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

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Master (MA)
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

**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 Choeung 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” (GCET), 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 cannot 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 internationals 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPK</td>
<td>Communist Party of Kampuchea (leading political party in Cambodia today)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC-Cam</td>
<td>Documentation Center of Cambodia (leading independent research institution concerning the genocide in Cambodia, promoter of remembrance and justice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>Democratic Kampuchea (Pol Pot regime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCC</td>
<td>Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Khmer Rouge tribunal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICTJ</td>
<td>International Center of Transitional Justice (Non Governmental Organization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPRP</td>
<td>Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party (predecessor of CPP, leading communist political party until Pol Pot’s takeover)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOT</td>
<td>Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRK</td>
<td>Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (Vietnamese occupational government between 1979 and 1989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-21</td>
<td>Security Office 21, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (ruled the country between 1991 and 1993)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>United Nations World Tourism Organization</td>
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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 20th 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 19th 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 9th 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).
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 leaded 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 seems 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”
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 let 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):

![Fig. 3: Cambodia visitors’ statistics (Ministry of Tourism 2009)](image)

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 Choeung 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](image)

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 Choeung Ek, constituting the other popular dark tourism site of the country at the outskirts of Phnom Penh
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](image)

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 Cambodian’s 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, Choeung 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 7th 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 20th, 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 of 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 room 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 “Choeung 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, Choeung 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”.

![Image](image.png)

**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).

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.

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 has 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 Choeung 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 Foley’s 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 Choeung 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 curse 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 20th 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. Bokat, 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 (25 years old, son of rice farmers), there were just seven sites of interest, one of which were the temples of Praeh 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 site. We left the town in order to get to the Dangrek Escarpment where Ta Mok’s mountain top house is situated. After 10 km 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.

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.

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 Khmer script written list of them, displayed in the following (translated by the researchers guide, see figure 14).

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

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

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 where 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. Bokat, 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. Bokat. 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. Bokat 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 remerging, 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 Choeng 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 save 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 fractions, 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. (Appendic 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 Choeung 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 Choeung 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 Choeung 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 Choeung 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 Choeung 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. Bokat, 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. Bokat, 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. Bokat, 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. Bokat, 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. Bokat 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 guy’s face. And he has been famous for many years. He was responsible for the Khmer Rouge. (Appendix C 2, Mr. Bokat, 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 lot of crimes in Cambodia, he lead a convey 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)

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)

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)

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. Elian 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 grotesce.

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 deducted 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
Western 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 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, dark tourists can 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 harm victims than helping 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. Frequent 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 Foley’s 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 17th century European Grand Tour by going global and visit places of recent mass political violence and conflict, meaning places of the 20th 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” (Crescel 2006, p.2). Detecting tourism as not simply being the consumption of destinations, Crescell 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 indispensible 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.
9. **Resources**

9.1. **Edited books**


9.2. Essays/Journal Articles


9.3. Online Sources

Available at: http://www.adb.org/Documents/Fact_Sheets/CAM.pdf
[Accessed August 22, 2010].

Available at:
http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/diplo/de/Laenderinformationen/Kambodscha/Wirtschaft.html
[Accessed July 9, 2010].

Available at: http://www.eccc.gov.kh/english/about_eccc.aspx

Available at:
[Accessed August 22, 2010]

Available at: http://www.film4.com/reviews/1984/the-killing-fields

Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/0,1518,672726,00.html

Available at: http://www.ictj.org/en/tj/785.html
[Accessed August 19th, 2010].

Available at:
[Accessed August 22, 2010]

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Available at:

UN-OHRLLS, United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and the Small Island Developing States, 2010. UN-OHRLLS: Least Developed Countries - Country profile Cambodia.


Available at:
http://www.google.de/#hl=de&source=hp&q=Country+Pages+%26+Key+Indicators+%26+ cambodia%2C+world+bank&aq=f&aqi=&oq=&gs_rflai=&fp=969acc27eca3c52
[Accessed June 18, 2010].

9.4. Documents/Conference Papers/Surveys


Governmental Circular on the Preservation of Victim Memorial, December 2001. Circular on Preservation of remains of the victims of the genocide committed during the regime of democratic Kampuchea (1975-1978), and preparation of Anlong Veng to become a region for historical tourism.
Available at DC-Cam:


Available at:

Available at:
Available at:
http://pub.unwto.org/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Infoshop/Products/1391/1391-1.pdf
[Accessed August 22, 2010]
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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 Choeung 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?
- Choeung 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: Tourism Macabre

By Andy L., on 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$" everywhere I asked in Siem Reap. I had the pleasue of riding with the infamous GST bus service but to my big surprise the trip was fairly painless, except for the usual karaoke-video... The ride cost me 7$ 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 - niiiiice!

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 infront 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, 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.


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.


Aber alles verlief gut.


Ta Mok war ein Offizier der Roten Khmer und an umfassenden Säuberungsaktionen beteiligt, was ihm den Beinamen "Der Schlächter" einbrachte. Obsehns das Regime 1979 entmachtet wurde, konnte er weiterhin im Norden des Landes seine Befehlsgewalt durchsetzten. 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, 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 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.
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 of 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 where 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 Pots 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 priviledge of visiting Pol Pots 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. Than 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, January 24, 2008

Available at:
[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 15th of May 2010 and 3rd 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 “ = ”
Location and date of recording: Phnom Penh, Tuesday, 18th 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
A: das ist hier wichtige genocide in cambodia das sind die dokumente des neunzehnhundert neunundsiebziger
R: mh
A: prozesses
R: <<asking> der vietnamesen>
A: genau und ich mein jedes wort daran ist programm
R: hm
A: weil aeh genocide hat die bedeutung aeh dass die khmer rouge aeh verbrechen begangen haben wie HITLER und das und das hier pol pot und ieng sary da steht nicht documents from the trial of the khmer rouge leaders
R: hm
A: sondern man hat das quasi personalisiert ne das ist auch dieses pol pot ieng sary clique dieses ist auch ein wort das sich hier durchzieht das ist wie in china die viererbande das ist eine bande im grunde eigentlich abweichler vom wahren kurs und wenn man mit alteren leuten spricht wie mit aehm es gibt da so einen das kann ich ihnen das darf ich ihnen glaub schenken ((stands up to get a compact disc from the shelf)) das ist der film we want you to know da hat ein herrn aus (kortsche) ein herrn (son lei) leider ist diese stelle von der ich ihnen jetzt erzaehle nicht auf dem film wie manches interessante da leider nicht drauf konnte
R: hm
A: aeh aber diese szene wurde einfach weggeschnitten aus platzgruenden also herr (son lei) singt spielt auch (tschapei) das saiteninstrument
R: hm
A: der singt da von den FASCHISTEN in kambodscha
R: hm
A: damit der herr ist eigentlich der herr war mit dabei wie tuol sleng von den vietnamesen befreit wurde das heisst die vietnamesen wollten verlaessliche kambodschaner als zeugen dabeihaben dafuer dass sie das nicht alles inszenieren ne
R: hm
A: was sie da vorfinden also die wussten durch geheimdienst schon ungefaehr was sie erwartet sie waren wahrscheinlich trotzdem ein bisschen von den sachverhalten dann doch erschuettert ((smiling voice)) sie wussten also schon was sie erwartet und erm haben wollten aber nicht dass irgendjemand sagt sie kommen und manipulieren
R: hm
A: das alles und dieser herr (son lei) der von sich sagt dass
sein schon in den sechziger jahren wie er mit den vietnamesen
zusammen gearbeitet erm vielleicht ist er auch ein ehemaliger
KOMMUNIST und der hat auch diese version drauf dass es im grunde
genommen faschisten seien
R: mh
A: ich meine das ist so ein propagandistisches element wenn man
und hier finden sie uebrigens auch wieder die helen jarvis wieder =
ne die leiterin der victims support section = ne die helen
jarvis aehm die
R: hm
A: die auch eine marxistinleninistin ist und die auch ein interesse
hatte damals zu sagen was die khmer rouge gemacht haben ist eben
nicht kommunistische revolution das ist aeh abweichung
R: hm
A: das war auch fuer die vietnamesen in dem sinn notwendig weil es
natuerlich auch wahrend ihrer militaerischen kampagnen gegen die u:
es: a und gegen die suedvietnamesische armee natuerlich auch hin und
wieder mal kriegsverbrechen
R: passiert sind
A: begangen wurden die haben manchmal auch kriegsgefangene exekutiert
| wenn das suedvietnamesische kader waren haben sie nicht lange
gefackelt = ne
R: hm
A: gesorgt die laufen ihnen dann wieder davon schiessen dann
muessen sie sie noch mal einfangen drum haben sie sie umgebracht |
und das haben sie hier wahrscheinlich in kambodscha auch mit lon nol
soldaten aeh umzubringen war wahrscheinlich auch aeh im sinne von
hanoi = ne
R: hm
A: im sinne der vietnamesischen freunde der khmer rouge damals noch |
neunzehnhundert fuenfundsiebzig das hat sich ja dann aeh
R: | gespalten | hm |
A: [neunzehnhundert sechszundsiebzig siebenundsiebzig geandert aber
ich denke kriegsverbrechen also naturlich nicht unter diesem
namen aber unter historisch notwendigen entscheidungen ja
R: hm
A: dass man politische gegen eliminiert ich denke das war durchaus
im sinne einer im sinne einer marxistischleninistischen revolution
| wahrscheinlich wird man jetzt nicht so viel hoeren beim tribunal
davon = ne
R:   hm
A:   man wird sich auf die grossen verbrechen gegen die menschheit | der
khmer rouge konzentrieren
R:   <<asking> da formuliert man schon vorsichtig | mit dem begriff
genozid oder crimes against humanity>
A:   ja | das ist aeh | nochmal schnell wegen kriegsverbrechen gegen die
menschheit | ne die | das ist ein bissle komisch | an diesem
verfahren wird sein | normal ist es eher umgekehrt | man man kann
vor dem gericht viele crimes against humanity verhandeln | nehmen
sie bosnien
R:   hm
A:   aber dann | sobald man hoeher geht = ne | crimes against humanity
oder gar genocide | wird die luft duenner | dann heisst es eher nee
| aeh lieber nicht | aeh | lieber die leute dafuer dingfest machen
wofuer man gute beweise hat
R:   mh
A:   ich denke am khmer rouge tribunal wird es umgekehrt sein | man wird
| aeh | ueberall beweise fuer crime against humanity haben | und
alles moegliche | wie zum beispiel zwangsehe | wird auch als crime
against humanity anerkannt | aber man wird sehr wenig hoeren ueber
bestimmte kriegsverbrechens
R:   hm
A:   kontexte | zum beispiel was habt ihr mit den | ich weiss nicht ob es
ueberhaupt verhandelt wird | ob die frage was habt ihr eigentlich
mit den lon nol soldaten gemacht | und was habt ihr mit den
koenigstreuens soldaten gemacht | was habt ihr mit den anhaengern |
aeh mitgliedern der koenigsfamilie gemacht | ich glaub das wird
alles | jetzt halt im moment glaub ich noch | wenn etwas unter den
tisch kekehrt wird | dann das
R:   hm | neben den allgemein bekannten delikten praktisch
A:   ja weil | zum beispiel koenigsfamilien hat das problem | die will ja
| das sind ja zwei in kambodscha = ne | die norodom und die
sisowaths | und die sind eng miteinander aeh verbunden = ne | damals
hat norodom shihanouk es toll gefunden | dass die khmer rouge | aeh |
verschiede mitglieder der sisowathfamilie gefangen genommen haben
weil die lon nol unterstuetzt haben | und dieser andere putschist
namens siri matak | und aeh ja | dann eigentlich mit der tragischen
konsequenz dass sehr viele von diesen leuten dann im (poentrobau) |
in der (poetro) high school | wo dann de: ce: cam: die | sein neue
zentrum haben wird ((standing up to look for something))
R: mh
A: dort sind diese leute dann irgendwann angeblich verhungert = ne |
und eingegangen | verflixt wo hab ich das | aehm | letzte woche war
hier koenigsgeburtstag | da war wieder ein | hinten auf der beilage
zum cambodian daily war | aeh die aeh | die genealogie des hauses
norodom
R: hm
A: und da gibt unten | etliche prinzessinnen und prinzen gestorben in
neunzehnhundert fuenfundsiebzig | gestorben neunzehnhundert
sechsundsiebzig | viel zu viele = ne | in ein zwei jahren | die sind
da letztendlich | da in der (poentrobei) school | entweder man hat
sie verrecken lassen oder irgendwann doch auch umgebracht
R: hm
A: und das ist im grunde genommen die grosse | wenn man will | darf
mans tragik nennen = ne | von sihanouk = ne | dass er im grunde
genommen erst zugestimmt hat | dass diese leute inhaftiert hat |
dass diese inhaftiert wurden | dass er es begruessst hat | mit der
konsequenz dass ein mitglied seiner familie | seiner mutter
R: hm
A: aeh umgebracht werden | und aeh das | was sagte die sisowath
koenigsfamilie dazu heute = ne | da meinte der damalige
pressesprecher der extraordinary chambers of the court in cambodia |
sagte zeitausend (.) und sieben | im august | tja der koenig ist
normaler buerger | den koennen wir auch vor gericht zitieren als
zeugen = ne
R: mh
A: fand er | dann sagte hun sen | NEIN | wenn das gericht unser KOENIG
in den schmutz ziehen will dann schaffen wir lieber das gericht ab =
ne
R: hm
A: und aeh | prinz aeh | sisowath tomiko geschrieben | meinte damals |
als das ist ein berater von norodom sihanouk | und er war so eine
art pressesprecher von ihm | der meinte dann tribunal sofort dicht
machen | majestaetsbeidigung = ne
R: mh
A: dicht machen | sagte | also sagte ein mann = ne | der durch die
khmer rouge und aber auch letztlich durch die zusammenarbeit von
norodom sihanoumk mit den khmer rouge | etwa fuenf sechs | also
mindestens fuenf sechs onkel und tanten verloren hat = ne
R: mh
A: wenn nicht | ich weiss nicht so genau | wenn nicht sogar seinen
vater oder seine mutter

R: mh

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

R: mh

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

R: aeh | ich komome aus deutschland | eigentlich

A: wollte ich sagen | im stefansdom sind doch in den katakomben | alle diese pesttoten aufbereitet | das gibt_s auch in EUROPA = ne | aber dann ist mir doch | ist mir wieder eingefallen | naja bei den pesttoten ist es naturlich auch eine grosse ausnahme | weil damals so viele menschen auf einmal gestorben sind | und die waren ja ansteckend = ne

R: mh

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

R: [geworfen]

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

<<asking> darf ich schnell>

R: ja ((A writes the expression down for the researcher))
A: aehm | unsere freunde von der victims association haben eine neue forderung | und zwar | ahh | de: en: a: analysen
R: <<asking> von den toten>
A: ja | das ist so etwas | also ich hatte immer eine angst davor dass jemand diese idee in die runde wirft | aber das ist naturlich aeh | wenn mans jetzt in kambodscha machen wuerde | ernsthaft = ne | dann sprechen wir hier etwa von fuenfzig bis hundert millionen dollar kosten = ne
R: hm
A: die exhumierung von hundert tausenden von schaedeln | mit verfahren untersuchen lassen | wo also ein set kostet | weiss nicht was es heute kostet | dreitausend dollar | neunzehnhundert achtundneunzig aeh | als man ueber toten von srebrenica diskutierte | war es glaub fuenf tausend mark glaub damals | zweitausend fuenfhundert euro | weil das so patente drauf sind = ne | man braucht de: en: a: analyseverfahren wie fuer fossile knochen | also das knochenmaterial ist in sehr schlechtem zustand = ne
R: mh
A: wie von saurierknochen oder mammutknochen | das macht es halt sehr verlaesslich = ne | aber auf der einen seite
R: mh
A: aber auf der anderen seite teuer | da muesste man eigentlich im grunde genommen aus jeder familie eine person blut untersuchen lassen
R: das waere wahnsinnig aufwendig
A: vielleicht | ich weiss nicht | eine millionen bluttests = ne | und ich meine das koennte man in kambodscha mit dem roten kreuz vielleicht organisieren = ne | aber dann brauchte man halt eine institution die das moeglichst auch im land | unter sauber und ausschluss von fehlern | untersucht digitalisiert | dann kann man diese de: en: a: profile aneinander abgleichen und mit neunundneunzig prozentiger sicherheit | was auch nicht schlecht ist
R: hm
A: dann koennte man das rein theoretisch technisch machen | nur aeh | das sind dann | die realitaet ist wahrscheinlich dass alles ungeheuer langsam von statten geht = ne | mit plaetzen wie choeung ek ist es relativ leicht | da nimmt man einfach ((slightly laughing voice)) tschuldigung | man muss halt die nochen theoretisch nur aus dem regal nehmen | und zu untersuchen
R: aber viele graeber sind noch verschlossen
A: aber viele sind eben noch irgendwo verscharrt | oder zum teil auch
wieder verloren gegangen | teils auch doch auch schon verbrannt |
und das waere naturlich auch unterm gesichtspunkt der erwartungen = ne | von ueberlebenden

R: hm

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

R: mh

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

R: hm

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

R: zelebriert oder so

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

R: <<asking> was denken sie denn wie die bevoelkerung darueber denkt> |

A: <><asking> ist es dann

R: auch ueber den beweischarakter der staetten | <><asking> ist es dann

A: so dass man es schaetzt dass besucher sich fuer diesen teil der
geschichte interessieren | oder fuehlt man sich eher gestoert>

A: das war so ein bisschen auch ihre frage mit tuol sleng | also ich

R: aeh | (.) ich | ich weiss zum teil nicht | wie die kambodschaner
dazu empfinden | also eins ist | eins ist | was viele beobachter

A: sagen = ne | was zum beispiel frau jarvis sagt | oder andere leute |
die in den achtziger jahren hergekommen sind = ne | sie sind
gekommen | sie trafen die kambodschner | die kambodschaner haben
sofort alles erzaehlt | ob mans hoeren wollte oder nicht = ne | sie
haben alles erzaehlt was sie erlebt haben | und so weiter | es ist
nicht so wie manche sagen | die kambodshaner reden nicht daruber |
die haben erst sehr VIEL daruber gesprochen | und dann kam in den
neunziger jahren irgendwo die zeit wo sie aufgehoert haben

R: hm

A: viele aufgehoert haben | wo sie sich viele gedacht haben | ich kannn
das nicht hundertfünfzig mal erzählen | ich komm nicht weiter |
oder (.) oder die leute glauben mir nicht mehr | oder kinder glauben
mir gar nicht | oder den kindern will ichs nicht erzählen weil ich
die nicht belasten will

R: hm

A: oder so | was wir jetzt nun übers tribunal erleben | dass dieses
schweigen = ne | frau jarvis hat es ueberwinterung genannt | das
von vielen wieder gebrochen wird | und sie werden jetzt nebenkläger
| oder erzählen was im radio | oder erzählen tatsächlich auch in
ihren familien aus anlass des tribunals | es gibt übrigens | also
meiner meinung gibt es noch einen zweiten grund weshalb die opfer
jetzt | aeh wieder viel sprechen | das ist jetzt nicht einwandfreies
sozialwissenschaftlich untersucht | aeh nur ich | das ist eine
vermutung | wenn man hier in phnom penh in den letzten drei monaten
durch die stadt gefahren ist | man übeall auf eine hochzeit
gestossen | die die | die erste generation der nachgeborenen | also
die die nach neunzehnhundert neunundsiebzig geboren sind die sind
jetzt in heiratsfähigen alter.

