehoere dem volk an das sich selber umbringt

975 R: hm

976 A: es ist nicht aeh | es ist auch schwer weil noch mal | noch mal wie  
977 ist erinnerungskultur hier in aeh | wir haben ja in deutschland |  
978 wie vorher gesagt | die situation dass die deutsche gesellschaft die  
979 nazizeit nachhaltig verurteilt = ne

980 R: hm

981 A: der ursprung dieser tendenz war die achtundsechziger zeit | die

982 diese rebellion der damaligen jungen generation gegen die aeltere  
983 generation | und die haben den | im extremfall den | sind diese |  
984 aeh oft kommunistische zellen an den universitaeten | und dann sind  
985 die aeh | die jungen studierenden zum teil zu den eltern gegangen |  
986 du kleine faschistische sau | jetzt erzaehl mir mal wie ihr damals  
987 die juden umgebracht habt | jetzt HOER mal auf zu luegen ja | du  
988 schwein | so haben sie zum teil mit ihren eltern gesprochen | und  
989 aeh | da gibt\_s eine historische bruecke hier zu kambodscha | weil  
990 das waren ja oft marxistisch leninistisch oder maoistische | aeh  
991 ideologisierte junge menschen | die in der ideologie gesagt haben  
992 familienbande sind eine kapitalistische schweinerei | das muss man  
993 zerstoeren | und genau das sagte pol pot ja auch dem kindersoldaten  
994 der seine eltern im reisfeld umbringt = ne  
995 R: hm  
996 A: wenn du der bauernklasse angehuerst | dann bist du in der lage  
997 dieses | das ideologische konstrukt der familienbande zu zerschlagen  
998 = ne | wenn du deine eltern umbringst | und des das ist |  
999 weltgeschichtlich ist es vielleicht ein element das deutschland und  
1000 kambodscha am meisten verbindet | ich meine bei aller  
1001 verschiedenheit mit der nazizeit und polpotzeit | und unserer kultur  
1002 und die hiesige kultur | wobei hier in kamboscha ist das heute so  
1003 dass mann so etwas was man nicht von den jungen menschen erwarten  
1004 kann | sondern was die jungen menschen | aeh oft bewegt | ist dass  
1005 sie | das war zum beispiel auch in einem stueck von aeh | von jungen  
1006 leuten die mit youth for peace arbeiten | dass sie jetzt erst  
1007 verstehen warum ihre eltern so sind wie sie sind | wenn ich noch mal  
1008 den vergleich machen darf mit dem comic mouse  
1009 R: mh  
1010 A: <<asking> kennen sie den>  
1011 R: nein  
1012 A: das ist von einem comiczeichner | der schreibt mein vater kotzt  
1013 geschichte aus | ne das ist | ist also das ist die geschichte von  
1014 auschwitz | die deutsche sind katzen | die juden maeuse | und die  
1015 polen schweine | so ein bisschen | aber sehr aeh | ueberhaupt nicht  
1016 | das ist eigentlich noch viel drastischer dadurch dargestellt = ne  
1017 R: hm  
1018 A: und der beschreibt es auch irgendwie = ne | dass aeh | und hier in  
1019 kambodscha haben viele junge menschen das problem dass sie eine |  
1020 dass die eltern | dass sie ein elternhaus haben mit pe: te: es: de:  
1021 | also einen vater der nachts schreit und alptraeume mit schrei  
1022 weinkraempfen hat | eine hypernervoese mutter oder ein | oder aeh

1023 jemand der sich gelegentlich ab | also depression hat | man hat  
1024 keine statistiken hier | aber man kann | also ich hab kuerzlich auf  
1025 deutsche welle einen bericht gesehen | die sagen dass zwanzig  
1026 prozent der menschen | oder zehn oder zwanzig prozent | ich weiss  
1027 nicht | jedenfalls ein relative hoher prozentsatz der leute hat eine  
1028 biologische disposition zur depression | ist vererbbar = ne  
1029 R: hm  
1030 A: aber es ist die frage unter welchen umstaenden bricht das aus | also  
1031 unter welchen umstaenden wird jemand wirklich zu einem manisch  
1032 depressiven charakter  
1033 R: hm  
1034 A: und hier in kambodscha | wenn man laenger mit menschen zusammen ist  
1035 | dann merkt man dass hier wahninnig viele manisch depressive  
1036 menschen sind | erst recht wenn man man mit den nebenklaegern hier  
1037 zu tun hat  
1038 R: hm  
1039 A: laut einer studie von be: zet: | handelszentrum folteropfer berlin |  
1040 das ist die rate bei leuten ueber achtzehn haben elf prozent pe: te:  
1041 es: de: | bei leuten ueber dreissig | also ueberlebendengeneration |  
1042 also post traumatic stress disorder | also pe: te: es: de: | bei  
1043 leuten ueber aeh dreissig | also ueberlebenden | zwanzig prozent |  
1044 und bei nebenklaegerantragsteller oder antragstellerinnen auf  
1045 nebenklage ueber dreissig prozent  
1046 R: hm  
1047 A: und wenn man mit den leuten arbeitet | ich mein das sieht man = ne |  
1048 so normal so aeltere menschen in kamboscha | auch laecheln laecheln  
1049 | manchmal sind sie ein bisschen bitter wie viele aeltere menschen |  
1050 sie sind vom leben gezeichnet | viele aeltere menschen wens  
1051 irgendwie geht wird gelaechelt | wo die | wenn die  
1052 nebenklaegertreffen sind wird nicht mehr viel | doch nicht  
1053 gelaechelt | die aeh | haben doch auch eine ziemliche sammlung mit  
1054 von | von depressiven oder so leute die die doch | aeh schnell auch  
1055 weinen und so | aeh starke gefuehls aeh regungen zeigen  
1056 R: mh  
1057 A: und aeh | die sind mit solchen | wie sind wir jetzt hierher gekommen  
1058 | wie die leute in der disposition der | hm (.) also das | ich mein  
1059 das ist sicher auch etwas das mit  
1060 R: sie sprachen von dem vergleich mit deutschland  
1061 A: die jungen menschen in kambodscha | die sind eigentlich oft in der  
1062 lage | in der situation | dass sie zum ersten mal verstehen warum  
1063 ihre eltern so sind wie sie sind = ne

1064 R: mh  
1065 A: dass sie verstehen | oh mein gott | wenn ich vorher gewusst haette  
1066 dass ich ein kleines geschwisterlein | aeh | ob das jetzt das  
1067 beispiel von diesem theaterstueck | das ein paar jugendlichen  
1068 gespielt haben | die mutter hat | sag ich jetzt mal flapsig | die  
1069 hat pe: te: es: de: | die haengt oft irgendwie depressiv an ihrem  
1070 besen = ne | und kuckt versonnen in die welt | und dann eines tages  
1071 packt sie aus und erzaehlt was passiert ist = ne | oder sehr  
1072 didaktisch | die leute kommen von einem youth for peace treffen wo  
1073 sie von der khmer rouge zeit gehoert haben | und die erzaehlen das  
1074 dann der mutter | die erzaehlt dann selber was sie erlebt hat | und  
1075 erzaehlt zum beispiel dass ihre kinder eigentlich ein klein |  
1076 kleines geschwisterlein haetten | beziehungsweise eigentlich einen  
1077 onkel | der der mutter im arbeitslager | aeh von den khmer rouge aus  
1078 der hand gerissen und gegen einen baum geschlagen wurde | na und das  
1079 erzaehlt dann die mutter | und aeh | das ist eigentlich so etwas das  
1080 dann viele junge menschen etliche male nachdenklich macht | und dann  
1081 letztlich auch eigentlich | dann auch mitleidig macht mit den eltern  
1082 | weil sie dann oft aeh | auch wieder mit dieser alterspyramide in  
1083 kambodscha | also wenn diese leute die jetzt zwanzig sind | vor zehn  
1084 jahren haetten | aeh | also wenn ich den vergleich nochmal machen  
1085 darf | also meine eltern haetten mir natuerlich mit zehn nicht  
1086 erzaehlt dass | dass mein grossvater und meine grossmutter in in  
1087 auschwitz vergast und verbrannt wurden | sondern sie haben mir das  
1088 erzaehlt | da war ich zwoelf oder dreizehn vierzehn wo ich\_s in der  
1089 schule schon gehoert hatte = ne  
1090 R: mh  
1091 A: das heisst die geschichten werden den jugendlichen erst auch dann  
1092 irgendwann einmal erzaehlt wenn die eltern finden okay | du kannst  
1093 die  
1094 R: <<asking> oder wenn es einen anstoss [gibt ]>  
1095 A: [einen] anstoss durch\_s  
1096 tribunal gibt | oder durch aeh | durch fragen der jugendlichen nicht  
1097 aeh | die dann auch oft ja | wenn sie nicht fragen dann wird auch  
1098 nicht erzaehlt = ne | das ist auch irgendwie | also die geschichten  
1099 sind auch belastend | aeh man muss sagen | mit meinem vater bin ich  
1100 immer so weit gekommen | wenn man irgendwie fragt | <<rhetorically  
1101 asking> warum hast du budapest ueberlebt | was hast du im oktober  
1102 neunzehnhundert vierundvierzig in budapest gemacht> | und dann  
1103 erzaehlt er nicht mehr | weil das ich | ich denke oft das sind  
1104 ueberlebendengeschichten aeh | die sind halt sehr durchwachsen | da

1105 sind manchmal sicher auch geschichten davon dass | wo unrecht | wo  
1106 menschen unrecht gegenueber anderen gemacht haben | wo sie sich  
1107 vielleicht | was soll man einem jugendlichen erzaehlen = ne | wenn  
1108 man | da war eine reisschale fuer zwei  
1109 R: hm  
1110 A: und der dann die reisschale am ende gegessen hat | der hat ueberlebt  
1111 | und der andere ist letztlich | aeh gestorben | und aeh | die  
1112 ueberlebenden duerften natuerlich auch viele solche geschichten  
1113 haben | die sehr  
1114 R: [wo sie sich dann schlecht fuehlen]  
1115 A: [traurig und haesslich sind ] | dass sie dass sie ueberlebt  
1116 haben | ich meine wir versuchen jetzt mit youth for peace ein  
1117 projekt ueber positive ueberlebensgeschichten | dass leuten einander  
1118 geholfen wurden | dass leute versteckt wurden | dass auch aeh  
1119 vielleicht witze ueber die khmer rouge | hoffe ich ja schwer dass  
1120 wir welche kriegten = ne  
1121 R: nochmal zu anlong veng | <<asking> ob sie mir | oder wie sie sich  
1122 erklaren koennen warum bei diesem ganzen hintergrund trotzdem  
1123 zweitausend khmer monatlich nach anlong veng reisen | also nationale  
1124 touristen>  
1125 A: <<asking> zweitausend>  
1126 R: ja  
1127 A: <<asking> kambodschaner> | <<asking> zu | nach anlong veng oder zu  
1128 den stellen>  
1129 R: vor allem zu pol pot\_s grab  
1130 A: ja ich wusste | ich kannte jetzt die zahl nicht | das ist in |  
1131 <<asking> ich meine in kambodscha | das ist nicht gerade eine  
1132 wohlstandsgesellschaft | nicht wahr> ((smiling voice)) | aber |  
1133 also | aeh kambodschaner | fuer kambodschaner spielt ausfluege  
1134 machen spazieren gehen | (daleng) | das heisst gehen spielen |  
1135 spielt eine grosse rolle | das heisst wenn eigentlich die urban  
1136 middle class | (.) | die moechte schon mal ans meer fahren  
1137 R: mh  
1138 A: nach kampong cham | nach siem reap | ich meine viele kambodschaner  
1139 haben das natuerlich nicht | die sehen\_s immer | angkor wat im  
1140 fernsehen | waren aber selber noch nicht dort | aber eigentlich will  
1141 man da selber schon hin | und wenn man schon in siem reap war | in  
1142 kampong cham war | dann will man vielleicht auch mal die delfine  
1143 ansehen | (daleng) | weil auch die familien | die brauchen das |  
1144 weil abwechslungs | das kleine bisschen wohlstand das man hat auch  
1145 geniessen = ne | das [aeh ]

1146 R: [also denken sie dass es die ]

1147 A: [das heisst man macht gerne reisen] | aeh

1148 jetzt | fuer die die sich entscheiden fuer anlong veng ((cynically

1149 laughing)) | vielleicht gibt es ja ehemalige khmer rouge | die aeh |

1150 die es da hin zieht aus sentimentalen aeh | noch positiv gesetzten

1151 verbindung mit aeh | vielleicht gibt\_s auch manche | die wollen sich

1152 dort davon ueberzeugen dass er tot ist | aeh die | die brauchen das

1153 vielleicht um

1154 R: <<asking> um damit abzuschliessen>

1155 A: damit abzuschliessen | ich koennte es nicht sagen

1156 R: <<asking> aber sie denken dass es eher die mittelklasse ist | die es

1157 sich leisten koennen>

1158 A: ja das ist teuer da hin zu fahren | ich meine fuer kambodschaner ist

1159 | ist aeh | also transportkosten | ich meine das | es ist hart wenn

1160 man aus einer gesellschaft wie der unsrigen kommt = ne | klar wenn

1161 man ein jahresabo | ich war zuerst nicht gluecklich wie ich beim |

1162 ich hab beim diakonischen werk fuer dreitausend mark fuer\_s

1163 generalabo der deutschen bundesbahn besessen | fuer die dienstreisen

1164 | das ist wirklich toll

1165 R: hm

1166 A: also staendig zug fahren | aber ich mein | so meistens ist so ein

1167 abo bezahlen | fuer die strassenbahn oder fuer\_s bussytem am anfang

1168 des jahres | OKAY das ist schon ein bisschen TEUER fuer ein jahr |

1169 aber sonst sind transportkosten eigentlich kein problem | jetzt fuer

1170 kambodschaner | und die sind ja eher arm | da sind transportkosten

1171 also das staendige thema

1172 R: hm

1173 A: das ist der grund warum kamboschaner im tante emma laden einkaufen

1174 um die ecke | weil die fahrt zum markt

1175 R: [wuerde schon zu viel kosten]

1176 A: [hin und zurueck ein dollar ] | das ist schon mal wieder das tages

1177 R: das macht kein sinn

1178 A: ja | das macht kein sinn | da kauft man lieber fuer einen dollar

1179 eine suppe | wo man zwar dann vielleicht tausend riel mehr bezahlt

1180 hat als eigentlich | die ist dann teurer entsprechend diese suppe |

1181 ja aber oder die leute koennen sich keine | was viele leute essen ja

1182 diese suppen | eigentlich wuerde es sich mehr lohnen fuenfzig

1183 packungen auf\_s mal zu kaufen und auf einen schlag vielleicht fuenf

1184 dollar zu sparen

1185 R: mh

1186 A: aber die leute kaufen immer von der hand in den mund | die haben

1187 nicht das geld um die suppe einen monat im voraus zu kaufen = ne  
1188 R: ja  
1189 A: das ist irgendwie hart | und das haengt wieder mit den  
1190 transportkosten zusammen | und deshalb naja | also fuer leute die  
1191 nach anlong veng gehen | die sind | denen geht\_s entweder schon so  
1192 gut dass sie alles andere abgegrast haben | oder haben einen ganz  
1193 R: [besonderen grund]  
1194 A: [besonderen grund] | aeh | das ist jetzt die frage | wie soll man  
1195 damit umgehen | ich | ich meine man kann des verstehen dass der  
1196 ehemalige fotograf von tuol sleng | der will natuerlich auch  
1197 ueberleben | der will geld machen | will seine preziosen da  
1198 ausstellen | aeh also es wurde ihm ja | wenn ich richtig lese erst  
1199 mal auch untersagt | also die aeh | die regierung will jetzt erst  
1200 mal kein museum | also was generell feststellbar ist | dass die |  
1201 also dieser dornroeschenschlaf auch von tuol sleng ist irgendwie  
1202 vorbei  
1203 R: hm  
1204 A: die regierung weiss | nach dem tribunal veraendern sich die  
1205 bedingungen fuer des alles | die regierung weiss tuol sleng | und da  
1206 redet jetzt der presssprecher des tribunals davon | der will jetzt  
1207 auch dass in tuol sleng schon bald eine ausstellung ist | ueber den  
1208 ausgang des des duch verfahrens  
1209 R: hm  
1210 A: in tuol sleng ist im moment noch alles wie es vor zehn jahren war |  
1211 eine neue ausstellung | UM GOTTES WILLEN = ne  
1212 R: hm  
1213 A: das ist schon fast revolution | wir haben | also mein informant  
1214 ueber tuol sleng | der hat erst mal aerger gekriegt weil er | er  
1215 wollte so ein paar fotos so umdrehen dass sie nicht mehr von der  
1216 sonne beschienen und vielleicht beschaedigt werden | da hiess es  
1217 NEIN | er muss es sofort aeh | wieder zurueck | alles so wie es war  
1218 | es wird vieles | es wird manches so bleiben wie es war | dafuer  
1219 sorgen die unesco standards | na die denkmalschutzkriterien | aber  
1220 bei ausstellungen kann man ja | wird vieles neu sein  
1221 R: hm  
1222 A: bei tuol sleng ist es eine frage | das steht es museum of gencidal  
1223 crimes | ((khmer language not understandable)) | aber duch wird  
1224 wegen verbrechen gegen die menschheit verurteilt  
1225 R: hm  
1226 A: eine riesenfrage bei tuol sleng wird sein | <<rhetorically asking>  
1227 aendert man den namen des museums> | weil das gericht so entschieden

1228 hat | <<rhetorically asking> oder laesst man es> | wenn man es  
1229 aendert | <<rhetorically asking> was passiert mit dem alten schild>  
1230 | << rhetorically asking> wird das bei nacht und nebel einfach  
1231 weggemeiselt oder wird es bewahrt>  
1232 R: hm  
1233 A: als ein | aeh ein stadium in der geschichte | diese  
1234 autoreflexivitaet von solchen orten = ne  
1235 R: hm  
1236 A: oder sagt man | man versucht nicht immer wenn ein neuer schub |  
1237 historischer schub kommt | nicht alles alte kaputt zu hauen  
1238 R: weil es teil der geschichte ist  
1239 A: und es neu integriert | als teil der rezeptionsgeschichte = ne  
1240 R: hm  
1241 A: der khmer rouge zeit | das wird eine interessante frage | jetzt bei  
1242 anlong veng | (.)  
1243 R: <<asking> wie stellen sie sich das vor | wie das dann also | man hat  
1244 schon bedenken dass es> | <<asking> soll ich das licht an machen>  
1245 ((power blackout in the building))  
1246 A: wir haben einen blackout | ich muss die tuer aufmachen | das ist  
1247 schlicht stromausfall | <<upstanding> ich mach mal die tuer auf> |  
1248 dass es etwas durchzieht  
1249 R: weil es ja hier | der plan war ja | wie hun sen zweitausendeins  
1250 geaeussert hat | es ginge nicht darum pol pot zu glorifizieren |  
1251 sondern auch eben der jugend zum beispiel zu zeigen dass sowas  
1252 passiert ist und nicht wieder passieren darf | und jetzt halt vor  
1253 kurzem | dass er der meinung ist dass nationale wie internationale  
1254 touristen dort etwas ueber die | ihre vergangenheit kambodschas  
1255 lernen koennen | <<asking> sehen sie jetzt persoendlich das als  
1256 sinnvoll> | <<asking> oder was einem erzaehlt werden koennte> |  
1257 <<asking> oder stellen sie das in frage>  
1258 A: ich finde anlong veng | also in der provinz battambang = ja  
1259 R: hm  
1260 A: wo wir aeh | mit dem zet: ef: de: sein werden | da kann ich mir das  
1261 vorstellen = ne | weil das sind | das ist der kastenberg (konsan  
1262 poh) | das sind die hoehlen | da wurden tausendende von leuten  
1263 getoetet und reingeschubst in die hoehle | (potsawangknong) |  
1264 umgeben mit bild | umgeben mit reliefs | mit darstellungen was da  
1265 passiert ist | sehr drastisch | mit vergewaltigung | sehr extrem |  
1266 dann gibt es (promkawong) | ein wunderschoenes anskortempelchen |  
1267 unten am huegel ein massengrab wo die schaedel zu tage treten | an  
1268 solchen orten | ich sage mal | die bevoelkerung dort ist auch

1269 mehrheitlich opfer | also vereinfacht gesagt in kambodscha |  
1270 ueberall wo das land flach ist ist eher eine opferbevoelkerung | und  
1271 ueberall wo es gebirgich ist sind eher noch ehemaligen khmer rouge  
1272 nester | und aeh da kann ich mir das gut vorstellen dass solche orte  
1273 in zukunft doch auch mehr ein dialog sind | zwischen aeh  
1274 naechstengeneration von kamboschanern und internationalen gaesten |  
1275 und die sich mit diesen fragen ein bisschen auseinandersetzen wollen  
1276 | die | ich glaub kambodscha | also angkor wat das ist natuerlich  
1277 schon fuer massentourismus geeignet | aber der rest kambodschas ist  
1278 eigentlich | ist eigentlich destination | aeh da muss man | das sind  
1279 nicht orte wo jeder hin geht | und das wird auch noch eine ganze  
1280 weile so sein | dass es ein bisschen anstrengender ist | als bali  
1281 oder phuket in thailand | dass touristen eher nach phuket gehen |  
1282 mal kurz nach angkor wat fliegen und wieder gehen | das heisst wer  
1283 sich in kambodscha mit einem reisefuehrer in der hand rumtreibt ist  
1284 auch ein bisschen individueller | ein bisschen interessierter an  
1285 begegnungen mit hiesigen menschen | da kann ich mir das so gut  
1286 vorstellen | bei anlong veng aehm | registriere ich dass der staat  
1287 sich sorgen macht | aehm dass es eine falsche richtung da geht | ich  
1288 kanns verstehen = ne  
1289 R: hm  
1290 A: aehm | da also ich | wenn ich jetzt irgendwie fuer | in aehm | in  
1291 einem ministerium fuer was auch immer | fuer die wolfschanze  
1292 zustaendig waere | wo hitler seine letzten minuten verbracht hat |  
1293 ich wuerde da auch sagen | ja lassen wir das doch mal lieber so sein  
1294 beim wald wie es ist | muesste man ja so viele waechter aufstellen  
1295 dass die neonazis da keine blumen hinlegen koennen = ne  
1296 R: hm  
1297 A: und das ist einfach ein bisschen | ich finde es irgendwie okay dass  
1298 man das nicht | also ich | wenn ich jetzt als deutscher jude |  
1299 wuerde ich auch sagen | aeh | das muss man nicht oeffnen das ding =  
1300 ne  
1301 R: hm  
1302 A: beziehungsweise ich wuerde eine demo machen = ja | wenn jemand auf  
1303 die idee kaeme | ich meine wenn das jetzt heute auf eienem  
1304 privatgrundstueck laege | das wuerde geoeffnet und die neonazis  
1305 stroemen da hin | wenn ich jetzt ein deutscher jude der antifah  
1306 waere | ich wuerde mir auch ueberlegen ob man das nicht aeh | demos  
1307 dort macht oder  
1308 R: mh | oder reagiert  
1309 A: aber das passiert ja hier jetzt weniger

1310 R: ich weiss ja nicht was leute denken ueber anlong veng | <<asking>  
1311 kriegt man das ueberhaupt so mit>  
1312 A: nein die | weiss ich nicht | ich mein | wenss ein thema fuer radio  
1313 free asia ist | dann schon | das koennte ich jetzt nicht beurteilen  
1314 | ob welche | also wenn radio free asia ueber etwas so spricht |  
1315 dann ist es doch relativ dann in aller munde | wenn radio free asia  
1316 es nicht aufgreift | dann ist das thema | auch verloren und es  
1317 interessiert sich niemand  
1318 R: <<asking> also in phnom penh unterhaelt man sich also nicht so  
1319 darueber was in anlong veng so passiert>  
1320 A: aeh nein | wenn die staatshoerigen medien mitkriegen dass die  
1321 regierung ein problem damit hat dann lassen sie das thema | dann  
1322 wird es einfach nicht thematisiert  
1323 R: <<asking> zensur also dann wieder>  
1324 A: und die selbstzensur | die aeh ah (.) | ich weiss nicht | ich meine  
1325 anlong veng | es gibt zum beispiel fuer den samlot district | da wo  
1326 duch herkommt | ich ich | ich war jetzt auch noch nicht da | aber  
1327 aeh | die brad pitt angelina jolie stiftung hat dort wildreservate  
1328 gemacht | ich meine | vielleicht ist es ja eines tages so dass man  
1329 sagen | okay leute die gerne tiger sehen | oder ich weiss nicht  
1330 einen urstier | ich weiss nicht was es in kambodscha so gibt an  
1331 viechern = ne | man kann das dann dort so sehn | naja dann sollen  
1332 also die leute dort hingehen koennen | trekking machen koennen |  
1333 weil es da auch noch gegenden mit minen gibt es | waere es  
1334 vielleicht klug = ne | dass die ehemaligen khmer rouge die da noch  
1335 leben die fuehrer | fremdenfuehrer abgeben | und aeh | das ist  
1336 vielleicht nicht schlecht = ne | weil ich mein | dann abends am  
1337 lagerfeuer | und dann sagt der pol pot war ein ehrenmann | dann sagt  
1338 eben vielleicht ein tourist | naja ich mag dich als fuehrer | du  
1339 bist auch ein mensch und so weiter | aber ehrlich gesagt find ich  
1340 nicht dass pol pot ein ehrenmann war = ne | aeh so eine art  
1341 R: austausch  
1342 A: austausch | oder bei der naechsten generation | kann ja dazu fuehren  
1343 dass auch die kinder der taeter die in diesen ehemaligen hochburgen  
1344 leben | vielleicht eines tages auch sagen koennen | okay wir muessen  
1345 damit leben dass | dass wir eltern haben die in ihrer biografie  
1346 groessere fehler | die falschen leute unterstuetzt haben | das sind  
1347 in kambodscha viele | weil aeh | eigentlich die menschen wollen dass  
1348 ihre armen | ihre eltern waren immer gut | aeh | das schlimmste  
1349 beispiel dafuer ist (som suber) | das ist der sohn vom (som sam) |  
1350 som sam war ein buergerlich liberaler ministerpraesident fuer kurze

1351 zeit | und der war dann aeh | in den achtziger jahren an der  
1352 thailaendischen grenze an der seite der monarchISTEN und der khmer  
1353 rouge im widerstand | und sein sohn sagt allen ernstes die  
1354 vietnamesisch trainierten khmer rouge waren schlimmer als die  
1355 chinesisch trainierten | und das ist einfach | i am sorry | ich ich  
1356 sage das ist | ich bin kein marxist leninist der das vietnamesische  
1357 konzept verteidigen will | also es ist historisch einfach nicht  
1358 korrekt