R: hm

A: die heiraten mit dem ganzen brimbiorium = ne | das hier dazu gehört
| aber es ist doch auch so dass viele faktisch die familien
verlassen | und zwar beide | also die männer ziehen nicht mehr bei
der schwiegermutter ein wie das hier eigentlich üblich war | war
ein patriarchales land | bisschen überspitzt gesagt = ne | aber
aber | es gibt einige züge der kultur die dafür sprechen | und das
bedeutet eigentlich dass viele überlebende erleben dass ihre kinder
sie alleine lassen | oder sie lassen sie nicht allein | aber sie
erleben dass sie den kindern mit ihren staendigen medizinischen
problemen auf der tasche liegen = ne | und einmal zum arzt gehen ist
fuer viele kambodschaner ein halber lohn | oder ein drittel
monatslohn | einmal zum arzt gehen | und eine krankheit und
spitalaufenthalt fuehrt fuer viele zu erheblicher verschuldung

R: hm

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

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

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

R: hm

A: das ist eine population based | aehm poll | ueber die haltung der |
attitudes about social construction at the extraordinary chambers of
the court of cambodia | aeh gefuehrt | aeh september zweitausend und acht | publiziert januar zweitausend und neun | das sind aeh hier |
das ist hervorragend = ne | weil das | ich meine man kann natuerlich immer bissle unterschiedlicher meinung sein zu quantitativen umfragen = ne | sagen wir so | aber es ist jedenfalls interessant |
es ist sehr gut weil die fehlerquote hier etwa so niedrig ist wie bei einer umfrage zu einer amerikanischen praesidentenwahl
R: mh
A: und die muss natuerlich gut sein | sonst kriegt man aeger = ne |
von den parteien | weil das ist hier totally randomized = ne
R: hm
A: die leute | die umfrager sind mit einem palm rumgelaufen | das ge:
p: es: hat = ne| das heisst sie konnten den ort | mussten sie gar nicht selber eingeben | sondern die maschine hat ihn angegeben | das heisst wenn sie den auftrag hatten an dem ort zu fragen | dann hat die maschine | hat nicht erlaubt zu betruegen
R: okay
A: da mussten sie fragen wie viele haeuser es gibt es im dorf |
aufnehmen | fuenfzehn zum beispiel | mussten sie eingeben | und die maschinen waehlten nach zufallsprinzip das haus aus wo sie fragen sollen | im haus | wie viele mitglieder hat der haushalt | mussten familienmitglieder eintippen | maschine entschiedet wen sie befragen mussten | das hat einen radikal technischer ansatz ((laughing)) | da gibt es so fragen wie zum beispiel | times of preparation before respondents | und dann kommen hier | wenn die das erste mal etwas haben das etwas mit dem gericht zu tun hat | social services | da koennte man sagen zum beispiel schulen | spitaeler | infra strassen | economic development programmes | dann kommen memorial | day of memorial commemoration | <<asking> ja>
R: mh
A: museum hier | aber tendentiell gesagt | bevor die leute so auf diese sachen kommen die was mit kollektiven memorialischen reperationen zu tun hat | die ihnen das gericht zur verfuegung stellen kann | sind sie auf sachen gekommen die generell mit | aeh armut beziehungsweise wohlstan in diesem land zusammenhaengen | weil aehm | das zeigt einfach dass viele leute einfach finden | denken sie sind arm wegen den khmer rouge und der geschichte | und wir wollen es | um uns da raus zu arbeiten brauchen wir erst mal wieder schulen und strassen | ganz interessant hier | housing and land | diese landkonflikte | die in kambodscha toben | und die viele leute verunsichern | haengen nicht | offenbar aeh nicht mit transitional justice zusammen | oder
sprich | mit anderen Worten | die landumverteilungspolitik der
kambodschanischen Regierung | aeh nachdem die vietnamesen gegangen sind | hat eigentlich das von den Leuten als gerecht empfunden = ne
R: mh
A: es ist schwer | es gibt hier keinen einzigen | also ich kenne keinen einzigen Nebenklaeger der ins Gericht kommt und sagt | ich will mein Land zurück | ich hatte so und so viel Hektar und die wurden mir genommen und ich will genau dieses Land wieder zurück | es gibt keinen einzigen
R: hm
A: gut vielleicht gibt es die einen | die en: gi: o:~s haben das eine oder andere ausgeregelt | dass man es vergessen kann
R: dass es keinen Sinn macht | aber es wird eigentlich durch diese Sache hier wieder bestätigt ne dass | dass eben nur fünf Komma ein Prozent der Leute für Land und Housing mit Transitional Justice und Reparationen in Verbindung bringen
R: interessant
A: es gibt auch vom Tribunal selber noch aeh | eine Statistik | aber das sind aber ganz ähnliche Resultate = ne | <<rhetorically asking>>
R: was haben die Nebenklaeger in Ihren Einklagungen geschrieben was sie wollen
R: hm
A: ich meine | das war eine Zwischenstudie | wir brauchen noch mal eine endgültige Studie | weil jetzt die | auch die Frist abgelaufen ist
R: hm
A: die alle die viertausendundvierzig Antragsteller umfasst = ne | aber man wird aber auf ganz ähnliche Sachverhalte kommen | die meisten haben quasi nicht verstanden wozu das Gericht da ist | indem sie Spitäler und Schulen wollen = ne | haben dinge gefordert | die das Gericht ihnen nicht geben kann
R: nicht geben kann
A: nicht geben kann | nicht geben will | die Politiker wollen Ihnen auch nicht geben | also jedenfalls nicht durch das Gericht | und aeh aeh | aber zum anderen hat im | vielleicht auch Statue Memorial Museum | das | das kommt auch vor = ne
R: <<asking>> dass sie sich das schon Wünschen
A: ja | im Fall von | im Fall eins ist es so dass die KSEMKSAM | also die Victims Association hat gesagt | also hat zwei Forderungen | erstens ein Denkmal in Tuol Sleng mit den Namen | zweitens de: en: a: analyses.
R: hm
A: und das | ich meine das | aeh | beruht natuerlich auch auf einem
schmerzhaften prozess | in dem man den leuten einfach gesagt hat |
leute vergesst das jetzt mit den finanziellen | aeh forderungen |
oder haltet sie sich fuer spaeteren | ungeheuer zynisch | spaeteren
zeitpunkt | aber im grunde genommen ist es so | wenn es kambodscha
in zwanzig jahren tatsaechlich besser ginge | und dann von den
ueberlebenden von der pol pot zeit nur noch fuenfzigtausen uebrig
sind | fuenzigtausendend die auch noch arm sind dazu | dann koennte die
regierung ja vielleicht irgendeine sonderpension
R: einfuehren ja
A: fuer diese leute beschliessen = ne
R: mh
A: dann so als entschaedigung = ne | damit die in anfuehrungszeichen in
WUERDE sterben koennen | aber jetzt ned wo es noch fuenf millionen
ueberlebende der khmer rouge zeit gibt | individuell
entschaedigungen machen zu wollen = ne
R: hm
A: das ist nicht moeglich
R: hm
A: das ist wie in deutschland mit den zwangsarbeitern | das ist tolle
entscheidung eigentlich | dass es einen entschaedigungsfond fuer
ehemalige zwangsarbeiter gab = nicht | aber war natuerlich auch
nicht ganz zufaellig | dass das so lange gedauert hat | bis man sich
dazu durchgerungen hat
R: <<asking> aber wie ist es denn generell innerhalb dieser gruppen> |
<<asking> sehen sich ehemalige khmer rouge auch als opfer>
A: ja
R: schon auch
A: neunzig prozent der kambodschaner sagen sie seien opfer
R: <<asking> also egal bei welcher gruppe sie waren>
A: ja | die die khmer rouge | aeh des waren | koennen sie bei ce: j:
ar: | das ist der nachfolger von ce: es: de: | center for justice
and reconciliation | haben in anlong veng das public forum | die
haben des sicher gefilmt | ich koennten denen vielleicht sagen sie
sollen sie diesen film ankucken lassen | das ist aehm | da hat eine
frau gesprochen | aeh da gibt_s auch einen kleinen artikel im
cambodian daily | aeh | kann ich ihnen vielleicht zumailen
R: hm
A: die ist vom tribunal verdaechtigt | also ist eine kandidatin fuer
fall drei vier fuenf oder sechs | weil sie war die kommandantin die
das grosse wasserreservoir in banteay meanchey | das ist ein ein riesiger stausee = ne | also wirklich riesig und tief in der mitte
R: hm
A: also ein tolles vogelparadies an einem ende | und aeh | man sieht da sind auch noch unheimlich viele khmer rouge heute | weil das sind riesige reisfelder | fuenfzig hektar im besitz von einer familie = ne
R: hm
A: das gibt_s in kambodscha sonst nirgends | das heisst das sind wahrscheinlich ehemalige khmer rouge | weil die anderen sich gar nicht getraut haben da hin zu gehen | das wasser reservoar sind sicher | da muss man de: ce: cam: fragen | aber die todesrate duerfte in die zehntausend gehen = ne | wenn nicht allein hunderttausende dort kreiapt sind = ne | aber zehntausende bestimmt | und diese frau war die kommandantin dort | und die kam auch an das public forum und sagte | ich bin ein opfer der khmer rouge | und ich habe angst dass ich zu unrecht vor dieses tribunal gezogen werde | ich fuehle mich unsicher | aber das sagen ja alle khmer rouge = ne | wir haben auch gehungert | wir haben verwandte verloren | und das stimmt ((laughing)) wahrscheinlich auch alles = ne
R: hm
A: die khmer rouge haben ja auch auch verwandtschaft | die fuehrer haben gesagt scheiss auf verwandtschaft = ne | das heisst wenn jemand erwischt wurde | ein khmer rouge der seine verwandten betrauert | ja dann war man ja vielleicht faellig | oder manchmal war die mutprobe fuer kindersoldaten | war die eigenen eltern umzubringen im reisfeld = ne | das aeh das heisst es | wenn die khmer rouge des sagen | dann kann man in den meisten faellen sagen das stimmt ja vielleicht | dass die leute sich dadurch als opfer fuehlen | also wenn das kindersoldaten sich als opfer fuehlen ist sowieso sehr legitim
R: hm
A: jetzt nochmal zurueck zu der frage wie fuehlen sich die kambodschaner damit | aehm tuol sleng = ne | also das war glaub neunzehnhundert und vierundachtzig | dass es vom militaerisch abgeschirmtten | aeh ort von beweisen = ne | in ein museum umgewandelt wurde | ich darf jetzt nicht sagen wer | aber jemand im museum | der dabei ist | der meinte aeh | er sei damals zwangsabkommandiert worden = ne | das war ein angestellter des nationalmuseums | und es wurde gesagt | du und du und du gehen jetzt nach tuol sleng

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R:   hm
A:   es wollte niemand | es wollt niemand dort hin = ne | das heisst auch
er richtig wollen kambodschaner dort nicht so
R:   <<asking> wollen nicht dort sein>
A:   die wollen selber nicht hin
R:   <<asking> und sie interessiert auch nicht wer dort hin geht>
A:   sie wollen selber nicht hin | weil | ich mein ich weiss es nicht ob
das jetzt legitim ist = ne | nur (-) | ich will nicht nach auschwitz
| also meine grosseltern sind dort umgebracht worden | ich will da
nicht hin | ich ((laughing)) war schon in bergenbelsen | und ich war
schon in dachau | aber ich will ehrlich gesagt nicht nach auschwitz
| und jetzt wegen den anderen | aehm | ich meine tuol sleng sind die
| sind die leute eigentlich sehr befliessen | weil es eigentlich
immer noch der auftrag der welt zu zeigen was die khmer rouge
gemacht haben | und das tun sie fleissig | und ich meine es gibt in
tuol sleng etwas | wo diese schildern | die sagen man soll nicht
lachen | aber ich glaube es sind eigentlich | die meisten die lachen
sind die jungen kambodschaner die nicht wissen wohin mit ihrer
verlegenheit.
R:   hm ((smiling voice))
A:   ich weiss nicht | es kann schon sein dass | dass es auslaender gibt
die da kaltschnaeuzig sind | also die meisten die ich dort gesehen
habe sind sehr bedrueckt und sehr befliessen | aeh dort keine | aeh
emotionen zu zeigen die | die kambodschaner vielleicht beleidigen
eroentnten | sondern die hoeren sich das alles sehr interessiert | und
aehm
R:   ehrfuerchtig
A:   wenn nicht ehrfuerchtig an
R:   hm
A:   dann | fuer mich ist es | was mich sehr unangenehm beruehrt
mittlerweile ist chum mey | einer der ueberlebenden der | er lebt
davon dass er fuehrungen macht | der kriegt auch mehr geld als der
offizielle fuehrer dort | ich meine der hat so ein
sendungsbewusstsein | dass er es den leuten allen erzaehlt | der
fuehrt jeden an den ort wo seine zelle war | dann setzt sich da hin
| grabscht sich die eisenstange | macht sich wieder fest | zeigt so
war sie fest gemacht | und sagt | in diesen munitionskasten mussten
wir kacken | und wenn wir daneben gekackt haben mussten wirs
auflecken | so aeh ich | das ist ein | ich mein | das ist ein mensch
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| der ist | chum mey ist ein sehr lebenserfahrener | sehr aehm | auf 
| eine gewisse weise mensch | auf die eine art sehr konkret 
| R: | wie es war 
| A: | der erzählt einfach schlicht wie es war | fuer mich der ich das 
| ankucke | ich kanns kaum ertragen | ich will das ehrlich gesagt 
| nicht mehr sehen | ich mein | ich hab so viele leute da hingebraucht 
| um das mit chom mey anzukucken | ich hab keine lust mehr | ich sag 
| ich will nicht mehr | diese szene will ich nicht mehr 
| R: | sehen muessen 
| A: | sieh es mir irgendwie leid tut dass der onkel hat | 
| ich nenne ihn onkel | der onkel hat quasi aeh | an dieses tuol sleng 
| aeh so gekettet ist = ne 
| R: | mh 
| A: | alle drei ueberlebenden | die es jetzt noch gibt | bou meng kommt 
| immer mit kamerateams hin | der lebt ein bisschen weit entfernt | 
| den kann man nicht | ist ein bisschen gebrechlicher | den kann man 
| nicht so schnell | schnell engagieren = ne | aber der macht auch 
| fuehrungen | und vann nath macht jeden samstag fuehrungen | der 
| haengt an der dyalyse | des ist ein todkranker mensch = ne | der wird 
| im moment in calmette ((hospital)) wieder zusammengeflickt | der (.) 
| der bekommt auch einen teil seiner einkuenfte 
| R: | aus den fuehrungen 
| A: | aus den fuehrungen | auch die solidaritaet | wo er im spital ist | 
| das heisst alle drei muessen ihren lebensunterhalt weitgehend ned 
| durch ihre zeugenschaft | aeh zeitzeugenschaft bestreiten | das tut 
| mir irgendwo wEH | haette es lieber irgendwie anders | jetzt anlong 
| veng | ist es aus meiner sicht einfach anders | weil in anlong veng 
| hocken sie ja wirklich noch | diese ehemaligen khmer rouge | aeh aeh 
| | muss mal schnell kucken ((is standing up and looking for something 
| in the shelf again)) 
| R: | nochmal kurz zu diesen gruppierungen | ist es dann so dass aehm die 
| | aehm opfer des khmer rouge regimes | die opfer die sich als opfer 
| bezeichnen obwohl sie taeter waren | <<asking> anerkennt werden als 
| opfer oder eher nicht> 
| A: | das ist noch nicht so so hundert prozentig aehm ausgetragen = ne 
| R: | hm 
| A: | aehm im weitesten | haengt den | ich find_s nicht | komm gleich 
| drauf zurueck | aehm in laendern wie peru gabs eine 
| wahrheitskommission | und im zuge der diskussion dieser 
| wahrheitskommission | ist irgendwie der begriff des ofers durch den 
| des ueberlebenden ersetzt worden 

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R: hm
A: da gabs dann tatsächlich streit weil einige leute sagten | was ist
der überlebender | es ist wichtig ob er taeter oder opfer war
R: hm
A: mal überlegen | <rhetorically asking> und warum soll ein
überlebender taeter entschaedigung kriegen> | die taeter haben sich
dort auch vielleicht als opfer gesehen mit schlechten traeumen bis
heute = ne | hier in kambodscha spielt es jetzt nicht so eine rolle
weil es nicht um geld geht.
R: hm
A: vielleicht ist es von dem her gar nicht so dumb | dass das tribunal
keine individuellen entschaedigungen gibt = ne | weil
R: <<asking> sonst wuerde man sich vielleicht streiten>
A: ich glaub eher nicht | ich glaube es wuerde sehr viel unfrieden
geben | also wenn man jetzt einem nebenklaeger | also wenn mans
jetzt aendern wuerde | okay jeder nebenklaeger tausend dollar auf
die hand | es waere entsetzlich | also ich denke die leute koennten
sich nicht mehr retten vor neid = ne | jetzt chum mey hat einmal
etwas gesagt was ich gar nicht erwartet habe | aeh er sagte | ich
hab ihn gefragt | naja onkel mey wie fuhlen sie sich | sie sind ja
im tribunal als nebenklaeger in vier verschiedene gruppen geteilt |
also vier | sie haben das problem dass diese anwaelte | viele von
den karrieristen | vor allem die internationalen | die wollten halt
sichtbar sein | IHRE gruppe | die de: ce: cam: nebenklaeger sagen
sie haetten die groesste gruppe | ich hab gruppe eins mit anwalt
nummer eins {{ironically laughing}}| aldo und ein sehr ungeheuerer
aroganter mensch | und aeh ich fragte chum mey wie er sich da fuehlt
| und er sagte andreas | mein herr neffe | eigentlich sollten wir
nur eine gruppe sein | das hab ich vermutet dass er das sagt | das
wollte ich eigentlich hoeren | doch dann hat er etwas gesagt | das
wollte ich eigentlich nicht hoeren | er sagt naemlich | schau |
unter bestimmten umstaenden waere ich bereit mit (him bui) | das ist
einer der menschen die in cheong ek wahrscheinlich hunderte | wenn
nicht tausende menschen eigenhaendig erschlagen haben | waere ich
bereit mit (him bui) einen ueberlebendenverband zu gruenden | wenn
er ehrlich ist | also wenn er sich ehrlich entschuldigt | dann waere
ich dazu bereit | und aeh | das habe ich irgendwie nicht | das war
mir | solche gefuehle waren mir relativ neu | weil aeh | sie denken
zwischen juden aeh und deutschen aeh hat es so etwas nie gegeben |
sondern die juden die | die heute deutschland vertrauen | zum
beispiel wenn sie von kiev nach deuchalnd umsiedeln um in
Deutschland zu leben = ne | die glauben halt dass die deutsche Gesellschaft in ihrer Verurteilung des Naziregimes so verlässlich geworden ist = ne | dass belastbar ist und man sicher sein kann | in Fünf, Zehn, Zwanzig Jahren werden die Deutschen immer noch dieses Naziregime verurteilen | deshalb kann man da gut leben | aber nicht dass sie sich irgendwie mit | was weiß ich dem Bundeführer von Birkenau oder dem Werfer der Zyklon be: Kartuschen sich treffen wollen und sprechen wollen | geschweige denn einen Verein gründen = ne | und aeh ich weiß nicht | das ist jetzt vielleicht die Folge von Buddhismus = ne

R: mh

A: ist es auch vielleicht die Folge oder Zeichen davon | also mir gefällt der Titel eigentlich nicht | social reconstruction | weil es ja | die sagen nicht reconciliation | weil kambodschaner verwenden das Wort KAR PSAH PSAH

R: <<requesting> kar psah psah>

A: kar ist die Tätigkeit | ich schreibs ((writes it down for the researcher)) | das ist aehm | das wiederzusammensuchen und zusammen schmelzen | wie bei einem Eisenrad das in seine Teile geborsten ist | und der Schmied fügt es wieder zusammen = ne

R: mh

A: also das sind die Teile | wenn wir es zusammen nehmen können wir es heilung nennen | oder das wieder | oder wörtlich das wieder zusammen fügen und zusammenschmelzen | oder heilen | oder wenn man will versöhnen | aber

R: also nicht Vergeltung | sondern ein ganz anderer Ansatz

A: das ist so | das ist ein Bisschen | das ist eine Gesellschaft = ne | die eigentlich zutiefst zerrissen ist | wo die Leute eigentlich einander nicht mehr trauen = ne | das ist auch eine Folge des aehm | ihnen noch was zum lesen ((standing up to get a book for the researcher)) | das trauma Handbuch | mistrust = ne | aeh gell | nicht zusammen leben arbeiten kennen | das ist hier in Kambodscha eigentlich eines der Grundschachverhalte | ne dass wenn man irgendwo in einer Community was machen will = ja | ein gemeinsames Lager fuer polierten Reis = ne | oder eine Reismühle

R: hm

A: eine Mangotrocknungsanlage | oder ein kleines Museum | oder ein Widerstand leisten gegen Vertreibung und Zwangsenteignung | dann kann man in jedem Moment | wieder immer auf das gleiche stossen | dass die Leute einander nicht trauen | dass sie sagen | ja mit dem kann man nicht | oder man macht was | fängt zusammen etwas an |
stößt dann auf widerstehende = ne | oder auf unterdrückung wieder
von oben | und dann | fffff | gehen die Leute wieder auseinander.

R: also es ist der Wunsch sich zu versöhnen | und das funktioniert in
der Praxis noch nicht dementsprechend | «asking» kann man
vielleicht sagen>

A: also entsprechend davon träumt eigentlich diese Gesellschaft davon
| von kap psah psah | das ist eigentlich die Wiederherstellung der
brüderlich geschwisterlichkeit | geschwisterlichkeit | der bonkeon
| bon sind die älteren Geschwister und bon ((probably keon)) die
jußgen Geschwister | alles zusammen bonkeon | heisst die
geschwister

R: hm

A: das ist das was die | was hier die Politiker alle gern sagen | wenn
sie bonkeon | sie schwören eigentlich dass es eine Gesellschaft der
geschwister ist = ne | und | also gerade dann wenn sie das Messer
wetzen | oder Tschuldigung | wieder eine Vertreibung vorbereitet
wird | wird das gerne verwendet | das wort | aber es ist eigentlich
so ein Traum dass diese Gesellschaft wieder eine Gesellschaft der
geschwister werden mochte

R: hm

A: und aeh | das sieht man zum Beispiel auch an der Hoch | eigentlich
an jeder Hochzeit | da hocken die Kambodschaner | eine Hochzeit in
phnom penh wird in Tischen und Gerichten gemessen = ja | aeh ich
meine | ich komme gerade von einer Hochzeit | «rhetorically asking»
so wie viele Tische wie viele Gedecke | je mehr Tische je mehr
gedecke natürlich desto reicher | an jetzt | an einem Tisch sind
immer zehn Leute = ne | die sitzen so | was ziemlich eng | so ein
bisschen größer | ein Runder Tisch | und eigentlich so ellbogen
und Knie berühren einander ((a demonstrates how it looks like with
armes and body)) | also auch mit Fremden = ne | die Musik ist
meistens so laut dass man kein | also Konversation kannst du da
vergessen | das ganze besteht eigentlich darin dass man dieses essen
einander zureicht | und (. ) und | oder in der Mitte so ein Ding zum
drehen nimmt | und dann dreht man das so dass die Oma da drüben
zuerst nehmen kann | und laechelt sich staendig an und schenkt sich
gegenseitig ein | das Bier Whiskey und das Eis | also wenn man zwei
Stunden da sitzt ist man staendig damit beschaeftigt anderen kleine

R: gefaellig[keiten ]

A: [gefaellig]keiten zu erweisen | das geben und nach dem
geben nehmen | im Prinzip der Anthropologen

R: hm
A: und das ist das | wenn hier irgendetwas in kambodascha kar psah psah
dient | dann die hochzeit | weil die leute von verschiedenen
politischen lagern | verschiedenen buergerkriegslagern | die sitzen
da dann zusammen an einem tisch und sind nett zueinander | und aeh |
das fuehrt soweit | dass kann man | wie der spiegelredakteur | der
der ein groesseres buch geschrieben hat | aehm
R: ich weiss wen sie meinen | ich hab auch schon buecher von ihm
gesehen
A: der hat geschrieben dass die tochter von pol pot kuerzlich in die
burgoise verheiratet wurde = ne
R: hm
A: was im einzelnen jetzt dahinter steht weiss ich auch nicht | aber so
ist es halt irgendwie | man aeh
R: das leben geht weiter
A: man macht neue seilschaften | das heisst auf kambodschanisch (ksai)
| also seil eigentlich = ne
R: hm
A: so beziehungsfaeden | man knuepft neue beziehungsfaeden | man
vernetzt sich im sozialen umfeld | wenn das funktioniert ist es auch
kar psah psah | aber es ist halt eben auch viel traum dabei =ne |
also die oligarchie | die findet sich mit den leuten da unten
eigentlich nicht wirklich | die empfindet sie nicht wirklich als
bungpaen | nur in den sonntagsreden und wenn es zu begruendung von
vertreibung und landraub geht | dann wird das wort gerne in den mund
genommen | bungpaen
R: <<asking> wie schreibt man das denn>
R: hm
A: es gibt so eine art bangpaonitaet | sozusagen geschwisterlichkeit | das gibt_s auch irgendwie | also wenn in kambodscha | also was eben
zum teil nicht funktioniert ist politische solidaritaet | aber was
hier staendig und gut funktioniert | ist teilen | ressourcen teilen
| also ich habe zwei kinder = ne
R: hm
A: also wenn ich jetzt | sagen wir mal ich geh mit einem in die
baeckerei | das ist ausprobiert | ausgetestet | und ich kaufe einem
ein stueck kuchen | dann komm wir nach hause | und teile dem kind
mit es muss das mit seiner schwester | aeh teilen | also meine
deutschen europaeischen kinder | NEIN mit der doch nicht | oder okay
NIMMS aber ich ess dann nichts mehr davon | wenn ich das mit einem
kambodschanischen kind mache | geh in die baeckerei und kaufe dem so
eine schokokugel | es macht riesengrosse augen und denkt boa

schokokugel | glauben sie wenn ich sage | oh jetzt haben wir
der anderen was mitzubringen | jetzt musst du teilen
| dann sagt das OKAY | und des | das ist etwas | das ist hier nicht
nur eine ideologie sondern das ist eine figur mit der | in der
hiesigen mentalitaet | die realitaet hat = ne

R: mh

A: die aber auch wieder im grossmassstab doch irgendwie wieder zur
illusion wird = ne | also dass mit bongpaeon | all die mit den
schwarzen nexussen die pfeifen auf bangpaeon | wenn sie dann zum
beispiel anfahren in der nacht und einfach liegen lassen auf der
strasse | da ist nicht viel mit bangpaeon

R: dann ist es wieder egal

A: dann ist es egal | auch eine realitaet | jetzt in anlong veng | das
wollte ich vorher sagen | das ist wirklich eine hochburg | also im
ersten ce: es: de: | das centre of social development | die
vorgaengerorganisation von justice and reconciliation | das ist die
organisation die dieses buch gemacht hat | unsere
partnerorganisation | die waren vorher schon mal in anlong veng | und da war auch | das war auch dominiert von ehemaligen khmer rouge

R: hm

A: und da sass | da gibt_s auch ein bild | ich hab das aber nicht | da
grossen augen | er auch in der ce: pe: pe: | und da sagte der
district gouvernor | oder wie auch immer | aeh auch ce: pe: pe: | aber ehemaliger khmer rouge | pol pot war ein grosser patriot und
eigentlich ein ehrenmann | er wollte nur die heiligen grenzen des
(mohanoko) | des reiches sage ich jetzt mal | verteidigen gegen die
boesen feinde von aussen | das wollte pol pot = ne

R: mh

A: die sagen das | und der pressesprecher sagt | nicht ich will auch
was dazu sagen | das war ein verbrecher | wenn er noch lebte wuerde
er angeklagt | das hat er ueberhaupt nicht gesagt dort |
<<rhetorically asking> warum nicht> | aeh ruecksichtnahme | partiei |
aeh aeh partiei | nicht staatsressorts sondern parteiressort = ne

R: hm

A: weil man braucht ja diese ehemaligen khmer rouge in pailin | in
anlong veng | in aeh malai district | in samlot district wo du
verhaftet wurde | wo andere kandidaten fuer_s tribunal sitzen | man
braucht die ja um die waehlerschaft zu binden = ne | diese leute
sind nicht nur selbst in die ce: pe: pe: uebergelaufen | sondern an
denen haengen auch constituencies | waehlerschaften die diese auch
mitgebracht haben | das ist wie beim aeh | aeh es gibt ja zwei
grosse strategiespiele auf der welt = ne | das eine ist schach das
andere go | das chinesische go

R:   hm
A:   beim schach toetet man den gegner und fegt ihn vom vom brett | und
beii go wird er umzingelt = ne | so lange bis | bis bis er
eingekreist ist und dann hat man gewonnen = ne

R:   hm
A:   das wird nicht vollzogen | aber das ist | in europaeische variante
des rebers werden aber die steinchen umgedreht | das ist hier
eigentlich das ideal der kriegsfuehrung | das sieht man auch bei
souzu | die kunst der kriegsfuehrung | man versucht eigentlich zu
vermeiden = ne | den krieg so weit zu treiben dass man alle gegner
toeten muss | sondem wenn es gut laeuft dann zwingt man sie zum
ueberlaufen

R:   hm
A:   ganze regimenter = ne | das wurde eigentlich hier | das praktiziert
eigentlich hun sen hier bis heute = ne

R:   hm
A:   und zwar nicht nur mit den khmer rouge | aber mit den monarchisten |
mit den ehemaligen republikanern | die lon nol leute | da gibt es
keine nebenklaeger weil die | die grossen leute alle aemter in der
regierung haben | und die | die aeh | aeh wo waren wir jetzt | und
in anlong veng aeh | ich meine das konnte man bei ce: es: de:
fragen = ne | was hat sich veraendert gegenueber dem ersten public
forum und dem zweiten | ich weiss nicht ob ce: es: de: zeit haben
mit der frage zu beschaeftigen | aber ich vermunte es hat sich
einiges veraendert | ich vermunte dass dieser opferdiskurs der taeter
staerker geworden ist | also dass sie noch staerker sagen auch wir
alle opfer | weil opfer sein ist irgendwie die | die indirekte
anerkennung dass | dass pol pot und konsorten verbrecher | taeter
waren = ne | das ist das was die anderen ja nicht sagen | die sagen
er war ein grossartiger patriot und verteidiger des vaterlandes = ne
| wenn die sagen ich bin ein opfer von dem | aeh dann ist das eine
verschiebung im diskurs

R:   <<asking> und das kann man jetzt beobachten>
A:   ich glaube ja | aber

R:   das letzte was ich gelesen habe | das aktuellste von diesem wood |
der zwei Jahre dort war und seine dissertation daruber geschrieben
hat | der hat daruber geschrieben dass man sich wohl momentan | vor
zwei jahren | darüber gestritten hat wie man das Museum jetzt
ausbaut wird | ob es pro Pol Pot oder pro Ta Mok wird | und dass es
wohl zwei Lager gibt die sich darum streiten wie sie das Museum
einrichten | wer dort jetzt als Held betont werden soll | <<asking>
das wiederlegt sich somit wieder denken sie>
A: ja | also ich meine | dass diese Leute sich über so was streiten
zeigt einfach dass die Zeit dort irgendwie stehen geblieben ist
((slightly excited and angry))) | die sind noch | vor zwei Jahren
waren die offenbar noch auf dem Stand dieses Streites = ne | der
auch dazu führte dass Pol Pot zu aehm Hausarrest verurteilt wurde |
und aeh | und dass er entweder dort eingegangen ist oder man hat
nachgeholfen | aber das ist eigentlich die Situation | damals wie
Pol Pot gestorben ist | und irgendwo zeigt es natürlicher auch wie
bequem diese Leute es hatten | dass sie eben zehn Jahre lang | aeh
dass Hun Sen_s versprechen | ihr lauf zu uns uber | dann bekommt
Aemter und werden generalale | als Politiker | bekommt Aemter in der
Partei | dass es eigentlich sehr belastbar war | sehr ernst gemeint
| und aeh | und implementiert wurde = ne | so dass sie sich_s
leisten konnten über diese dinge zu sprechen | ich meine | ich
weiss nicht wie sich das verschieben wird | ich meine | eine | was
jetzt dieses Museum angeht | auch was dieser Photograph das Tuol
sleng da machen will | er hat ja irgendwelche preziosen | ich weiss
nicht | irgendwie Schuhe von Pol Pot
R: [persönliche gegenstände ]
A: [ich weiss nicht | die brille] von duich oder sonstige | (goap) | aeh
wertegenstaende | indogermanisch sanskrit | (goap) ist
wahrscheinlich wert | also solche ah objekte auch einer positiven
kommemoration = ne
R: hm
R: das dings dort | wo Pol Pot da verbrannt wurde | das ist ein
todesort | oder ist ein bestattungsort | ich | ist schwie | ich
persönlich sage ich | es ist schwierig | ich war letztes | letzten
sommer in Deutschland im Frankenwald = ne | da auf einer grossen
lichtung in der mitte ist ein | so ein eichenhain | oder ein
eichenwaldchen
R: hm
R: na sehr schoen | das heisst es war mal ein germanischer tingplatz |
stimmt | und ich weiss nicht | es koennte sein | weil wirklich so
schoen rund mit eichen | und da war ein grosser stein | und da stand
aeh | unseren gefallenen kameraden nummer sowieso | el: a: ha: | das
heisst leibstandarde adolf hitler | das war eine der es: es: | aeh
waffen es: es: division | und mein erstes gefuehl war sprengen | was
wollen die leute da | da gibt_s ueberhaupt nichts zu kommenmemorieren
| nur ist mir dann eingefallen dass ein onkel muetterlicherseits |
aeh war aeh | bei der leibstandarte | zum glueck ist er nicht
gestorben sondern nur den heimataususs damals gekriegt = ne | hehe
R:  hm
A:  aeh und dich mein ja | wenn der jetzt andere junge menschen nebenbei
| kindersoldaten haeufig | und der hat die dann dann neben sich im
maschinenfeuer | gewehrfeuer der roten armee fallen sehen | ich
meine vielleicht waere er auch da hingegangen und haette gesagt |
man ich hab schweineglueck dass ich ueberlebt habe und meine
kameraden von damals nicht | und vielleicht hat ja jemand sich sogar
fuer ihn geopfert und oder irgendsowas tiefgrundiges | und auch das
ist so etwas wo ich sagen wuerde okay | jetzt wo sie diesen bloeden
gedenkstein haben | dann will ich aber auch nicht die totenruhe dort
stoeren | drum aeh weiss ich persoenlich jetzt auch nicht | ich
meine aeh | faenfs eigentlich besser dem seine asche waere wie die
den von eichmann irgendo verstreut worden dass kein schwein sie findet
| also die israelis haben das bewusst so gemacht | die haben den
ueber dem mittelmeer verteilt damit niemand weiss wo sie jetzt
irgendwie | aeh rosen ausstreuen | dass kein neonazi weiss wo er
hingehen muss | mir waere das eigentlich auch lieber | aber jetzt wo
des bloede ding da ist | ich finds schwer zu sagen aeh
R:  hm
A:  aeh das ist gewalt | wenn es jetzt einplaniert | oder auch wenn mans
aeh | es ist die stoerung einer totenruhe = ne
R:  hm
A:  und das ist etwas was naturerlich auch wieder viele kambodschaner so
auch nicht wollen | es so dass sie eben sagen sie wollen jetzt nicht
eine fliege da rache ueben | sondern das ist auch okay | der hat
auch da einen platz | lass mich in ruhe damit
R:  hm ja
A:  jetzt fuer die touristen ist es so | in anlong veng | ich hatte
jetzt das unglueck dass ich beim letztem public forum wollte ich
eigentlich hineilen | war aber anderweitig beschaeftigt | sie haben
wahrscheinlich das glueck dass sie da mal hingehen duerfen | ich
lese gerade dschungelstadt | ich weiss nicht wie viel noch ubrig
ist vom dschungel | <<<rhetorically asking> vielleicht ist da ja mehr
als in anderen teilen kambodschas noch>
R:  hm
A:  ich weiss ja auch nicht ob_s dort schoen ist | ob_s schoen gruen ist
und so | aeh