1359 R: hm

1360 A: die pol pot maoisten haben diesen plan hier fuer kambodscha | diesen  
1361 moerderischen plan entworfen | um zu sagen der plan kam nicht aus  
1362 hanoi

1363 R: hm

1364 A: der plan kam nicht unbedingt aus peking | ich aeh | ich weiss es  
1365 nicht was | aber interessanterweise hat | also mao tse tung hat pol  
1366 pot gefoerdert | aber chu enlai hat pol pot gesagt die revolution  
1367 kann nicht so schnell vorangehen | du musst noch ne weile mit  
1368 buergerlichen und monarchistischen kraeften auch auskommen = ne |  
1369 bevor man aeh

1370 R: <<asking> also sehen sie kein problem darin | wie geschichte  
1371 vielleicht praesentiert wird in anlong veng | weil sie sagen wuerden  
1372 dass dadurch vielleicht | wenn man positive aspekte betrachtet | ein  
1373 wichtiger austausch zustande kommen kann >

1374 A: also es gibt in | in tuol sleng gibt es diese pol pot buesten | die  
1375 unter anderem bou meng | einer der ueberlebenden | der war steinmetz  
1376 | gehauen | obs genau die sind weiss ich nicht | aber leute wie bou  
1377 meng haben die gehauen | ich hab die kuerzlich mal gesehen | die  
1378 sind jetzt hinter glas | bissle an der seite | mit einem gitter  
1379 davor | aeh warum sind die buesten | weil einfach zu viele leute  
1380 dran gekickt | ich mein aeh | ich weiss nicht | wenn man bei madame  
1381 toussauds ein hitler ist in wachs | ich haette auch grosse lust ihn  
1382 | [dagegen zu] kicken ((laughing voice))

1383 R: [zu kicken ] ((laughing voice)) oder dem mit meinem  
1384 feuerzeug die visage aufzuloesen | oder | oder irgendwie aeh | ich  
1385 meine | warum soll man in anlong veng | wenn man vor einer vitrine  
1386 steht | das sind die sandalen pol pot\_s | warum soll man sagen | OH  
1387 das sind die sandalen pol pot\_s | warum soll man das zeug nicht  
1388 vandalieren | oder auf die vitrine | auf die vitrine hauen und das  
1389 zerstoeren | ich meine

1390 R: <<asking> also sie erwarten eher solche reaktionen>

1391 A: koennte ich mir vor | beziehungsweise | im moment ist es so dass die  
1392 re regierung sagt | dem fotografen und diesen leuten sagt | abwarten  
1393 R: hm  
1394 A: die regierung weiss jetzt natuerlich auch noch nicht so recht wo des  
1395 hingehen soll | und es warten alle drauf dass hun sen die vorgabe  
1396 macht = ne | drum sind auch alle so nervoes in tuol sleng und  
1397 ueberall = ne | sie wollen wissen dass die partei | aeh zum beispiel  
1398 auch die frage zum kuenftigen gedenktag | <<rhetorically asking> ist  
1399 es auch ein ce: pe: pe: feiertag> | oder wird die ce: pe: pe: sagen  
1400 okay wir haben den siebenten januar | wir sind damit zufrieden | und  
1401 mit dem anderen gedenktag | der kann politisch neutral werden | das  
1402 ist noch nicht entschieden | im moment will die ce: pe: pe: den  
1403 siebenten januar | das sind die | das sieht man wenn man durch  
1404 kambodscha faehrt | das ist das bild vom triumverat | also hun sen  
1405 heng samrin und chea sim  
1406 R: hm  
1407 A: die drei koepfe der groessten drei parteien | also ein klassisches  
1408 triumbat | in jeglicher hinsicht | mit allen problemen und vorteilen  
1409 die das hat | da drueber steht drunter der (xxx xxx xxx) | da ist ja  
1410 ein ganzer stadtteil in phnom penh danach benannt  
1411 R: hm  
1412 A: das ist ja die doktrin des siebenten januars ist | erstens die  
1413 vietnamesen haben uns befreit | zweitens sagt hun sen heute das  
1414 waren dar | das waren wir | und die vietnamesen haben nur berater  
1415 geschickt | ein kleines bisschen geschichtsglitterung ((smiling  
1416 voice))  
1417 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
1418 A: es war schon eher umgekehrt | die vietnamesen haben panzer geschickt  
1419 und da hockten manchmal hinten drauf so paar kambodschanische  
1420 freischaerler mit kalaschnikovs und durften dann mitfahren | aber es  
1421 war schon ueberwiegend vietnamesische armee | und es war genozid das  
1422 hier | wird auch weiterhin aufrecht erhal | das ist sehr gut fuer  
1423 die vietnamesen und diese cham muslims | weil diese regierung ist  
1424 wahrscheinlich bereit es zuzulassen dass das gericht nuon chea wegen  
1425 genozid schuldig spricht  
1426 R: hm  
1427 A: und des ist etewas besonderes | ich meine man muss wirklich | muss  
1428 darauf beharren eah | dass die deutschen aeh nach dem zweiten  
1429 weltkrieg erst einmal | dass sie die schuldenerkennung = ne | fuer  
1430 den holocaust an den juden = ne | das war erst einmal diktat  
1431 R: hm

1432 A: die westmaechte haben das grundgesetz erst mal diktiert  
1433 R: hm  
1434 A: und es gab leute wie wie aeh adenauer | oder wie heisst er | der  
1435 erste deutsche bundespraesident | heuss oder | oder solche leute =  
1436 ne | die entweder aus einer buergerlichen oder christlichen oder  
1437 sozialistischen sozioldemokratischen gesinnung | also es stimmt = ne  
1438 | aber sagen wir mal das gro der deutschen war | war erst mal mit  
1439 sich beschaeftigt | und mit dem hunger | und mit den  
1440 kriegsgefangenen soldaten in russland | und so war man nicht bereit  
1441 | aeh zu sagen | aeh | wir haben schuld durch den voelkermord an den  
1442 juden | das waren erst die kirchen | und dann die rezeption von  
1443 nuernberg und die achtundsechziger | und viele dinge bis man in  
1444 deutschland so weit war | und aeh eigentlich aeh | und aeh zum  
1445 beispiel bei den sinti und roma war man durch die siebzigerjahre  
1446 noch ueberhaupt nicht bereit | <<rhetorically asking> was wollen  
1447 diese zigeuner | oder was wollen diese schwule | was wollen die alle  
1448 noch | haben wir nicht schon genug anerkannt>  
1449 R: hm  
1450 A: <<rhetorically asking> muessen diese alle auch noch angeschissen  
1451 kommen und also opfer anerkannt werden> = ne  
1452 R: hm  
1453 A: also so haben viele gedacht = ne | und wenn kambodscha in der lage  
1454 waere zu sagen | also ein kambodschanisches gericht in der | eine |  
1455 die regierung da nicht reinfunkt und sagt es war genozid an den cham  
1456 muslimen | das faende ich schon ganz | aeh  
1457 R: hm  
1458 A: faend ich schon interessant = ne  
1459 R: hm  
1460 A: das findet man nicht oft in der geschichte | dass aeh  
1461 R: <<request> also sie sagen | dass es jetzt spannend ist | da jetzt  
1462 halt entschieden wird | wie sich die partei entscheidet | und das  
1463 haengt wiederum mit den darstellungen zusammen die geduldet werden>  
1464 A: ja  
1465 R: aber andererseits kann | es ist ja so | es kann ja was geduldet  
1466 werden | aber wie es dann tatsaechlich ist | ich meine anlong wenn  
1467 ist ja weit weg  
1468 A: ja ich denk die leute da sind schon | aeh aeh | also die | die  
1469 regierung hat das auf dem schirm = ne  
1470 R: hm  
1471 A: der kleine kambodschaner aeh | also ich ich denke dass das opfer der  
1472 khmer rouge zeit | also wie ich da nach pailin gefahren bin | haben

1473 kambodschanische freunde gefragt | wie kannst du das machen | wie  
1474 kannst du nach pailin fahren | das ist doch gefaehrlich | da sind  
1475 doch die khmer rouge noch | dass das das viele | fuer anlong veng  
1476 fuer viele doch ein ort ist | beschissen heiss | die aircon ist aus  
1477 | dass das ein ort ist | da geht man nicht hin | zweitausend pro  
1478 monat gehen dort hin | sagten sie vorher | das ist interessant | ich  
1479 denke fuer die regierung hier ist es auf dem schirm | und ich glaub  
1480 die | auch de: ce: cam: hat dazu stellung dazu genommen  
1481 R: hm  
1482 A: wenn mich nicht alles taeuscht | und gesagt da muss man vorsichtig  
1483 sein | also ich denke anlong veng ist jetzt erst mal eingefroren |  
1484 also irgendwie ein | ein pol pot disneyworld wird es dort nicht  
1485 geben  
1486 R: hm  
1487 A: was es dort geben wird eines tages | ich | da wird man | wenn sich  
1488 irgendwelche leute in der regierung wahrscheinlich gedanken dazu  
1489 machen | und aeh aeh | in welche richtung aeh | ich ich kanns nicht  
1490 sagen | in andern orten | wenn eine f-frage | koennte natuerlich  
1491 sein | das ist ja so | nein ist es dort vielleicht moeglich ein  
1492 museum zu | vielleicht will die regierung dort ja auch eines tages  
1493 ein museum machen mit tafeln ueber die verbrechen der khmer rouge  
1494 R: also sie haben ja schon vor dieses | in diesem master plan | ich  
1495 habe | leider gibt\_s da nichts genaueres online | aber das was ich  
1496 rausfinden konnte war dass sie gerne so reenactment | sklavenarbeit  
1497 im feld darstellen wollen  
1498 A: <<asking> re enactment> | OH gott  
1499 R: und das museum  
1500 A: des re enactment | das ist ja der tag des zorns = ne | das ist etwas  
1501 aeh | wo der tross ein bisschen | also der der tag des zorns wurde  
1502 eigentlich abgeschafft | umbenannt in tag der erinnerung = ne | am  
1503 zwanzigsten mai | nur wenn man ihn sieht | also wenn man | in kep  
1504 hab ich das letztes jahr gesehen | ich meine das war der tag des  
1505 zorns in reinkultur = ne  
1506 R: hm  
1507 A: also man sieht re enactment | man sieht brave kambodschaner in  
1508 schwarze | tschuldigung ((telefone rings)) | (1:52:04 - 01:54:44)  
1509 ((break because of telephone call])  
1510 A: aeh | jetzt kommen die naechsten gaeste  
1511 R: oh okay | muessen wir uns beeilen  
1512 A: ich aeh | ich denke es ist es ist einge | wahrscheinlich eingefroren  
1513 | ich meine es ist ja auch denkbar dass es da eines tages dort ein

1514 museum gibt | es wird dann genau erklart wird | was die khmer rouge  
1515 alles gemacht haben | und aeh | daneben da gibt\_s irgendwo die  
1516 vitrine | und da sind dann die schlappen von pol pot | und der  
1517 fotoapparat von tuol sleng | und aeh | man versucht halt irgendwie  
1518 diese | einen kompromiss zu finden ne zwischen diesen | zwischen dem  
1519 wunsch | aeh die | die damals gueltige | von der regierung als  
1520 gueltige form der geschichte angesehene version zu praesentieren |  
1521 aeh und auch das lokal | das lokalcholorid = ne | das haus von ta  
1522 mok aeh | der ort wo pol pot ist und irgendwie die sammlung  
1523 R: <<request> also das bewusstsein ist da dass es ein problem gibt mit  
1524 der geschichte die erzaehlt wird | deswegen liegt\_s auf eis | aber  
1525 sie koennen sich aber vorstellen dass es irgendwann>  
1526 A: die kambodschanische figur ist das sowohl als auch = ne  
1527 R: hm  
1528 A: man hat hier vielleicht eine geschichtliche darstellung | und auch  
1529 die sachen die am ort sind | die werden dann auch gelassen | ich  
1530 meine bei ta moks haus | stellen sie sich mal vor was | was machen  
1531 wir wenn das | stellt sich auch bei pol pots todesort | wenn das  
1532 zeug verfaellt = ne | <<rhetorically asking> dann laesst man es  
1533 verfallen oder muss man es eines tages konservieren> | aeh ich weiss  
1534 nicht was  
1535 R: <<request> das muss die regierung jeweils dann entscheiden>  
1536 A: ich vermute man laesst es dann eher verfallen | aeh und dann aeh |  
1537 also ich denke nicht dass man das konserviert wird | tuol sleng wird  
1538 man dann irgendwann konservieren = ne  
1539 R: hm  
1540 A: im sinne des denkmalschutzes | des ding wo sie die menschen  
1541 aufgehangen haben | dieses betonturmgeraet | das wird dann erhalten  
1542 dass nicht verfaellt | dass man es spaeter auch noch zeigen kann  
1543 R: <<asking> wuerden sie | darf ich noch kurz zwei fragen stellen>  
1544 A: ja ja ((nodding))  
1545 R: und zwar habe ich gelesen dass es in verschiedenen teilen  
1546 kambodschas so ist dass die leute angst haben vor einem come back  
1547 der khmer rouge | <<asking> ist das weil sie ungebildet sind oder  
1548 besteht tatsaechlich die gefahr eines comebacks>  
1549 A: ja ich denk | ja ich denke dass fuer viele leute | dass ist halt  
1550 auch teil vom trauma = ne | das das | dass man angst hat dass sie  
1551 wieder kommen  
1552 R: hm  
1553 A: oder auch die | manchmal die uebertriebene angst von nebenklaegern |  
1554 dass sie da sagen ich will nebenklaeger werden | ja nebenklaeger

1555 heisst aber dass du im gericht stehst und sprichst | OH NEIN da  
1556 passiert mir ja was | das ist eine real empfundene angst von opfern  
1557 R: <asking> wuerden sie denn die | so als schlussfrage | die ambition  
1558 die die regierung hatte | die hauptsaechlich wahrscheinlich ja als  
1559 oekonomisch betrachtet werden koennte was anlong veng betrifft | als  
1560 unmoralisch betrachten>  
1561 A: nein | finde ich | also die | die diskussion wie sie gefuehrt wird  
1562 bei tuol sleng ist aeh | ist erst einmal | also tuol sleng so wie  
1563 es jetzt ist | das ist ein ort den man so gemacht hat als  
1564 staatsressort | die gelder sind schae schae schaezungsweise  
1565 fuefhundert dollar pro tag | die die touristen liegen lassen | das  
1566 steckt sich die | aeh museumsbelegschaft in die tasche | das ist  
1567 kein aeh | da gibt\_s keine richtigen tickets = ne  
1568 R: mh  
1569 A: da gibt\_s keinen kontrollbogen = ne | das ist kein relevantes | aeh  
1570 R: im zusammenhang mit anlong veng wird\_s glaub eben eher in sofern  
1571 unterstuetzt | dass eben diese abgelegene unterentwickelte region |  
1572 also in vielerlei hinsicht | sich entwickeln kann durch dieses geld  
1573 A: es kann sein dass die regierung sagt es ist ihnen genehm weil  
1574 dadurch vielleicht entwicklung kommt | aber es ist | ich seh darin  
1575 jetzt irgendwie nichts gross unmoralisches | ich meine was eine  
1576 gefahr ist | es kann ja sein dass an bestimmten orten wie in  
1577 battambang | das hoffe ich koennen wir mit verhindern oder  
1578 beeinflussen | dass vielleicht in dem moment | in dem man mit etwas  
1579 geld machen kann mit etwas | das vielleicht ploetzlich leute auf die  
1580 idee kommen die leute die jetzt dort wohnen zu vertreiben |  
1581 beispielweise die leute die da kleine restaurants am phnom sam poh  
1582 haben wegzujagen | um selber ein groesseres restaurant hinzustellen  
1583 R: hm  
1584 A: das das das ist eine reale gefahr | wo man auch sagen kann das ist  
1585 auch ein schmuddeliges geschaeftsinteresse irgendwie dabei | nur im  
1586 moment ist eigentlich die | im moment ist es schon eher eine sache  
1587 die mit ernst diskutiert wird = ne | und dass kambodscha hat | da  
1588 eben auch die tatsache dass es auf der ebene des tourismus mit  
1589 ministry of tourism noch keine policy dazu gibt = ne | dass aeh |  
1590 dass aeh sich kambodscha eher scheut = ne | also aeh | man laesst  
1591 zwar diese lonely planet touristen | die koennen nach tuol sleng  
1592 gehen | aber es gibt kein kambodschanisches tourismusplakat | leute  
1593 kommt nach tuol sleng  
1594 R: hm

1595 A: es gibt |in hotels legt das tourismus ministerium keine zettel aus |  
1596 soll da auch | wenn ihr schon in phnom penh sein | dann kommt auch  
1597 nach tuol sleng | das gibt\_s nicht  
1598 R: die sind vorsichtig  
1599 A: es ist auch | also vom museums marketing her ist das auch ganz  
1600 schlecht | wenn tuol sleng | koennten sie theoretisch  
1601 internationalen gaesten zehn dollar abknoepfen = ne | wenn sie |  
1602 also wenn die fuehrung gut waere | die broschuere gut |  
1603 audiovisuelles aeh | wenn man allein laufen will = ne | also rein |  
1604 wenn jetzt irgendjemand die absicht haette da viel geld mit zu  
1605 machen | dann haette man sich noch viele andere dinge vorstellen  
1606 koennen  
1607 R: hm  
1608 A: ich hab eher | aeh | mein eindruck ist eher dass sie das mit ernst  
1609 sehen | im sinne | das der weltoeffentlichkeit zeigen | aber noch  
1610 immer ziemlich verunsichert sind in welche richtung die reise  
1611 eigentlich gehen soll  
1612 R: <<asking> also wuerden sie es nicht als unmoralisch an sich  
1613 betrachten nach anlong veng zu gehen | also | und sich das  
1614 praktisch>  
1615 A: ich hoffe eigentlich eher dass die leute nicht nach anlong veng  
1616 gehen sondern woanders hin  
1617 R: [<<asking> weil es noch nicht so bereit]  
1618 A: [ist am kambodschanischen flughafen ] ((laughing)) | am phnom  
1619 sam poh | also weil die | also die die form zu finden wo man dort  
1620 ueber geschichte nachdenken kann | aber dann auch akzeptieren kann  
1621 dass halt aeh | da materielle reste | materielle artefakte sind |  
1622 die mit den khmer rouge zusammenhaengen | ist noch nicht | noch  
1623 nicht aeh gegeben  
1624 R: <<request> also momentan ist es eher fragwuerdig | weil manipulieren  
1625 koennen sie die fuehrer | die erzaehlen halt eine falsche  
1626 geschichte>  
1627 A: das machen sie sowieso ueberall  
1628 R: also am phnom sam poh | in battambang | also ich sag des den  
1629 kambodschanern nicht gern weil das kritik waere = ne | aber da gibt  
1630 es leute die sagen die leute wurden deshalb in die hoehle gestossen  
1631 weil die vietnamesen im vormarsch waren  
1632 R: hm  
1633 A: also dass die khmer rouge die verbrechen begangen haben um vor der  
1634 ankunft der vietnamesen tabularasa zu machen | das ist historisch  
1635 falsch | die haben schon lange tabula rasa gemacht | die sagen auch

1636 die vietnamesen seien achtundsiebzig gekommen | das stimmt auch  
1637 nicht | sie kamen neunundsiebzig | da gibt es viele | also die  
1638 strassenkinder die da fuehrer spielen | fuer mich auch ein zeichen  
1639 dass es eigentlich nicht | aeh | dass es eher vermieden wird | also  
1640 wenn ich jetzt | also glaub in zukunft wird es eher so sein dass die  
1641 tourismus departments sagen wir muessen jetzt eine lizenz machen =  
1642 ne | dass diese leute dort fuehrer werden | die muessen eine  
1643 pruefung ablegen | ob sie die geschichte kennen  
1644 R: richtig | aber richtig erzaehlen ist halt immer so eine sache der  
1645 perspektive  
1646 A: im moment ist eher so | choeung ek ist | da gibt es strassenkinder  
1647 mit fuenf jahren | die sagen dann ja da hier haben sie die babies  
1648 angeschlagen | ich ((cynically laughing)) das ist irgendwie | das  
1649 ist hart = ne  
1650 R: ja  
1651 A: und es stimmt | historisch stimmt es = ne | manchmal ist es auch mit  
1652 aeh | aeh vermischt mit irgendwelchen gruselgeschichten  
1653 R: hm (.) aber  
1654 A: sorry  
1655 R: <<asking> sie sehen es nicht als bedenklich wenn das falsch erzaehlt  
1656 wird> | [vielen dank fuer ]  
1657 A: [ich denke es ist nicht bedenklich] | es zeigt nur dass das  
1658 tourismuswesen nicht so weit ist | und dass dieses thema |  
1659 [also es sind strassenkinder]  
1660 R: [die buecher und den film ] | super dankeschoen  
1661 A: wenn sie noch mal anrufen wollen oder noch mal fragen  
1662 R: ich verstehe | vielen dank noch mal dass sie sich so viel zeit  
1663 genommen haben

## C 2: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Bokat

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Thursday, the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 2010  
**Time:** 02.00 pm  
**Duration:** 00.55.55 h  
**Name of interviewer:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Transcribers name:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Language:** English

### **Situation:**

Two weeks in advance appointed semi structured expert interview in public room of the documentation centre of Cambodia in Bueng Keng Kang, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The public room is an information centre for researchers and private visitors, who are interested in the history of Democratic Kampuchea and the Genocide in Cambodia.

### **Role of the participants:**

The interviewee, Mr. Bokat, inherits a leading position in the documentation centre of Cambodia, which constitutes the leading organisation in documenting the crimes of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. He has a master's degree in Genocide and Peace studies (UK) and is currently PhD candidate in the Global Affairs department at an US American University, writing about the Genocide at the Cham Muslims during Democratic Kampuchea. Mr. Bokat makes himself available for fellow researches around the world, which are doing research in Genocide related topics in Cambodia. The interviewer is a master's student of global studies, conducting the interview for her master thesis research.

### **Characteristics of the speaker:**

Mr. Bokat is estimated to be in his mid twenties, Cambodian and very much engaged and interested in the facilitation of qualitative research techniques.

### **Other information:**

Mr. Bokat showed himself very busy and indicated that he has just a certain amount of time. Because of that, the interview was a very active exchange of questions and answers. Mr. Bokat's youth and official dressing let him appear as an important and efficient successful researcher. His immediate family was not affected by crimes of the Khmer Rouge (escaped to Vietnam), why he perceives himself as in a neutral position towards the Khmer Rouge.

**Characterization of the progress of conversation:**

Mr. Bokar was very interested in the interviewer's questions and eager to answer them sufficiently. Although of his young age he was engaged in projecting his thoughts into the victims of the genocide.