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

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

A:  aber das waere heute eigentlich fuer kambodschaner auch ein
wunderbarer ausflugsort | weil_s zum glueck da unten keine leichen

R:  aha

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

R:  verhaeltnismaessig neutral

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

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

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

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

<<asking> wenn es eine geschichte gibt die beid en erzaehlt werden kann>

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

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

R: hm und dann fuehren die das manchmal weiter | es ist schon naturlich ein | eine art spezifische note in diesem trauma | und aeh fuer junge menschen ist es manchmal wirklich erschreckend | aeh ich gehoere dem volk an das sich selber umbringt

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

R: hm der ursprung dieser tendenz war die achtundsechziger zeit | die
diese Rebellion der damaligen jungen Generation gegen die ältere Generation | und die haben den | im extremfall den | sind diese | aeh oft kommunistische Zellen an den Universitäten | und dann sind die aeh | die jungen Studierenden zum Teil zu den Eltern gegangen | du kleine faschistische Sau | jetzt erzähle mir mal wie ihr damals die Juden umgebracht habt | jetzt HöR mal auf zu lügen ja | du Schwein | so haben sie zum Teil mit ihren Eltern gesprochen | und aeh | da gibt’s eine historische Brücke hier zu Kambodscha | weil das waren ja oft marxistisch leninistisch oder maoistische | aeh ideologisierte junge Menschen | die in der Ideologie gesagt haben familienbande sind eine kapitalistische Schweinerei | das muss man zerstören | und genau das sagte Pol Pot ja auch dem Kindersoldaten, der seine Eltern im Reisfeld umbringt = ne

R: hm
A: wenn du der Bauernklasse angehörst | dann bist du in der Lage dieses | das ideologische Konstrukt der Familienbande zu zerschlagen = ne | wenn du deine Eltern umbringst | und des das ist | weltgeschichtlich ist es vielleicht ein Element das Deutschland und Kambodscha am meisten verbindet | ich meine bei aller Verschiedenheit mit der Nazizeit und Polpotzeit | und unserer Kultur und die hiesige Kultur | wobei hier in Kambodscha ist das heute so dass Mann so etwas was man nicht von den jungen Menschen erwarten kann | sondern was die jungen Menschen | aeh oft bewegt | ist dass sie | das war zum Beispiel auch in einem Stück von aeh | von jungen Leuten die mit Youth for Peace arbeiten | dass sie jetzt erst verstehen warum ihre Eltern so sind wie sie sind | wenn ich noch mal den Vergleich machen darf mit dem Comic Mouse

R: mh
A: <<asking> kennen sie den>
R: nein
A: das ist von einem Comiczeichner | der schreibt mein Vater kotzt Geschichte aus | ne das ist | ist also das ist die Geschichte von Auschwitz | die deutschen sind Katzen | die jüden Mäuse | und die Polen Schweine | so ein bisschen | aber sehr aeh | überhaupt nicht | das ist eigentlich noch viel drastischer dadurch dargestellt = ne
R: hm
A: und der beschreibt es auch irgendwie = ne | dass aeh | und hier in Kambodscha haben viele junge Menschen das Problem dass sie eine | dass die Eltern | dass sie ein Elternhaus haben mit pe: te: es: de: | auch einen Vater der Nachts Schreit und Alptraume mit Schrei weinkrämpfen hat | eine hypernervöse Mutter oder ein | oder aeh
jemand der sich gelegentlich ab | also depression hat | man hat
keine statistiken hier | aber man kann | also ich hab kuerzlich auf
deutsche wellen einen bericht gesehen | die sagen dass zwanzig
prozent der menschen | oder zehn oder zwanzig prozent | ich weiss
nicht | jedenfalls ein relative hoher prozentsatz der leute hat eine
biologische disposition zur depression | ist vererbbar = ne
R:  hm
A:  aber es ist die frage unter welchen umstaenden bricht das aus | also
unter welchen umstaenden wird jemand wirklich zu einem manisch
depressiven charakter
R:  hm
A:  und hier in kambodscha | wenn man laenger mit menschen zusammen ist
| dann merkt man dass hier wahninnig viele manisch depressive
menschen sind | erst recht wenn man man mit den nebenklaegern hier
t zu tun hat
R:  hm
A:  laut einer studie von be: zet: | handelszentrum folteropfer berlin |
das ist die rate bei leuten ueber achtzehn haben elf prozent pe: te:
es: de: | bei leuten ueber dreissig | also ueberlebendengeneration |
also post traumatic stress disorder | also pe: te: es: de: | bei
leuten ueber aeh dreissig | also ueberlebenden | zwanzig prozent |
und bei nebenklaegerantragsteller oder antragstellerinnen auf
nebenklage ueber dreissig prozent
R:  hm
A:  und wenn man mit den leuten arbeitet | ich mein das sieht man = ne |
so normal so aeltere menschen in kamboscha | auch laecheln laecheln
| manchmal sind sie ein bisschen bitter wie viele aeltere menschen |
sie sind vom leben gezeichnet | viele aeltere menschen wenns
irgendwie geht wird gelaechelt | wo die | wenn die
nebenklaegertreffen sind wird nicht mehr viel | doch nicht
gelaechelt | die aeh | haben doch auch eine ziemliche sammlung mit
von | von depressiven oder so leute die die doch | aeh schnell auch
weinen und so | aeh starke gefuehls aeh regungen zeigen
R:  mh
A:  und aeh | die sind mit solchen | wie sind wir jetzt hierher gekommen
| wie die leute in der disposition der | hm (.) also das | ich mein
das ist sicher auch etwas das mit
R:  sie sprachen von dem vergleich mit deutschland
A:  die jungen menschen in kambodscha | die sind eigentlich oft in der
lage | in der situation | dass sie zum ersten mal verstehen warum
ihre eltern so sind wie sie sind = ne
R: mh

A: dass sie verstehen | oh mein gott | wenn ich vorher gewusst haette
dass ich ein kleines geschwisterlein | aeh | ob das jetzt das
beispiel von diesem theaterstueck | das ein paar jugendlichen
gespielt haben | die mutter hat | sag ich jetzt mal flapsig | die
hat pe: te: es: de: | die haengt oft irgandwie depressiv an ihrem
besen = ne | und kuckt versonnen in die welt | und dann eines tages
packt sie aus und erzaehlt was passiert ist = ne | oder sehr
didaktisch | die leute kommen von einem youth for peace treffen wo
sie von der khmer rouge zeit gehoert haben | und die erzaehlen das
dann der mutter | die erzaehlt dann selber was sie erlebt hat | und
erzaehlt zum beispiel dass ihre kinder eigentlich ein klein |
kleines geschwisterlein haetten | beziehungsweise eigentlich einen
onkel | der der mutter im arbeitslager | aeh von den khmer rouge aus
der hand gerissen und gegen einen baum geschlagen wurde | na und das
erzaehlt dann die mutter | und aeh | das ist eigentlich so etwas das
dann viele junge menschen etliche male nachdenklich macht | und dann
letztlich auch eigentlich | dann auch mitleidig macht mit den eltern
| weil sie dann oft aeh | auch wieder mit dieser alterspyramide in
kambodscha | also wenn diese leute die jetzt zwanzig sind | vor zehn
jahren haetten | aeh | also wenn ich den vergleich nochmal machen
darf | also meine eltern haetten mir naturlich mit zehn nicht
erzaehlt dass | dass mein grossvater und meine grossmutter in in
auschwitz vergast und verbrannt wurden | sondern sie haben mir das
erzaehlt | da war ich zwolf oder dreizehn vierzehn wo ich_s in der
schule schon gehoert hatte = ne

R: mh

A: das heisst die geschichten werden den jugendlichen erst auch dann
irgendwann einmal erzaehlt wenn die eltern finden okay | du kannst
die

R: <<asking> oder wenn es einen anstoss [gibt ]>

A: [einen] anstoss durch_s

tribunal gibt | oder durch aeh | durch fragen der jugendlichen nicht
aeh | die dann auch oft ja | wenn sie nicht fragen dann wird auch
nicht erzaehlt = ne | das ist auch irgandwie | also die geschichten
sind auch belastend | aeh man muss sagen | mit meinem vater bin ich
immer so weit gekommen | wenn man irgandwie fragt | <<rhetorically
asking> warum hast du budapest ueberlebt | was hast du im oktober
neunzehnhundert vierundvierzig in budapest gemacht> | und dann
erzaehlt er nicht mehr | weil das ich | ich denke oft das sind
ueberlebendengeschichten aeh | die sind halt sehr durchwachsen | da
sind manchmal sicher auch geschichten davon dass wo unrecht wo
menschen unrecht gegenueber anderen gemacht haben wo sie sich
vielleicht was soll man einem judgendlichen erzaehlen ne wenn
man da war eine reisschale fuer zwei

R: hm
A: und der dann die reisschale am ende gegessen hat der hat ueberlebt
| und der andere ist letztlich aeh gestorben und aeh die
ueberlebenden duerften natuerlich auch viele solche geschichten
haben die sehr
R: [wo sie sich dann schlecht fuehlen]
A: [traurig und haesslich sind dass sie dass sie ueberlebt
haben ich meine wir versuchen jetzt mit youth for peace ein
projekt ueber positive ueberlebensgeschichten dass leuten einander
geholfen wurden dass leute versteckt wurden dass auch aeh
vielleicht witze ueber die khmer rouge hoffe ich ja schwer dass
wir welche kriegen ne
R: nochmal zu anlong veng <<asking> ob sie mir oder wie sie sich
erklaren koennen warum bei diesem ganzen hintergrund trotzdem
zweitausend khmer monatlich nach anlong veng reisen also nationale
touristen
A: <<asking> zweitausendend
R: ja
A: <<asking> kambodschaner <<asking> zu nach anlong veng oder zu
den stellen
R: vor allem zu pol pot_s grab
A: ja ich wusste ich kannte jetzt die zahl nicht das ist in
<<asking> ich meine in kambodscha das ist nicht gerade eine
wohlstandsgesellschaft nicht wahr ((smiling voice)) aber also aeh kambodschaner fuer kambodschaner spielt ausfluge
machen spazieren gehen (daleng) das heisst gehen spielen spielt eine grosse rolle das heisst wenn eigentlich die urban
middle class (.) die moechte schon mal ans meer fahren
R: mh
A: nach kampong cham nach siem reap ich meine viele kambodschaner
haben das naturlich nicht die sehen_s immer angkor wat im
fernsehen waren aber selber noch nicht dort aber eigentlich will
man da selber schon hin und wenn man schon in siem reap war in
kampong cham war dann will man vielleicht auch mal die delfine
ansehen daleng weil auch die familien die brauchen das weil abwechslung das kleine bisschen wohlstand das man hat auch
geniessen ne das [aeh ]
R: [also denken sie dass es die ]
A: [das heisst man macht gerne reisen] aeh
jetzt fuer die die sich entscheiden fuer anlong veng (cynically laughing) vielleicht gibt es ja ehemalige khmer rouge die aeh die es da hin zieht aus sentimentalen aeh noch positiv gesetzten verbindung mit aeh vielleicht gibt_s auch manche die wollen sich dort davon ueberzeugen dass er tot ist aeh die die brauchen das vielleicht um
R: <<asking> um damit abzuschliessen>
A: damit abzuschliessen ich koennte es nicht sagen
R: <<asking> aber sie denken dass es eher die mittelklasse ist die es sich leisten koennen>
A: ja das ist teuer da hin zu fahren ich meine fuer kambodschaner ist aeh also transportkosten ich meine das es ist hart wenn man aus einer gesellschaft wie der unsrigen kommt ne klar wenn man ein jahresabo ich war zuerst nicht gluecklich wie ich beim ich hab beim diakonischen werk fuer dreitausend mark fuer_s generalabo der deutschen bundesbahn besessen fuer die dienstreisen das ist wirklich toll
R: hm
A: also staendig zug fahren aber ich mein so meistens ist so ein abo bezahlen fuer die strassenbahn oder fuer_s bussystem am anfang des jahres okay das ist schon ein bisschen teuer fuer ein jahr aber sonst sind transportkosten eigentlich kein problem jetzt fuer kambodschaner und die sind ja eher arm da sind transportkosten also das staendige thema
R: hm
A: das ist der grund warum kamboschaner im tante emma laden einkaufen um die ecke weil die fahrt zum markt
R: [wuerde schon zu viel kosten]
A: [hin und zurueck ein dollar] das ist schon mal wieder das tages
R: das macht kein sinn
A: ja das macht kein sinn da kauft man lieber fuer einen dollar eine suppe wo man zwar dann vielleicht tausend riel mehr bezahlt hat als eigentlich die ist dann teurer entsprechend diese suppe ja aber oder die leute koennen sich keine was viele leute essen ja diese suppen eigentlich wuerde es sich mehr lohnen fuenfzig packungen auf_s mal zu kaufen und auf einen schlag vielleicht fuenf dollar zu sparen
R: mh
A: aber die leute kaufen immer von der hand in den mund die haben
nicht das geld um die suppe einen monat im voraus zu kaufen = ne

ja

das ist irgendwie hart | und das haengt wieder mit den
transportkosten zusammen | und deshalb naja | also fuer leute die
nach anlong veng gehen | die sind | denen geht_s entweder schon so
gut dass sie alles andere abgegrast haben | oder haben einen ganz

das ist irgendwie hart | und das haengt wieder mit den
ehemalige fotograf von tuol sleng | der will naturlich auch
ueberleben | der will geld machen | will seine preziosen da
ausstellen | aeh also es wurde ihm ja | wenn ich richtig lese erst
mal auch untersagt | also die aeh | die regierung will jetzt erst
mal kein museum | also was generell feststellbar ist | dass die |
also dieser dornroeschenschlaf auch von tuol sleng ist irgendwie

die regierung weiss | nach dem tribunal veraendern sich die
bedingungen fuer des alles | die regierung weiss tuol sleng | und da
redet jetzt der pressesprecher des tribunals davon | der will jetzt
auch dass in tuol sleng schon bald eine ausstellung ist | ueber den
ausgang des des duch verfahrens

die regierung weiss | nach dem tribunal veraendern sich die
bedingungen fuer des alles | die regierung weiss tuol sleng | und da
redet jetzt der pressesprecher des tribunals davon | der will jetzt
auch dass in tuol sleng schon bald eine ausstellung ist | ueber den
ausgang des des duch verfahrens

in tuol sleng ist im moment noch alles wie es vor zehn jahren war |
eine neue ausstellung | UM GOTTES WILLEN = ne

das ist schon fast revolution | wir haben | also mein informant
ueber tuol sleng | der hat erst mal aeger gekriegt weil er | er
wollte so ein paar fotos so umdrehen dass sie nicht mehr von der
sonne beschienen und vielleicht beschaedigt werden | da hiess es
NEIN | er muss es sofort aeh | wieder zurueck | alles so wie es war
| es wird vieles | es wird manches so bleiben wie es war | dafuer
sorgen die unesco standards | na die denkmalschutzkriterien | aber
bei ausstellungen kann man ja | wird vieles neu sein

bei tuol sleng ist es eine Frage | das steht es museum of gencidal
crimes | ((khmer language not understandable)) | aber duch wird
wegen verbrechen gegen die menschheit verurteilt

aendert man den namen des museums> | weil das gericht so entschieden
hat | <<rhetorically asking> oder laesst man es> | wenn man es aendert | <<rhetorically asking> was passiert mit dem alten schild> | << rhetorically asking> wird das bei nacht und nebel einfach weggemeiselt oder wird es bewahrt>

1232 R: hm
1233 A: als ein | aeh ein stadium in der geschichte | diese autoreflexivitaet von solchen orten = ne
1235 R: hm
1236 A: oder sagt man | man versucht nicht immer wenn ein neuer schub | 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 anlong veng | (.)
1246 R: <<asking> wie stellen sie sich das vor | wie das dann also | man hat schon bedenken dass es> | <<asking> soll ich das licht an machen> ((power blackout in the building))
1246 A: wir haben einen blackout | ich muss die tuer au fmachen | das ist schlicht stromausfall | <<upstanding> ich mach mal die tuer auf> | dass es etwas durchzieht
1249 R: weil es ja hier | der plan war ja | wie hun sen zweitausendeins geaeussert hat | es ginge nicht darum pol pot zu glorifizieren | sondern auch eben der jugend zum beispiel zu zeigen dass sowas passiert ist und nicht wieder passieren darf | und jetzt halt vor kurzem | dass er der meinung ist dass nationale wie internationale touristen dort etwas ueber die | ihre vergangenheit kambodschas lernen koennen | <<asking> sehen sie jetzt persoenlich das als sinnvoll> | <<asking> oder was einem erzaehlt werden koennte> | <<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 vorstellen = ne | weil das sind | das ist der kastenberg (konsan poh) | das sind die hoehlen | da wurden tausendende von leuten getoetet und reingeschubst in die hoehle | (potsawangknong) | umgeben mit bild | umgeben mit reliefs | mit darstellungen was da passiert ist | sehr drastisch | mit vergewaltigung | sehr extrem | dann gibt es (promkawong) | ein wunderschoenes angkortempelchen | unten am huegel ein massengrab wo die schaedel zu tage treten | an solchen orten | ich sage mal | die bevoelkerung dort ist auch
mehrheitlich opfer | also vereinfacht gesagt in kambodscha |
euberall wo das land flach ist ist eher eine opferbevoelkerung | und
euberall wo es gebirgich ist sind eher noch ehemaligen khmer rouge
nester | und aeh da kann ich mir das gut vorstellen dass solche orte
in zukunft doch auch mehr ein dialog sind | zwischen aeh
naechstengeneration von kamboschanern und internationalen gaesten |
und die sich mit diesen fragen ein bisschen auseinandersetzen wollen
| die | ich glaub kambodscha | also angkor wat das ist naturlich
schon fuer massentourismus geeignet | aber der rest kambodschas ist
eigentlich | ist eigentlich destination | aeh da muss man | das sind
nicht orte wo jeder hin geht | und das wird auch noch eine ganze
weile so sein | dass es ein bisschen anstrengender ist | als bali
oder phuket in thailand | dass touristen eher nach phuket gehen |
mal kurz nach angkor wat fliegen und wieder gehen | das heisst wer
sich in kambodscha mit einem reisefuehrer in der hand rumtreibt ist
auch ein bisschen individueller | ein bisschen interessierter an
begegnungen mit hiesigen menschen | da kann ich mir das so gut
vorstellen | bei anlong veng aehm | registriere ich dass der staat
sich sorgen macht | aehm dass es eine falsche richtung da geht | ich
kanns verstehen = ne

R:  hm
A:  aehm | da also ich | wenn ich jetzt irgendwie fuer | in aehm | in
einem ministerium fuer was auch immer | fuer die wolfschanze
zustaendig waere | wo hitler seine letzten minutes verbracht hat |
ich wuerde da auch sagen | ja lassen wir das doch mal lieber so sein
beim wald wie es ist | muesste man ja so viele waechter aufstellen
dass die neonazis da keine blumen hinlegen koennen = ne

R:  hm
A:  und das ist einfach ein bisschen | ich finde es irgendwie okay dass
man das nicht | also ich | wenn ich jetzt als deutscher jude |
wuerde ich auch sagen | aeh | das muss man nicht oeffnen das ding =
ne

R:  hm
A:  beziehungsweise ich wuerde eine demo machen = ja | wenn jemand auf
die idee kaeme | ich meine wenn das jetzt heute auf einem
privatgrundstueck laege | das wuerde geooffnet und die neonazis
stroemn da hin | wenn ich jetzt ein deutscher jude der antifah
waere | ich wuerde mir auch ueberlegen ob man das nicht aeh | demos
dort macht oder

R:  mh | oder reagiert
A:  aber das passiert ja hier jetzt weniger
ich weiss ja nicht was leute denken ueber anlong veng | <<asking>
kriegt man das ueberhaupt so mit>
nein die | weiss ich nicht | ich mein | wenns ein thema fuer radio
free asia ist | dann schon | das koennte ich jetzt nicht beurteilen
| ob welche | also wenn radio free asia ueber etwas so spricht |
dann ist es doch relativ dann in aller munde | wenn radio free asia
es nicht aufgreift | dann ist das thema | auch verloren und es
interessiert sich niemand
<<asking> also in phnom penh unterhaelt man sich also nicht so
darueber was in anlong veng so passiert>
aeh nein | wenn die staatshoerigen medien mitkriegen dass die
regierung ein problem damit hat dann lassen sie das thema | dann
wird es einfach nicht thematisiert
<<asking> zensur also dann wieder>
und die selbstzensur | die aeh ah (.)| ich weiss nicht | ich meine
anlong veng | es gibt zum beispiel fuer den samlot district | da wo
duch herkommt | ich ich | ich war jetzt auch noch nicht da | aber
aeh | die brad pitt angelina jolie stiftung hat dort wildreservate
gemacht | ich meine | vielleicht ist es ja eines tages so dass man
sagen | okay leute die gerne tiger sehen | oder ich weiss nicht
einen urstier | ich weiss nicht was es in kambodscha so gibt an
viechern = ne | man kann das dann dort so seh | naja dann sollen
also die leute dort hingehen koennen | trekking machen koennen |
weil es da auch noch gegenden mit minen gibt es | waere es
vielleicht klug = ne | dass die ehemaligen khmer rouge die da noch
leben die fuehrer | fremdenfuehrer abgeben | und aeh | das ist
vielleicht nicht schlecht = ne | weil ich mein | dann abends am
lagerfeuer | und dann sagt der pol pot war ein ehrenmann | dann sagt
eben vielleicht ein tourist | naja ich mag dich als fuehrer | du
bist auch ein mensch und so weiter | aber ehrlich gesagt find ich
nicht dass pol pot ein ehrenmann war = ne | aeh so eine art
austausch
austausch | oder bei der naechsten generation | kann ja dazu fuehren
dass auch die kinder der taeter die in diesen ehemaligen hochburgen
leben | vielleicht eines tages auch sagen koennen | okay wir muessen
damit leben dass | dass wir eltern haben die in ihrer biografie
groessere fehler | die falschen leute unterstuetzt haben | das sind
in kambodscha viele | weil aeh | eigentlich die menschen wollen dass
ihre armen | ihre eltern waren immer gut | aeh | das schlimmste
beispiel dafuer ist (som suber) | das ist der sohn vom (som sam) |
som sam war ein buergerlich liberaler ministerpraesident fuer kurze
zeit | und der war dann aeh | in den achtziger jahren an der
thailaendischen grenze an der seite der monarchISTEN und der khmer
rouge im widerstand | und sein sohn sagt allen ernstes die
vietnamesisch trainierten khmer rouge waren schlimmer als die
chinesisch trainierten | und das ist einfach | i am sorry | ich ich
sage das ist | ich bin kein marxist leninist der das vietnamesische
konzept verteidigen will | also es ist historisch einfach nicht
correkt
R: hm
A: die pol pot maoisten haben diesen plan hier fuer kambodscha | diesen
moerderischen plan entworfen | um zu sagen der plan kam nicht aus
hanoi
R: hm
A: der plan kam nicht unbedingt aus peking | ich aeh | ich weiss es
nicht was | aber interessanterweise hat | also mao tse tung hat pol
pot gefoerdert | aber chu enlai hat pol pot gesagt die revolution
kann nicht so schnell vorangehen | du musst noch ne weile mit
buengerlichen und monarchistischen kraeften auch auskommen = ne |
bevor man aeh
R: <<asking> also sehen sie kein problem darin | wie geschichte
vielleicht praesentiert wird in anlong veng | weil sie sagen wuerden
dass dadurch vielleicht | wenn man positive aspekte betrachtet | ein
wichtiger austausch zustande kommen kann >
A: also es gibt in | in tuol sleng gibt es diese pol pot buesten | die
unter anderem bou meng | einer der ueberlebenden | der war steinmetz
| gehauen | obs genau die sind weiss ich nicht | aber leute wie bou
meng haben die gehauen | ich hab die kuerzlich mal gesehen | die
sind jetzt hinter glas | bissle an der seite | mit einem gitter
davor | aeh warum sind die buesten | weil einfach zu viele leute
dran gekickt | ich mein aeh | ich weiss nicht | wenn man bei madame
toussauds ein hitler ist in wachs | ich haette auch grosse lust ihn
| [dagegen zu] kicken ((laughing voice))
R: [zu kicken ] ((laughing voice)) oder dem mit meinem
feuerzeug die visage aufzuloesen | oder | oder irgendwie aeh | ich
meine | warum soll man in anlong veng | wenn man vor einer vitrine
steht | das sind die sandalen pol pot_s | warum soll man sagen | OH
das sind die sandalen pol pot_s | warum soll man das zeug nicht
vandalieren | oder auf die vitrine | auf die vitrine hauen und das
zerstoeren | ich meine
R: <<asking> also sie erwarten eher solche reaktionen>
A: koennte ich mir vor | beziehungsweise | im moment ist es so dass die
re regierung sagt | dem fotografen und diesen leuten sagt | abwarten
R: hm
A: die regierung weiss jetzt naturlich auch noch nicht so recht wo des
hingehen soll | und es warten alle drauf dass hun sen die vorgabe
macht = ne | drum sind auch alle so nervoes in tuol sleng und
ueberall = ne | sie wollen wissen dass die partie | aeh zum beispiel
auch die frage zum kuenftigen gedenktag | <<rhetorically asking> ist
es auch ein ce: pe: pe: feiertag> | oder wird die ce: pe: pe: sagen
okay wir haben den siebenten januar | wir sind damit zufrieden | und
mit dem anderen gedenktag | der kann politisch neutral werden | das
ist noch nicht entschieden | im moment will die ce: pe: pe: den
siebenten januar | das sind die | das sieht man wenn man durch
kambodscha faehrt | das ist das bild vom triumverat | also hun sen
heng samrin und chea sim
R: hm
A: die drei koepfe der groessten drei parteien | also ein klassisches
triumbat | in jeglicher hinsicht | mit allen problemen und vorteilen
die das hat | da drueber steht drunter der (xxx xxx xxx)| da ist ja
ein ganzer stadtteil in phnom penh danach benannt
R: hm
A: das ist ja die doktrin des siebenten januars ist | erstens die
vietnamesen haben uns befreit | zweitens sagt hun sen heute das
waren dar | das waren wir | und die vietnamesen haben nur berater
geschickt | ein kleines bisschen geschichtsglitterung ((smiling
voice))
R: hm ((smiling voice))
A: es war schon eher umgekehrt | die vietnamesen haben panzer geschickt
und da hockten manchmal hinten drauf so paar kambodschanische
freischaerler mit kalaschnikovs und durften dann mitfahren | aber es
war schon ueberwiegend vietnamesische armee | und es war genozid das
hier | wird auch weiterhin aufrecht erhal | das ist sehr gut fuer
die vietnamesen und diese cham muslime | weil diese regierung ist
wahrscheinlich bereit es zuzulassen dass das gericht nuon chea wegen
genozid schuldig spricht
R: hm
A: und des ist etwas besonderes | ich meine man muss wirklich | muss
darauf beharren eah | dass die deutschen aeh nach dem zweiten
weltkrieg erst einmal | dass sie die schuldanerkennung = ne | fuer
den holocaust an den juden = ne | das war erst einmal diktat
R: hm
A: die westmaechte haben das grundgesetz erst mal diktiert
B: hm
A: und es gab leute wie wie aeh adenauer | oder wie heisst er | der erste deutsche bundespraesident | heuss oder | oder solche leute =
B: ne | die entweder aus einer buergerlichen oder christlichen oder
A: sozialistischen soziedemokratischen gesinnung | also es stimmt = ne
B: aber sagen wir mal das gro der deutschen war | war erst mal mit
A: sich beschaeftigt | und mit dem hunger | und mit den
B: kriegsgefangenen soldaten in russland | und so war man nicht bereit
A: | aeh zu sagen | aeh | wir haben schuld durch den voelkermord an den
B: juden | das waren erst die kirchen | und dann die rezeption von
A: nuernberg und die achtundsechziger | und viele dinge bis man in
das waren erst die kirchen | und dann die rezeption von
A: Deutschland so weit war | und aeh eigentlich aeh | und aeh zum
B: beispiel den sinti und roma war man durch die siebzigerjahre
der erste deutsche bundespraesident | nicht bereit | steht ein kambodschanisches gericht in der | eine |
B: die regierung da nicht rein | sagt es war genozid an den cham
A: noch uberhaupt nicht bereit | <<rhetorically asking> was wollen
B: diese zigeeuner | oder was wollen diese schwule | was wollen die alle
A: noch | haben wir nicht schon genug anerkannt>
B: hm
A: <<rhetorically asking> muessen diese alle auch noch angeschissen
B: kommen und also opfer anerkannt werden> = ne
B: hm
A: also so haben viele gedacht = ne | und wenn kambodscha in der lage
B: waere zu sagen | also ein kambodschanisches gericht in der | eine |
A: die regierung da nicht rein und sagt es war genozid an den cham
B: muslimen | das faende ich schon ganz | aeh
A: faend ich schon interessant = ne
B: hm
A: das findet man nicht oft in der geschichte | dass aeh
B: <<request> also sie sagen | dass es jetzt spannend ist | da jetzt
A: halt entschieden wird | wie sich die partei entscheidet | und das
B: hangt wiederum mit den darstellungen zusammen die geduldet werden>
A: ja
B: ja
A: aber andererseits kann | es ist ja so | es kann ja was geduldet
B: werden | aber wie es dann tatsaechlich ist | ich meine anlong wenn
A: ja weit weg
B: ist ja weit weg
A: ja ich denk die leute da sind schon | aeh aeh | also die | die
B: regierung hat das auf dem schirm = ne
A: der kleine kambodschaner aeh | also ich ich denke dass das opfer der
B: khmer rouge zeit | also wie ich da nach pailin gefahren bin | haben
kambodschanische freunde gefragt | wie kannst du das machen | wie kannst du nach pailin fahren | das ist doch gefährlich | da sind doch die khmer rouge noch | dass das das viele | fuer anlong veng fuer viele doch ein ort ist | beschissen heiss | die aircon ist aus | dass das ein ort ist | da geht man nicht hin | zweitausend pro monat gehen dort hin | sagten sie vorher | das ist interessant | ich denke fuer die regierung hier ist es auf dem schirm | und ich glaub die | auch de: ce: cam: hat dazu stellung dazu genommen

R: hm
A: wenn mich nicht alles taeuscht | und gesagt da muss man vorsichtig sein | also ich denke anlong veng ist jetzt erst mal eingefroren | also irgendetwas ein | ein pol pot disneyworld wird es dort nicht geben
R: hm
A: was es dort geben wird eines tages | ich | da wird man | wenn sich irgendwelche leute in der regierung wahrscheinlich gedanken dazu machen | und aeh aeh | in welche richtung aeh | ich ich kanns nicht sagen | in andern orten | wenn eine f-frage | koennte naturlich sein | das ist ja so | nein ist es dort vielleicht moglich ein museum zu | vielleicht will die regierung dort ja auch eines tages ein museum machen mit tafeln ueber die verbrechen der khmer rouge
R: also sie haben ja schon vor dieses | in diesem master plan | ich habe leider gibt_s da nichts genaueres online | aber das was ich rausfinden konnte war dass sie gerne so reenactment | sklavenarbeit im feld darstellen wollen
A: <<asking> re enactment> | OH gott
R: und das museum
A: des re enactment | das ist ja der tag des zorns = ne | das ist etwas aeh | wo der tross ein bisschen | also der der tag des zorns wurde eigentlich abgeschafft | umbenannt in tag der erinnerung = ne | am zwanzigsten mai | nur wenn man ihn sieht | also wenn man | in kep hab ich das letztes jahr gesehen | ich meine das war der tag des zorns in reinkultur = ne
R: hm
A: also man sieht re enactment | man sieht brave kambodschaner in schwarze | tschuldigung ((telefone rings)) | (1:52:04 - 01:54:44) ((break because of telephone call)
A: aeh | jetzt kommen die naechsten gaeste
R: oh okay | muessen wir uns beeilen
A: ich aeh | ich denke es ist es ist einge | wahrscheinlich eingefroren | ich meine es ist ja auch denkbar dass es da eines tages dort ein
museum gibt | es wird dann genau erklärt wird | was die khmer rouge
alles gemacht haben | und aeh | daneben da gibt_s irgendwo die
diese | einen kompromiss zu finden ne zwischen diesen | zwischen dem
wunsch | aeh die | die damals gueltige | von der regierung als
gueltige form der geschichte angesehene version zu praesentieren |
aeh und auch das lokal | das lokalchorloid = ne | das haus von ta
mok aeh | der ort wo pol pot ist und irgendwie die sammlung
R: <<request> also das bewusstsein ist da dass es ein problem gibt mit
der geschichte die erzaehlt wird | deswegen liegt_s auf eis | aber
sie koennen sich aber vorstellen dass es irgendwann>
A: die kambodschanische figur ist das sowohl als auch = ne
R: hm
A: man hat hier vielleicht eine geschichtliche darstellung | und auch
die sachen die am ort sind | die werden dann auch gelassen | ich
meine bei ta moks haus | stellen sie sich mal vor was | was machen
wir wenn das | stellt sich auch bei pol pots todesort | wenn das
zeug verfaellt = ne | <<rhetorically asking> dann laesst man es
verfallen oder muss man es eines tages konservieren> | aeh ich weiss
das nicht was
R: <<request> das muss die regierung jeweils dann entscheiden>
A: ich vermute man laesst es dann eher verfallen | aeh und dann aeh |
also ich denke nicht dass man das konserviert wird | tuol sleng wird
man dann irgendwann konservieren = ne
R: hm
A: im sinne des denkmalschutzes | des ding wo sie die menschen
aufgehangen haben | dieses betonturmgeraet | das wird dann erhalten
dass nicht verfaellt | dass man es spaeter auch noch zeigen kann
R: <<asking> wuerden sie | darf ich noch kurz zwei fragen stellen>
A: ja ja ((nodding))
R: und zwar habe ich gelesen dass es in verschiedenen teilen
kambodschas so ist dass die leute angst haben vor einem come back
der khmer rouge | <<asking> ist das weil sie ungebildet sind oder
besteht tatsaechlich die gefahr eines comebacks>
A: ja ich denk | ja ich denke dass fuer viele leute | dass ist halt
auch teil vom trauma = ne | das das | dass man angst hat dass sie
wieder kommen
R: hm
A: oder auch die | manchmal die uebertriebene angst von nebenklaegern |
dass sie da sagen ich will nebenklaeger werden | ja nebenklaeger
heisst aber dass du im gericht stehst und sprichst | OH NEIN da
passiert mir ja was | das ist eine real empfundene angst von opfern
R: <<asking> wuerden sie denn die | so als schlussfrage | die ambition
die die regierung hatte | die hauptsachlich wahrscheinlich ja als
oekonomisch betrachtet werden koennte was anlong veng betrifft | als
unmoralisch betrachten>
A: nein | finde ich | also die | die diskussion wie sie gefuehrt wird
bei tuol sleng ist aeh | ist erst einmal | also tuol sleng so wie
es jetzt ist | das ist ein ort den man so gemacht hat als
staatsressort | die gelder sind schae schae schaetzungsweise
fuenfhundert dollar pro tag | die die touristen liegen lassen | das
steckt sich die | aeh museumsbelegschaft in die tasche | das ist
kein aeh | da gibt_s keine richtigen tickets = ne
R: mh
A: da gibt_s keinen kontrollbogen = ne | das ist kein relevantes | aeh
R: im zusammenhang mit anlong veng wird_s glaub eben eher in sofern
unterstuetzt | dass eben diese abgelegene unterentwickelte region |
also in vielerlei hinsicht | sich entwickeln kann durch dieses geld
A: es kann sein dass die regierung sagt es ist ihnen genehm weil
dadurch vielleicht entwicklung kommt | aber es ist | ich seh darin
jetzt irgendwie nichts gross unmoralisches | ich meine was eine
gefahr ist | es kann ja sein dass an bestimmten orten wie in
battambang | das hoffe ich koennen wir mit verhindern oder
beeinflussen | dass vielleicht in dem moment | in dem man mit etwas
geld machen kann mit etwas | das vielleicht ploetzlich leute auf die
idee kommen die leute die jetzt dort wohnen zu vertreiben |
beispielweise die leute die da kleine restaurants am phnom sam poh
haben wegjagen | um selber ein groesseres restaurant hinzustellen
R: hm
A: das das das ist eine reale gefahr | wo man auch sagen kann das ist
auch ein schmuddeliges geschaeftsinteresse irgendwie dabei | nur im
moment ist eigentlich die | im moment ist es schon eher eine sache
die mit ernst diskutiert wird = ne | und dass kambodscha hat | da
eben auch die tatsache dass es auf der ebene des tourismus mit
ministry of tourism noch keine policy dazu gibt = ne | dass aeh |
dass aeh sich kambodscha eher scheut = ne | also aeh | man laesst
zwar diese lonely planet touristen | die koennen nach tuol sleng
gehen | aber es gibt kein kambodschanisches tourismusplakat | leute
kommt nach tuol sleng
R: hm
A: es gibt in hotels legt das tourismus ministerium keine zettel aus |
soll da auch wenn ihr schon in phnom penh sein dann kommt auch 
nach tuol sleng das gibt_s nicht
R: die sind vorsichtig
A: es ist auch also vom museums marketing her ist das auch ganz 
schlecht wenn tuol sleng konnten sie theoretisch 
internationalen gaesten zehn dollar abknoepfen ne wenn sie |
also wenn die fuehrung gut waere die broschuere gut |
audiovisuelles aeh wenn man allein laufen will ne also rein |
wenn jetzt irgendjemand die absicht haette da viel geld mit zu 
machen dann haette man sich noch viele andere dinge vorstellen 
koennen
R: hm
A: ich hab eher aeh mein eindruck ist eher dass sie das mit ernst 
sehen im sinne das der weltoeffentlichkeit zeigen aber noch 
immer ziemlich verunsichert sind in welche richtung die reise 
eigentlich gehen soll
R: also wuerten sie es nicht als unmoralisch an sich 
betrachten nach anlong veng zu gehen also und sich das 
praktisch
A: ich hoffe eigentlich eher dass die leute nicht nach anlong veng 
gehen sondern woanders hin
R: [also momentan ist es eher fragwuerdig weil manipulieren 
koennen sie die fuehrer die erzaehlen halt eine falsche 
geschichte]
A: das machen sie sowieso ueberall
R: also am phnom sam poh in battambang also ich sag des den 
kambodschanern nicht gern weil das kritik waere ne aber da gibt 
es leute die sagen die leute wurden deshalb in die hoehle gestossen 
weil die vietnamesen im vormarsch waren
R: hm
A: also dass die khmer rouge die verbrechen begangen haben um vor der 
ankunft der vietnamesen tabularasa zu machen das ist historisch 
falsch die haben schon lange tabula rasa gemacht die sagen auch
die vietnamesen seien achtundsiebzig gekommen | das stimmt auch
nicht | sie kamen neunundsiebzig | da gibt es viele | also die
strassenkinder die da fuehrer spielen | fuer mich auch ein zeichen
dass es eigentlich nicht | aeh | dass es eher vermieden wird | also
denn ich jetzt | also glaub in zukunft wird es eher so sein dass die
tourismus departments sagen wir muessen jetzt eine lizenz machen =
ne | dass diese leute dort fuehrer werden | die muessen eine
pruefung ablegen | ob sie die geschichte kennen