**Processing stage:** The transcript is held fractional

1 R: <<asking> can you tell me a bit about your background>  
2 B: I am | my name is khok thai | and I am research director and | hm  
3 | of de: ce: cam:  
4 R: hm  
5 B: and also one of the deputy director of dc-cam | we have two  
6 deputy here  
7 R: hm  
8 B: so | erm | what I do is help people | erm | do the research |  
9 accessing documents of de: ce: cam: | and work on many of the  
10 projects of de: ce: cam:  
11 R: hm | and erm | yes | <<asking> why do you think the work of  
12 de: ce: cam: is so important to have>  
13 B: I think the work of de: ce: cam: is very important | because we are  
14 the only en: ge: o: documenting the khmer rouge crimes  
15 R: hm  
16 B: since it happened in nineteen | erm thirty years ago | erm in the  
17 eighties and early nineties | nobody really tried to collect this  
18 material | and put it together in one place | and make it valuable  
19 for research of students at the e: ce: ce: ce: | the khmer rouge  
20 tribunal | so our work and research | our activities | interview  
21 khmer rouge cadres and victims | are very important for documenting  
22 and preserving this piece of history  
23 R: okay | that's just a general introductory question | (both laughing)  
24 | so | at first I will | <<asking> I have just a few questions what  
25 you are thinking about tuol sleng and choeung ek in relation with  
26 tourism = okay>  
27 B: yes  
28 R: <<asking> what do you think about the rising tourists presence in  
29 cambodia in total> | <<asking> do you think it is a good development  
30 or is it> [your personal opinion ]  
31 B: [I think it's good for de]velopment | as I heard from  
32 other | what do I heard from other data| un unspecified or un you know  
33 | without you know real evidence data | that in siem reap | the  
34 income from tourisms | about 20 percent go to foreign company  
35 R: hm  
36 B: you know people or foreign company | or hotel owner who are  
37 foreigner | come establish there | hotel and travelling company | so  
38 they will take about twenty percent of all income from tourism what  
39 comes to siem reap | and the local owner only earns thirty percent  
40 R: hm  
41 B: so but I think overall tourism is good for this | good for cambodia

42 R: hm  
43 B: for cambodian people | development | yes for cambodian people and  
44 development | and for people to understand and learn more about the  
45 country  
46 R: hm  
47 B: and erm | it might have more wider consequences | you know | as a  
48 result tourism | cambodia is more open to outside ideas | you get  
49 more influence to them too | that's why I think  
50 R: that are the positive [impacts]  
51 B: [impacts] more | but you also hear about  
52 foreigner who come here and try to traffic children | exploit  
53 availability of sexual | you know  
54 R: hm  
55 B: service in cambodia  
56 R: <<asking> so this are the negative side [effects ]>  
57 B: [side effects] | yes | some  
58 people say that h: i: ve: came to cambodia | aids | when u: en: te:  
59 a: ce: came | u: en: te: a: ce: between in ninety one to nineteen  
60 hundred and ninety three | they came and then we started to have h:  
61 i: v: since then  
62 R: hm  
63 B: they came and that was part of it ((uncomfortable laughing))  
64 R: <<asking> so not everything is just good>  
65 B: but I think most is more positive  
66 R: than negative  
67 B: than negative  
68 R: <<asking> so do you think choeung ek and tuol sleng are the  
69 testimony of the genocide as well | and important memorials>  
70 B: they are | they are important memorials | erm | es: twenty one is an  
71 important memorial because located in the city | and it has more  
72 concrete documentary materials | more evidence too | documents |  
73 professions | in terms of paper document we made from the khmer  
74 rouge | photographs also | they have more than other places in the  
75 country  
76 R: hm  
77 B: that make it to an important place | and also in the nineteen  
78 eighties | the pe: ar: k: government | the people's republic of  
79 kampuchea  
80 R: hm

81 B: controlled by vietnam | tried to make choeung ek looks like a big  
82 genocide place | maybe some people say they tried to make es: twenty  
83 one look like auschwitz | for example  
84 R: hm | I read about that  
85 B: yes yes | henri locard said that | erm | yes so that's in a way erm  
86 | promoting es: twenty one in the eighties leads to giving it more  
87 importance today than other locations | erm | choeung ek is also  
88 important | because it is the place where people were brought to  
89 kill  
90 R: hm  
91 B: and it's located very convenient for the tourists and for the people  
92 to see | next to the city  
93 R: <<asking> so you think it's important for | or can be very positive  
94 for tourists to experience>  
95 B: <<asking> in terms of educating | public education>  
96 R: hm  
97 B: erm | but there are many other places | prisons and mass graves  
98 around the country  
99 R: hm  
100 B: they are equally big in term and number | or they were established  
101 long before es: twenty one and choeung ek were established  
102 R: hm  
103 B: those locations in takai province | we have mass graves | more mass  
104 graves | and some are larger in size than es: twenty one  
105 R: <<asking> do you think tourists have maybe a wrong picture | when  
106 they just visit tuol sleng and think this was the central prison and  
107 they don't know that there are [many other places]>  
108 B: [many people are not] so aware that  
109 in cambodia | there are almost two hundred locations like that  
110 R: hm  
111 B: erm yes | so some people asked me the same question | when we have  
112 more than almost two hundred location | why people | why you only  
113 es: twenty one and choueng ek | why is it more important than the  
114 other  
115 R: hm  
116 B: erm | we not say that it's MORE important but it's more CONVENIENT  
117 than other locations | to reach to bring tourists | to bring group  
118 of people to get there  
119 R: hm  
120 B: and it has more evidence | more things to see than other places  
121 R: mh | it's nearby phnom penh | you can go there very easily

122 B: the map | >>asking> the killing field map | have you seen yet>  
123 R: <<requesting> the map>  
124 B: yes | showing locations of mass graves around the country  
125 ((indicating the map at the wall))  
126 R: yes | I saw it online at the de: ce: cam: website | I will check  
127 that out | <<asking> so do you know how people in phnom penh think |  
128 what they think about tourists visiting these sites> | <<asking> do  
129 they also think it's a positive thing that tourists come to visit  
130 the killing fields and tuol sleng | or do they feel disturbed about  
131 their presence>  
132 B: I think people feel very positive about tourists coming | erm | they  
133 are | they never really show being disturbed by | when people visit  
134 mass graves or tuol sleng or other places | I think people really  
135 believe that when people see | they want other people to hear and  
136 know about their plight | about the killing in cambodia | so they  
137 are not at all disturbed  
138 R: hm  
139 B: erm not at all  
140 R: that's interesting ((shy laughing of both)) | so let's get to anlong  
141 veng  
142 B: yes  
143 R: so <<asking> what kind of stories did you hear since nineteen ninety  
144 nine | is there any kind of news coming to phnom penh>  
145 B: <<asking> about anlong veng>  
146 R: anlong veng | <<asking> or is it just kind of far away and it  
147 doesn't matter>  
148 B: now | the road are very smooth | they built siem reap to anlong veng  
149 road | a big and very smooth | built by a thai company  
150 R: hm  
151 B: erm | so anlong veng is highly accessible now | so you can reach by  
152 car | and they have telecommunication in anlong veng | like in other  
153 places |  
154 R: hm  
155 B: erm | if there is anything special we will hear about it | but the  
156 only thing that many people in cambodia hear from anlong veng is  
157 that the land there is very expensive | and people are making lot of  
158 profit from buying land and then sell later at a high price  
159 R: hm  
160 B: people making cultivation | and erm | there are also location where  
161 ta mok used to live | erm the grave of pol pot | the people want to  
162 see some time = you know

163 R: hm  
164 B: at the other thing that I heard personally | it's from (xxx xxx)  
165 ((the former photographer of tuol sleng prison)) plan to develop a  
166 museum  
167 R: hm  
168 B: there | and they develop real estate around the area  
169 R: hm  
170 B: and  
171 R: and you have to smile when you say that ((laughing))  
172 B: yes ((laughing))  
173 R: it's a crazy guy  
174 B: crazy guy yes | he is working and living too close with the garment  
175 officials and business people | so what he sees into that direction  
176 today is making money and business  
177 R: so | it's questionable | it's not a educative purpose  
178 B: no no | haha  
179 R: so | <<asking> do people talking much about the developments there>  
180 | the cambodians  
181 B: <<requesting> the cambodians>  
182 R: <<do they think about it or talk about it | is it a kind of topic  
183 you speak about>  
184 B: at some school | people occasionally talk about how to preserve pol  
185 pot's grave | how to preserve evident resulting from | erm the last  
186 | pol pots last control | and the khmer rouge last control in the  
187 area  
188 R: hm  
189 B: some people talk about how the deputy governor in siem reap | I  
190 think in nineteen ninety seven | or six seven eight | when the ce:  
191 pe: pe: and funcinpec were fighting  
192 R: hm  
193 B: to gain a defection from the khmer rouge | you know | because the  
194 khmer rouge crumbling at the time | in late nineteen nineties | so  
195 their soldier come back to into country | so ce: pe: pe: and  
196 funcinpec tried to capture those  
197 R: hm  
198 B: those soldiers | erm | so at the time the governor of siem reap |  
199 who were funcinpec member | flow to anlong veng along with his other  
200 you know | and when met ta mok and then | you know | when he got off  
201 the plane | and after talk | nobody know for sure | they were shot |  
202 all of them were shot | and erm | for some people in siem reap  
203 that's something that they talk occasionally | now and then erm |

204 but otherwise I think | but we at de: ce: cam: talk more about the  
205 khmer rouge  
206 R: hm  
207 B: about who were the former cadre living in anlong veng | so that we  
208 can meet and interview | who are the victims | what kind of evidence  
209 or documents we can get from anlong veng | and you know | pol pot's  
210 mass graves | and things like that | but formally people | those  
211 locations and those things | are for you know | come by and take a  
212 look and then move on = you know  
213 R: hm | <<asking> you mean the backpackers>  
214 B: oh the tourists | the outside tourists | they might want to see  
215 those | if they go to anlong veng | evidences and remnants of the  
216 khmer rouge is their best | is the main attraction | but for local  
217 tourists | for cambodians | if they go to anlong veng | they will  
218 just stay there for a short time and then focus more on | you know |  
219 taking part in the development  
220 R: ah okay | <<requesting> more interested at the economic aspects>  
221 B: economic aspects | economic aspects  
222 R: so hm | <<asking> so the people are informed about what is going on  
223 basically | you think>  
224 B: yes | I think  
225 R: so | it's also documented that two thousand cambodians per month are  
226 visiting anlong veng and the grave of pol pot  
227 B: <<asking> it is documented>  
228 R: sorry ((looking for evidence))  
229 B: <<asking> is there a report?  
230 R: yes its documented | they counted the visitors and it was like sixty  
231 international tourists | and in total two thousand cambodians | and  
232 I am wondering | because for instance in germany | many survivors of  
233 the holocaust | they don't like to go to auschwitz | they don't want  
234 to see it | so I am wondering why two thousand cambodians want to  
235 see anlong veng | <<asking> do you know, do you have an explanation  
236 for that>  
237 B: <<requesting> every month>  
238 R: yes every month  
239 B: I think | erm | some cambodians | for the earlier | those who  
240 experienced the khmer rouge | approximately | they erm | they might  
241 disappear and don't talk so much about the plan | and they might not  
242 want to see pol pot  
243 R: hm

244 B: I interviewed and met a few people | you know | we start to talk to  
245 victims and those who experienced so much| might not think properly  
246 | the way they think is was | was clearly weak = you know  
247 R: hm  
248 B: but for those who experience the khmer rouge atrocity | but there  
249 not that much traumatized | I think many people in cambodia | there  
250 is a large number of those kind of people | they still want to go to  
251 see pol pot's grave | they have never seen him before | have never  
252 seen this guys face | and he has been famous for many years |  
253 responsible for the khmer rouge | and then in the eighties | what we  
254 hear in cambodia | is the pol pot ieng sary clique = you know  
255 R: hm  
256 B: so many people just want to come by and see | oh here is the grave  
257 of this guy | he is right here = you know  
258 R: he existed and he died  
259 B: he died | yes you know that's life of him | yes yes | I think that's  
260 the reason why they want to see | no more | some people even suggest  
261 that | a few people suggest that pol pot | we should make a statue  
262 of pol pot | kneeling down and tied up behind his back | somewhere  
263 in cambodia | so he would be punished forever  
264 R: would be a good place maybe  
265 B: haha ((both laughing))  
266 R: that's interesting | <<asking> and you are discussing that | to have  
267 such a statue>  
268 B: erm | we have not discussed at de: ce: cam: | but it should be the  
269 task more of the government  
270 R: hm  
271 B: if they talk about it | I think it could be seen as a bit extreme  
272 for some people  
273 R: hm  
274 B: you know that some people opinion | they really want that | you know  
275 | they really want to see pol pot getting that much punishment  
276 R: hm  
277 (-)  
278 R: <<asking> do you know current news about> | the last thing I read  
279 was that they did not get funding for their plans in march  
280 B: who  
281 R: the government and the | erm operators in anlong veng  
282 B: hm  
283 R: they had a master plan | but it was very expensive  
284 B: hm

285 R: and they didn't get the money for it | <<asking> do you know any  
286 news about that>  
287 B: I heard that | I thought the newspaper about that | like a funding |  
288 but I don't know much detail you know | I don't know much detail |  
289 in an informal way = you know | not really  
290 R: so erm | according to hun sen | visitors will have the possibility  
291 to learn about the khmer rouge and understand the past  
292 B: [yes ]  
293 R: [of cam]bodia | <<asking> do you think it's possible in anlong veng  
294 | to establish such an educative purpose>  
295 B: yes yes | it's possible for anlong veng | although there are many  
296 khmer rouge sites around the country | that might have equal value  
297 or significance | or a little bit less or even more than anlong veng  
298 | erm but anlong veng has been under the khmer rouge for some time |  
299 and its famous for a few historic | you know | historic occurrences  
300 | like the khmer | like pol pot was there | controlled by ta mok |  
301 ta mok's lake for example | erm | it may give us a good starting  
302 point to educate people in anlong veng about genocide | to tell them  
303 = you know  
304 R: hm | <<requesting> just not the way the photographer does it>  
305 B: no no ((laughing))  
306 R: <<asking> do you think it matters for former victims or for  
307 cambodians that former khmer rouge are operating the sites and are  
308 working as guides>  
309 B: <<asking> do you think what>  
310 R: <<asking> what do people think about the circumstance that the  
311 guides of the site | also the tour operators | that the people who  
312 are taking the tourists around and showing the sites | that they are  
313 former khmer rouge soldiers>  
314 B: <<asking> does it bother them>  
315 R: yes  
316 B: I don't think that it bothers people | some people are angry | for  
317 some people they really are | but for me personally | I don't think  
318 | some people | especially the younger generation might not be |  
319 take an issue with that | erm | as long as that khmer rouge identity  
320 is not so much reveal | he was not involved in too much killing |  
321 you know | about he is just a simple soldier | who were ordered to  
322 fight in the khmer rouge government you know | during the war | I  
323 think it's okay for them  
324 R: hm

325 B: but for some victims | the victims of the khmer rouge might take it  
326 as an issue | they might not like him  
327 R: <<requesting> the victims>  
328 B: the survivors | they might not like him = you know | there is a  
329 possibility that they might attack it verbally or something | (-) |  
330 that's what I think  
331 R: so erm | << asking> do you think it's a good decision to promote the  
332 sight as a tourist destination> | <<asking< what do you think |  
333 personally> | you are smiling | <<asking> so you think it's kind of  
334 ((laughing)) so it>  
335 B: tourist destination | they have the issue that I find very difficult  
336 to reconcile it | it's about getting profit on genocide site | like  
337 choeung ek and tuol sleng | tuol sleng is still a government place |  
338 so it in term does not go to a private company | but some of it  
339 would finance of peoples wage who take care of the place | but go to  
340 the ministry of culture for the government | but choeung ek the  
341 government asked a company | called j: ce: company | to manage it  
342 the way to do it at angkor wat  
343 R: hm  
344 B: although they give a certain amount back to the government | but j:  
345 ce: company will try to make some profit | because they are looking  
346 at business  
347 R: hm  
348 B: erm | so I find it a little bit difficult to | to reconcile | you  
349 know | ease of management of the site by subcontracting control |  
350 manage money to a company | versus you are going there to see those  
351 people who have been died | many people died at | lot of skull | it  
352 is a place of respect | and if you think about business | business  
353 does not go with this kind of thing  
354 R: hm  
355 R: erm | another thing | that in term of de: ce: cam: as an en: ge: o:  
356 | working with those sites | is also a friction too | all those  
357 places which are business | erm | because we are | as an en: ge: o:  
358 we are non profit | but we | when we publish book and we provide  
359 material | we provide to people without profit | we provide to  
360 schools | for educational purposes | to researcher | for their  
361 research and study  
362 R: hm  
363 B: but cheung ek | cheung ek is a location that we want to cooperate  
364 with too | with as well | but because they are profit making | we

365 give them a book | then give them material | and it feels like they  
366 make some profit = you know  
367 R: so | <<asking> you don't want to support something in this  
368 direction>  
369 B: yes | not in that direction | it could be a little bit difficult for  
370 us to cooperate in a non profit direction with them because they are  
371 making profit | we don't  
372 R: hm  
373 B: and we think about sharing history more | although they say they try  
374 to educate people | you know about everything | but erm | the major  
375 | the most important thing is how can we be sustainable (laughter)  
376 so | when we provide magazine | this magazine (indicating the  
377 searching for the truth magazine lying on the table) is distributed  
378 free of charge to district and village  
379 R: ah | this yes  
380 B: around the country  
381 R: hm  
382 B: erm | some of this books are free of charge too | so when they ask |  
383 erm | they come as choeung ek location with request for several  
384 books | we can give them  
385 R: aha | this is cool yes | if you | this circumstances have to be like  
386 | the aim is important of the  
387 B: yes hm | so what I am thinking that the procedure of | in term from  
388 tourism | of every location | should go through an en: ge: o: or  
389 charity organization | or the cambodian red cross  
390 R: hm | <<asking> to have an overview or kind of supervision>  
391 B: supervision | yes  
392 R: so | you are getting obviously a lot in contact with cambodia's past  
393 | <<asking> do you personally think much about your past | or are  
394 you inflicted with cambodia's past personally>  
395 B: <<asking> my personal past>  
396 R: <<asking> if your family has been afflicted> | I don't know if it's  
397 the right word  
398 B: a victim  
399 R: yes | <<asking> or if you have personal contact with the past>  
400 B: hm | erm personal contact | erm I have | my extended family members  
401 died or killed under the khmer rouge | but in terms of my extended  
402 family | my mother father and my siblings | and then my uncle and my  
403 grandmother and my family | my extended family | we were lucky | not  
404 that many people died and suffered as such as some other families |

405 some family lost the whole family or lost eighty to ninety percent  
406 of the members

407 R: hm

408 B: erm | and also my | under the khmer rouge my parents | escaped to  
409 vietnam | the khmer rouge tried to arrest my father in prison and  
410 kill him | because he did business | erm he was a business man

411 R: so he escaped to vietnam | along with the | you know | a convoy of  
412 vietnamese troops | which returned to vietnam | then he lived the  
413 entire khmer rouge time in vietnam | in nineteen hundred and seventy  
414 nine he returned | so he worked there with my | my mother as  
415 labourer | but I believe that life as a labour in vietnam | live in  
416 Vietnam is was much better than people in Cambodia | under the khmer  
417 rouge

418 R: hm

419 B: but talking about that | I | as de: ce: cam: staff | we met a lot of  
420 victims | with survivors | hearing their story | how they suffer |  
421 study how the khmer rouge operate | you know how the khmer rouge  
422 kill people | put down cadres | you know | understanding all the  
423 history give me a lot personal interest

424 R: [contact ]

425 B: [yes contact] with the past

426 R: <<asking> do you think it's also important for the people to talk  
427 about | what happened | and [it's necessary ]>

428 B: [absolutely it's necessary] for them to  
429 study and learn clearly about what happened | that's why we do  
430 genocide education

431 R: yes | of course ((laughing))

432 B: yes that is very important for them to understand | but I don't have  
433 any | erm my family members were not killed | you know my immediate  
434 family | but still I don't like the khmer rouge leaders | I express  
435 my hatred to them more than other people

436 R: hm

437 B: you know | as a leader they failed in everything | that I as a  
438 researcher | I try to analyze them | try to be as neutral as  
439 possible | my family was not killed | so I did not suffer that much  
440 you know | I don't know much about them | so I am in the best  
441 neutral position to analyze them from any angle

442 R: yes | [you can be neutral ]

443 B: [yes | some people say] that | oh the khmer rouge is great erm  
444 | especially people in | erm samlout | from former khmer rouge  
445 stronghold too | they say that you know | they support the khmer

446           rouge until now | they still have a posture of the khmer rouge |  
447           they say that people in the country just talk about bad things and  
448           never talk about good | but then | what are the good things I asked  
449           them | they said building a lake | reservoir | what a reservoir  
450           around country | for example a reservoir in (xxx xxx) district | we  
451           call | it's a big reservoir | and there are thousands of thousands  
452           of people | we will distribute books to that place next week | erm |  
453           a lot of people died there | but it's now remain | it's about four  
454           to six kilometre wide

455       R:    hm

456       B:    the reservoir | and the dyke is about ten metre high | the water is  
457           now being used for the surrounding fields | and so they point out  
458           that this is the result of the khmer rouge | no one else would have  
459           done anything like that | but I am telling them | but how much cost  
460           did you put in there | it's a big achievement | a lot of people died  
461           | you used thousand and thousands of labourer doing this small thing  
462           | and now you use twenty escalator and some machines and you can  
463           built it within few month

464       R:    hm

465       B:    haha ((laughter)) you built it during the entire time long | khmer  
466           rouge leader go there and visited | you know | khieu samphan visited  
467           there | from time to time | because he write a pe: h: de: on rural  
468           development you know | agriculture and development | irrigation and  
469           development | so I tell them that much effort just for that little  
470           reservoir | you think it's a big achievement | but it's not | not at  
471           all | not compared to the costs

472       R:    hm

473       B:    so its erm | so they did nothing ((laughter))

474       R:    <<asking> and there are still adherents | and they still like the  
475           khmer rouge | also there>

476       B:    yes

477       R:    that's strange

478       B:    yes they are still | they still support | they still feel positive  
479           about them | about the khmer rouge leader

480       R:    hm

481       B:    pol pot's daughter is still living

482       R:    <<requesting> pol pot's daughter>

483       B:    yes | pol pot's daughter

484       R:    hm

485       B:    yes | but she has nothing to do with her father

486       R:    hm

487 B: but she lives with she | pol pot has two wives | the first one is  
488 khieu ponnary | who is the older sister of ieng thirtieth | ieng  
489 thirith is now at the e: ce: ce: ce:  
490 R: hm  
491 B: she is being in prison at e: ce: ce: ce:  
492 R: I saw a picture over there  
493 B: yes yes yes | erm | but khieu ponnary had some mental problems and  
494 she died long before pol pot | so pol pot had not any kid with her |  
495 so he married a new women | a younger woman | erm she was | I heard  
496 that she was a housemaid in pol pot's home | and erm | but I heard  
497 they had a daughter together | but when pol pot died he asked his |  
498 I think his assistant | who is now the governor of malai district |  
499 and then to take care about his wife | they married and they get  
500 another daughter together | and pol pot's daughter | I thought she  
501 lives in phnom penh | she lives in the same house  
502 R: hm  
503 B: and yes so | there are a lot of support in malai for | they are  
504 still | you know | talk positive | when we teach de: ka: history |  
505 khmer rouge history | to that people into that place | not many  
506 people are interested | the teacher told us that erm | when we  
507 distribute this book to the place | nobody will come to the district  
508 office to pick the book | and take to the school | nobody will come  
509 by themselves | spending money you know  
510 R: hm  
511 B: do not travel some distance to collect this book that we distribute  
512 R: okay  
513 B: we put it in the major school and major places | and the teacher  
514 will come and then take the book | but nobody would do it there | I  
515 think they think we are little bios ((laughter))  
516 R: okay  
517 B: and erm also in in | in malai | it's located on the thai border |  
518 there are many people who used to live in takeo | you know takeo was  
519 under | takeo province over there  
520 R: hm  
521 B: was under the khmer rouge control | long before many other provinces  
522 | so when the khmer rouge escaped to the border | they went with  
523 them | lived with them in the eighties and nineties | and now they  
524 don't want to return to their home town  
525 R: hm  
526 B: you know | it make me feel like okay the liars | they were  
527 indoctrinated so much | and all they see | their world view is

528 confined to how the khmer rouge see the world should be | anything  
529 like that | and they don't think they can | they can mix with the  
530 local population | that's what I feel | don't [have much evidence ]  
531 R: [they want to stay by]  
532 themselves  
533 B: by themselves | as well | and also the economic reasons too | after  
534 such a long time they might not have any single left back in the  
535 town  
536 R: hm  
537 B: but I also feel that their world view is literally different | so  
538 yes  
539 R: hm so it just does not fit's together  
540 B: that's what I think they are thinking ((laughter))  
541 R: <<asking> are they dangerous>  
542 B: <<requesting> sorry>  
543 R: <<asking> are they still dangerous | no | they are not dangerous  
544 anymore | are they >  
545 B: they are not dangerous anymore | no | nobody is hurting them | deep  
546 in the country | phnom penh | they do not go there and criticize or  
547 hurt them anything | so they are not dangerous  
548 R: because I read that some people in some provinces are afraid of a  
549 comeback by the khmer rouge | <<asking> is that true>  
550 B: <<requesting> a return by the khmer rouge>  
551 R: hm  
552 B: yes yes that's true | although I don't think that will happen | but  
553 for the victims | for the survivor | they erm | in khmer we call  
554 baksbat | khmer word baksbat | so when you get hurt or traumatized  
555 so much | the moment for example you get hit by a car | when you  
556 cross the street | and it hits so bad | so next time | or maybe at  
557 the time ten years later | you are still afraid of crossing the  
558 street  
559 R: hm  
560 B: that's called baksbat | just the moment you saw street | you shake  
561 R: okay  
562 B: [so cambodian people feel the same way]  
563 R: [<<asking> can you maybe write down ] that word for me>  
564 B: <<asking> in khmer>  
565 R: in english letters please | unfortunately | I would love to speak  
566 and read khmer  
567 B: baksbat | mean having so much fear | about something you used to  
568 cause you so much pain | so much hurt

569 R: hm  
570 B: erm | so that's why they feel | although we have concrete evidence  
571 and we understand the erm | the cold war environment | and supporter  
572 of the khmer rouge lead to all these kind of things| and those kind  
573 of condition does not exist today | erm | the local people still  
574 feel you know | still afraid of the khmer rouge | it might come some  
575 day | you know even | even talking about it for some people | they  
576 still feel you know | fear that somebody might come to my house  
577 R: they don't want to tell| because of fear  
578 B: some people still yes | erm | so when hun sen said that we should  
579 prosecute more people at the e: ce: ce: ce: | more khmer rouge  
580 leaders | we might have civil war | he might | hun sen said he might  
581 have a lot of | a lot of reverberations | you know | among the  
582 villagers  
583 R: hm  
584 B: among those who fear | although we see you know clearly | how could  
585 the khmer rouge come back | maybe if thailand supports the khmer  
586 rouge | there would be a big possibility ((ironically laughter)) |  
587 we would fighting with them | it could be | is hard | is still hard  
588 R: okay | <<asking> but you think | they are afraid but you think it is  
589 not possible>  
590 B: not possible | for me | not possible | is no more ideology to go |  
591 to do again you know | to support  
592 R: so | <<asking> do you think erm | that the people | the victims and  
593 the perpetrators | do they have arguments or do they have problems  
594 with each other if they just live side by side>  
595 B: for some villages they live together | in others they live side by  
596 side | they live in a different village | erm they have to confront  
597 to each other you know | and most of the result is | erm | a  
598 confrontation between victim and perpetrators | now is not talking  
599 to each other that much | maybe cases | erm if they talk or if they  
600 live in the same village | there will be time when other villagers  
601 have ceremony | or event at the pagoda | you know communal pagoda |  
602 they would meet | but they will maybe talk two or three words | and  
603 don't talk to each other  
604 R: [they are just polite]  
605 B: [too much pain yes ] | they just being polite | we | actually we  
606 now making a film called forgiving and reconciliation in cambodia |  
607 we start the village | a guy who just kill two men | erm | one man  
608 was a brother of a female survivor | one men was a father and  
609 husband of | of | of the girl who are living in the same village

610 R: hm  
611 B: so the guy killed those two people | and we interviewed the  
612 perspectives of the three parties  
613 R: hm  
614 B: and erm | what they take so that their life can move on | their  
615 world view about that is | that they are not talking | erm | of the  
616 victims perspective | they don't want to talk to the guy | erm |  
617 they allow the guy to live and do not want to take revenge | because  
618 they can take revenge | they over treated as weak and old now | and  
619 they have | and the victim has male members in the family who are  
620 strong | who can do anything any time  
621 R: hm  
622 B: but the whom one said | you know let him live | and let him take him  
623 care of his wife and his kid  
624 R: hm  
625 B: it sounds very reasonable | because the whom one who are surviving |  
626 lost the husband | so they know the pain of caring | taking care  
627 about everything by themselves  
628 R: hm  
629 B: they don't want to put pain on his innocent wife | of the  
630 perpetrator  
631 R: and the children  
632 B: and also they believe in buddhism | and thing like that | maybe in  
633 karma the perpetrator is now suffering from a lot of things | is  
634 weak | is old and you know | not popular in the village | so you  
635 know this believe | he is suffering from his karma  
636 R: okay  
637 B: and they don't talk that much | they don't talk to each other |  
638 that's how they deal with you know | the situation in the village |  
639 one specific case  
640 R: hm | but there are also the children | I read about the children and  
641 that they do not believe | so | <<asking> the older people don't  
642 talk with each other | but the children don't know about what  
643 happened>  
644 B: erm | this is | the report I believe is a little bit overemphasizing  
645 in generalizing what the children don't believe and believe some  
646 children | when you talk | you tell them there are people killed |  
647 or how the khmer rouge did their work | and how you know | hurt the  
648 people | erm | you don't have evidence and you speak too in a  
649 superstitious way | they would not believe it | because they believe  
650 | the children believe | the next generation | they go to school and