R: richtig | aber richtig erzaehlen ist halt immer so eine sache der
perspektive
A: im moment ist eher so | choeung ek ist | da gibt es strassenkinder
mit fuenf jahren | die sagen dann ja da hier haben sie die babies
angeschlagen | ich ((cynically laughing)) das ist irgendwie | das
ist hart = ne
R: ja
A: und es stimmt | historisch stimmt es = ne | manchmal ist es auch mit
aeh | aeh vermischt mit irgendwelchen gruselgeschichten
R: hm (. ) aber
A: sorry
R: <<asking> sie sehen es nicht als bedenklich wenn das falsch erzaehlt
wird> | [vielen dank fuer ]
A: [ich denke es ist nicht bedenklich] | es zeigt nur dass das
tourismuswesen nicht so weit ist | und dass dieses thema |
[also es sind strassenkinder]
R: [die buecher und den film ] | super dankeschoen
A: wenn sie noch mal anrufen wollen oder noch mal fragen
R: ich verstehe | vielen dank noch mal dass sie sich so viel zeit
genommen haben
C 2: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Bokat

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Thursday, the 20\textsuperscript{th} 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. Bokat 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
R:  <<asking> can you tell me a bit about your background>
B:  I am | my name is khok thai | and I am research director and | hm
    | of de: ce: cam:
R:  hm
B:  and also one of the deputy director of dc-cam | we have two
deputy here
R:  hm
B:  so | erm | what I do is help people | erm | do the research |
    accessing documents of de: ce: cam: | and work on many of the
projects of de: ce: cam:
R:  hm | and erm | yes | <<asking> why do you think the work of
de: ce: cam: is so important to have>
B:  I think the work of de: ce: cam: is very important | because we are
    the only en: ge: o: documenting the khmer rouge crimes
R:  hm
B:  since it happened in nineteen | erm thirty years ago | erm in the
eighties and early nineties | nobody really tried to collect this
material | and put it together in one place | and make it valuable
for research of students at the e: ce: ce: | the khmer rouge
tribunal | so our work and research | our activities | interview
khmer rouge cadres and victims | are very important for documenting
and preserving this piece of history
R:  okay | that’s just a general introductory question | (both laughing)
    | so | at first I will | <<asking> I have just a few questions what
you are thinking about tuol sleng and choeung ek in relation with
tourism = okay>
B:  yes
R:  <<asking> what do you think about the rising tourists presence in
cambodia in total> | <<asking> do you think it is a good development
or is it> [your personal opinion ]
B:  [I think it’s good for development | as I heard from
other | what do I heard from other data| un unspecify or un you know
| without you know real evidence data | that in siem reap | the
income from tourisms | about 20 percent go to foreign company
R:  hm
B:  you know people or foreign company | or hotel owner who are
foreigner | come establish there | hotel and travelling company | so
they will take about twenty percent of all income from tourism what
comes to siem reap | and the local owner only earns thirty percent
R:  hm
B:  so but I think overall tourism is good for this | good for cambodia
R: hm
B: for cambodian people | development | yes for cambodian people and
development | and for people to understand and learn more about the
country
R: hm
B: and erm | it might have more wider consequences | you know | as a
result tourism | cambodia is more open to outside ideas | you get
more influence to them too | that’s why I think
R: that are the positive [impacts]
B: [impacts] more | but you also hear about
foreigner who come here and try to traffic children | exploit
availability of sexual | you know
R: hm
B: service in cambodia
R: <<asking> so this are the negative side [effects ]>
B: [side effects] | yes | some
people say that h: i: ve: came to cambodia | aids | when u: en: te:
a: ce: came | u: en: te: a: ce: between in ninety one to nineteen
hundred and ninety three | they came and then we started to have h:
i: v: since then
R: hm
B: they came and that was part of it ((uncomfortable laughing))
R: <<asking> so not everything is just good>
B: but I think most is more positive
R: than negative
B: than negative
R: <<asking> so do you think choeung ek and tuol sleng are the
testimony of the genocide as well | and important memorials>
B: they are | they are important memorials | erm | es: twenty one is an
important memorial because located in the city | and it has more
concrete documentary materials | more evidence too | documents |
professions | in terms of paper document we made from the khmer
rouge | photographs also | they have more than other places in the
country
R: hm
B: that make it to an important place | and also in the nineteen
eighties | the pe: ar: k: government | the people’s republic of
kampuchea
R: hm
controlled by vietnam | tried to make choeung ek looks like a big
 genocide place | maybe some people say they tried to make es: twenty
 one look like auschwitz | for example
 R: hm | I read about that
 B: yes yes | henri locard said that | erm | yes so that’s in a way erm
 | promoting es: twenty one in the eighties leads to giving it more
 importance today than other locations | erm | choeung ek is also
 important | because it is the place where people were brought to
 kill
 R: hm
 B: and it’s located very convenient for the tourists and for the people
 to see | next to the city
 R: <<asking> so you think it’s important for | or can be very positive
 for tourists to experience>
 B: <<asking> in terms of educating | public education>
 R: hm
 B: erm | but there are many other places | prisons and mass graves
 around the country
 R: hm
 B: they are equally big in term and number | or they were established
 long before es: twenty one and choeung ek were established
 R: hm
 B: those locations in takai province | we have mass graves | more mass
 graves | and some are larger in size than es: twenty one
 R: <<asking> do you think tourists have maybe a wrong picture | when
 they just visit tuol sleng and think this was the central prison and
 they don’t know that there are [many other places]>
 B: [many people are not] so aware that
 in cambodia | there are almost two hundred locations like that
 R: hm
 B: erm yes | so some people asked me the same question | when we have
 more than almost two hundred location | why people | why you only
 es: twenty one and choueng ek | why is it more important than the
 other
 R: hm
 B: erm | we not say that it’s MORE important but it’s more CONVENIENT
 than other locations | to reach to bring tourists | to bring group
 of people to get there
 R: hm
 B: and it has more evidence | more things to see than other places
 R: mh | it’s nearby phnom penh | you can go there very easily
B: the map | >>asking> the killing field map | have you seen yet?
R: <<requesting> the map
B: yes | showing locations of mass graves around the country
((indicating the map at the wall))
R: yes | I saw it online at the de: ce: cam: website | I will check that out | <<asking> so do you know how people in phnom penh think | what they think about tourists visiting these sites> | <<asking> do they also think it’s a positive thing that tourists come to visit the killing fields and tuol sleng | or do they feel disturbed about their presence>
B: I think people feel very positive about tourists coming | erm | they are | they never really show being disturbed by | when people visit mass graves or tuol sleng or other places | I think people really believe that when people see | they want other people to hear and know about their plight | about the killing in cambodia | so they are not at all disturbed
R: hm
B: erm not at all
R: that’s interesting ((shy laughing of both)) | so let’s get to anlong veng
B: yes
R: so <<asking> what kind of stories did you hear since nineteen ninety nine | is there any kind of news coming to phnom penh>
B: <<asking> about anlong veng>
R: anlong veng | <<asking> or is it just kind of far away and it doesn’t matter>
B: now | the road are very smooth | they built siem reap to anlong veng road | a big and very smooth | built by a thai company
R: hm
B: erm | so anlong veng is highly accessible now | so you can reach by car | and they have telecommunication in anlong veng | like in other places |
R: hm
B: erm | if there is anything special we will hear about it | but the only thing that many people in cambodia hear from anlong veng is that the land there is very expensive | and people are making lot of profit from buying land and then sell later at a high price
R: hm
B: people making cultivation | and erm | there are also location where ta mok used to live | erm the grave of pol pot | the people want to see some time = you know
R: hm
B: at the other thing that I heard personally | it’s from (xxx xxx)
((the former photographer of tuol sleng prison)) plan to develop a
museum
R: hm
B: there | and they develop real estate around the area
R: hm
B: and
R: and you have to smile when you say that ((laughing))
B: yes ((laughing))
R: it’s a crazy guy
B: crazy guy yes | 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
R: so | it’s questionable | it’s not a educative purpose
B: no no | haha
R: so | <<asking> do people talking much about the developments there>
| the cambodians
B: <<requesting> the cambodians>
R: <<do they think about it or talk about it | is it a kind of topic
you speak about>
B: at some school | people occasionally talk about how to preserve pol
pot’s grave | how to preserve evident resulting from | erm the last
| pol pots last control | and the khmer rouge last control in the
area
R: hm
B: some people talk about how the deputy governor in siem reap | I
think in nineteen ninety seven | or six seven eight | when the ce: pe: pe: and funcinpec were fighting
R: hm
B: to gain a defection from the khmer rouge | you know | because the
khmer rouge crumbling at the time | in late nineteen nineties | so
their soldier come back to into country | so ce: pe: pe: and
funcinpec tried to capture those
R: hm
B: those soldiers | erm | so at the time the governor of siem reap |
who were funcinpec member | flow to anlong veng along with his other
you know | and when met ta mok and then | you know | when he got off
the plane | and after talk | nobody know for sure | they were shot |
all of them were shot | and erm | for some people in siem reap
that’s something that they talk occasionally | now and then erm |
but otherwise I think | but we at de: ce: cam: talk more about the
khmer rouge

R:  hm

B:  about who were the former cadre living in anlong veng | so that we
can meet and interview | who are the victims | what kind of evidence
or documents we can get from anlong veng | and you know | pol pot’s
mass graves | and things like that | but formally people | those
locations and those things | are for you know | come by and take a
look and then move on = you know

R:  hm | <<asking> you mean the backpackers>

B:  oh the tourists | the outside tourists | they might want to see
those | if they go to anlong veng | evidences and remnants of the
khmer rouge is their best | is the main attraction | but for local
tourists | for cambodians | if they go to anlong veng | they will
just stay there for a short time and then focus more on | you know |
taking part in the development

R:  ah okay | <<requesting> more interested at the economic aspects>

B:  economic aspects | economic aspects

R:  so hm | <<asking> so the people are informed about what is going on
basically | you think>

B:  yes | I think

R:  so | it’s also documented that two thousand cambodians per month are
visiting anlong veng and the grave of pol pot

B:  <<asking> it is documented>

R:  sorry ((looking for evidence))

B:  <<asking> is there a report?

R:  yes its documented | they counted the visitors and it was like sixty
international tourists | and in total two thousand cambodians | and
I am wondering | because for instance in germany | many survivors of
the holocaust | they don’t like to go to auschwitz | they don’t want
to see it | so I am wondering why two thousand cambodians want to
see anlong veng | <<asking> do you know, do you have an explanation
for that>

B:  <<requesting> every month>

R:  yes every month

B:  I think | erm | some cambodians | for the earlier | those who
experienced the khmer rouge | approximately | they erm | they might
disappear and don’t talk so much about the plan | and they might not
want to see pol pot

R:  hm
B: I interviewed and met a few people | you know | we start to talk to
victims and those who experienced so much| might not think properly
| the way they think is was | was clearly weak = you know
R: hm
B: but for those who experience the khmer rouge atrocity | but there
not that much traumatized | I think many people in cambodia | there
is a large number of those kind of people | 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 |
responsible for the khmer rouge | and then in the eighties | what we
hear in cambodia | is the pol pot ieng sary clique = you know
R: hm
B: so many people just want to come by and see | oh here is the grave
of this guy | he is right here = you know
R: he existed and he died
B: he died | yes you know that’s life of him | yes yes | I think that’s
the reason why they want to see | no more | some people even suggest
that | a few people suggest that pol pot | we should make a statue
of pol pot | kneeling down and tied up behind his back | somewhere
in cambodia | so he would be punished forever
R: would be a good place maybe
B: haha ((both laughing))
R: that’s interesting | <<asking> and you are discussing that | to have
such a statue>
B: erm | we have not discussed at de: ce: cam: | but it should be the
task more of the government
R: hm
B: if they talk about it | I think it could be seen as a bit extreme
for some people
R: hm
B: you know that some people opinion | they really want that | you know
| they really want to see pol pot getting that much punishment
R: hm
(-)
R: <<asking> do you know current news about> | the last thing I read
was that they did not get funding for their plans in march
B: who
R: the government and the | erm operators in anlong veng
B: hm
R: they had a master plan | but it was very expensive
B: hm
R: and they didn’t get the money for it | <<asking> do you know any news about that>

B: I heard that | I thought the newspaper about that | like a funding | but I don’t know much detail you know | I don’t know much detail | in an informal way = you know | not really

R: so erm | according to hun sen | visitors will have the possibility to learn about the khmer rouge and understand the past

B: [yes ]

R: [of cam]bodia | <<asking> do you think it’s possible in anlong veng | to establish such an educative purpose>

B: yes yes | it’s possible for anlong veng | although there are many khmer rouge sites around the country | that might have equal value or significance | or a little bit less or even more than anlong veng | and its famous for a few historic | you know | historic occurrences | like the khmer | like pol pot was there | controlled by ta mok | ta mok’s lake for example | erm | it may give us a good starting point to educate people in anlong veng about genocide | to tell them = you know

R: hm | <<requesting> just not the way the photographer does it>

B: no no ((laughing))

R: <<asking> do you think it matters for former victims or for cambodians that former khmer rouge are operating the sites and are working as guides>

B: <<asking> do you think what>

R: <<asking> what do people think about the circumstance that the guides of the site | also the tour operators | that the people who are taking the tourists around and showing the sites | that they are former khmer rouge soldiers>

B: <<asking> does it bother them>

R: yes

B: I don’t think that it bothers people | some people are angry | for some people they really are | but for me personally | I don’t think | some people | especially the younger generation might not be | take an issue with that | erm | as long as that khmer rouge identity is not so much reveal | he was not involved in too much killing | you know | about he is just a simple soldier | who were ordered to fight in the khmer rouge government you know | during the war | I think it’s okay for them