651           they study | and they want to know on themselves | to be less  
652           superstitious and | and more scientific | they want to show their  
653           knowledge  
654       R:    hm  
655       B:    erm | they are more advanced than their parents | which makes their  
656           parents happy | their parents are undereducated | so what their  
657           children try to improve | try to impress the parents | is through  
658           bring back scientific knowledge | and non superstitious belief | so  
659           for example | if the parents say you know | if you eat | if you  
660           don't eat the rice erm | the khmer rouge come in and take your liver  
661           | open the stomach | they have blood | dark red eye | they eat a lot  
662           of human liver | you know they just attack you know  
663       R:    hm  
664       B:    and just kill people that way you know for the | if they talk about  
665           that the parents are not very educated too | the children would very  
666           question this older time  
667       R:    hm  
668       B:    but you can see the evidence | that there are mass graves and bones  
669           and security centre-es | and a lot of people talk about khmer rouge  
670           origin | in school and outside | even in kandal | they believe that  
671           it happened | they know it | and they see evidence of skulls and  
672           bones all over the country | so erm | the student would know that  
673           something happened | but not in what way | to which extend and how  
674           dramatic | or how unbelievable | you know | it happened | they do  
675           not know the extend | but the way their parents tell them is a bit |  
676           not logical | it doesn't fit together  
677       R:    hm  
678       B:    in that son | they don't believe | but they believe that it happened  
679           | yes killing | a lot of killing | so what I am telling | what I am  
680           saying is | that some survey from the kind of result | so telling  
681           them that erm | there are so much evidence all around the village  
682           that erm | that the khmer rouge let a lot of people die | and that  
683           the khmer rouge and that genocide in region happened | and that the  
684           children cannot find a conclusion or believe that has to be visually  
685           done | that kid you know  
686       R:    hm  
687       B:    but as a I met the kid | they are smart | the children they are  
688           smart | they just don't want to | erm you know | erm to be lie upon  
689           by the parents | about all something on that logic  
690       R:    hm

691 B: yes | that's how I think it should fit our overall report  
692 ((laughter))  
693 R: erm | <<questioning> do you think that the tourists know about all  
694 that> | probably the most of the tourists | I had so far the  
695 impression | like me | when I was here last time | you come here for  
696 a few days and you visit the main sites | like when you are on a  
697 holiday | and then you leave again | <<asking> so do you think they  
698 know about>  
699 B: <<asking> from that short time>  
700 R: I don't know how to erm | <<asking> do the phnom penh tourists know  
701 about the sites | are they informed about the circumstances | about  
702 impunity in Cambodia and such things | or do they visit the sites  
703 randomly to the sites they are told to visit | what do you think>  
704 B: <<requesting> what I think>  
705 R: yes | just your personal impression  
706 B: I think some of them know quite in depth about cambodian impunity  
707 situation | corruption | the khmer history | the e: ce: ce: ce;  
708 trial = you know  
709 R: hm  
710 B: erm | some people know | and some might be more like | okay this  
711 country has genocide | this country has angkor wat | erm | they  
712 might not know about the khmer rouge tribunal | they might not know  
713 so much about it = you know  
714 R: hm  
715 B: I have a researcher | study angkor wat | who don't know that the e:  
716 ce: ce: ce: exist  
717 R: <<asking> really>  
718 B: yes ((laughing)) | he was from germany too | but I talked about the  
719 e: ce: ce: ce: | he was asking about what it is = know ((laughing))  
720 R: it's great  
721 B: yes | until I tell him we work with e: ce: ce: ce: | we have a lot  
722 of documents | so he start to think about how much he can have | and  
723 he only have one or two more days left | he did not read that much |  
724 and he spent much of his time in siem reap | interview people  
725 R: of course | when he is writing about angkor wat  
726 B: but a chapter of his study is how the khmer rouge | why the khmer  
727 rouge kept angor wat and things like that | interviewed people there  
728 R: aha interesting  
729 B: ((laughing)) but you know | towards your question | whether tourists  
730 know anything like that | I am not so sure | but  
731 R: probably [not ]

732 B: [Prob]ably half and have = right  
733 R: yes  
734 B: some people come in and | they saw they were carry thick big books  
735 with them | about khmer | cambodian history | or cambodian genocide  
736 | they read an account about all the time  
737 R: hm  
738 B: so I think they know more  
739 R: maybe more the older tourists | so that their | I saw last time when  
740 I was here | I went to the national museum | and there have been a  
741 lot of tourists in the age of forty fifty years old | and they had  
742 special guides in the museum and so on | so maybe they know more |  
743 maybe backpacker tends to do not know so much like cultural  
744 interested tourists | but that's just my impression | <<asking> and  
745 I wanted to know what you think about that>  
746 B: hm  
747 R: I don't know  
748 B: I think | erm | the number of tourists at tuol sleng is quite high  
749 R: hm  
750 B: erm | there are coming quite a lot | so erm | a good number  
751 R: so there is a | they want | <<asking> there is the demand to know  
752 [more ]>  
753 B: [to know more]  
754 R: so if you come | and you read about | there is a museum | tuol sleng  
755 | and you don't know about and what it is | then it's even mo  
756 B: it doesn't mean it has so much meaning for your visit  
757 R: but if you going there | and you read about what happened | you know  
758 it's very  
759 B: hm  
760 R: educative  
761 B: yes  
762 R: in a much more important way maybe | because you didn't know  
763 B: yes  
764 R: and com[ing there ]  
765 B: [coming there]  
766 R: and you don't [know what it is ]  
767 B: [don't know what it is] | what's implication and what  
768 significant place it is | so the trip is useless ((laughing))  
769 R: I don't know | I knew about the history when I came here the first  
770 time | so I was informed before  
771 B: Ohhaa ((laughing))

772 B: yes | for some people they don't know what they see | and they don't  
773 try to find about afterwards | off the site | so it's not important  
774 | the visit not become important for some people who do not know |  
775 but that they are very sensitive about the things when they see it |  
776 they look more immediately  
777 R: afterwards maybe  
778 B: afterwards at least  
779 R: so the final question | <<asking> do you think that the whole  
780 endeavour is immoral | of the government to develop anlong veng | is  
781 it immoral>  
782 B: <<requesting> to develop anlong veng immoral> | I think it depends  
783 on how they convey the message | and should manage the profit of the  
784 development | so if it go | probably understanding the genocide |  
785 erm in terms of bringing visitor there | and then use the profits to  
786 support school | support publication | support the construction and  
787 preservation of other location | that is good  
788 R: hm  
789 B: but erm | if for example | okay you develop anlong veng | erm | you  
790 put an auction | auction | you know people propose different price  
791 for managing and pay yearly to the government | and the government  
792 get the money | and you don't say clearly how you use this money |  
793 and you don't put good condition for the company to manage | you  
794 know | just you know let them do what they want | that is really  
795 immoral  
796 R: hm  
797 B: when you making profit | or you on the | on the soul of those who  
798 died | died under the khmer rouge | it's highly immoral | that's a  
799 very sensitive | are to talk about | you know anlong veng and  
800 genocide site is very sensitive  
801 R: hm | if they do it improperly it will be conflicting | erm | I mean  
802 that some people will feel | erm feel uncomfortable  
803 R: hm  
804 B: immediately | you know | manage it  
805 R: yes | I understand  
806 B: but erm | I support development there | a proper one  
807 R: but a development | sustain[able development ]  
808 B: [yeah sustainable de]velopment  
809 R: they always say remote area | and far away | and rural | and they  
810 have no | not so much  
811 B: now what I am thinking about cambodia today is | that Cambodia is  
812 quite a small country

813 R: hm  
814 B: from north to south it's about four hundred kilometre | from east to  
815 west about five hundred | erm | the road have being built everywhere  
816 | more road are smooth | so erm | it give more significance | erm |  
817 it open up more places  
818 R: hm  
819 B: that erm | people can go to | and so | the target is not only to  
820 develop one specific site | you can do that as an example | as a  
821 pilot project | but then in the future | it could be that | you  
822 cannot bring the tourists destination | visiting various location  
823 around the country | because the road is good | you can do that in a  
824 shorter time span than today  
825 R: hm  
826 B: yes | it's quite reachable  
827 R: it's just two and a half hour from siem reap  
828 B: ((laughing)) right  
829 R: so | <<asking> do you have any questions left or do you want to add  
830 something maybe>  
831 B: <<asking> something>  
832 R: what you think it's important  
833 B: <<asking> important>  
834 R: for me to know | <<asking> or do you have any suggestions> | I don't  
835 want to | erm  
836 B: yes | my major concern is that dark tourism | that is a conflicting  
837 genocide | the business making  
838 R: <<requesting> so you are concerned about the way it is getting  
839 established>  
840 B: yes | the way it is getting established | and the other thing is |  
841 you can bring people to visit to many other locations and other  
842 sites | little bit more historical research about the particular  
843 sites | and then you know | tell people about each places | so that  
844 what they get out of this visit is not | is that that genocide  
845 doesn't happen only on one specific place | it is tuol sleng  
846 multiplied by twenty or thirty | there are many other location  
847 around the country  
848 R: hm  
849 B: so they get a bigger view  
850 R: hm  
851 B: that's what I  
852 R: I don't know | if you now mr. wood | it's a guy | he wrote about  
853 along veng and the developments there | and he was writing about

854 the operators in anlong veng | and that they are getting taught by  
855 documentation center of cambodia as well  
856 B: <<requesting> get taught>  
857 R: the kind of the story they should tell the people | that is kind of  
858 overlooked by de: ce: cam: | <<asking> is that true>  
859 B: <<requesting> overlooked what kind of story>  
860 R: so that you give them | or some kind of institution gives them | for  
861 example a history | a history they should tell people | and not  
862 their pol pot was a great guy story  
863 B: oh to khmer rouge cadre  
864 R: yes in anlong veng | the operators | the guides for the tourists  
865 B: oh okay  
866 R: <<asking> what kind of story they tell> | so I read that the  
867 ministry of education and de: ce: cam: have to tell them what they  
868 should tell the tourists  
869 B: tell the tourists  
870 R: <<asking> do you know about that>  
871 B: not really | we never had a formal | or program with the ministry of  
872 tourism to convey a specific message to the guy | the tour guy | and  
873 you know | and tell them that they should tell them this particular  
874 history to the tourists | not really  
875 R: not really  
876 B: maybe we met a few people and tell them | you know | okay this is  
877 what we say | is not entirely correct | this is a general thing that  
878 happened under the khmer rouge = you know  
879 R: hm  
880 B: ((showing the history book of de: ce: cam:)) how the prison was  
881 organized | yeah | four year plan | how people got put in  
882 cooperatives | you know | how the khmer rouge created and thing like  
883 that | and to rally correct some of their understanding | but it  
884 depends on their personal experience and they tell what they want  
885 R: hm  
886 B: I mean nobody know more than you about your personal experience |  
887 ((laughter)) | it's personal | its personal construction by yourself  
888 | but if you talk about an overall history | if you don't have  
889 evidence | or something that clears non logical | you should follow  
890 this | is much better  
891 R: yes  
892 B: because some people have something | they feel they saw something |  
893 but it's a bit in pieces  
894 R: hm

895 B: it has been never put together like that  
896 R: so | <<requesting> the operators don't know the guides story | or  
897 they are not aware that they have gaps>  
898 B: yes that they have gaps  
899 R: and there is the possibility | that they just tell stuff from | you  
900 told like in the other province | like | I just read about that they  
901 tell the people that ta mok was good because he made this lake |  
902 built a school and a hospital and that | because of that it's  
903 controversial  
904 B: <<requesting> what I said>  
905 R: no | the tours themselves  
906 B: I don't think it's just a personal view | he can say that | when he  
907 thinks he does not be afraid of cambodian local tourist | to be  
908 challenged by them | he can go ahead | but if he would tell me | I  
909 might try to challenge him | you know | about all the thins  
910 R: hm  
911 B: you know  
912 R: yes | and tell him your point of view  
913 B: personally | he can do that  
914 R: so that s okay | that's just the way it is  
915 B: yes that's the way

### **C 3: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Cham**

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Thursday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 2010  
**Time:** 04.00 pm  
**Duration:** 00.43.54 h  
**Name of interviewer:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Transcribers name:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Language:** English

#### **Situation:**

One week in advance appointed semi structured expert interview, taking place in the public room of the documentation centre of Cambodia in Bueng Keng Kang, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The public room is an information centre for researchers and private visitors, who are interested in the history of Democratic Kampuchea and the Genocide in Cambodia.

#### **Role of the participants:**

The interviewee, Mr. Cham, works in the education project of the documentation centre of Cambodia, which constitutes the leading organisation in documenting the crimes of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. The interviewer is a master student in of global studies, conducting the interview for her master thesis.

#### **Characteristics of the speaker:**

Mr. Cham is estimated to be around thirty years old. He is Cambodian and did his master's degree in Global Affairs at the US American Rutgers University, as well as he hold fellowships at Concordia University, Canada, and at the US Holocaust Memorial and Museum in Washington. Within the education project, he edited the most recent and single existent comprehensive textbook about the history of Democratic Kampuchea in Khmer language. The book got published in 2007 and one million copies are being currently distributed throughout the country complimentary. Mr. Cham spoke very fast.

#### **Other information:**

Mr. Cham was very busy, because he just came back from a workshop. He is very much engaged in the coordination of the education workshops for the respective teachers in the districts concerned and shows himself very enthusiastic about the prospective success of the education project. He was also very interested in the present research. Though, in answering the

questions of the researcher, he was very much focused on his book, so that the interviewer had to direct the conversation from time to time back to the actual topic.

**Characterization of the progress of conversation:**

Mr. Cham was very interested in the interviewer's questions and eager to answer them sufficiently.

**Processing stage:** The transcript is held fractional

1 R: <<asking> could you tell me a bit about your background and your  
2 work here>

3 C: oh | yes | I was born in (xxx xxx) province | in the north eastern  
4 part of cambodia | about three hundred and forty kilometres from  
5 phnom penh | so I graduated from high school in nineteen ninety nine  
6 | and I continued my college | erm in phnom penh in nineteen ninety  
7 nine

8 R: hm

9 C: when I finished my first college | erm in two thousand three | I  
10 volunteered at the documentation center of cambodia | de: ce: cam:  
11 here | erm which I was latest possible for the documentation project

12 R: hm

13 C: I work on cataloguing and categorizing the original khmer rouge  
14 document | erm collected | erm from various sources | from tuol  
15 sleng genocide museum | from national library | from national  
16 archive of cambodia | from the ministry of interior | erm so I have  
17 gone through a number of original khmer rouge documents

18 R: hm

19 C: which developed my interest in the khmer rouge history | that's how  
20 I was also selected to work on the newly established genocide  
21 education project | in erm | september two thousand four

22 R: hm

23 C: and my responsibility at that time was to coordinate the data | the  
24 project (xxx) | and to write the textbook | a history of democratic  
25 kampuchea

26 R: I had the chance to read a bit in it

27 C: that's great

28 R: so erm | <<asking> why do you think it's so important to have this  
29 history book> | from your point of view

30 C: erm | it has been almost thirty years | erm at the time that we  
31 established the project | the cambodian young generation | erm | did  
32 not have access to the | erm | actually part of the khmer rouge  
33 history | usually khmer rouge history is part of the pe: ar: k:  
34 propaganda | and is part of state policies | erm that the | the  
35 cambodian leaders use erm | to serve their policies | to se-erve  
36 their purposes

37 R: hm

38 C: so cambodian young generation does not have | erm access to the  
39 actual history of the khmer rouge

40 R: hm

41 C: erm | so we looked at the khmer rouge history published by the  
42 government | and it erm | it is pretty short | which was published  
43 in two thousand one | and put in the official curriculum  
44 R: hm  
45 C: but the text is pretty short | like grade nine | it is only five  
46 pages | for | sorry five lines | for grade nine students | and only  
47 two to three pages for grade twelve students | so they | the  
48 complete young generation | I then I believe | almost learned  
49 nothing from this five lines and this three pages  
50 R. hm  
51 C: about what happened to their parents | what happened to their grand  
52 parents  
53 R: hm  
54 C: so it is important that the young generation learn the | the whole  
55 picture of khmer rouge history | so that they can f-find a  
56 foundation to prevent future genocide | the possibility of future  
57 genocide | either in cambodia or elsewhere | erm in the world  
58 R: hm  
59 C: and also to contribute to the national reconciliation  
60 R: hm  
61 C: because victims and perpetrators can not reconcile the (victims) |  
62 cambodia is a damaged country | so in order for victims and  
63 perpetrators to reconcile | we need channels | for them to reconcile  
64 | and the good channel is the student  
65 R: <<requesting> you need what>  
66 C: a channel  
67 R: a channel  
68 C: a sort of a bridge | you know  
69 R: yes  
70 C. to link the two together  
71 R: yes  
72 C: so a good channel is student  
73 R: aha  
74 C: is the own children | and they themselves have the responsibility to  
75 produce that good channel | by talking | by telling the story of  
76 their own | their story about the khmer rouge to their children |  
77 and their children will tell the story to the class in the classroom  
78 R: hm  
79 C: so that empowers the children of victims and perpetrators | to  
80 discuss in class their parents experiences | and find common grounds

81 to step on and work together | for about the future | so this is  
82 what we believe is important for genocide education in cambodia  
83 R: hm (-)| so erm connected to this | <<asking> what do you think about  
84 the rising tourists presence in this | connected for example to tuol  
85 sleng and choeung ek | what do you think about the rising interest  
86 of tourists to this genocide related places>  
87 C: <<requesting> you mean how this tourist places contribute to  
88 genocide education>  
89 R: could be yes | for example too  
90 C: erm | you know for genocide education | there are many elements that  
91 can contribute to the education about khmer rouge history | erm oeng  
92 ek and tuel sleng are two important historical sites for children |  
93 to learn directly | so when erm | either children or the general  
94 public | when they see the sites | they VISUALLY see what happened  
95 to the prisoner | and what torture tools the khmer rouge used | erm  
96 to torture and generate confession from the prisoners  
97 R: hm  
98 C: so this two sites are the important | we call fiscal deep evidence |  
99 showing the general public and the younger generation | erm what  
100 happened during the khmer rouge  
101 R: <<asking> and do you know how far cambodians are using this sites>  
102 C: erm they didn't use it immediately after the collapse of the khmer  
103 rouge R: hm  
104 C: the cambodian government | the succeeding government of the khmer  
105 rouge | the vietnamese installed government | peoples republic of  
106 kampuchea | converted tuol sleng and choeung ek into the tourist  
107 sites | erm what they call the genocide | erm the tuol sleng  
108 genocide museum | erm assisted by vietnam | so they used it as | erm  
109 for both | for tourists and for propaganda  
110 R: hm  
111 C: both you know | for education and propaganda | but their main  
112 purpose was political propaganda  
113 R: hm  
114 C: not for education | but it somehow | it contributes to the education  
115 in cambodia  
116 R: hm | <<asking> so cambodians are going to tuol sleng and choeung ek  
117 | not just international tourists>  
118 C: erm | most tourists are foreigners | erm cambodians go to tuol sleng  
119 only on special events  
120 R: hm

121 C: but not on the daily basis | of for example | de: ce: cam: brought  
122 five hundred villagers or thousands of students to visit tuol sleng  
123 R: hm  
124 C: erm for example | on human day or may twentieth | erm which the  
125 cambodian government calls anger day  
126 R: hm  
127 C: the day of anger  
128 R: hm  
129 C: erm cambodian visit this kind of places | but erm normally | in the  
130 daily basis | not many [people ]  
131 R: <<asking> [they don't] go there to remember or to  
132 commemorate>  
133 C: erm | not many people go to tuol sleng and choeung ek | only a few  
134 cambodian | you know | they go to this kind of places | erm (.) | I  
135 don't think they don't want to remember | or they don't want to  
136 commemorate to the death of cambodian people during the khmer rouge  
137 R: hm  
138 C: but just | you know it have been thirty years | erm | the history  
139 has been politically manipulated | erm | so people seem to TAKE  
140 their suffering for granted  
141 R: hm  
142 C: erm | because our combination with low education | and there is no  
143 incentive for them to go to | this kind of places  
144 R: hm  
145 C: erm you know | cambodia after the khmer rouge regime | they were  
146 thinking of how to survive tomorrow | how to survive longer  
147 R: hm  
148 C: so erm | talking about the old suffering | going to tuol sleng and  
149 choeung ek | for the sake of remembrance | that is not their first  
150 priority  
151 R: okay erm | <<asking> did you have any significant experiences with  
152 tourists> | your personal opinion | << asking> do you like the  
153 tourists presence in cambodia> | <<asking> do you think it's a good  
154 that they are there or is it kind of contra productive>  
155 C: erm tourists | tourists is a | what are this sources | erm for many  
156 countries | erm for economic development | but part of the tourists  
157 | tourism | is that erm | they can bring what they have learned |  
158 erm | in the several countries | or in the post conflict countries |  
159 and share it with the | erm their people | their families outside  
160 cambodia | so erm | it's a good sign that so many people come to  
161 tuol sleng and choeung ek | to learn what happened to cambodia

162 R: hm

163 C: and that's how we can teach what happened to cambodia to their  
164 children | to their relatives and their friends | and outside  
165 cambodia

166 R: okay | so now about anlong veng | <<asking> what kind of stories did  
167 you hear since nineteen ninety eight | or what kind of stories reach  
168 phnom penh for example | about anlong veng>

169 C: erm | anlong veng is one of the former khmer rouge stronghold | erm  
170 and the two leaders | khieu samphon and nuon chea | defected to the  
171 current government in nineteen ninety eight | so after the death of  
172 pol pot anlong veng became one of the tourist sites | for both |  
173 foreigner and cambodians | a lot of cambodian people | you know they  
174 pray at pol pot's tomb | for number | lottery number | you know for  
175 good health | for happiness in the future

176 R: <<asking> isn't that crazy>

177 C: erm | that | you know | erm traditionally | cambodian belief in some  
178 kind of superstition | it look crazy | erm but it's not crazy | it's  
179 a kind of believe that many people have had for many centuries | I  
180 will give you one example | erm | in battambang province | I don't  
181 know if you have been there

182 R: not yet

183 C: it is the southeast part of the country | erm there is one | erm (.)  
184 | delivered tale | erm a folk tale | erm but now they built a bridge  
185 | that you offer black sting | erm what we call neak ta | it is like  
186 a magic person | you know who is magical

187 R: hm

188 C: who has powers | erm to give you happiness or to give you harm

189 R: hm

190 C: so he was a simple man | but erm | he accidently got a black stick |  
191 and he became powerful | and defeated the king | and he himself  
192 became the king

193 R: okay

194 C: erm | I don't know in the twelfth century | or the tenth century for  
195 example | I don't know | so erm | but later on he was defeated by  
196 the son of the former king

197 R: hm

198 C: and then erm | he became the national traitor | but later on people  
199 | erm you know | take him as the powerful erm person | and is that  
200 true | they pray until now

201 R: okay

202 C: so right now he is still a powerful spirit | for the people

203 R: hm  
204 C: and it's the same thing with pol pot | pol pot committed a lots of  
205 crimes in cambodia | he lead a convey which literally killing in the  
206 death of millions of people | but after his death he became the  
207 magical powerful spirit | for the peoples | like the black stick |  
208 like the black stick king  
209 R: <<requesting> the black stick king>  
210 C: yes | they call him black stick neak ta | in khmer we call dambang  
211 kra nhong | so dambang kra nhong is the black stick ((writes it  
212 down))  
213 (--)  
214 R: hm  
215 C: neak ta is like a grandfather | neak ta is like a grandfather who  
216 died | but his spirit is still powerful  
217 R: hm  
218 C: [yes yes]  
219 R: [okay ]  
220 C: so they | they worship him until now  
221 R: okay  
222 C: it has been more than ten centuries | but they are still worshipping  
223 | even he | he made a coup against the king  
224 R: hm  
225 C: and put himself as a king | in cambodia | like pol pot  
226 R: <<asking> and this means this> ((for clarification about the khmer  
227 expression dambang kra nhong))  
228 C: yes | this means this yes  
229 R: yes | that's an explanation | haha | because I was reading about  
230 that | that people are going there with lottery numbers | and I was  
231 just | it was incredible for me  
232 C: hm  
233 R: <<asking> are you talking much with others about developments in  
234 anlong veng> | <<asking> so is it a topic people are talking about>  
235 | like you  
236 C: I don't know for sure | erm | I haven't got discussed this much  
237 during genocide education training | when I spent with the students  
238 | usually I discuss the content of the text books | with the  
239 students and the teachers  
240 R: hm  
241 C: I just been back from (prey veng) | which we conducted the community  
242 teacher trainings | for erm three hundred and thirty one teachers |  
243 history teachers | in erm | four provinces |

244 R: hm

245 C: so we conducted the second round of community teacher training in |  
246 erm three sites | with participants from four provinces

247 R: hm okay

248 C: and that's what we discuss | the content of the textbooks

249 R: <<asking> and here in phnom penh | with your family and friends | it  
250 is not a topic of discussion | so you are not that much interested  
251 what is going on in anlong veng>

252 C: erm | <<requesting> you mean anlong veng>

253 R: mh

254 C: erm | I haven't discussed much about this | I read the news about |  
255 about what happened in anlong veng | but it is not erm | it is a  
256 good topic that | where people can learn | but we haven't discussed  
257 it much about anlong veng

258 R: hm

259 C: we just really discuss the life of the people during the khmer rouge  
260 | and the khmer rouge ideologies and policies | which lead to the  
261 death of close to three million people

262 R: yes | erm | <<asking> what do you personally think about the  
263 decision to develop anlong veng as a tourist destination | by the  
264 government>

265 C: erm you know | every killing site | erm erm | can be converted into  
266 erm memorials | erm for (.) the people to remember | these are good  
267 historical place | historical sites | for the people and for the  
268 young generation | to learn what happened during the khmer rouge |  
269 and erm a lot of memorial | not only in anlong veng | a lot of  
270 memorial and historical sites erm | dedicated to the khmer rouge  
271 regime | erm has been in cambodia for thirty years

272 R: hm

273 C: I just back from erm | what are the killing field in kandal province  
274 | erm the people collect the money and built a stupa | erm | to  
275 preserve the skulls and the remains of the death | the people during  
276 the khmer rouge | so this kind of erm | you know | historical site |  
277 those not really tourist sites has been built throughout cambodia |  
278 for more than thirty years | so anlong veng is the later site |  
279 tourist sites | comparing to other like the | the dam | in bantey  
280 manchey province | the first sanctuary dam in kampong thom province  
281 | also a tourist sites

282 R: hm

283 C: tuol sleng genocide museum and choeung ek has been converted | erm  
284 into a tourist site | long times ago | you know

285 R: hm

286 C: thirty years ago | anlong veng is the later tourist site | dedicated  
287 to the khmer rouge

288 R: okay | so erm | my next question would have been | how you would  
289 explain why two thousand cambodians are visiting anlong veng |  
290 because of the grave of pol pot | but you actually you said already  
291 that they believe he is kind of mystic and magic | <<asking> are  
292 there any further explanations of this interests>

293 C: <<requesting> you now mean explain to the tourist>

294 R: no why cambodians are going there | because per month | there are  
295 two thousand cambodians going there

296 C: hm

297 R: so I am wondering why | <<asking> is it just because of the mystic  
298 of the grave | like you said before>

299 C: erm | <<requesting> why thousand of cambodian have been visiting pol  
300 pot's tomb per month | is that the question>

301 R: so yes

302 C: <<requesting> and how can I explain to the tourist>

303 R: yes

304 C: erm | as I mentioned | you know | this is a kind of belief that  
305 cambodian people have

306 R: hm

307 C: erm | even they know that pol pot is the secretary of the communist  
308 party of kampuchea | and the prime minister of democratic kampuchea  
309 | from nineteen seventy five to nineteen seventy nine | erm | who  
310 endorsed the policy and lead the country to great destruction and  
311 great disaster | erm in cambodia | but after his death | erm they  
312 worship him as god | erm you know | erm (.) for you its maybe crazy

313 R: hm

314 C: you worship the killer | the murder | as the erm | god | erm | for  
315 cambodian | erm I guess | you know poverties is one of the defectors  
316 | that lead cambodians to worship pol pot's spirit

317 R: hm

318 C: like lottery numbers

319 R: hm

320 C: for happiness | to avoid disease | so they don't consult a doctor  
321 but pol pot's spirit | to get rid of the disease

322 R: hm

323 C: so erm | people try to seek | erm any opportunity | any reputation  
324 they can take | they could have | to safeguard themselves from the  
325 bad things

326 R: hm  
327 C: and to improve their economics opportunity  
328 R: hm  
329 C: so any kind of spirit they can happen | they believe in it | and try  
330 to | to worship | erm but somehow | we have the genocide education |  
331 which teach the entire population | erm the entire young generation  
332 | in one thousand four hundred and fifty seven high schools |  
333 secondary high school | upper and lower secondary high school in  
334 cambodia | erm there are up to one million students | will receiving  
335 the textbook | and will receive education in khmer rouge history |  
336 so they will learn  
337 R: hm  
338 C: and they will discuss with their parents | next month | no this  
339 month | on may twenty eight | I will distribute the textbook  
340 R: ah  
341 C: to people in anlong veng  
342 R: ah in anlong veng | <<requesting> really>  
343 C: yes | that's the plan | to students in bantey manchey downtown and  
344 one high school in anlong veng district  
345 R: hm  
346 C: so its | so the textbook now reach's the khmer rouge stronghold  
347 R: hm  
348 C: and lots of people | they are scared | they don't want to go there |  
349 because they fear of danger | but I have been to a number of khmer  
350 rouge | former khmer rouge stronghold | and they are very very  
351 sanguine you know | they are very very (xxx) by the former khmer  
352 rouge cadres | so nothing happened  
353 R: okay  
354 C: so the education | you know | will for sure reach pailin and anlong  
355 veng  
356 R: <<asking> and are there some people who don't want to know about the  
357 history>  
358 C: erm | of course erm | there are some people who don't want to touch  
359 the khmer rouge history | or don't want to talk bad about the khmer  
360 rouge history | especially the former cadres | the former  
361 perpetrators | but the erm | according to my experiences erm | the  
362 majority of people | they believe that genocide education is very  
363 important  
364 R: hm  
365 C: I talked to one of the khmer rouge senior leader | he worked closely  
366 with ieng sary

367 R: hm  
368 C: his name is (xxx) | he called me | and said that he will receive the  
369 textbooks  
370 R: hm  
371 C: erm I asked him | how do you think about the textbook | is it  
372 accurate | and he said oh yes | its accurate | and I said | oh  
373 that's good then | so he said me for sending him copies for the  
374 textbook | actually I don't send him copy of the textbook but one of  
375 the foreigner | the french guy | asked for textbooks for me and gave  
376 to him  
377 R: aha okay  
378 C: so many people believe that erm | genocide education is important  
379 R: hm  
380 C: including former khmer rouge cadres | erm former perpetrators  
381 R: okay  
382 C: so erm | <<asking> do you have any concerns about the representation  
383 of history in anlong veng> because former khmer rouge are operating  
384 the sites  
385 C: erm | I have been to battambang province | which half of the  
386 province were for-former khmer rouge stronghold as well | I have  
387 never been to anlong veng or pailin before | erm but for me | I  
388 don't have any concern | but a lots of people ask me | how do you  
389 are | to write that kind of textbook | you will be killed  
390 R: hm  
391 C: the guy one is not happy with what you wrote in the text books | erm  
392 | but so far I don't have any negative or criticism from the  
393 government | many of whom are former khmer rouge cadres  
394 R: hm  
395 C: erm so the same thing with former khmer rouge cadre in anlong veng |  
396 I don't have any concern  
397 R: maybe that they tell that pol pot was a good guy | did good things  
398 and whatever  
399 C: erm  
400 R: <<asking> you not worried about that>  
401 C: there must be some people who trust pol pot | and who loved pol pot  
402 | but not all | but not all of them | and those who | erm liked pol  
403 pot | I am sure they know the truth as well  
404 R: hm  
405 C: and they read [my book erm]  
406 R: [they should]

407 C: if there are any errors in accuracy in the textbook | they can tell  
408 | or they can come and criticize | I am pleased to receive all kind  
409 of criticism | all kind of comments from any part  
410 R: hm | so erm | <<asking> do you think it matters for some cambodians  
411 that former khmer rouge soldiers are gaining economic advantage |  
412 out of this history>  
413 C: <<requesting> out of the tourist site | like pol pot tomb>  
414 R: yes | that former khmer rouge are gaining [econom ]  
415 C: [well you] know | khmer  
416 rouge cadre are also people | they are also human | they are  
417 cambodians | erm | they can be considered as the victims of the  
418 khmer rouge as well  
419 R: hm  
420 C: erm | so (.) | I think they have the right to live in cambodia |  
421 they have the right to enjoy the resources of cambodia | large | the  
422 victims | the real victims  
423 R: hm okay | <<asking> so do you think the decision of the government  
424 to promote anlong veng is a good decision | basically>  
425 C: erm | basically I think it's good to develop this kind of places |  
426 first for the sake of economic development | for the people over  
427 there  
428 R: hm  
429 C: and second for memories | can be collective memories for the old  
430 population  
431 R: hm  
432 C: yes | to see ta mok's house in anlong veng | or pol pot's tomb | you  
433 know | it's a kind of historical site | and that should be preserved  
434 for the young generations  
435 R: <<requesting> so you think it's important>  
436 C: I | I believe it is important to | to develop this sites  
437 R: erm | do you also think it will enhance the tourism spectrum of  
438 cambodia | that it will be a good add>  
439 C: erm | it is similar to tuol sleng and choeung ek  
440 R: aha  
441 C: for anlong veng  
442 R: <<requesting> so you are not worried about the stories | that are  
443 getting told there | because your program makes progress | and your  
444 book will be distributed there | and it will be created a more  
445 complete story | some kind of dialogue | and you are sure that it  
446 will contribute to the story that is getting told there | is that  
447 right>

448 C: yes | it is compliment each other | the history book compliments the  
449 tourist sites | and the | the tourist site compliments the textbooks  
450 | it is like erm | oral history | the survivor story | so it  
451 compliments each other | the text book talks about the entire  
452 picture | the big picture of the khmer rouge | and it put the events  
453 happened through the khmer rouge

454 R: hm

455 C: erm | but the individual stories | is about the personal experiences

456 R: hm

457 C: which adds up to what is described in the textbook | erm | so it  
458 compliments each other

459 R: hm

460 C: put together the pieces of history

461 R: <<asking> so it can be very fruitful then>

462 C: yes | in regard to education of khmer rouge history

463 R: so erm | now a bit about remembrance | your personal [opinion]

464 C: [hm ]

465 R: how far do you get in contact with the past besides erm | besides  
466 everyday work at the documentation centre of cambodia> | <<asking>  
467 so do you think much about the past | and erm | in relation to erm |  
468 is it a usual topic during discussions in cambodia | at home | or  
469 whatever | in your freetime | do you confront often with the past>

470 C: <<requesting> do you mean the topic of the khmer rouge | is it a big  
471 concern>

472 R: <<asking> is it a big concern | yes>

473 C: erm

474 R: <<asking> in daily life >

475 C: for cambodian people | erm they seem to take their own suffering for  
476 granted | but it is a (xxx) topic | it should be a concern for  
477 cambodian society ((unclear pronounced))

478 R: <<requesting> it should be a>

479 C: it should be a concern for cambodian society | for us

480 R: sorry

481 C: it should be a big concern | a big concern for | for us

482 R: hm

483 C: you know because | the killing | the crimes happened in cambodia |  
484 and the experience | and erm the witness the crimes by ourselves |  
485 so we have to take action | that these kind of crimes don't happen  
486 again in the future

487 R: hm

488 C: so by preventing | we have to learn and to understand | and to tell  
489 our young generation  
490 R: hm  
491 C: so that we all can contribute | and built up the mechanism | to  
492 prevent future genocide | to prevent crimes against humanity not  
493 happen again in cambodia  
494 R: hm  
495 C: so it should be | it should be a big [topic for discussion]  
496 R: [but it's not yet ] |  
497 because you are working | that it is getting a bigger topic  
498 C: yes so far | it | it has not been get a big topic | but right now we  
499 work in collaboration with the ministry of education | erm to  
500 educate the entire young generation  
501 R: hm  
502 C: about the khmer rouge  
503 R: hm  
504 C: like I told you | we trained three thousand two hundred teachers |  
505 [nationwide ]  
506 R: [that's a lot]  
507 C: they are all history teachers  
508 R: hm  
509 C: khmer rouge study | and citizen morality teacher | its three  
510 subjects  
511 R: hm  
512 C: erm teacher | who are specialized in this three subjects | will  
513 receive training by two thousand eleven | and we have been | we have  
514 distributed three hundred thousand copies of the textbooks | and the  
515 aim to publish seven hundred thousand copy books | so that one  
516 million cop | copies will reach all secondary school students | so  
517 it will get by a big topic of discussion nationwide | for sure  
518 R: there is no way ((both laughing)) | I am sure yes | so erm |  
519 <<asking> are some people against the coping with the past>  
520 C: erm for some people | they don't understand the importance of coping  
521 with the past  
522 R: hm  
523 C: for some peoples the stories too emotional | erm | to recall it |  
524 erm | but it will be some incentives | and they will | erm recall  
525 what happens | and erm | they will understand  
526 R: hm  
527 C: if we will give some eplanation and some incentives to them | they  
528 will understand | erm the importance to cope with the past | erm

529 larger | you know I met one teacher | she told me | a female teacher  
530 | she told me that I never told my story to my children | because I  
531 don't want them to hear | and to emotionally experience it  
532 R: hm  
533 C: I want to forget it | and move on with my own future | and I don't  
534 want to talk about the past  
535 R: hm  
536 C: and she is the national teacher that we train  
537 R: okay  
538 C: among twenty four national teachers | who are going to train  
539 provincial teacher | and provincial teachers will train community  
540 teachers | the three thousand community teachers  
541 R: hm  
542 C: so the national teacher here | you know the top trainer | the master  
543 trainers | believe that she should not talk about the khmer rouge  
544 history  
545 R: hm  
546 C: but after receiving the training and attending the seminar | facing  
547 history ourselves in London | you know | it changes | it changes her  
548 | her belief | erm  
549 R: hm  
550 C: that it is important to discuss | about the khmer rouge history | so  
551 people | cambodian people | need a bit incentive  
552 R: hm  
553 C: and explanation  
554 R: they have to be a bit | erm | urged  
555 C: yes yes | erm you know | they don't have the textbooks | so how can  
556 they learn  
557 R: hm  
558 C: you can't complain that | oh the young generation don't | they don't  
559 want to learn about the khmer rouge | but what kind of textbook you  
560 want to learn  
561 R: hm  
562 C: they don't have it  
563 R: hm  
564 C: you know | foreign scholars have thick textbooks | textbooks like  
565 this thick ((indicating a thick textbook on the table)) | how can  
566 they read in foreign languages  
567 R: hm  
568 C: erm four or three hundred pages | so erm | they need a simple  
569 textbooks | to learn | and you know | after the publication of the

570 textbooks | erm we receive a lot of comments | and voices from the  
571 teachers and students | erm | lot's of teachers and students called  
572 me | and they asked a lots of question  
573 R: hm  
574 C: that's a | sometime they asked erm | questions more than I expected  
575 them to know | lots of good questions  
576 R: that's interesting ((laughing)) | <<asking> are there some groups  
577 who want to confront themselves more likely with the past than  
578 others>  
579 C: erm | some | some teachers they are so erm | they have erm strong  
580 desire erm to | to teach and to share erm | one teacher I work with  
581 | she is a national teacher | and one provincial teacher | they have  
582 us | you know | they are very energetic  
583 R: hm  
584 C: to learn the khmer rouge history | and to teach the khmer rouge  
585 history in class | so you know there are some people who are really  
586 eager to know | who really want to educate the young generation  
587 about the khmer rouge  
588 R: hm  
589 C: I just came from takeo province last night | I told you  
590 R: hm  
591 C: erm so | one villager erm | he wrote a lot of articles about his own  
592 experiences under the khmer rouge | and he lead ceremonies to  
593 remember the death of the people in his district | so I have  
594 attended his ceremony you know  
595 R: hm  
596 C: his ceremony last night  
597 R: okay  
598 C: so they have some people who really have strong desire to educate  
599 R: and also encouraged by themselves without outside support  
600 C: without outside support | yes | they try to mobilize own sources  
601 within their own district  
602 R: hm  
603 C: two held special ceremonies | to dedicate to the deaths during the  
604 khmer rouge  
605 R: okay | so erm | <<asking> do you know if there are disagreements> |  
606 if you are teaching classes | for sure | I don't know | parents who  
607 are former khmer rouge | and parents who are victims | <<asking> do  
608 they disagree>

609 C: erm I haven't receive anything in this regard yet | because the  
610 teacher start teaching by now | but we haven't done the quality  
611 control  
612 R: hm  
613 C: the quality control should show the effectiveness of the teaching |  
614 of khmer rouge history in classroom | so when we done this | we will  
615 interview teachers students and their parents | to see their  
616 reaction to the teaching about the khmer rouge | and also to see the  
617 conflicted ideas between the victims and perpetrators  
618 R: hm  
619 C: erm you know | even I don't receive this information as yet | but I  
620 believe there will be some conflicted ideas  
621 R: hm  
622 C: there will be some different views | on the khmer rouge history |  
623 but it is not bad you know  
624 R: hm  
625 C: people have different ideas | people have different belief |  
626 different erm | political perspectives | so erm | is good to  
627 generate discussion and debate within classroom  
628 R: hm  
629 C: by using the textbooks | by using the story from the parents | as  
630 the foundation | to have questions to ask  
631 R: hm okay| so erm | there are different opinions of course | so I read  
632 that some inhabitants of some provinces in cambodia are afraid of a  
633 comeback by the khmer rouge  
634 C: <<requesting> who>  
635 R: I read it on the ministry of tourism website | I don't |  
636 unfortunately I don't know the name of the province anymore |  
637 <<asking> but is it true that in some parts of cambodia the people  
638 are afraid [of]  
639 C: <<requesting> [to] learn khmer rouge history>  
640 R: no | afraid of a comeback by the khmer rouge  
641 C: ah  
642 R: <<asking> that they are afraid to talk | because of the fear of a  
643 comeback | is that true>  
644 C: erm | it's a kind of traumatisation | cambodian people | they are so  
645 afraid of war and conflict | in the country | they are so  
646 traumatized about what happened to them in the past | so fear still  
647 going around | flying around in cambodia  
648 R: hm

649 C: that | if you don't vote for the right party | the conflict will  
650 come again | or may start again | or genocide may come back again |  
651 so that is a kind of traumatising that cambodian people have  
652 R: hm  
653 C: and we cannot blame them  
654 R: no no | of course | just that is not right  
655 C: not right | yes  
656 R: so | <<asking> do you think cambodia is | besides phnom penh  
657 sihanoukville and siem reap | ready for international tourism | that  
658 tourists spread out to other provinces around the country | like for  
659 instance along veng>  
660 C: erm you know | I believe tourists should not be limited to places  
661 like angkor wat or the beach  
662 R: hm  
663 C: erm | the capital city | the tourists should see the dark side of  
664 cambodia | larger | tuol sleng museum | choeung ek | or along veng  
665 | which are the important historical sites to remember | erm and as  
666 a place to heal | and enhance reconciliation | erm in cambodia  
667 R: to get a whole picture  
668 C: yes to get a whole picture what happened under the khmer rouge  
669 R: hm | <<asking> so how far do you think do the tourists | just your  
670 personal guessing | do tourists know about the tensions in cambodia  
671 | and about impunity | about this topic>  
672 C: that's pretty hard to come on | erm lots of cambodian people  
673 don't know about | what happened in their country | ha | I don't  
674 know how much the outsiders know about what happened inside cambodia  
675 | like what you said | about impunity | human trafficking |  
676 corruption | in a lot of other countries they learn a lot before |  
677 they gave money to the cambodian government  
678 R: hm  
679 C: so they learned a lot | but you know | I don't know about the  
680 tourists | the population  
681 R: yes | just your personal guessing | what you personally think about  
682 C: (-) | I don't know for sure | I don't know how | how much they know  
683 | of course tourists who enter cambodia | [they will learn]  
684 R: [they face ]  
685 C: they face it | they will learn from what they see  
686 R: yes hm  
687 C: like poor people on the street | erm rubbish on the street | you  
688 know erm | the traffics | you know people don't respect the traffic  
689 law and they just drive

690 R: hm  
691 C: cross your car | so they will visually learn it | for sure they will  
692 know  
693 R: [yes ]  
694 C: [what] happened to cambodia  
695 R: so my final question would be | if you think that such a tourist  
696 destination like anlong veng | where tourists are visiting the grave  
697 | ta mok's house and the lake | and the museum where pol pot's  
698 belongings are exhibited | do you think its immoral that  
699 development>  
700 C: <<requesting> you mean bad>  
701 R: yes | <<asking> do you think its not moral | is it unethical>  
702 C: I don't think it is immoral to preserve this kind of places | as a  
703 tourist place  
704 R: hm  
705 C: it is a place for remembering | can be developed into a museum like  
706 tuol sleng | ta mok's house can be developed into a museum for  
707 people | erm to learn | you know | to take their children there  
708 R: <<asking> and you are not concerned that it is getting  
709 commercialized>  
710 C: that is the bad side | erm you know | of the | if the cambodian  
711 government does that | if its too much commercialized on the tourist  
712 sites | or the historical sites | like erm | you know like anlong  
713 veng or tuol sleng | erm you know | they should preserve the place  
714 as a memorial place | erm | they can take money for the sake of  
715 preservation and management | erm but not you know | to get it to a  
716 private company like choeung ek  
717 R: hm  
718 C: the government gave it to the japanese company | which on the one  
719 side they can do | but why they commercialize it to the japanese  
720 company  
721 R: hm  
722 C: there have been a lot of criticism about choeung ek | so  
723 R: hm  
724 C: anlong veng could possibly the same thing in the future  
725 R: hm  
726 C: commercialization  
727 R: <<asking> and you don't worry about that>  
728 C: it's a kind of a concern | if that happen  
729 R: at the moment it's just a concern | its not happening so far | so it  
730 could be a tourist destination | thank you

731 C: you are welcome

#### **C 4: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Dong**

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Monday, the 24th of May 2010  
**Time:** 02.00 pm  
**Duration:** 00.55.59 h  
**Name of interviewer:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Transcribers name:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Language:** English

**Situation:**

On the same day telephonically negotiated semi structured expert interview, taking place at the NGOs ("Youth for Peace") office at the outskirts of Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Role of the participants:**

The interviewee, Mr. Dong, is the Executive Director of Youth for Peace and an expert in the field of reconciliation and remembrance in Cambodia. The interviewer is a master's student in the field of global studies, conducting the interview for her master thesis research.

**Characteristics of the speaker:**

Since Mr Dong was born during the war before the Pol Pot regime, he is estimated to be in his fifties. He is Cambodian and after the war he faced displacement and lost assumingly family members. During his education and afterwards, he was engaged in peace activities all over the world. Mr Dong was very serious and spoke thoughtful and slowly.

**Other information:**

Despite the short-dated situation of the interview Mr. Dong took time out to answer patiently all questions. There have been some communication problems, but they have been resolved after some reformulations. Furthermore, he was very interested in the interviewer/researcher, and wanted to know why the researcher wants to write just about Anlong Veng.

**Characterization of the progress of conversation:**

Mr. Dong was very interested in the interviewer's questions and eager to answer them sufficiently.

**Processing stage:** The transcript is held fractional

1 R: my questionnaire will be about erm anlong veng and how far it could  
2 contribute | how far you think it could contribute | to the national  
3 reconciliation process in cambodia | <<asking> do you know about  
4 anlong veng | and the governments plan to make a tourist destination  
5 out of it>  
6 D: (-) yes | I just heard erm | about that | erm (.) | yes I think |  
7 erm to transform such a kind of history connected place | into a  
8 site of tourism | and also to understand the | the war | atrocities  
9 | is very important in cambodia | it | it needs of the cambodian to  
10 really erm | learn from the own [past]  
11 R: [hm ]  
12 D: pain painful past | and because cambodian | they want to erm | they  
13 want to know wh[y ]  
14 R: [why] it happened  
15 D: why we killed other people | so this question is still you know  
16 R: hm  
17 C: in the minds you know | of the people | the survivors and the  
18 children of survivors  
19 R: hm  
20 D: erm yes we hope | the court make | can contribute somehow | on maybe  
21 some truth  
22 R: hm  
23 C: erm | and that can respond | can reflect to the | can answer the  
24 question  
25 R: hm  
26 C: but their | their needs of | their needs of | of more trust in | in  
27 erm the level of perpetrators  
28 R: hm  
29 D: because to court look at the top level  
30 R: hm  
31 D: and those people | they are the master plan you know | of the  
32 policies  
33 R: hm  
34 D: erm | they may know something  
35 R: hm  
36 D: erm | but big truth in the implementing level  
37 R: hm  
38 D: you know practICE | followed by the perpetrator  
39 R: yes  
40 D: and those perpetrator  
41 R: are still

42 D: are not bring for justice by | by the e: ce: ce: ce: | because of  
43 the limitation | [(xxx xxx xxx) ]  
44 R: hm | <<asking> [so you see the] problem that still too many  
45 perpetrators are living in the society>  
46 D: yes yes | actually they are living in the society | and erm we need  
47 | we need those part of truth | from from their side | from their  
48 side  
49 R: hm  
50 D: because you know | this talk maybe | its easily for them to to  
51 reject | and they can | they can erm not blame anothers | not one  
52 another | o-oh | because they really don't know about that  
53 R: hm  
54 D: at that time | but maybe many of them blame to pol pot and die  
55 already | and so the whole | the whole stoRY | you know of | why we  
56 kill our own people | we don't find that | so its important for |  
57 for us | erm to transforming | you know | those mass killing sites |  
58 erm this historical sites related to khmer rouge | to the sites erm  
59 | for publics | erm for tourists  
60 R: hm  
61 D: and other education are very important  
62 R: hm  
63 D: because it can contribute to | to the truth telling | can contribute  
64 to the reconciliation process  
65 R: hm  
66 D: because they are connection | between erm survivors | the children  
67 of survivor | the next generation | and the FORmer khmer rouge  
68 involving telling their story | so its important you know | to to  
69 that  
70 R: hm  
71 D: so erm cambodia have been | have done a good job on political  
72 reconciliation on the national level | but it still not | can not  
73 R: [people don't trust]  
74 D: [didn't work well ] at the community level  
75 R: hm  
76 D: you know | as as you can see clear | erm (xxx xxx) their job is on  
77 top | and they know lower level | and those people still can not  
78 bring accountability | to those direct | to the perpetrator  
79 R: hm  
80 D: and the needs of telling whys and hows is is there | at this time |  
81 that's why youth of peace | why we work | erm on reconciliation in  
82 the community

83 R: hm  
84 D: to bring the victims the survivors and former khmer rouge to talk  
85 R: hm  
86 D: to share the experience | you know the | and and we have the older  
87 generation in talk with the young generation | to bridge this gap  
88 R: to bridge hm  
89 D: yes between this two generations | the survivors erm have  
90 difficulties to | to tell their children | and the children hardly  
91 believe them | so that's a big gap there  
92 R: hm  
93 D: because the parents | the parents and grandparents | they are afraid  
94 | that talking about the khmer rouge | involving politics  
95 R: hm  
96 D: so that's why are difficult | so so youth for peace train young  
97 people to understand history | the root causes of this atrocities |  
98 of this killing | so what is the role of young people | to  
99 contribute to the reconciliation and killing process  
100 R: hm hm  
101 D: and then we bring them to listen to the survivors | to tell the  
102 survivors techniques to tell their story  
103 R: hm  
104 D: so that they have the conversation | and they erm reconfirm their  
105 understanding of history  
106 R: hm  
107 D: is this true or not  
108 R: hm  
109 D: so how so | so important too  
110 R: the youth | <<asking> do they distinct between perpetrator and  
111 victim | or is every cambodian the same | in their eyes>  
112 D: its difficult here in cambodia | erm I think some | some | because  
113 most of them erm | hide their identity  
114 R: hm  
115 D: they live in community | but some community | they recognize  
116 R: hm  
117 D: yes | bur erm | some of the research also show that erm | some of  
118 youth | erm feel | erm angry  
119 R: hm  
120 D: and want to revenge with the perpetrators  
121 R: hm  
122 D: you can see our studies | erm on | on the impact of genocide on the  
123 next generation | so talking about the feeling of the next