R: hm
B: but for some victims | the victims of the khmer rouge might take it
as an issue | they might not like him
R: <<requesting> the victims>
B: the survivors | they might not like him = you know | there is a
possibility that they might attack it verbally or something | (-) |
that’s what I think
R: so erm | << asking> do you think it’s a good decision to promote the
sight as a tourist destination> | <<asking< what do you think |
personally> | you are smiling | <<asking> so you think it’s kind of
((laughing)) so it>
B: tourist destination | they have the issue that I find very difficult
to reconcile it | it’s about getting profit on genocide site | like
choeung ek and tuol sleng | tuol sleng is still a government place |
so it in term does not go to a private company | but some of it
would finance of peoples wage who take care of the place | but go to
the ministry of culture for the government | but choeung ek the
government asked a company | called j: ce: company | to manage it
the way to do it at angkor wat
R: hm
B: although they give a certain amount back to the government | but j:
ce: company will try to make some profit | because they are looking
at business
R: hm
B: erm | so I find it a little bit difficult to | to reconcile | you
know | ease of management of the site by subcontracting control |
manage money to a company | versus you are going there to see those
people who have been died | many people died at | lot of skull | it
is a place of respect | and if you think about business | business
does not go with this kind of thing
R: hm
R: erm | another thing | that in term of de: ce: cam: as an en: ge: o:
| working with those sites | is also a friction too | all those
places which are business | erm | because we are | as an en: ge: o:
we are non profit | but we | when we publish book and we provide
material | we provide to people without profit | we provide to
schools | for educational purposes | to researcher | for their
research and study
R: hm
B: but cheung ek | cheung ek is a location that we want to cooperate
with too | with as well | but because they are profit making | we
give them a book | then give them material | and it feels like they
make some profit = you know

R: so | <<asking> you don’t want to support something in this
direction>

B: yes | not in that direction | it could be a little bit difficult for
us to cooperate in a non profit direction with them because they are
making profit | we don’t

R: hm

B: and we think about sharing history more | although they say they try
to educate people | you know about everything | but erm | the major
| the most important thing is how can we be sustainable (laughter)
so | when we provide magazine | this magazine (indicating the
searching for the truth magazine lying on the table) is distributed
free of charge to district and village

R: ah | this yes

B: around the country

R: hm

B: erm | some of this books are free of charge too | so when they ask |
erm | they come as choeung ek location with request for several
books | we can give them

R: aha | this is cool yes | if you | this circumstances have to be like
| the aim is important of the
B: yes hm | so what I am thinking that the procedure of | in term from
tourism | of every location | should go through an en: ge: o: or
charity organization | or the cambodian red cross

R: hm | <<asking> to have an overview or kind of supervision>

B: supervision | yes

R: so | you are getting obviously a lot in contact with cambodia’s past
| <<asking> do you personally think much about your past | or are
you inflicted with cambodia’s past personally>

B: <<asking> my personal past>

R: <<asking> if your family has been afflicted> | I don’t know if it’s
the right word

B: a victim

R: yes | <<asking> or if you have personal contact with the past>

B: hm | erm personal contact | erm I have | my extended family members
died or killed under the khmer rouge | but in terms of my extended
family | my mother father and my siblings | and then my uncle and my
grandmother and my family | my extended family | we were lucky | not
that many people died and suffered as such as some other families |
some family lost the whole family or lost eighty to ninety percent of the members.

R:  hm

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

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

R:  hm

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

R:  [contact]

B:  [yes contact] with the past.

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

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

R:  yes | of course ((laughing))

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

R:  hm

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

R:  yes | [you can be neutral]

B:  [yes | some people say] that | oh the khmer rouge is great erm | especially people in | erm Samlout | from former khmer rouge stronghold too | they say that you know | they support the khmer rouge.
rouge until now | they still have a posture of the khmer rouge |
they say that people in the country just talk about bad things and
never talk about good | but then | what are the good things I asked
them | they said building a lake | reservoir | what a reservoir
around country | for example a reservoir in (xxx xxx) district | we
call | it’s a big reservoir | and there are thousands of thousands
of people | we will distribute books to that place next week | erm |
a lot of people died there | but it’s now remain | it’s about four
to six kilometre wide
R:  hm
B:  the reservoir | and the dyke is about ten metre high | the water is
now being used for the surrounding fields | and so they point out
that this is the result of the khmer rouge | no one else would have
done anything like that | but I am telling them | but how much cost
did you put in there | it’s a big achievement | a lot of people died |
you used thousand and thousands of labourer doing this small thing |
and now you use twenty escalator and some machines and you can
built it within few month
R:  hm
B:  haha ((laughter)) you built it during the entire time long | khmer
rouge leader go there and visited | you know | khieu samphan visited
there | from time to time | because he write a pe: h: de: on rural
development you know | agriculture and development | irrigation and
development | so I tell them that much effort just for that little
reservoir | you think it’s a big achievement | but it’s not | not at
all | not compared to the costs
R:  hm
B:  so its erm | so they did nothing ((laughter))
R:  <<asking> and there are still adherents | and they still like the
khmer rouge | also there>
B:  yes
R:  that’s strange
B:  yes they are still | they still support | they still feel positive
about them | about the khmer rouge leader
R:  hm
B:  pol pot’s daughter is still living
R:  <<requesting> pol pot’s daughter>
B:  yes | pol pot’s daughter
R:  hm
B:  yes | but she has nothing to do with her father
R:  hm
but she lives with she | pol pot has two wives | the first one is
khieu ponnary | who is the older sister of ieng thirith | ieng
thirith is now at the ce: ce: ce: ce:
hm
she is being in prison at ce: ce: ce:
I saw a picture over there
yes yes yes | but khieu ponnary had some mental problems and
she died long before pol pot | so pol pot had not any kid with her |
she married a new women | a younger woman | I heard
that she was a housemaid in pol pot’s home | and but I heard
they had a daughter together | but when pol pot died he asked his |
I think his assistant | who is now the governor of malai district |
and then to take care about his wife | they married and they get
another daughter together | and pol pot’s daughter | I thought she
lives in phnom penh | she lives in the same house
hm
and yes so | there are a lot of support in malai for | they are
still | you know | talk positive | when we teach de: ka: history |
khmer rouge history | to that people into that place | not many
people are interested | the teacher told us that erm | when we
count distribution this book to the place | nobody will come to the district
office to pick the book | and take to the school | nobody will come
by themselves | spending money you know
hm
do not travel some distance to collect this book that we distribute
okay
we put it in the major school and major places | and the teacher
will come and then take the book | but nobody would do it there | I
think they think we are little bios ((laughter))
okay
and erm also in in | in malai | it’s located on the thai border |
there are many people who used to live in takeo | you know takeo was
under | takeo province over there
hm
was under the khmer rouge control | long before many other provinces
| so when the khmer rouge escaped to the border | they went with
them | lived with them in the eighties and nineties | and now they
don’t want to return to their home town
hm
you know | it make me feel like okay the liars | they were
indoctrinated so much | and all they see | their world view is
confined to how the Khmer Rouge see the world should be | anything like that | and they don’t think they can | they can mix with the local population | that’s what I feel | don’t [have much evidence ]

R: [they want to stay by]
themselves

B: by themselves | as well | and also the economic reasons too | after such a long time they might not have any single left back in the town

R: hm

B: but I also feel that their world view is literally different | so yes

R: hm so it just does not fit’s together

B: that’s what I think they are thinking ((laughter))

R: <<asking> are they dangerous>

B: <<requesting> sorry>

R: <<asking> are they still dangerous | no | they are not dangerous anymore | are they >

B: they are not dangerous anymore | no | nobody is hurting them | deep in the country | Phnom Penh | they do not go there and criticize or hurt them anything | so they are not dangerous

R: because I read that some people in some provinces are afraid of a comeback by the Khmer Rouge | <<asking> is that true>

B: <<requesting> a return by the Khmer Rouge>

R: hm

B: yes yes that’s true | although I don’t think that will happen | but for the victims | for the survivor | they erm | in Khmer we call baksbat | Khmer word baksbat | so when you get hurt or traumatized so much | the moment for example you get hit by a car | when you cross the street | and it hits so bad | so next time | or maybe at the time ten years later | you are still afraid of crossing the street

R: hm

B: that’s called baksbat | just the moment you saw street | you shake

R: okay

B: [so Cambodian people feel the same way]

R: [<<asking> can you maybe write down ] that word for me>

B: <<asking> in Khmer>

R: in English letters please | unfortunately | I would love to speak and read Khmer

B: baksbat | mean having so much fear | about something you used to cause you so much pain | so much hurt
R:  hm

B:  erm | so that’s why they feel | although we have concrete evidence
and we understand the erm | the cold war environment | and supporter
of the khmer rouge lead to all these kind of things| and those kind
of condition does not exist today | erm | the local people still
feel you know | still afraid of the khmer rouge | it might come some
day | you know even | even talking about it for some people | they
still feel you know | fear that somebody might come to my house

R:  they don’t want to tell| because of fear

B:  some people still yes | erm | so when hun sen said that we should
prosecute more people at the e: ce: ce: ce: | more khmer rouge
leaders | we might have civil war | he might | hun sen said he might
have a lot of | a lot of reverberations | you know | among the
villagers

R:  hm

B:  among those who fear | although we see you know clearly | how could
the khmer rouge come back | maybe if thailand supports the khmer
rouge | there would be a big possibility {{ironically laughter}} | we would fighting with them | it could be | is hard | is still hard

R:  okay | <<asking> but you think | they are afraid but you think it is
not possible>

B:  not possible | for me | not possible | is no more ideology to go |
to do again you know | to support

R:  so | <<asking> do you think erm | that the people | the victims and
the perpetrators | do they have arguments or do they have problems
with each other if they just live side by side>

B:  for some villages they live together | in others they live side by
side | they live in a different village | erm they have to confront
to each other you know | and most of the result is | erm | a
confrontation between victim and perpetrators | now is not talking
to each other that much | maybe cases | erm if they talk or if they
live in the same village | there will be time when other villagers
have ceremony | or event at the pagoda | you know communal pagoda | they would meet | but they will maybe talk two or three words | and
don’t talk to each other

R:  [they are just polite]

B:  [too much pain yes] | they just being polite | we | actually we
now making a film called forgiving and reconciliation in cambodia |
we start the village | a guy who just kill two men | erm | one man
was a brother of a female survivor | one men was a father and
husband of | of | of the girl who are living in the same village
the guy killed those two people and we interviewed the perspectives of the three parties

and what they take so that their life can move on | their world view about that is | that they are not talking | of the victims perspective | they don’t want to talk to the guy | of the they allow the guy to live and do not want to take revenge | because they can take revenge | they over treated as weak and old now | and they have | and the victim has male members in the family who are strong | who can do anything any time

but the whom one said | you know let him live | and let him take him care of his wife and his kid

it sounds very reasonable | because the whom one who are surviving | lost the husband | so they know the pain of caring | taking care about everything by themselves

they don’t want to put pain on his innocent wife | of the perpetrator

and the children

and also they believe in buddhism | and thing like that | maybe in karma the perpetrator is now suffering from a lot of things | is weak | is old and you know | not popular in the village | so you know this believe | he is suffering from his karma

and they don’t talk that much | they don’t talk to each other | that’s how they deal with you know | the situation in the village | one specific case

| but there are also the children | I read about the children and that they do not believe | so | the older people don’t talk with each other | but the children don’t know about what happened|

this is | the report I believe is a little bit overemphasizing in generalizing what the children don’t believe and believe some children | when you talk | you tell them there are people killed | or how the khmer rouge did their work | and how you know | hurt the people | you don’t have evidence and you speak too in a superstitious way | they would not believe it | because they believe | the children believe | the next generation | they go to school and
they study | and they want to know on themselves | to be less
superstitious and | and more scientific | they want to show their
knowledge

R:  hm
B:  erm | they are more advanced than their parents | which makes their
parents happy | their parents are undereducated | so what their
children try to improve | try to impress the parents | is through
bring back scientific knowledge | and non superstitious belief | so
for example | if the parents say you know | if you eat | if you
don't eat the rice erm | the khmer rouge come in and take your liver
| open the stomach | they have blood | dark red eye | they eat a lot
of human liver | you know they just attack you know

R:  hm
B:  and just kill people that way you know for the | if they talk about
that the parents are not very educated too | the children would very
question this older time

R:  hm
B:  but you can see the evidence | that there are mass graves and bones
and security centre-es | and a lot of people talk about khmer rouge
origin | in school and outside | even in kandal | they believe that
it happened | they know it | and they see evidence of skulls and
bones all over the country | so erm | the student would know that
something happened | but not in what way | to which extend and how
dramatic | or how unbelievable | you know | it happened | they do
not know the extend | but the way their parents tell them is a bit | not logical | it doesn’t fit together

R:  hm
B:  in that son | they don’t believe | but they believe that it happened
| yes killing | a lot of killing | so what I am telling | what I am
saying is | that some survey from the kind of result | so telling
them that erm | there are so much evidence all around the village
that erm | that the khmer rouge let a lot of people die | and that
the khmer rouge and that genocide in region happened | and that the
children cannot find a conclusion or believe that has to be visually
done | that kid you know

R:  hm
B:  but as a I met the kid | they are smart | the children they are
smart | they just don’t want to | erm you know | erm to be lie upon
by the parents | about all something on that logic

R:  hm
B: yes | that’s how I think it should fit our overall report
((laughter))
R: erm | <<questioning> do you think that the tourists know about all
that> | probably the most of the tourists | I had so far the
impression | like me | when I was here last time | you come here for
a few days and you visit the main sites | like when you are on a
holiday | and then you leave again | <<asking> so do you think they
know about>
B: <<asking> from that short time>
R: I don’t know how to erm | <<asking> do the phnom penh tourists know
about the sites | are they informed about the circumstances | about
impunity in Cambodia and such things | or do they visit the sites
randomly to the sites they are told to visit | what do you think>
B: <<requesting> what I think>
R: yes | just your personal impression
B: I think some of them know quite in depth about cambodian impunity
situation | corruption | the khmer history | the e: ce: ce: ce;
trial = you know
R: hm
B: erm | some people know | and some might be more like | okay this
country has genocide | this country has angkor wat | erm | they
might not know about the khmer rouge tribunal | they might not know
so much about it = you know
R: hm
B: I have a researcher | study angkor wat | who don’t know that the e:
ce: ce: ce: exist
R: <<asking> really>
B: yes ((laughing)) | he was from germany too | but I talked about the
e: ce: ce: ce: | he was asking about what it is = know ((laughing))
R: it’s great
B: yes | until I tell him we work with e: ce: ce: ce: | we have a lot
of documents | so he start to think about how much he can have | and
he only have one or two more days left | he did not read that much |
and he spent much of his time in siem reap | interview people
R: of course | when he is writing about angkor wat
B: but a chapter of his study is how the khmer rouge | why the khmer
rouge kept angor wat and things like that | interviewed people there
R: aha interesting
B: ((laughing)) but you know | towards your question | whether tourists
know anything like that | I am not so sure | but
R: probably [not ]
B: [Prob]ably half and have = right
R: yes
B: some people come in and | they saw they were carry thick big books
    with them | about khmer | cambodian history | or cambodian genocide
    | they read an account about all the time
R: hm
B: so I think they know more
R: maybe more the older tourists | so that their | I saw last time when
    I was here | I went to the national museum | and there have been a
    lot of tourists in the age of forty fifty years old | and they had
    special guides in the museum and so on | so maybe they know more |
    maybe backpacker tends to do not know so much like cultural
    interested tourists | but that’s just my impression | <<asking> and
    I wanted to know what you think about that>
B: hm
R: I don’t know
B: I think | erm | the number of tourists at tuol sleng is quite high
R: hm
B: erm | there are coming quite a lot | so erm | a good number
R: so there is a | they want | <<asking> there is the demand to know
    [more ]>
B: [to know more]
R: so if you come | and you read about | there is a museum | tuol sleng
    | and you don’t know about and what it is | then it’s even mo
B: it doesn’t mean it has so much meaning for your visit
R: but if you going there | and you read about what happened | you know
    it’s very
B: hm
R: educative
B: yes
R: in a much more important way maybe | because you didn’t know
B: yes
R: and com[ing there ]
B: [coming there]
R: and you don’t [know what it is ]
B: [don’t know what it is] | what’s implication and what
    significant place it is | so the trip is useless ((laughing))
R: I don’t know | I knew about the history when I came here the first
    time | so I was informed before
B: Ohhaa ((laughing))
B: yes | for some people they don’t know what they see | and they don’t
try to find about afterwards | off the site | so it’s not important
| the visit not become important for some people who do not know |
but that they are very sensitive about the things when they see it |
they look more immediately
R: afterwards maybe
B: afterwards at least
R: so the final question | <<asking> do you think that the whole
endeavour is immoral | of the government to develop anlong veng | is
it immoral>
B: <<requesting> to develop anlong veng immoral> | I think it depends
on how they convey the message | and should manage the profit of the
development | so if it go | probably understanding the genocide |
erm in terms of bringing visitor there | and then use the profits to
support school | support publication | support the construction and
preservation of other location | that is good
R: hm
B: but erm | if for example | okay you develop anlong veng | erm | you
put an auction | auction | you know people propose different price
for managing and pay yearly to the government | and the government
get the money | and you don’t say clearly how you use this money |
and you don’t put good condition for the company to manage | you
know | just you know let them do what they want | that is really
immoral
R: hm
B: when you making profit | or you on the | on the soul of those who
died | died under the khmer rouge | it’s highly immoral | that’s a
very sensitive | are to talk about | you know anlong veng and
genocide site is very sensitive
R: hm | if they do it improperly it will be conflicting | erm | I mean
that some people will feel | erm feel uncomfortable
R: hm
B: immediately | you know | manage it
R: yes | I understand
B: but erm | I support development there | a proper one
R: but a development | sustain[able development ]
B: [yeah sustainable de]velopment
R: they always say remote area | and far away | and rural | and they
have no | not so much
B: now what I am thinking about cambodia today is | that Cambodia is
quite a small country
B: from north to south it’s about four hundred kilometre | from east to west about five hundred | erm | the road have being built everywhere | more road are smooth | so erm | it give more significance | erm | it open up more places

B: that erm | people can go to | and so | the target is not only to develop one specific site | you can do that as an example | as a pilot project | but then in the future | it could be that | you cannot bring the tourists destination | visiting various location around the country | because the road is good | you can do that in a shorter time span than today

B: yes | it’s quite reachable

R: it’s just two and a half hour from siem reap

B: ((laughing)) right

R: so | <<asking> do you have any questions left or do you want to add something maybe>

B: <<asking> something>

R: what you think it’s important

B: <<asking> important>

R: for me to know | <<asking> or do you have any suggestions> | I don’t want to | erm