124 generation | the young people erm | and the knowledge of young  
125 people on the khmer rouge | how young people are enrolling in the  
126 reconciliation process

127 R: hm

128 D: erm yes | so

129 R: <<asking> so there are no arguments and fights in public | between  
130 victims and perpetrators | its more quiet>

131 D: right more quiet there | erm this not mean everything is (xxx xxx  
132 xxx)

133 R: <<requesting> sorry>

134 D: everything fixed | when they live in silenty | but the (-) erm | the  
135 need for justice and truth | among those people | when the  
136 perpetrators them tell | they also want to know why | there is still  
137 the big question of why

138 R: hm

139 D: on that |why you know | we fall in that situation | and how people  
140 came up with killing | and this

141 R: hm

142 D: and some people have a doubt about | some perpetrator are still in  
143 power

144 R: hm | that's problematic

145 D: right problematic | that's why it difficult for them to | sometime  
146 to speak about k: r:

147 R: they are afraid that

148 D: yes they are afraid

149 R: <<asking> so (.) its not freedom of opinion kind of | they think>

150 D: right right | that's part of it | but also the | the fears | you  
151 know the feeling of fears

152 R: that they

153 D: for many generations | you know

154 R: hm

155 D: the (british) society | pressure | erm and | some part of | erm what  
156 we call erm | so erm social (xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx) | to train people  
157 | erm not to | erm not to | erm speak out their mind | just follow  
158 what the leader tells to do tells

159 R: hm

160 D: yes erm | especially the khmer rouge | same | initiatives |  
161 creativities | and ideas | suppress

162 R: ideology

163 D: and feel | because still feel enough | erm erm erm what we call (.)  
164 | erm silence

165 R: hm okay | <<asking> so you don't | people are not worrying | because  
166 anlong veng is a former khmer rouge stronghold and many former khmer  
167 rouge are living there>  
168 D: hm  
169 R: <<asking> and so people are not worried about what kind of story the  
170 tell to tourists or visitors | maybe they tell things like that pol  
171 pot was a good guy and ta mok did good things | or whatever | so  
172 would that be a problem>  
173 D: (-)  
174 R: <<asking> what do you think>  
175 D: right right | erm erm | it depend on how you | you write your  
176 narrative in that area | anlong veng is just | the last stronghold  
177 of the khmer rouge | anlong veng not represent the | erm erm |  
178 killing sites  
179 R: hm  
180 D: for the whole cambodia | just another part | that khmer rouge stay  
181 the last minute in there | erm but but we can connect a lot of  
182 things | from the place to the history | from the place to the root  
183 causes | of why happening | so not only what happened but why  
184 happened | is very important  
185 R: <<requesting> so you think it depends on how the story is told>  
186 D: yes  
187 R: <<requesting> if there are also explanations and descriptions and  
188 not just displaying of things | that it could be also vital | and  
189 positive in the reconciliation process>  
190 D: yes yes | definitely  
191 R: hm  
192 D: and the place is only the place | only another place | how you  
193 transform that | how you connect that to the concept of  
194 reconciliation  
195 R: hm  
196 D: is very important | erm like youth for peacennow working | erm more  
197 on the community level | trying to bring the bottom up approach erm  
198 | for erm memorialisation  
199 R: hm  
200 D: so we do | erm erm consultation process | to bring people in  
201 community | different stakeholder | to come up with the own erm |  
202 erm erm memorials  
203 R: hm  
204 D: erm so we think this process is important | because because people  
205 feeling | have the feeling of ownership | people own the process |

206 people invest the initiative to bring up you know | this process of  
207 memorialisation | so that they can remember | they can have to tell  
208 a story to the next generation | if they have conversation around  
209 the place | so we transform those mass killing sites into the centre  
210 for dialogue | and centre for discussions and story tellings  
211 R: hm  
212 D: and healing processes there | not just erm | not just the stupa and  
213 you know | to keep the skulls and bones there | and to just to  
214 remember and respect the dead | but to be a place where people have  
215 story to tells  
216 R: hm  
217 D: so in kind of january we conducted this process | now we have a lot  
218 of pictures and stories | and a wall of the building drawing the  
219 stories | erm we have historic markers | to tell the prison in the  
220 stories | so a lot of thing develop there by the community  
221 R: hm  
222 D: so youth for peace only facilitates this process  
223 R: hm  
224 D: because | I also studied the memory process sin cambodia  
225 R: hm  
226 D: in cambodian contact | studying different theories from other  
227 countries  
228 R: hm  
229 D: and learning also the memorialisation process | so far in cambodia |  
230 erm the initiatives by the state and by some local en: ge: o: and  
231 how this will | how this can contribute to the memorialisation  
232 R: hm  
233 D: and (.) | to restore history memory in cambodia | erm we found that  
234 the | in facilitate | erm in legacy of memory | in building legacy  
235 of memory | we have to facilitate this process  
236 R: hm  
237 D: you know | erm | during the eighties the government initiate | (.)  
238 you know they built up many stupas  
239 R: yes  
240 D: to bring all the skulls to keep it there | erm | but the idea is for  
241 | for the respect of the dead is more an religious aspect | erm and  
242 also for erm the evidence | to keep as evidence | preserve as  
243 evidence of the atrocities  
244 R: hm  
245 D: and also for the | for erm | I think also political agenda is also  
246 involved in that | because they want to mobilize more people to

247 involve | to support them and to involve | in erm | in battle  
248 against the khmer rouge | because during the | after the battle they  
249 moved westward | moved to the part | erm western part and northern  
250 part | western and southern part yes

251 R: hm

252 D: to fight against the | the government | erm so erm | we cannot have  
253 a dialogues when you go to see | for example

254 R: the stupa with the skulls

255 D: so our idea is to (-) | to have more dialogues | not just for the  
256 religious aspect | for education | reconciliation | yes and other |  
257 for example maybe potential tourists | if we have developed those  
258 memory sites

259 R: hm | <<asking> so you think if in anlong veng for example | if the  
260 inhabitants the people there | and the companies over there | or  
261 whoever is interested in the place | and historians would work  
262 together | it could be very positive>

263 D: yes

264 R: but if it is not the case | if its more the other direction and its  
265 getting commercialized and strange incomplete stories are getting  
266 told | <<asking> so would it be still for you a place erm | that  
267 should be a tourist destination | or is it then just a forget it  
268 kind of thing thought | is it not if you worry that it is not  
269 contributively to the reconciliation process because its commercial  
270 | like for example choeung ek | its getting more and more  
271 commercialized | would you support the development of anlong veng as  
272 a tourist destination or would you be against it | what kind of  
273 position would you hold>

274 D: erm (-) | erm (.) | I | I think to | to attract travellers |  
275 tourists | also important to | is part of education process | they  
276 can learn something | erm (.) | but erm we should also emphasize a  
277 lot of erm | on the aspect of education | not more on the commercial  
278 of business | this may affect the | the | affect on the (.) | erm on  
279 the | the stories | affect on the history | the understanding of the  
280 people | yea | there may not go deeper | (-) | go deeper on the root  
281 causes why | that erm for us | for us for us the | the emphasis on  
282 education | the aspect of education | reconciliation is very  
283 important

284 R: hm

285 D: not just for entertainment or tourist | (xxx xxx xxx xxx)

286 R: hm

287 D: that's the think there

288 R: <<asking> so that would be a concern>  
289 D: yes  
290 R: so erm | <<asking> do you know if erm | are cambodians or your  
291 parents for instance | or older people who survived the khmer rouge  
292 regime | do they like the presence of tourists at such places | or  
293 do they don't like their presence at such places like choeung ek and  
294 tuol sleng or anlong veng | is it kind of strange for them that  
295 people cone there | and have the tourists there | or is | do they  
296 don't care and don't mind>  
297 D: erm I think they (.) | the idea of | of erm | of memorials or (.) is  
298 to | to open to the publics | erm (.) | and at if memorials | erm |  
299 museum of memorial built | in a | in a quiet place | it does not  
300 contribute anything for the people  
301 R: hm  
302 D: so at least they understand  
303 R: hm  
304 D: they know | what happened there  
305 R: hm  
306 D: erm | some other country they | they transform | those kind of  
307 places into the tourist | but we need also to have attention | and  
308 to | to be well prepared on the | on the design | of how you | how  
309 you erm | tell the visitors  
310 R: hm  
311 D: about those things | many erm museums and other places around the  
312 world | they prepare very well | they arrange very well those things  
313 | so erm | those kind of erm places | peope go not for having fun |  
314 but they want to know what happened and why | so  
315 R: hm  
316 D: so even | even it it | it plans | the government plans | to have a  
317 tourist sites | but we need to erm | think and and erm | prepare  
318 very well in the designs  
319 R: hm  
320 D: in the way things there (xxx) (((mumbling))) | that are very  
321 important | because the | we need also museums | sites of memory |  
322 we need | we need visitors to see  
323 R: hm | <<asking> so you thing the survivors of the regime | they don't  
324 have a problem | they think its good if people are interested in the  
325 history>  
326 D: erm (-) | I I think the survivor | erm they can not come into that  
327 analysis  
328 R: aha

329 D: yes | erm they | that's why it it | difficult for them to to |  
330 really erm | erm (.) | protect the place or just let it be | by the  
331 government and by the companies | and other  
332 R: hm  
333 D: yes it's difficult | in that position | of the survivor | erm | we  
334 can ask them how they feel about that | they can say something | erm  
335 (.) | but erm | I think erm | it difficult for them  
336 R: hm  
337 D: to (.) | to really mobilize themselves  
338 R: to think about the meaning  
339 D: yes the meanings  
340 R: [for themselves ]  
341 D: [just protect that] | so erm | so if that | if that | erm | under  
342 the control of the state | the government | erm erm | then there are  
343 not participation of the survivor  
344 R: hm  
345 D: in that process | erm | then (.) | there are different narratives  
346 R: hm  
347 D: by them | erm | if political parties | if the leaders control | then  
348 they integrate the implement a lot of politics  
349 R: hm  
350 D: and that affects the real reconciliation process | in [cambodia]  
351 R: [hm ]  
352 D: that's why youth for peace looking it | looking | seeing this  
353 constraint  
354 R: hm  
355 D: and trying to to move | you know to | to bring the bottom up process  
356 | initiate things | the memorialisation process in the community  
357 R: hm  
358 D: so that | the legacies are the ownership of the community  
359 R: hm  
360 D: which we include different stakeholder | the youth | the survivor |  
361 the victims | local sovereignties there | (xxx xxx xxx) | different  
362 stakeholders  
363 R: hm | <<asking> so that you get a complete picture>  
364 D: a complete picture yes  
365 R: hm  
366 D: and erm | and it's the representation | the collective identities in  
367 the communities  
368 R: hm  
369 D: its representer | so we see this | this approach meaningful

370 R: hm  
371 D: for them | yes | a critic also the process of the state| because  
372 they done | erm erm | they don't | think about erm | other purposes  
373 | multiple purpose | only the | the idea is just to preserve the  
374 atrocity to remember what happens and to respect the dead | and  
375 religious aspect | but what youth for peace is trying to do is erm |  
376 erm (.) | represent erm | multiple aspects  
377 R: hm  
378 D: education | religion there | I think we come up with some how to  
379 reveal | for them to respect the dead | (.) but dialogues |  
380 interactive dialogues and two way conversation | not only just one  
381 way of telling stories  
382 R: hm  
383 D: dialogues | also very important | to tell the truth | erm the main  
384 part of reconciliation the community level | especially the next  
385 generation is | is | is telling WHY  
386 R: hm  
387 D: so the story telling them WHY what happened | WHY  
388 R: hm | that there are also outer effects  
389 D: so the court can not tell the the the | the question WHY to the  
390 people  
391 R: no  
392 D: no | no way | because the two | as I mentioned | the two erm part |  
393 big part | the policy maker | the top leaders  
394 R: [hm ]  
395 D: [you know] | are the perpetrators | but the other part is  
396 implementor | you know | implementor have their own way to do | they  
397 may transform the policy and do something different | they may not  
398 use all the policy | they have their own strategies | you know their  
399 own way to do | so in this court you can not expect that | erm the |  
400 the court can bring truth  
401 R: hm  
402 D: and can answer the question WHY | the khmer killed khmer  
403 R: hm  
404 D: so one way is to | encourage the former khmer rouge to tell | WHY |  
405 you know what is the experience  
406 R: hm  
407 D: and recall all those stories to keep in (xxx xxx)  
408 R: in one place  
409 D: we must criticize where we transform to the centres | this is the  
410 main part | as anlong veng is just a place

411 R: hm  
412 D: of the last battlefield of the khmer rouge | but anlong veng never  
413 tell you know | the truth | never tell you why they kill  
414 R: hm  
415 D: but the people can contribute to develop those place  
416 R: into  
417 D: into you know | healing process | reconciliation process | and into  
418 the place where who can tell the stories of those  
419 R: [and this ]  
420 D: [otherwise] is just a place for the visitor | and then come back |  
421 you don't get anything  
422 R: yes  
423 D: you don't learn anything  
424 R: the visitor doesn't learn anything and the place | doesn't change  
425 D: yes | does not change | no change of the mindset of the people | so  
426 then it doesn't contribute to reconciliation | in that sense | yes  
427 R: hm | so erm | you erm | I read on your homepage that you are  
428 discussing current topics with the young people at youth for peace |  
429 are you discussing also anlong veng | or is this  
430 [not such an important topic]>  
431 D: [no no ] | we are talking about | we are talking  
432 about khmer rouge in general | and the roots causes | we are looking  
433 at the external and internal factors  
434 R: hm  
435 D: internal factor | we are talking about the societies before khmer  
436 rouge | the injustices | the what happened | WHY  
437 R: hm  
438 D: those  
439 R: hm  
440 D: and external we are looking at the cold war | the clash between  
441 capitalism and socialism  
442 R: hm  
443 D: cambodia is just | just the | the edge | the edge of the battlefied  
444 | between those two ideologies  
445 R: hm  
446 D: from capitalism and socialism | vietnam and thailand  
447 R: hm  
448 D: cambodia is a battlefield | that's why | why the the conflict in  
449 cambodia became worst | became worse | because the mix of | erm erm  
450 influence | of outsiders | ideologies from outside and internal  
451 revolutionaries

452 R: hm  
453 D: so this | this erm | factors  
454 R: hm  
455 D: created this severe | erm | violent complex and mass killing  
456 R: hm  
457 D: yea  
458 R: so the | <<asking> anlong veng is not interesting for them to  
459 discuss or | do you think this topic is in public kind of | or is  
460 nobody interested in what is going on there | or are people talking  
461 about>  
462 D: (-) erm (.) | anlong veng erm | when I heard about anlong veng | we  
463 just | you just recognize | you realize that is about the past of  
464 the khmer rouge | its not the  
465 R: not the present  
466 D: yes just not the present | its not the identity of atrocities like  
467 tuol sleng or  
468 R: [choeung ek]  
469 D: [choeung ek] | different now | image of this place  
470 R: hm  
471 D: so anlong veng | it might be more attractive for tourists | you know  
472 R: hm  
473 D: outsider | because they may interested in ta mok and pol pot  
474 R: hm  
475 D: they died there | but its not a place | to remember the atrocities  
476 R: hm  
477 D: its not the place represent atrocities there  
478 R: but there is written that there are are two thousand cambodians are  
479 visiting the site every month | <<asking> so do you have an idea why  
480 they are visiting anlong veng>  
481 D: I think I think the-e | I think | erm | they want to visit to see  
482 the last battlefield | the last stronghold of khmer rouge there |  
483 they want to see the place where pol pot lived and died there | and  
484 the place where ta mok also | there | so this pol pot | erm | this  
485 is (.) | is very erm impressive by outsider | you know  
486 R: hm  
487 D: to see that place  
488 R: but the cambodians | they | <<asking> do you think victims want to  
489 go there to see it> | <<asking> because if there are two thousand  
490 cambodians visiting this site | are they former khmer rouge or are  
491 they victims who want to be sure he died | you also don't know an  
492 explanation for that>

493 D: I | I don't have an explanation for that  
494 R: okay | (--) | <<asking> so you don't know about the details the  
495 government wants to do there | there is nothing in the news right  
496 now>  
497 D: hm  
498 R: <<asking> do you think it's problematic that former khmer rouge are  
499 operating the site | or is it okay that former khmer rouge are  
500 operating the site>  
501 D: erm | erm | I do not know the process  
502 R: hm  
503 D: erm (.) | but the plan initiated by the government | and I don't  
504 know who will responsible for | you know | to show the place and  
505 manage the place  
506 R: hm | right now it's the | I think the photographer of tuol sleng |  
507 he wants to do an exhibition there| and he started to do something  
508 D: yea yea | I think it's a good place | you can do a lot of things  
509 there | erm (-) | but I am not sure if the place operated by former  
510 khmer rouge there | or by people of business from here | but any any  
511 groups | erm | can live | but if if they can have the | develop the  
512 consultation process | you know to transform the place (xxx xxx xxx)  
513 | is very important  
514 R: hm  
515 D: not just by one group of people | or one company | to develop that  
516 place | but the participation of different stakeholders you know  
517 R: hm  
518 D: you know from civil society | from the victims | from the government  
519 | and other | many stakeholders | to contribute to the process of  
520 erm developing that place | is very important  
521 R: hm | so hm (-) | <<asking> are there special groups in cambodian  
522 society who want to talk about the past | or is | obviously its more  
523 likely the youth which is initiated | but are there also other  
524 groups you can | you recognize that they are more likely want to  
525 speak about the past than others>  
526 D: erm | erm (-) | it so far it difficult | erm there are many reasons  
527 | like I mentioned | the survivors expressively | they don't want to  
528 talk | they don't want to share their painful memory to their  
529 children | because they don't want to their children feeling bad  
530 about that  
531 R: hm

532 D: because they don't want to have their children be involved in  
533 politics | because they think that their children do not believe  
534 them  
535 R: hm  
536 D: so there are | there are big gaps | between the survivor and the  
537 children of the survivor  
538 R: hm  
539 D: the next generation  
540 R: hm  
541 D: in the textbook not very detailed | part about the khmer rouge fall  
542 | but only the harder | the hardship | only the suffering | and  
543 political ideology a lot | but not the root causes WHY |  
544 R: hm  
545 D: erm | and the teaching methodology is very traditional | just  
546 reading and not so interesting | so other reason for example | the  
547 current leaders | some of the current leader involved in the past |  
548 that's why the current situation of telling the stories | telling  
549 those past to the next generation | is very poor  
550 R: hm  
551 D: very low  
552 R: hm  
553 D: but after the tribunal | and especially the  
554 R: <<requesting> after the>  
555 D: after the establishment of the e: ce: ce: ce: | civil society and  
556 people trying to | erm motivate people to speak | because they  
557 believe that | erm speaking | speak out the (.) erm painful past |  
558 can contribute to healings and reconciliation  
559 R: hm  
560 D: and can can | can heal the generations | the survivor and the second  
561 generation | to bridge the gap  
562 R: hm  
563 D: and can can look for word | move for ward | by healing this gaps  
564 R: hm  
565 D: by bringing this story | by learning about the root causes by why |  
566 and we can move forward  
567 R: hm  
568 D: right yeah | and I think now people start to talk | especially if  
569 you if | if you do a lot of community memorialisation process |  
570 develop erm size of memory in the community | and this creates the  
571 continuation of of dialogues | even when the e: ce: ce: ce: end |  
572 but the places is still there | and the story still there

573 R: hm  
574 D: and the people in the community can go there and learn | and you  
575 know  
576 R: hm  
577 D: doing thins there | so that's why youth for peace sees this | erm  
578 the trigger | this entry point | and we answer the question what is  
579 (xxx xxx xxx) | this place is the next step  
580 R: hm  
581 D: and and it's a | erm | it's a long lastings | if we can | if we  
582 transform this places of killing sites into places where they can  
583 their stories | and there are stories there  
584 R: hm  
585 D: and we can have dialogues there | from generations to generations  
586 R: hm okay | so erm | (-) | <<asking> I read that in some parts in  
587 cambodia people are still afraid of a comeback by the khmer rouge |  
588 is that rally the case>  
589 D: (-) ((thinking))  
590 R: <<asking> do you think>  
591 D: <<requesting> the khmer rouge come back>  
592 R: yes | that they are afraid  
593 D: (.) erm | there | there might not be the real khmer rouge | but  
594 different forms of violence  
595 R: hm  
596 D: different forms of atrocities | erm | (.) erm | I think this what  
597 they mean | not just the same as  
598 R: before  
599 D: as pol pot and other khmer rouge leaders | but other forms | to  
600 critically learning the root cause | is a way to prevent  
601 R: hm  
602 D: all kind of violent conflict  
603 R: hm  
604 D: all kind of mass killing or atrocities | for the future society  
605 R: hm  
606 D: <<asking> yea>  
607 R: yes  
608 D: so erm | not really khmer rouge | not the real khmer rouge | but a  
609 different forms of violence  
610 R: <<asking> they are afraid>  
611 D: yes they are afraid | not hundred percent like that | but this also  
612 can also help analyze | the current situation of the society  
613 R: hm

614 D: you know | there are differences | and also there are similar issues  
615 still | compared to the khmer rouge  
616 R: hm  
617 D: you know for example | the freedom of expression  
618 R: hm  
619 D: you can not speak | you can not say anything under the khmer rouge |  
620 you were not safe anything | you got killed  
621 R: hm  
622 D: now you can say | but still in limited | you can not say everything  
623 | <<asking> yeah?  
624 R: hm  
625 D: so if you comparing that | you can learn a lot | and you can  
626 struggle a lot | you can develop a society free of violence | free  
627 of pressure  
628 R: hm  
629 D: so it | its important to connect and to analyze  
630 R: hm  
631 D: deeper | into the root causes | deeper to small small elements | to  
632 respond to the current situation | and then how we can | erm erm |  
633 transforming | we can make it a different things  
634 R: hm | <<asking> so do you think its dangerous in cambodia | when you  
635 say people are afraid | so is there a certain kind of danger | is it  
636 not safe as a tourist to be in cambodia or>  
637 D: erm I think generally | related to | its peace in cambodia |  
638 security is fine | erm | its it erm erm | because positive peace |  
639 no more in the form of war  
640 R: hm  
641 D: strong conflict | but still the conflict erm | in the community  
642 level in term of (.) erm different groups | different parties  
643 R: hm  
644 D: in this form | you know hatreds and all this  
645 R: <<asking> so there are different groups with different opinions>  
646 D: yes  
647 R: <<asking> and they are arguing on the community level>  
648 D: yes yes | arguing also some time come to the violence  
649 R: okay  
650 D: and cause deads  
651 R: <<requesting> really>  
652 D: yes  
653 R: okay  
654 D: before election you can see the violence

655 R: before the elections okay | (-) so erm its | erm | <<asking> but it  
656 can be seen as a safe place for cambodians and visitors>  
657 D: now yes  
658 R: <<asking> but you never know | it's a kind of | you think it's a  
659 kind of in the air thing or>  
660 D: unless the hatred anger erm | inside  
661 R: mh  
662 D: erm (.) | inside resent resentment | frustration | and the conflict  
663 will many face somehow in the future  
664 R: hm  
665 D: maybe not on the issue of the khmer rouge | but other social issue |  
666 like for example erm | lands crabbing  
667 R: hm  
668 D: injustices | impunity and all these things  
669 R: hm  
670 D: coming to the people | from time to time  
671 R: hm  
672 D: so so | it come it make | lots of somehow in the future | if it do  
673 not work | [it's a process ]  
674 R: [you try to do pretend that]  
675 D: yes | to do this process | work and come out | people you know start  
676 to talk | in the different groups  
677 R: hm  
678 D: people can understand differences | and can believe in diversities |  
679 things like that  
680 R: hm  
681 D: it's the situation of thailand  
682 R: hm  
683 D: you can see this fighting conflict  
684 R: [comes back]  
685 D: [it stays ]long and | it goes in the people | hard  
686 R: hm  
687 D: its just the differences and erm | it erm absolute monarchy power  
688 R: hm  
689 D: so erm | and now it blows out | in manifest | in beginning of the  
690 conflict you see the surface issue | corruption and thing like that  
691 | when it come into deeper conflict it become more | two groups of  
692 lower level and elites  
693 R: hm

694 D: you can see this world view | one group represents one side | so  
695 it's a big conflict there | and this for cambodia | we have that  
696 conflict during the seventies already

697 R: hm

698 D: first the new ideology come and the revolutionary movement | to take  
699 to erm | take out the king power | and that's erm | happen already  
700 during that time | but in thailand they still | you know manage and  
701 come | until now just| so they are very lucky | when those conflict  
702 emerges | they don't have external influence in that | so they are  
703 just internal | so cambodia during that time | we have revolutionary  
704 movement | changing inside | but in the same time outside

705 R: from both side

706 D: so it's a severe | very dangerous | than compared to thailand | they  
707 are very lucky

708 R: mh ((slightly laughing))

709 D: because they are wise | you know the involvement and war between  
710 those ideologies | in cambodia we are geographically located between  
711 these two sides

712 R: hm

713 D: and when the king claim independent island | we were not involved in  
714 any part of the world | so to stay neutral | but we could not do  
715 that in that situation | very dangerous

716 R: very much pressure in that

717 D: yes | you have to stick on place to see protection | otherwise we  
718 would be the place where they fight

719 R: hm (.) | so from my side it would have been all questions | you  
720 answered all my questions | <<asking> do you have something to add |  
721 what would you think be important to know for me>

722 D: <<asking> why do you emphasize on anlong veng>

723 R: I visited cambodia two years ago | and erm I was fascinated | and  
724 actually I wanted to write about choeung ek and tuol sleng and erm |  
725 because I felt strange when I visited the places

726 D: <<requesting> tuol sleng>

727 R: I felt kind of | like I am disturbing something | like I should not  
728 be there | and that bothered my after the trip further | and then I  
729 decided to write about cambodia because I think it's a very  
730 interesting country and I loved it to be there | and then mister  
731 selmeci from the german development sevice | he recommended me to  
732 write about anlong veng | because it would be more current | because  
733 there are so many changes right now at choeung ek | because gonna  
734 get leased to a japanese firm | and tuol sleng | they try to

735 transform it now | because of the e: ce: ce: ce: | so he recommended  
736 me to focus on anlong veng and the changes there | so that because I  
737 emphasize on anlong veng

## C 5: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Elian

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Tuesday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 2010  
**Time:** 12.00 am  
**Duration:** 01.01.50 h  
**Name of interviewer:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Transcribers name:** Gisela Wohlfahrt  
**Language:** English

### **Situation:**

Three days in advance telephonically negotiated semi structured expert interview. The interviewer got the contact information from a former Cambodian global studies student, who is now working in an NGO in Phnom Penh. The interviewee knew already about the interviewers interests and invited the interviewer for lunch into his house outside of Phnom Penh. Additionally, the interviewee invited one of his former students to join the conversation. All participants had lunch on the terrace in the backyard of the interviewee's house for about two hours, followed by the one hour interview.

### **Role of the participants:**

The interviewee, Mr Elian, is about seventy years old and a French retired history professor, but still teaching at the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP). The attending student is estimated to be in his beginning twenties, holds a masters degree in history of the RUPP and is teaching history at a private college for technicians in Phnom Penh. The interviewer is a master's student in the field of global studies, conducting the interview for her master thesis.

### **Characteristics of the speaker:**

Since Mr Elian has been living in Cambodia before (in the ending 60s) and after the Pol Pot regime (from 1989 to 1991 and since), he knows the country and it's people very well. Among others, he wrote a book about the sayings of the Khmer Rouge and edited a survivor story of a Cambodian imprisoned during the DK. Furthermore, he participated in a project for counting and mapping killing fields and prisons throughout the country. Mr Elian spoke in a French accent and the work and life in Cambodia seemed to have made him a little cynical towards the government and the Communist Peoples Party.

The student was a bit shy and participated just if encouraged to do so.

**Other information:**

The circumstance to have lunch together helped to make all participants familiar with each other. This seemed to be very important for Mr Elian, because he did not like the interviewer making notes during lunch. Furthermore, he wanted the interviewer to engage the student as a personal translator when touring Anlong Veng eventually. Mr Elian showed himself annoyed by the missing table manners of the student and remarked that that would be a general problem in the country. Similar situations repeated and made the interviewer feeling uncomfortable towards the Cambodian, because the interviewer felt sorry for the student.

**Characterization of the progress of conversation:**

Mr Elian was very interested in the interviewer's questions and eager to answer them sufficiently.

**Processing stage:** The transcript is held fractional

1 R: erm | I don't know so much about you and your work | <<asking> just  
2 could you tell me please a bit what you are actually doing | you are  
3 working at the university of phnom penh since ten years you said>  
4 E: yes | but the first thing is | my name is henri locard | erm I have  
5 known this country since nineteen sixty four | when I was a student  
6 | I started my career | academic career | as teacher of english | I  
7 have two subjects | english and later history as well | erm in the  
8 french school (xxx xxx) | from nineteen sixty five to nineteen sixty  
9 seven | I left this country in september sixty seven | then  
10 afterwards got married | and I have done most of my career in the  
11 university de lyon deux in lyon in france | in the english  
12 department and also in the politics department  
13 R: hm  
14 E: in the year | later in life I took ((smiling voice)) | I returned to  
15 cambodia in nineteen eighty nine | got involved in erm | the found |  
16 refoundation of law studies here through | in my university | two  
17 universiteies | lyon deux and trois  
18 R: and started trying to understand what happened to the country I knew  
19 and the people I knew | and one cambodian from lyon said he wanted  
20 to write his life story because he have been in prison | khmer rouge  
21 prisons | erm he spent one and a half year in a khmer rouge prison |  
22 in two prison | he was in a prison in the beginning of the regime  
23 and at the end of the regime | so then I had a quite a full picture  
24 of the khmer rouge prison system | but that was just in one district  
25 | in preah nouk kampong cham and sihanoukville | so I in | that was  
26 nineteen eighty nine | nineteen ninety one I returned to this  
27 country and stated tour the whole country and found that there are  
28 similar institutions throughout the country | so I did a first  
29 report and (.) | at that time people were only talking about tuol  
30 sleng tuol sleng tuol sleng tuol sleng | as in germany you speak  
31 about auschwitz auschwitz auschwitz auschwitz | as it there was  
32 nothing as auschwitz | that you know | is a place of extermination |  
33 then I discovered that in all the main districts | there was at  
34 least one main prison | as about one hundred and fifty districts |  
35 so I recognized the minimum was one hundred fifty prisons | since a  
36 number of researcher have done the same thing than me ((slightly  
37 laughing voice)) | like de: ce: cam: and of course the khmer rouge  
38 tribunal | or the extraordinary chambers of the court of cambodia |  
39 erm de: ce: cam: comes out with one hundred ninety six prisons and  
40 the tribunal says at least two hundred twenty  
41 R: hm

42 E: right | now we identifying the main prisons | with institution that  
43 lasted a certain period of time | that put the prisoners in on bars  
44 | in (knor) | barre de justice in French | (knor) in khmer | erm  
45 that interrogated then under threat of torture or under torture |  
46 and usually kill them afterwards | now why did they interrogate them  
47 | because they believe that everybody who did not like the regime  
48 was not acting individually but in a kind of plot | erm ksai | in  
49 erm a string | you know they were always thought they are in strings  
50 of plotters | in fact as in most communist regimes | and therefore  
51 once you had admitted your crimes | and once you had given the names  
52 of all the people you are plotting against the organization or  
53 angkar | you could disposed of | your life was no longer necessary  
54 R: hm  
55 E: But that was not just in es: twenty one | but in the masses graves  
56 in the country | so I come to the conclusion that approximately one  
57 third of the people who died under the khmer rouge | erm were | erm  
58 voluntarily exterminated through that system | that security centre  
59 system | or prison system | whatever you call them | or reeducation  
60 centre | because people were already sent to reeducation | using the  
61 word prison was taboo | officially there is no prison | of course  
62 they are so different from the prisons | the legal prisons | you  
63 know | you know police investigation| you know people are erm | not  
64 accuse to anything  
65 R: hm  
66 E: they have to accuse | the first question they always asked | in es:  
67 twenty one or throughout the country is | tell us why you are there  
68 | it is up to the victim to accuse themselves | and if it says I  
69 have done nothing that he gets beaten | or electric shocks or what  
70 about  
71 R: hm okay  
72 E: this let me | after this first publication of this first book | to  
73 when I was doing my investigations | collect khmer rouge slogans as  
74 a kind of game | then to help me to understand better about khmer  
75 rouge ideology | very close to the chinese one | erm and then I  
76 published number of articles | so that I then could take a pe: h:  
77 de: in cambodian history | since I retired in the year two thousand  
78 I have been teaching in various institutions in our academy | the  
79 buddhist institute | but now | for the past five years | have been  
80 teaching in the royal university of phnom pehn | training upper  
81 secondary school teachers | who are supposed to be teaching history  
82 ((smiling voice)) | but all students | and sorry | all future

83 teachers are trained in teachers training colleges | they don't go  
84 to universities | local teachers training colleges | erm for primary  
85 schools | which are six years in this country | all secondary is  
86 another three years | and its only in grade ten eleven and twelve  
87 that the future teachers go through university

88 R: hm

89 E: so unfortunately | erm the standard of education remains extremely  
90 low | lower than it was in the samkun days | of the time of sihanouk  
91 | and slightly better than in the pe: ar: k: | the peoples republic  
92 of kampuchea | of heng samrin | what is improving is that there are  
93 more and more private schools and and universities | the majority  
94 has usually a very poor standard | what is improving is the standard  
95 of english | the khmer you know | are learning english quite fast

96 R: hm

97 E: but by in large the standard of education is a businessly no | and  
98 particularly in history | have no history | except of since de: ce:  
99 cam: | the documentation centre of cambodia | of youk chan | created  
100 in nineteen ninety five | nineteen ninety six | with the american  
101 money | has published in year two thousand and seven two thousand  
102 and eight a book | an introduction about democratic kampuchea |  
103 which is well presented with lot of photographs and diagram | there  
104 is many visual things to see | and it summarizes what happened under  
105 the regime of democratic kampuchea quite objectively

106 R: hm

107 E: except that it says nothing about | you know why the regime came to  
108 power | how it came to power | why was it so lethal low | so  
109 criminal | why did so many people die | but this book is made for  
110 upper secondary | at least before you ask these questions | only  
111 this | the people are asking these questions all the time

112 R: hm

113 E: erm de: ce: cam: | when it now | they educate the teachers all over  
114 the country | you know they distributed already for free three  
115 hundred thousand copies | which is a huge number | I asked them what  
116 is the question the people ask | they ask political questions  
117 ((derisive smiling coice)) | why did sihanouk join the khmer rouge |  
118 why were the khmer rouge rouge great friend of the vietnamese  
119 communists | and why afterwards they turned against the vietnamese  
120 communists

121 R: hm

122 E: what was the role of chinese | but of course they find none of these  
123 answers in the book | because these questions have been taboo

124 R: hm  
125 E: in this country  
126 R: okay | so that's the momentanous station of information about  
127 history  
128 E: <<requesting> what>  
129 R: <<asking> so this is the station of information about history right  
130 now you say>  
131 E: this is the state of history | well I am sure you that | you can say  
132 more about the teaching of history in this country ((towards the  
133 student)) | because he teaches history to students | <<asking> you  
134 want to speak a little bit> | to students erm who are erm | learning  
135 about computer  
136 F: yeah  
137 E: it's a private school | but they want their students to have a  
138 better general education | so (kadu)  
139 S: yeah  
140 E: is their teacher of modern history | <<asking> so what do you teach  
141 | what do you trying to explain to them>  
142 F: erm | what I am try to explain to my students is focused on the  
143 history of cambodia during | after the french protectorate | so erm  
144 | I can explain them why erm | more about in nineteen seventy which  
145 is yes | (.) try to explain people in nineteen seventy | we use a  
146 time important for cambodian history | yeah | after the erm |  
147 sihanouk was overthrown by lon nol and ( ) | so that's a turning  
148 point that what | why | when students understand what happened  
149 before nineteen seventy and after nineteen seventy nine | they can  
150 catch up what going on | yeah afterwards | so I also explain them  
151 communism | what communism come from and truth about vietnamese war  
152 | vietnam American war | also related to cambodian history | and  
153 during class I have a video that documentary film andalso teacher  
154 from de: ce: cam: and teacher from a german institute | we had | and  
155 explain them | because cambodian student can not read a lot a lot a  
156 day | this is cambodian also | cambodian student culture | can not  
157 read a lot like | so I try to make them interesting by erm | erm we  
158 | with documentary film or teacher | so the documents I give them to  
159 read are not a lot of pages  
160 R: hm  
161 S: yeah  
162 R: okay | <<asking> and what kind of | are the questions do they ask  
163 you | is there interaction>

164 S: yes | it's it's like a | why sihanouk support khmer rouge like that  
165 | but they know that | after my explanation and also like henri  
166 locard said | erm why khmer rouge fight against vienamese | then  
167 also they want to know about erm | some biography of cambodian  
168 leader s today | like hun sen and heng samrin | and how they could  
169 form | a front and to cooperate with vietnam and then overthrow erm  
170 khmer rouge

171 R: <<asking> they don't have a problem that hun sen was a former khmer  
172 rouge | or is that a topic>

173 S: it is not a topic| but they want to know what position | why hun sen  
174 joined khmer rouge and then later on hun sen go to Vietnam | why |  
175 say why

176 E: <<asking> what do you tell them about why hun sen joined the khmer  
177 rouge | what you tell them>

178 S: oh | it's seen that the beginning in nineteen seventy nine | when  
179 hun sen was living in kampong cham | so he was fascinated by erm  
180 sihanouk | he said in | and also wrote in hun sens (dramen)

181 E: well except that's not the truth

182 S: <<asking> that's not the truth>

183 E: no | he is telling you a lie | because he joined the khmer rouge  
184 earlier than that | he joined the khmer rouge | he followed his  
185 teacher to phnom penh in nineteen sixty eight

186 S: oh

187 E: in early nineteen sixty eight he was only about sixteen or something  
188 like this

189 S: oh at the

190 E: he was born in fifty three or what | I forgot |  
191 [I have to check that ]

192 S: [erm erm around that ]

193 E: like so many other lessons | you know | during the khmer rouge and  
194 erm | and afterwards he rewrote history and said | because he cached  
195 things up with sihanouk | he said he is sihanouk's son you know |  
196 morally I am his son | and I answered the appeal of sihanouk on the  
197 radio | this is why I joined the khmer rouge | (.) | untrue

198 S: yeah

199 E: no it seem to think that they also of course ask questions about |  
200 you know the trio | you have paintings of chea sim and heng samrin |  
201 chea sim and heng samrin are professional revolutionist | you know  
202 they joined the khmer rouge in | they joined the khmer rouge in the  
203 time of the first chinese war | and from erm | and from erm that  
204 they join the viet minh | and they never had any other job before |

205 R: hm  
206 E: so like ta mok | hun sen | thea are professional revolutionaries  
207 R: okay  
208 E: professional politicians  
209 R: <<asking> so you would say that's not a problem for cambodians that  
210 hun sen is a former khmer rouge> | that's just interesting why  
211 E: no it's a big problem  
212 R: <<requesting> it's a bog problem>  
213 E: because you know | they don't like us to teach that | erm as far as  
214 he is concerned | he is teaching a private school | but in a state  
215 school I am not quite sure it would be that frank  
216 R: hm  
217 E: one | two | as far as I am concerned (.) | erm I distribute my  
218 course but I don't sign it  
219 R: hm okay  
220 E: there is no name  
221 E: two | each year they renew my contract | or they don't renew it |  
222 you never know | three | they always say | erm the minister | I know  
223 the minister | I know the minister of education | im sethy | I know  
224 him since nineteen eighty nine | so that's over twenty years | so  
225 when I first returned to cambodia | I came my wife who was in an  
226 official mission | you could not come as an private individual | it  
227 was a communist regime | you could come because you were a member of  
228 some kind of organization or because you were a member of a  
229 communist party somewhere  
230 R: hm  
231 E: I was neither  
232 R; hm  
233 E: my wife was a doctor | and she was a member of doctors without  
234 borders | and she was concerned in an international adoptions | so  
235 that was the pretext | that's how we get a visa  
236 R: hm okay  
237 E: but still I was treated like an official | so I was received  
238 officially in the ministry of education and im sethy was just the  
239 person to receive me | he was the director of one department there |  
240 I think it was primary school or something | and he justified | he  
241 was not an ex khmer rouge | he was just not political | he was just  
242 a teacher before | and he just joined the administration | because  
243 you know that many educating people have been killed  
244 R: hm

245 E: and erm erm | right now he is the | now he is the minister | I kept  
246 on with him | he knows right well | and I say well there is major  
247 problems in history | we have currently cohorts with twenty to  
248 twenty five students | we should have ten times more | because it's  
249 a country of erm fourteen million people | erm which should not pass  
250 that dramatically all these students | because you know | they don't  
251 learn very hard because they know they will always pass the exams |  
252 erm we should do teach them critical thinking and so on | we should  
253 change the | the teaching methodology | and he say yes yes yes yes  
254 yes | you are absolutely right | I am going to organize the big  
255 conference you know | in the | because I am teaching at ar: u: pe:  
256 pe: too | the second campus | we are going to organize something |  
257 we can do something | yes but there is not anything

258 R: hm

259 E: because this is how this country is managed | why they manage and  
260 stay in office definitely until they die | you know they | because  
261 they just sit there and do nothing | it's the en: ge: o:'s and the  
262 international organizations who try to do a education health and  
263 rural development | not the government

264 R: hm

265 E: and this men (.) | if he wanted to do something | he would be gain  
266 to have problems | because knowing your history | at least the  
267 history of the last fifty years | since independence | is a  
268 political minefield | they had every political regimes you can dream  
269 of | from you know absolute totalitarian regime to today absolute  
270 knowlessness | everybody can drive at pleased along the road | many  
271 just businesses increases | because nobody is going to | if he has  
272 money | he has dollars | you know he can pretty well do what he  
273 wants | so its complete free for all | erm we say in french  
274 capitalist | sovage | savage capitalism

275 R: hm

276 E: wild capitalism |erm so it is better that | erm you know | that  
277 younger generations do not think too much about [these kind of  
278 things ]

279 R: [hun sen's  
280 background]

281 E: the background | hun sen's background | everybody's backgrounds |  
282 big business backgrounds | of big business you know | leaders |  
283 tycoons background | the main problems of this country today | are  
284 of course land grabbing | many peoples are loosing their land

285 R: hm

286 E: the posters are in the prison not the land grabbers  
287 R: hm  
288 E: the huge amount of corruption | including in that department | erm  
289 half of the students you know work really slow | I distribute my  
290 course a week | two weeks or three weeks in advance | they don't  
291 read it | they come to the course | they smile | they listen | they  
292 take notes | but they don't work very much at home | so when you  
293 know when you test them you realize that they know very slow | first  
294 of all the don't know the facts | secondly they don't know how to  
295 organize the facts | thirdly they don't know how to exercise a  
296 critical thinking to the facts | give meaning to the facts  
297 R: hm  
298 E: and history you know | you can have very different views of history  
299 R: hm  
300 E: they are not just one set history | not one official history | and I  
301 telling them | I see this like this | but you may think differently  
302 | every single individual in this room can think individually | so  
303 for my last course which is next tuesday on the first of june | I  
304 simply give them a series of questions about the political system  
305 here | because I am supposed to go down until two thousand and six |  
306 writing something about hun sen is a mystifical | because you know |  
307 he is just in the middle of it | so I have a series of questions  
308 around the political system | the economy | society | I just have  
309 questions | I said I can not answer these questions but every single  
310 individual student here can answer questions differently from me |  
311 and you might be right | there is no absolute truth you know |  
312 except you know that two million people died under the khmer rouge |  
313 pol pot was the head leader | you know you have a few facts which  
314 are rough sure sure you know | but the interpretation | the story  
315 you can different kind of | and my last question is | do you think  
316 as young people that | you have | you have a future in this country  
317 | do you really think you have a future in this country | do you  
318 think YES | or do you think NO and why | this is my last question  
319 R: this is a difficult question  
320 E: it is a very difficult question | but I want them to think about it  
321 | you know | after my course and continue to think about it  
322 throughout their life | erm because they must become from subjects  
323 to being citizens  
324 R: hm  
325 E: and they are just subjects | they have been subjects since  
326 independence | they have been subjects of mister norodom sihanouk |



368 to es: twenty one | and they have no interest in cambodian history |  
369 I am sorry about that | erm and they are not erm | they would hate  
370 dark tourism ((smiling voice))  
371 R: okay  
372 E: my wife particularly ((still smiling voice)) | my sisters | my  
373 brother | my children you know | but it's a bit silly | because they  
374 must understand about other people suffering | in some ways it's a  
375 bit of a shame | if you tell me that choeung ek has improved ((the  
376 researcher told him about during lunch)) | I can't say that | and  
377 erm es: twenty one I returned | I took some students | you know last  
378 summer | from the museum | my point of view | it's a disaster  
379 R: hm  
380 E: erm | I asked they to become the museum to become the museum of  
381 democratic kampuchea and not just es: twenty one | because they have  
382 plenty of space and rooms | but nobody really have done that | they  
383 made a few improvements | but there is no upkeep | they have  
384 improved some of the display | of the photographs | but even the  
385 photographs you know  
386 R: hm  
387 E: I am feel very erm ambiguous about the photographs | it's on you  
388 know  
389 R: hm  
390 E: the television | you see erm | accidents | you see demonstrations |  
391 you see explosions every day | and people suffering | people dying |  
392 people dead | if you know those pictures were members of my family |  
393 I would be very offended you know  
394 R: hm  
395 E: that they are bended throughout the world  
396 R: yea  
397 E: and I think it's a intrusion into the privacy of the people | it's  
398 just disgusting  
399 R: hm  
400 E: if it is for research purposes | yes  
401 R: hm  
402 E: but to show around to everybody | I think it's unpleasant | it's  
403 disgusting | it sick's me | and I think there is a commercialization  
404 of this | everything is good you know | for this regime to make  
405 money  
406 R: hm  
407 E: And this is part of it | [particularly ]

408 R: <<asking> [but the tuol sleng] museum is still leaded  
409 by the government | so it's not>  
410 E: it's the ministry of culture I think  
411 R: hm  
412 E: I know the director | it's a nice man | but they have no money  
413 R: hm  
414 E: there is no money | the only money they get is from | I am the one  
415 you know | ten years fifteen years ago said you know | why do you  
416 not charge the visitors | they said oh yes of course | and they  
417 charged the visitors | not the cambodian ones but the foreigners |  
418 so at least they can pay the salary | and they can pay the upkeep of  
419 the building  
420 R: so it's not commercialized | <<asking> [but its starts]>  
421 E: [Its comer ]cialized so  
422 far as the erm salary of the director must have been multiplied by  
423 ten  
424 R: okay ((smiling voice))  
425 E: instead of earning thirty dollars | he has now three hundred dollars  
426 a month  
427 R: hm  
428 E: erm because the state will never give him a decent salary  
429 R: hm | so  
430 E: and is this state | there is no money for culture and no money for  
431 education | AT ALL | there is no money because | not because they  
432 are poor  
433 R: hm  
434 E: because they don't collect the money | as you know | virtually the  
435 rich pay no taxation  
436 R: okay | no I didn't now | I don't | I am not so much into these kind  
437 of thins  
438 E: virtually  
439 R: okay  
440 E: you know what is on the land tax here | house tax | the pool tax |  
441 R: hm  
442 E: zero  
443 R: okay ((smiling voice))  
444 E: zero | (-) they are poor because | originally because they came out  
445 of the khmer rouge | but that is thirty years ago | they are poor  
446 because they are very bad in manage | you know like most countries  
447 in the south  
448 R: hm

449 E: not because no nature | is very very generous | they should be the  
450 one who help us  
451 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
452 E: absolutely | to be the other way around ((smiling voice))  
453 R: <<asking> so do you think the visitors | the cambodian visitors | we  
454 have one here ((smiling voice)) | we have one here | do they like to  
455 visit this places as well | [do they use this places for  
456 commemoration]>  
457 E: [I know that some you know organi  
458 ]zed tours | people are very angry | because they came  
459 to cambodia to enjoy the country | enjoy life | enjoy the  
460 restaurants | samsei | the sex live you know | very nutty things |  
461 very bad things | and then they come to choeung ek and tuol sleng  
462 ((derisive smiling voice)) | they never asked for that | and there  
463 Re some people very angry  
464 R: hm  
465 E: I think it's SPECIAL | it should not be you know compulsory | like I  
466 always obt doubt | they got there by coach loads  
467 R: hm  
468 E: taken there whether they really have an interest or not | it's like  
469 in Europe you know | some people go to the cemetery | the war  
470 cemetery throughout northern france | of the first world war the  
471 second world war | alright you might me | that might be your special  
472 interest | why should everybody go there  
473 R: no  
474 E: or go to auschwitz | I went to auschwitz because I wanted to compare  
475 with  
476 R: tuol sleng  
477 E: tuol sleng | and I saw it completely different  
478 R: hm  
479 E: these sites have absolutely nothing in common | except that the  
480 people were killed en masse  
481 R: hm  
482 E: that's the only similarity | so I am glad that I went | but I went  
483 because I had a special interest in history | and because I was  
484 invited in Poland | you know polish university to have a talk |  
485 otherwise I would not have travelled all the way from lyon to  
486 auchwitz | it just happened because I was not too far from it  
487 R: okay  
488 E: and to have this special interest  
489 R: hm

490 E: and the idea of making tourism out of the suffering out of the  
491 people is quite horrendous to me

492 R: hehe | <<asking> and what do you think | you said already with the  
493 pictures and the photographs | probably relatives don't like the  
494 display there>

495 R: I don't know | I don't know | I just | the khmers react in very  
496 different way | and if it was my mother my daughter my sister | I  
497 would say that is my property | it is stolen | there is no copy  
498 right | the khmer rouge never allowed me or her or she or that man  
499 to take a photograph | and so you have legally no right to display  
500 on public

501 R: mh

502 E: or you know | I am the narrator | I can tell you the copy right | it  
503 is one million dollars | otherwise you keep it in your archives

504 R: hm

505 E: or something like that | no I think it's disgusting

506 R: <<asking> do you think your classmates or your students | do they  
507 want to go to the tuol sleng museum | to see it | or to choeung ek |  
508 or is it just | or do they wish to>

509 S: it it | still depends | because if you study history of cambodia |  
510 the history of democratic kampuchea

511 R: yes

512 S: they would go | but most of my friends who study business | who  
513 study management

514 R: <<asking> they are not interested>

515 S: four years in phnom penh they never go | so so | I think its  
516 different if you study history | you would go and you want to go |  
517 but if you study in other fields | you are not interested at all |  
518 cambodian people are not interested at all

519 R: okay

520 E: with the bones its even worse | because it's shocking for european  
521 culture | and absolutely revoking for cambodian culture | because it  
522 means that the person who is murdered by the khmer rouge died a  
523 second death | because he can not go through the usual process of  
524 death | you know separation of the soul and the body | erm and they  
525 believe in reincarnation | they didn't have the rights | so the  
526 bones if you are buddhist | of course if you are chinese its  
527 different | if you are buddhist must be incinerated | so I believe  
528 that the researchers must do their job for the khmer rouge tribunal

529 R: hm

530 E: for the recording of history | eventually we finished our job | you  
531 know for the prison system | because these bones are useful |  
532 because at least it's one evidence of a prison very often | but once  
533 the | the work

534 R: is done

535 E: is over | once the (xxx) beneath | eventually myself | and de: ce:  
536 cam: have finished investigating the prisoner system | all that  
537 should be one day selected in cambodia | one day during the (xxx  
538 xxx) | or the time they celebrate the dead | which is usually in the  
539 end of september | so over a period about two or three weeks | the  
540 time of (xxx xxx) | they single out one day | they incinerate all  
541 these bones | and that's finished

542 R: hm

543 E: you know | they are now there for the erm japanese tourists | or the  
544 french tourists or the german tourists | to glare and gloat

545 R: hm ((insecure harrumphing))

546 E: I think it's particularly disgusting

547 R: yea

548 E: that's how an | I know they were an instrument of vietnamese  
549 propaganda | when the all these minorities were set up nineteen  
550 seventy nine nineteen eighty | why | there is no freedom in those  
551 days | they collectivized | they had a regime like east germany |  
552 which was of course much better than the pol pot regime | but a  
553 traditional communist regime | there was no freedom of movement | no  
554 freedom of associ association | no freedom of expression and when  
555 the people started to rumble and complain | the regime would say |  
556 look at these bones | you prefer the pol pot regime

557 R: okay

558 E: do you really want to go back to the pol pot regime | is that what  
559 you want | of course not | so all these younger generations | the  
560 young children | the adolescence | played you know | around the  
561 temple (xxx xxx) | pelt and buildings | and they saw these tank of  
562 bones | <<laughingly asking> do you think it's a good way of  
563 educating children>

564 R: probably not | no

565 E: erm right | another reason is that it was an instrument of political  
566 indoctrination and propaganda for | well from nineteen seventy nine  
567 until the present day | unfortunately

568 R: hm

569 E: now the people if they can avoid the scrutiny of the authorities |  
570 organize in a number of incarcerating ceremonies | and gradually  
571 those heaps of bone disappear  
572 R: hm  
573 E: so the present government is a bit worried | that's why they  
574 construct new | what they have done at choeung ek | but many places  
575 in cambodia | they have been building | the rich men to please hun  
576 sen | or the rich general to please hun sen | built | give out money  
577 to built  
578 R: little stupa's  
579 E: proper stupa's in concrete | strong | with glasses | of course you  
580 still must see the bones | they are locked | to make sure the  
581 children can not open and play with them | so they are preserved |  
582 (-) perhaps we could preserve one place | choeung ek | but even  
583 choeung ek is for me  
584 R: disgusting  
585 E: awful  
586 R: so erm what  
587 E: a stupa | you know a symbol is enough | and what they could do  
588 instead of having the bones is the list as you having in germany |  
589 as the jews has done | as we have done with the first world war and  
590 the second world war | every commune you have a list of all the  
591 people who died under the khmer rouge | the graves in stone that  
592 would be useful  
593 R: yes | the names would be useful  
594 E: as I know | some people are suggesting it at the tribunal  
595 R: <<asking> so what kind of stories did you hear from anlong veng  
596 since nineteen ninety nine | is there any | do you have a clue if  
597 there was any information flow or was it just the overthrow of the  
598 bandits and then there was silence until two thousand one | or was  
599 there something in between>  
600 E: I never follow anlong veng closely | because this was never a khmer  
601 rouge base for me | is just the refuge of the last remnants | you  
602 know of the defeated khmer rouge army | for instance for some  
603 pleasant people | like pol pot and ta mok ((ridiculing smiling  
604 voice))  
605 R: hm ((smiling))  
606 E: so for me | I just had happened | my students took me there |  
607 otherwise I would not have chosen to go there  
608 R: okay

609 E: and I thought I did not waste my time | it was | it's worth seeing  
610 and you understand ta mok better | I understood he was a warlord |  
611 he was like a mandarin  
612 R: hm  
613 E: he sway | you know he thought he was a superior spirit | superior  
614 human being | who knew everything  
615 R: hm  
616 E: therefore he had a right of life and death over everybody | he were  
617 not really communists | predates communism you know by far  
618 R: hm  
619 E: but using communist methods | communist techniques | and erm | so  
620 you understand a little bit more about | how the way their minds  
621 worked of this people  
622 R: hm [okay ]  
623 E: [when he] died you know | they made a huge ceremony | many people  
624 wept (-)  
625 R: <<requesting> sorry>  
626 E: many people were weeping during | you know the funeral ceremony | he  
627 was buried not incinerated | so ta mok was more chinese than  
628 cambodian ((smiling voice))  
629 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
630 E: and the journalist did not notice that | very important  
631 R: hm  
632 E: you could be sure in this country | if somebody is more chinese than  
633 cambodian | is incinerated right next door | no sorry buried | if  
634 its chinese its buried | if its cambodian it incinerated  
635 R: okay  
636 E: and you don't know | until he dies or she dies  
637 R: that's interesting yes | that's crazy  
638 E: so ta mok is more of a chinese | I am not surprised | he was such  
639 friends with the chinese  
640 R: hm interesting | if you say anlong veng is not really a place of  
641 importance for yourself | <<asking> do you think [it is for some  
642 others]>  
643 E: [no no it would be  
644 ] of importance | I am thinking of (xxx) | because we are  
645 really really really would like to find is if there are any  
646 surviving erm prison orders | prison directors | prison chiefs still  
647 around there in the country | but that would be the most difficult |  
648 because nobody would confess that he was a prison directive | that  
649 he was a chief executioner

650 R: hm | but I mean in pailin and in anlong veng  
651 E: it might be in pailin | in samlot | in phnom erm | phnom malai and  
652 anlong veng | there might be one two three four five left | but it's  
653 like you know | looking for we say a needle in a haystack  
654 R: yes  
655 E: good luck  
656 R: <<asking> so what do you think about the governmental decision |  
657 that they want to promote site>  
658 E: money | money | they hope that it will create a few jobs | that's  
659 all  
660 R: hm | so  
661 E: no interest in history on the government side | some people are  
662 interested | certainly de: ce: cam: is interested in history | of  
663 course they provides them a lot of jobs and money too  
664 R: hm | it is documented that two thousand cambodians are visiting  
665 anlong veng each month  
666 E: uh ((surprised))  
667 R: <<do you have a | do you have an [explanation for that]>  
668 E: [I didn't know that ] | I did not  
669 know that | I am surprised  
670 R: I am not | I don't know if the numbers are accurate  
671 E. accurate  
672 R: since you said that they are sometimes a bit  
673 E: there might | local people might go there because it's close to the  
674 thai border and to buy thing  
675 R: No no | they visit ta mok's house and the grave | it was written | I  
676 think I have it here ((looking for the source))  
677 E: I have no interpretation  
678 R: you have no interpretation ((smiling voice))  
679 E: just curiosity  
680 R: curiosity | it's in ((still searching for reference))  
681 E: I hope it's not because they worship pol pot | (-)  
682 R: cambodian daily  
683 S: cambodian daily  
684 E: I have no idea  
685 R: <<asking> so erm | do you know recent news about anlong veng>| the  
686 last news I heard were that they plan | have a master plan | but no  
687 money for it | and since then it's like  
688 E: that's right | because there is this man | I forgot his name | he  
689 said that he was going to sell erm ta mok's | what was it | shoes |  
690 I forget

691 S: nhaem in  
692 E: nhaem in | that's right | nhaem in | <<asking> you have got his name  
693 | nhaem in>  
694 R: no | that's a good point  
695 E: you write en: h: i: em: ((spelling)) | en: h: is like nia | there is  
696 an i: | en: h: i: yes | <<asking the student> niem or njam>  
697 S: njehm  
698 E: <<asking> njem>  
699 S: njehm  
700 (...)  
701 ((try to spell the name but finally the student writes it down for  
702 the researcher))  
703 R: <<asking> and he tries to sell the shoes of ta mok>  
704 E: I think it was the shoes  
705 S: of pol pot  
706 E: <<asking> ah | of pol pot>  
707 S: ta mok  
708 E: <<requesting> you said the shoes of pol pot | the sandals of pol  
709 pot>  
710 S: (--)  
711 E: I don't know ((laughing))  
712 R: someone's sandals ((smiling voice)) | <<asking> and they want to  
713 exhibit it>  
714 E: you understand that very well because you have the same thing with  
715 hitler | it's a whole trade of paraphernalia | of managiast | hm  
716 ((laughing))  
717 R: it would be impossible such a thing like anlong veng | in germany |  
718 it would be like | ahhh  
719 E: exactly as I think | no this country has no morality what to offer  
720 R: so its  
721 E: everything is good to make money | that sell young girls | they sell  
722 young boys | look and careless  
723 R: then of course my last question would be | <<asking> what you  
724 personally think about hun sens | erm he said that the place will be  
725 educative for national and international tourists and it would be  
726 were fruitful to learn more about cambodias past>  
727 E: no | because it's not a common past | its cambodian present and  
728 nothing about the past | the cambodian past is in | of the khmer  
729 rouge movement is in paris ((writes down in the researchers note  
730 book nineteen fifty three to nineteen seventy)) | in beijing  
731 ((writes down in the researchers note book nineteen seventy to

732           nineteen seventy four)) and in hanoi ((writes down in the  
733           researchers note book nineteen thirty six to nineteen fifty three))  
734           | in rattanakiri and in hanoi yes of course | and then you  
735           understand the khmer rouge past | not in anlong veng when the  
736           movement was finished  
737       R:    hm  
738       E:    it's the appendix | it's the appendix of the movement | and it  
739           explains he is dead | so it doesn't explain anything | it's just a  
740           graveyard  
741       R:    hm  
742       E:    it's the graveyard of the communist movement ((smiling voice))  
743       R:    <<asking> so you are questioning that the khmer rouge are operating  
744           the site by themselves | does it make it immoral | the whole think |  
745           that the guides are former khmer rouge and they have their own story  
746           of the site>  
747       E:    it depends on what | what sort of khmer rouge | were they common  
748           people | were they leaders | in that case its immoral  
749       R:    hm  
750       E:    if they were only soldiers | were recruited erm | erm who have |  
751           press gang | you know in the eighteenth century the british navy  
752           recruited young children and adolescence | they went to villages and  
753           | they press ganged them |they forced them to come and | and row the  
754           boats of | you know | is a very dangerous job | very tiring | they  
755           were press gang this young people | now that they are sixty | in  
756           their fifties and sixties | they have no money | no pension | erm if  
757           they can make money with tourism | why not  
758       R:    hm okay  
759       E:    but if it's ta mok's family | no | that cooks  
760       R:    there is a clear distinction  
761       E:    oh | oh yes | it was a completely hierarchical society | there was  
762           no polity | you have no | you know in a communist regime it is more  
763           unequal than | you know eastern germany was more unequal than  
764           western germany  
765       R:    hm  
766       E:    yes  
767       R:    of course  
768       E:    less egalitarian  
769       R:    so erm | <<asking> do you think it matters for cambodians that khmer  
770           rouge | ex khmer rouge | are operating the site and getting money  
771           out of it | or they don't think about it that much>  
772       E:    it's very little money anyway

773 R: sorry  
774 E: it's very little money  
775 R: so it's that  
776 E: no very important  
777 R: yes it makes is | relativists it  
778 E: if again if they were the victims | the young adolescent soldiers |  
779 erm when they were recruited they were victims of the khmer rouge  
780 like everybody else | you know they were made to kill | they didn't  
781 want to do that | they were drawn  
782 R: hm  
783 E: when they join the revolution they never want to become torturers  
784 and executioners  
785 R: hm  
786 E: so I mean how can you blame them | they have nothing to survive |  
787 they have no food | they have children to educate | grandchildren |  
788 they have no pension | how can they survive  
789 R: <<asking> so it's okay that they get a bit money out of it>  
790 E: no problem | not for the poor  
791 R: hm  
792 E: the way they make money | you know | is netter than begging in the  
793 street  
794 R: <<asking> so you questioning the decision of the government to  
795 promote the | the site>  
796 E: that's a decision but they do never do anything to implement it  
797 R: hm okay  
798 E: they can make decisions | that's just bla bla bla  
799 R: [they | I think they sell it ]  
800 E: [they don't provide | they don't] provide the erm | they don't  
801 provide any capital | to make anything decent  
802 R: hm  
803 E: you know | but you can't do anything decent anyway  
804 R: [they say ]  
805 E: [apart from] preserving the two houses of ta mok | that's the only  
806 two things that are worth preserving  
807 R: okay | and erm | I forgot what I wanted to ask | erm | that its erm  
808 | that they promote it on their website in order to gain | or to  
809 develop the area  
810 E: they want more dollars | that's the only thing | they want more  
811 dollars from outside | from overseas | from your dollars | from my  
812 dollars  
813 R: mh | so pro poor tourism they call it

814 E: pro poor tourism ((smiling voice))  
815 R: you can call it like this  
816 E: yes pro poor tourism | when it's called for pro rich they call it  
817 pro poor  
818 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
819 E: cause | yes if the backpackers you know | backpackers like yourself  
820 R: yes  
821 E: will encourage pro poor tourism | because you go to cheap hotels and  
822 you go to cheap restaurants | because the vast majority of the rich  
823 tourists in siem reap erm | bring no benefit to the cambodian  
824 government for ever  
825 R: that's foreign companies | yes  
826 E: apart | yes foreign companies | apart from small salaries | very  
827 very low salaries | just enough to survive  
828 R: hm  
829 E: at the beginning of the beginning of the industrial revolution  
830 R: <<requesting> in cambodia>  
831 E: no like in the west you know | I studied it in england you know  
832 R: hm  
833 E: when marx and engels wrote the condition of the working classes |  
834 you know in england  
835 R: hm  
836 E: it's the same today | except that it's warmer | so everybody is  
837 smiling | but I mean it's the same working conditions  
838 R: yeah | so erm  
839 E: it's like in the days of the industrial revolution  
840 R: <<asking> do you think its worth to go there and it's kind of an  
841 enhancement of the tourist [destinations in cambodia]>  
842 E: [it's worth going ] |  
843 <<requesting> ah if its worth for the general tourist> | no | its  
844 not worth going there | it's a waste of time | there is many more  
845 interesting things to do  
846 R: <<asking> and when they on the way to preah vihear>  
847 E: Ph | you can go to preah vihear without going to anlong veng | ph |  
848 again you can | you know we have an | give me star | a guide | you  
849 know one star two star three star four star | I would just give them  
850 one star  
851 R: okay ((laughing))  
852 E: if you happen to be close go there | but don't go out of your way |  
853 it's not worth it  
854 R: okay

855 E: unless it's the subject of your master | masters thesis  
856 R: erm | <<asking> do you know if some people are against the | the  
857 thinking about the past of cambodia | [are there some groups outside  
858 the government ]>  
859 E: [yes of course the ce: pe: pe:  
860 | the ce: pe: pe:] does not want to think about the past | because  
861 they represent themselves as totally democratic | as having  
862 deliberated cambodia from the khmer rouge | erm if it have been for  
863 the ce: pe: pe: | pol pot would be still in power here today  
864 R: hm  
865 E: so | they don't want the people to know the past | not at all  
866 and not to talk  
867 R: and other groups are | former khmer rouge or | <<asking> is there  
868 some grouping kind of | of mindsets>  
869 E: I thought from time to time that the khmer rouge leaders | you know  
870 from a kind of network at least | but were not really | no |  
871 R: hm  
872 E: I think they are afraid | they don't want to speak too much |  
873 because they are afraid of hun sen's police | suong sikceun with  
874 whom I wrote with | he worked for radio democratic kampuchea in  
875 hanoi | during the civil war it was broadcasting not from the (meki  
876 ((cambodian expression | unclear)) | not from the forest | not from  
877 cambodia | but from a suburb of hanoi  
878 R: hm  
879 E: and in the book there is almost nothing  
880 R: okay  
881 E: because he is afraid of the vietnamese you know | because he is  
882 afraid of erm hun sen | so they are just afraid of hun sen you know  
883 | they don't want to speak too much  
884 R: hm | <<asking> but generally the public would | you cannot say  
885 generally | some people are interested some not | and you have to  
886 create interest probably>  
887 E: there is no public opinion here because you don't have parties | you  
888 have just one organisation | the ce: pe: pe: | the opposition is  
889 very weak | because its very stupid | and then its united  
890 R: hm  
891 E: there is no public opinion really | because people do not like to  
892 discuss | because under the khmer rouge it was very dangerous to  
893 discuss about general problems | under heng samrin regime the same |  
894 you could go to prison and to death too  
895 R: hm

896 E: so you don't discuss | you don't protest | you are very calm you  
897 just enjoy live | you go to karaoke ((smiling))  
898 R: hm ((smiling voice))  
899 E: and you enjoy life | there is no public opinion | and the vast  
900 majority of the population is very poor | eighty percent are very  
901 poor | they are only concerned about earning their living | that's  
902 all they do to day  
903 R: hm  
904 E: and those who are not so poor are only concerned getting a better  
905 motorbike | a better car | car | very materialistic | a better  
906 telephone | a new television set | even if they are richer | travel  
907 to singapore or to bangkok | if they are very rich travel to america  
908 or europe  
909 R: <<requesting> the twenty percent>  
910 E: no | the very rich are one or two percent  
911 R: okay  
912 E: fifteen to twenty percent are like him | you know just can survive  
913 R: okay | I have to into that | so erm | <<asking> do you think there  
914 are disagreements between the former khmer rouge and erm | victims  
915 in villages | when you visited these places>  
916 E: erm this is a question you have to ask de: ce: cam: because they go  
917 into that very much  
918 R: okay  
919 E: erm | I think erm | by in large people are just calm and quiet about  
920 that | and it's no longer than | because it's more than thirty years  
921 now | it's no longer the cause of erm | and erm | most of the khmer  
922 rouge who really have done a lot of killing | are either dead or  
923 abroad | as I said this morning in the class | or in government  
924 R: hm  
925 E: erm they are minister | they are erm | governors of province or vice  
926 governors | or they are kuhm | district leaders district governors  
927 or they are khum leaders or phum leaders| they are in the position  
928 of responsibility of power | so (.) | people are afraid of them  
929 R: hm  
930 E: but there are less and less now  
931 R: mh  
932 E: because they are dying now  
933 R: of course they are getting old  
934 E: it's a new generation

935 R: so | I read that in some parts the people are afraid of a comeback  
936 by the khmer rouge | <<asking> is that true or do you think | its  
937 impossible>  
938 E: no it is not | it is never | it's just propaganda | its impossible  
939 R: hm  
940 E: it has always impossible from june nineteen seventy nine | they were  
941 completely eroded and expelled from the country  
942 R: hm  
943 E: it's a myth since nineteen seventy nine | erm developed from  
944 perpetrated by | and prolonged rather | by hun sen  
945 R: hm  
946 E: why should they return | they are in power now  
947 R: I don't know | it's the people worrying for it  
948 E: they are in paranoia | how can they return  
949 R: that's why I don't  
950 E: that is why the standard of education is so low  
951 R: <<asking> so do you think it's a dangerous place to travel | or is  
952 it a safe place>  
953 E: absolutely safe ((talking on the phone))  
954

955

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956 From time 57:28 to 01:00:56 mister Locard talks on his mobile.

957

958 While he was talking, I used the time to get contact and background  
959 information from the student. He did his bachelor in history and  
960 English in phnom penh. Currently, he is teaching at a private  
961 college for technicians and it-students. Besides that he wrote some  
962 artices for magazines and is working at youth for peace, the NGO I  
963 visited the day before. He works there at the reconciliation office,  
964 what we discovered accidentally during conversation. After mister  
965 Locard finished his talk, he turned back to us and showed himself  
966 positively surprised that we were talking about Long Khet, the  
967 director of youth for peace. He acknowledged that it would be a nice  
968 organization.

969

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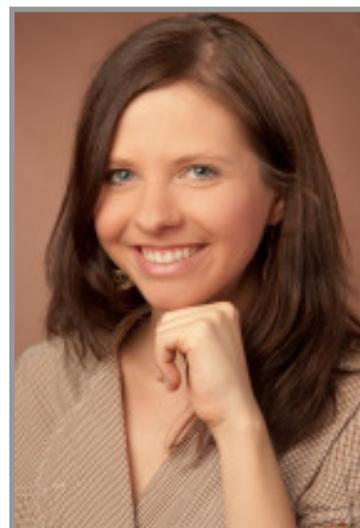
970 R: my last question would be | <<asking> if you personally think that  
971 cambodia is ready for international tourism>  
972 E: oh absolutely | it has been ready for a long time now  
973 R: hm

974 E: erm at least since the year two thousand or even earlier in the  
975 nineteen nineties | there is a lot of tradition you know | from even  
976 before the second world war | international tourists  
977 R: yes a lot  
978 E: yes  
979 R: I think twenty to forty thousand tourists came a year | during the  
980 sixties  
981 E: oh in the sixties of course | but even before | the second world war  
982 | [the thirties]  
983 R: [oh you mean ] even before  
984 E: there were already international tourists coming  
985 R: okay  
986 E: of course selected | just a fe

## Persönliche Daten

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**Geburtsdatum/ -Ort:** 15.12.1983, Leutkirch im Allgäu  
**Familienstand:** ledig



## Hochschulausbildung

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- Seit 03/2010 Masterarbeit mit dem Thema „Memory, Morality and Dark Tourism – The contested historical heritage of Anlong Veng District, Cambodia“.  
**Voraussichtlicher Studienabschluss Anfang August 2010.**
- Seit 10/2008 **Masterstudium „Global Studies“** mit interdisziplinärer sowie internationaler Ausrichtung.
- Forschungsorientierter Masterstudiengang, der sich mit der Globalisierung und den sie begleitenden Prozessen in den Ländern des Nordens wie des Südens auseinandersetzt
  - 10/2008 – 08/2009 Universität Leipzig, Deutschland  
09/2009 – 12/2009 University of California, Santa Barbara  
01/2010 – 08/2010 Universität Wien, Österreich
  - Persönliche thematische Vertiefung in entwicklungspolitische Fragestellungen und Auswirkungen der Globalisierung auf die Kontinente Asien und Afrika
- 03/2008 **Bachelorabschluss „European Studies“** (Europäische Kultur und Ideengeschichte) an der Universität Karlsruhe (KIT) mit der **Note 1,7**.
- Interdisziplinäres Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliches Bachelorstudium. Vertiefung in Geschichtswissenschaften. Nebenfach „Angewandte Kulturwissenschaften“.
  - Prüfungsthemen „Entstehung einer islamischen Opposition am Beispiel der Muslimbrüder in Ägypten“, „Motive der Portugiesischen Expansion im 15./16. Jahrhundert“, „Die Rolle der Frau in der Französischen Revolution“.

## Schulbildung

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- 06/2003 Allgemeine Hochschulreife mit der Abschlussnote 2,3 am „Technischen Gymnasium“ (TG) Leutkirch.  
Leistungskurse Gestaltungs- und Medientechnik und Deutsch.
- 07/2000 Werkrealschulabschluss mit der Abschlussnote 1,3 an der „Grund- und Hauptschule mit Werkrealschule am Adenauerplatz“, Leutkirch.
- 07/1999 Hauptschulabschluss mit der Abschlussnote 1,7 an der Grund- und Hauptschule Gebrazhofen, Leutkirch.

## Auslandserfahrungen

---

- 05/2010 Feldforschung im Rahmen der Masterarbeit in Phnom Penh und Anlong Veng, Kambodscha.
- Qualitative Leitfadeninterviews mit Experten, die sich im Bereich der Wiederversöhnung von Opfern und Tätern des Khmer Rouge Regimes engagieren
- 09/2009 – 12/2009 Auslandssemester an der University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB).
- Absolvierte Seminare: Theories of Intercultural Understanding, Sociology of Globalization, Transnational Forces and Political Systems, Global Organizations and Civil Society
- 07/2007 – 11/2007 Auslandssemester an der Griffith University (GU), Australia.
- Absolvierte Seminare: Intercultural English, Terrorism – It's Causes and Consequences, Crimes and Politics in Southeast Asia
- 03/2004 – 04/2004 Freiwilligendienst mit der NGO „Greenway Thailand“ im Had Yai Hospital, Thailand.
- Assistenz Tätigkeiten im Krankenhaus
  - Medizinische Versorgung entlegener Dörfer mit dem mobilen Klinikteam
- 03/2008, 03/2007, 03/2006 Jeweils mitwirkend an den Harvard Model United Nations Simulationskonferenzen in Puebla (Mexico), Genf (Schweiz) und Peking (China).

## Extracurriculares Engagement

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- 10/2007 – 09/2008 Vorsitzende der „Model United Nations Initiative Karlsruhe e.V.“ (MUNIKA).
- Verantwortlich für die Auswahl der Delegierten, deren thematische Vorbereitung sowie deren Schulung in der Verfahrensordnung von UN-Konferenzen
- 10/2006 – 04/2007 Mitorganisatorin der Teilnahme der Delegation der Karlsruher „Model United Nations Initiative“ in Genf.
- Verantwortlich für Pressearbeit
- 10/2005 – 04/2006 Mitglied der „Model United Nations Initiative Karlsruhe e.V.“
- Unterstützung des Sponsoring-Teams
- 4/2005 – 07/2005 Engagement in der Hochschulgruppe „Global Marshall Plan Initiative Karlsruhe e. V.“, die sich um die Promotion der UN Millennium Development Goals bemüht.
- Pressearbeit sowie Assistenz in der Durchführung von Vortragsreihen
  - Höhepunkt: Realisierung des Vortrages des Friedensnobelpreisträgers M. Yunus im Jahr 2007
- 04/2005 – 07/2006 Redaktionelle Mitarbeit bei „Ventil“, Studierendenzeitschrift für den Raum Karlsruhe/Pforzheim.

## **Praktika und Arbeitserfahrung**

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- 06/2008 – 07/2008      Entwicklungspolitisches Praktikum beim Internationalen Hilfswerk „MISEREOR“ in Aachen in der Asienabteilung.
- Auswertung der Wirkungserfahrungen von Misereor-Stipendiaten aus den Transformationsländern Südostasiens, die am Asian Social Institute (ASI) in Manila studiert haben
  - Recherche zur Anwendung von Mediationstechniken in Fällen von räumlicher Vertreibung
  - Mehrtägige Begleitung einer von der GTZ geleiteten Delegation des vietnamesischen Gesundheitsministeriums während ihres Aufenthaltes in Aachen
- 04/2006 – 07/2006      Projektbegleitendes Praktikum „Europäische Kulturtag Karlsruhe 2006“ in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Kulturamt Karlsruhe.
- Redaktionelle Mitarbeit an der Homepage der Veranstaltung
- 09/2003                      Praktikum im „Filmbüro Baden-Württemberg e.V.“
- Assistenz in der Organisation des Russischen Filmfestivals 2003
- Seit 2005                      Nebenjobs während des Semesters sowie verschiedene Vollzeitjobs in der vorlesungsfreien Zeit in der Gastronomie, dem Einzelhandel, Kinderbetreuung und der Industrie.
- 11/2000 – 09/2003        Nebenjob als Pflegehelferin im „Seniorenzentrum Carl-Joseph“, Leutkirch.

## **Auszeichnungen und Stipendien**

---

- 10/2008 – 08/2010        FeeWaiver Stipendium der Europäischen Union zum Studium des Masterstudienganges „Global Studies“.
- 10/2007                      Auszeichnung für „Herausragendes außeruniversitäres Engagement“ durch den Rektor der Universität Karlsruhe.
- 2006-2008                      Stipendien zur Teilnahme an den Harvard World Model United Nations Konferenzen in China, der Schweiz und Mexico.

## **Sonstige Kenntnisse**

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- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Sprachkenntnisse   | Deutsch:            Muttersprache<br>Englisch:            Fließend in Wort und Schrift<br>Italienisch:        Gut<br>Spanisch:            Grundkenntnisse |
| Computerkenntnisse | Sehr gute Computerkenntnisse in MS Office und Gestaltungsmedienprogrammen.  |
| Interessen         | Literatur, Tanzen, Radfahren, Familie und Freunde, Snowboarden und Reisen.  |

Wien, den 18. Juli 2010