B: yes | my major concern is that dark tourism | that is a conflicting genocide | the business making

R: <<requesting> so you are concerned about the way it is getting established>

B: yes | the way it is getting established | and the other thing is | you can bring people to visit to many other locations and other sites | little bit more historical research about the particular sites | and then you know | tell people about each places | so that what they get out of this visit is not | is that that genocide doesn’t happen only on one specific place | it is tuol sleng multiplied by twenty or thirty | there are many other location around the country

R: hm

B: so they get a bigger view

R: hm

B: that’s what I

R: I don’t know | if you now mr. wood | it’s a guy | he wrote about anlong veng and the developments there | and he was writing about
the operators in anlong veng | and that they are getting taught by
documentation center of cambodia as well

B: <<requesting> get taught>
R: the kind of the story they should tell the people | that is kind of
overlooked by de: ce: cam: | <<asking> is that true>
B: <<requesting> overlooked what kind of story>
R: so that you give them | or some kind of institution gives them | for
example a history | a history they should tell people | and not
their pol pot was a great guy story
B: oh to khmer rouge cadre
R: yes in anlong veng | the operators | the guides for the tourists
B: oh okay
R: <<asking> what kind of story they tell> | so I read that the
ministry of education and de: ce: cam: have to tell them what they
should tell the tourists
B: tell the tourists
R: <<asking> do you know about that>
B: not really | we never had a formal | or program with the ministry of
tourism to convey a specific message to the guy | the tour guy | and
you know | and tell them that they should tell them this particular
history to the tourists | not really
R: not really
B: maybe we met a few people and tell them | you know | okay this is
what we say | is not entirely correct | this is a general thing that
happened under the khmer rouge = you know
R: hm
B: ((showing the history book of de: ce: cam:)) how the prison was
organized | yeah | four year plan | how people got put in
cooperatives | you know | how the khmer rouge created and thing like
that | and to rally correct some of their understanding | but it
depends on their personal experience and they tell what they want
R: hm
B: I mean nobody know more than you about your personal experience |
((laugher)) | it’s personal | its personal construction by yourself
| but if you talk about an overall history | if you don’t have
evidence | or something that clears non logical | you should follow
this | is much better
R: yes
B: because some people have something | they feel they saw something |
but it’s a bit in pieces
R: hm
B: it has been never put together like that
R: so | <<requesting> the operators don’t know the guides story | or
they are not aware that they have gaps>
B: yes that they have gaps
R: and there is the possibility | that they just tell stuff from | you
told like in the other province | like | I just read about that they
tell the people that ta mok was good because he made this lake |
built a school and a hospital and that | because of that it’s
controversial
B: <<requesting> what I said>
R: no | the tours themselves
B: I don’t think it’s just a personal view | he can say that | when he
thinks he does not be afraid of cambodian local tourist | to be
challenged by them | he can go ahead | but if he would tell me | I
might try to challenge him | you know | about all the thins
R: hm
B: you know
R: yes | and tell him your point of view
B: personally | he can do that
R: so that’s okay | that’s just the way it is
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 21st 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
R: <<asking> could you tell me a bit about your background and your
work here>
C: oh | yes | I was born in (xxx xxx) province | in the north eastern
part of cambodia | about three hundred and forty kilometres from
phnom penh | so I graduated from high school in nineteen ninety nine
| and I continued my college | erm in phnom penh in nineteen ninety
nine
R: hm
C: when I finished my first college | erm in two thousand three | I
volunteered at the documentation center of cambodia | de: ce: cam:
here | erm which I was latest possible for the documentation project
R: hm
C: I work on cataloguing and categorizing the original khmer rouge
document | erm collected | erm from various sources | from tuol
sleng genocide museum | from national library | from national
archive of cambodia | from the ministry of interior | erm so I have
gone through a number of original khmer rouge documents
R: hm
C: which developed my interest in the khmer rouge history | that’s how
I was also selected to work on the newly established genocide
education project | in erm | september two thousand four
R: hm
C: and my responsibility at that time was to coordinate the data | the
project (xxx) | and to write the textbook | a history of democratic
kampuchea
R: I had the chance to read a bit in it
C: that’s great
R: so erm | <<asking> why do you think it’s so important to have this
history book> | from your point of view
C: erm | it has been almost thirty years | erm at the time that we
established the project | the cambodian young generation | erm | did
not have access to the | erm | actually part of the khmer rouge
history | usually khmer rouge history is part of the pe: ar: k:
propaganda | and is part of state policies | erm that the | the
cambodian leaders use erm | to serve their policies | to se-erve
their purposes
R: hm
C: so cambodian young generation does not have | erm access to the
actual history of the khmer rouge
R: hm
C: erm | so we looked at the khmer rouge history published by the
  government | and it erm | it is pretty short | which was published
  in two thousand one | and put in the official curriculum
R: hm
C: but the text is pretty short | like grade nine | it is only five
  pages | for | sorry five lines | for grade nine students | and only
  two to three pages for grade twelve students | so they | the
  complete young generation | I then I believe | almost learned
  nothing from this five lines and this three pages
R. hm
C: about what happened to their parents | what happened to their grand
  parents
R: hm
C: so it is important that the young generation learn the | the whole
  picture of khmer rouge history | so that they can find a
  foundation to prevent future genocide | the possibility of future
  genocide | either in cambodia or elsewhere | erm in the world
R: hm
C: and also to contribute to the national reconciliation
R: hm
C: because victims and perpetrators can not reconcile the (victims) |
  cambodia is a damaged country | so in order for victims and
  perpetrators to reconcile | we need channels | for them to reconcile
  | and the good channel is the student
R: <<requesting> you need what>
C: a channel
R: a channel
C: a sort of a bridge | you know
R: yes
C. to link the two together
R: yes
C: so a good channel is student
R: aha
C: is the own children | and they themselves have the responsibility to
  produce that good channel | by talking | by telling the story of
  their own | their story about the khmer rouge to their children |
  and their children will tell the story to the class in the classroom
R: hm
C: so that empowers the children of victims and perpetrators | to
  discuss in class their parents experiences | and find common grounds
to step on and work together | for about the future | so this is
what we believe is important for genocide education in cambodia
R:  hm (-) | so erm connected to this | <<asking> what do you think about
the rising tourists presence in this | connected for example to tuol
sleng and choeung ek | what do you think about the rising interest
of tourists to this genocide related places>
C:  <<requesting> you mean how this tourist places contribute to
genocide education>
R:  could be yes | for example too
C:  erm | you know for genocide education | there are many elements that
can contribute to the education about khmer rouge history | erm oeng
ek and tuel sleng are two important historical sites for children |
to learn directly | so when erm | either children or the general
public | when they see the sites | they VISUALLY see what happened
to the prisoner | and what torture tools the khmer rouge used | erm
to torture and generate confession from the prisoners
R:  hm
C:  so this two sites are the important | we call fiscal deep evidence |
showing the general public and the younger generation | erm what
happened during the khmer rouge
R:  <<asking> and do you know how far cambodians are using this sites>
C:  erm they didn’t use it immediately after the collapse of the khmer
rouge R:  hm
C:  the cambodian government | the succeeding government of the khmer
rouge | the vietnamese installed government | peoples republic of
kampuchea | converted tuol sleng and choeung ek into the tourist
sites | erm what they call the genocide | erm the tuol sleng
genocide museum | erm assisted by vietnam | so they used it as | erm
for both | for tourists and for propaganda
R:  hm
C:  both you know | for education and propaganda | but their main
purpose was political propaganda
R:  hm
C:  not for education | but it somehow | it contributes to the education
in cambodia
R:  hm | <<asking> so cambodians are going to tuol sleng and choeung ek
| not just international tourists>
C:  erm | most tourists are foreigners | erm cambodians go to tuol sleng
only on special events
R:  hm
but not on the daily basis | of for example | de: ce: cam: brought five hundred villagers or thousands of students to visit tuol sleng
cambodian government calls anger day

erm for example | on human day or may twentieth | erm which the
cambodian visit this kind of places | but erm normally | in the
daily basis | not many [people ]
<<asking> [they don’t] go there to remember or to

commemorate>
erm | not many people go to tuol sleng and choeung ek | only a few
cambodian | you know | they go to this kind of places | erm () | I
don’t think they don’t want to remember | or they don’t want to

commemorate to the death of cambodian people during the khmer rouge

because our combination with low education | and there is no
incentive for them to go to | this kind of places

erm you know | cambodia after the khmer rouge regime | they were
thinking of how to survive tomorrow | how to survive longer

erm | talking about the old suffering | going to tuol sleng and
choeung ek | for the sake of remembrance | that is not their first

priority

okay erm | <<asking> did you have any significant experiences with
tourists> | your personal opinion | << asking> do you like the
tourists presence in cambodia> | <<asking> do you think it’s a good
that they are there or is it kind of contra productive>

erm tourists | tourists is a | what are this sources | erm for many
countries | erm for economic development | but part of the tourists
| tourism | is that erm | they can bring what they have learned |
erm | in the several countries | or in the post conflict countries |
and share it with the | erm their people | their families outside
cambodia | so erm | it’s a good sign that so many people come to
tuol sleng and choeung ek | to learn what happened to cambodia
R: hm
C: and that’s how we can teach what happened to cambodia to their children | to their relatives and their friends | and outside cambodia
R: okay | so now about anlong veng | <<asking> what kind of stories did you hear since nineteen ninety eight | or what kind of stories reach phnom penh for example | about anlong veng>
C: erm | anlong veng is one of the former khmer rouge stronghold | erm and the two leaders | khieu samphon and nuon chea | defected to the current government in nineteen ninety eight | so after the death of pol pot anlong veng became one of the tourist sites | for both | foreigner and cambodians | a lot of cambodian people | you know they pray at pol pot’s tomb | for number | lottery number | you know for good health | for happiness in the future
R: <<asking> isn’t that crazy>
C: erm | that | you know | erm traditionally | cambodian belief in some kind of superstition | it look crazy | erm but it’s not crazy | it’s a kind of believe that many people have had for many centuries | I will give you one example | erm | in battambang province | I don’t know if you have been there
R: not yet
C: it is the southeast part of the country | erm there is one | erm (.) | delivered tale | erm a folk tale | erm but now they built a bridge | that you offer black sting | erm what we call neak ta | it is like a magic person | you know who is magical
R: hm
C: who has powers | erm to give you happiness or to give you harm
R: hm
C: so he was a simple man | but erm | he accidently got a black stick | and he became powerful | and defeated the king | and he himself became the king
R: okay
C: erm | I don’t know in the twelfth century | or the tenth century for example | I don’t know | so erm | but later on he was defeated by the son of the former king
R: hm
C: and then erm | he became the national traitor | but later on people | erm you know | take him as the powerful erm person | and is that true | they pray until now
R: okay
C: so right now he is still a powerful spirit | for the people
and it’s the same thing with Pol Pot | Pol Pot committed a lots of crimes in Cambodia | he lead a convey which literally killing in the death of millions of people | but after his death he became the magical powerful spirit | for the peoples | like the black stick | like the black stick king

yes | they call him black stick Neak Ta | in Khmer we call Dambang Kra Nhong | so Dambang Kra Nhong is the black stick ((writes it down))

neak ta is like a grandfather | neak ta is like a grandfather who died | but his spirit is still powerful

so they | they worship him until now

it has been more than ten centuries | but they are still worshipping | even he | he made a coup against the king

and put himself as a king | in Cambodia | like Pol Pot

<<asking> and this means this> ((for clarification about the Khmer expression Dambang Kra Nhong))

yes | this means this yes

<<asking> are you talking much with others about developments in Anlong Veng> | <<asking> so is it a topic people are talking about> | like you

I don’t know for sure | erm | I haven’t got discussed this much during genocide education training | when I spent with the students | usually I discuss the content of the text books | with the students and the teachers

I just been back from (Prey Veng) | which we conducted the community teacher trainings | for erm three hundred and thirty one teachers | history teachers | in erm | four provinces |
R:  hm
C:  so we conducted the second round of community teacher training in
   erm three sites | with participants from four provinces
R:  hm okay
C:  and that’s what we discuss | the content of the textbooks
R:  <<asking> and here in phnom penh | with your family and friends | it
   is not a topic of discussion | so you are not that much interested
   what is going on in anlong veng>
C:  erm | <<requesting> you mean anlong veng>
R:  mh
C:  erm | I haven’t discussed much about this | I read the news about |
   about what happened in anlong veng | but it is not erm | it is a
   good topic that | where people can learn | but we haven’t discussed
   it much about anlong veng
R:  hm
C:  we just really discuss the life of the people during the khmer rouge
   | and the khmer rouge ideologies and policies | which lead to the
   death of close to three million people
R:  yes | erm | <<asking> what do you personally think about the
   decision to develop anlong veng as a tourist destination | by the
   government>
C:  erm you know | every killing site | erm erm | can be converted into
   erm memorials | erm for (.) the people to remember | these are good
   historical place | historical sites | for the people and for the
   young generation | to learn what happened during the khmer rouge |
   and erm a lot of memorial | not only in anlong veng | a lot of
   memorial and historical sites erm | dedicated to the khmer rouge
   regime | erm has been in cambodia for thirty years
R:  hm
C:  I just back from erm | what are the killing field in kandal province
   | erm the people collect the money and built a stupa | erm | to
   preserve the skulls and the remains of the death | the people during
   the khmer rouge | so this kind of erm | you know | historical site |
   those not really tourist sites has been built throughout cambodia |
   for more than thirty years | so anlong veng is the later site |
   tourist sites | comparing to other like the | the dam | in bantey
   manchey province | the first sanctuary dam in kampong thom province
   | also a tourist sites
R:  hm
C:  tuol sleng genocide museum and choeung ek has been converted | erm
   into a tourist site | long times ago | you know

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R:  hm
C:  thirty years ago | anlong veng is the later tourist site | dedicated
to the khmer rouge
R:  okay | so erm | my next question would have been | how you would
explain why two thousand cambodians are visiting anlong veng | because of the grave of pol pot | but you actually you said already
that they believe he is kind of mystic and magic | <<asking> are
there any further explanations of this interests>
C:  <<requesting> you now mean explain to the tourist>
R:  no why cambodians are going there | because per month | there are
two thousand cambodians going there
C:  hm
R:  so I am wondering why | <<asking> is it just because of the mystic
of the grave | like you said before>
C:  erm | <<requesting> why thousand of cambodian have been visiting pol
pot’s tomb per month | is that the question>
R:  so yes
C:  <<requesting> and how can I explain to the tourist>
R:  yes
C:  erm | as I mentioned | you know | this is a kind of belief that
cambodian people have
R:  hm
C:  erm | even they know that pol pot is the secretary of the communist
party of kampuchea | and the prime minister of democratic kampuchea
| from nineteen seventy five to nineteen seventy nine | erm | who
endorsed the policy and lead the country to great destruction and
great disaster | erm in cambodia | but after his death | erm they
worship him as god | erm you know | erm (.) for you its maybe crazy
R:  hm
C:  you worship the killer | the murder | as the erm | god | erm | for
cambodian | erm I guess | you know poverties is one of the defectors
| that lead cambodians to worship pol pota’s spirit
R:  hm
C:  like lottery numbers
R:  hm
C:  for happiness | to avoid disease | so they don’t consult a doctor
but pol pot’s spirit | to get rid of the disease
R:  hm
C:  so erm | people try to seek | erm any opportunity | any reputation
they can take | they could have | to safeguard themselves from the
bad things
and to improve their economics opportunity

so any kind of spirit they can happen | they believe in it | and try
to | to worship | but somehow | we have the genocide education |
which teach the entire population | the entire young generation |
in one thousand four hundred and fifty seven high schools |
secondary high school | upper and lower secondary high school in 
cambodia | there are up to one million students | will receiving 
the textbook | and will receive education in khmer rouge history |
so they will learn

and they will discuss with their parents | next month | no this 
month | on may twenty eight | I will distribute the textbook

ah in anlong veng | <<requesting> really>

yes | that’s the plan | to students in bantey manchey downtown and 
one high school in anlong veng district

so its | so the textbook now reach’s the khmer rouge stronghold

and lots of people | they are scared | they don’t want to go there |
because they fear of danger | but I have been to a number of khmer 
rouge | former khmer rouge stronghold | and they are very very 
sanguine you know | they are very very (xxx) by the former khmer 
rouge cadres | so nothing happened

okay

so the education | you know | will for sure reach pailin and anlong 
veng

<<asking> and are there some people who don’t want to know about the 
history>

erm | of course erm | there are some people who don’t want to touch 
the khmer rouge history | or don’t want to talk bad about the khmer 
rouge history | especially the former cadres | the former 
perpetrators | but the erm | according to my experiences erm | the 
majority of people | they believe that genocide education is very 
important

I talked to one of the khmer rouge senior leader | he worked closely 
with ieng sary
R: hm
C: his name is (xxx) | he called me | and said that he will receive the textbooks
R: hm
C: erm I asked him | how do you think about the textbook | is it accurate | and he said oh yes | its accurate | and I said | oh that’s good then | so he said me for sending him copies for the textbook | actually I don’t send him copy of the textbook but one of the foreigner | the french guy | asked for textbooks for me and gave to him
R: aha okay
C: so many people believe that erm | genocide education is important
R: hm
C: including former khmer rouge cadres | erm former perpetrators
R: okay
C: so erm | <<asking> do you have any concerns about the representation of history in anlong veng> because former khmer rouge are operating the sites
C: erm | I have been to battambang province | which half of the province were for-former khmer rouge stronghold as well | I have never been to anlong veng or pailin before | erm but for me | I don’t have any concern | but a lots of people ask me | how do you are | to write that kind of textbook | you will be killed
R: hm
C: the guy one is not happy with what you wrote in the text books | erm | but so far I don’t have any negative or criticism from the government | many of whom are former khmer rouge cadres
R: hm
C: erm so the same thing with former khmer rouge cadre in anlong veng | I don’t have any concern
R: maybe that they tell that pol pot was a good guy | did good things and whatever
C: erm
R: <<asking> you not worried about that>
C: there must be some people who trust pol pot | and who loved pol pot | but not all | but not all of them | and those who | erm liked pol pot | I am sure they know the truth as well
R: hm
C: and they read [my book erm]
R: [they should]
C: if there are any errors in accuracy in the textbook | they can tell  
| or they can come and criticize | I am pleased to receive all kind  
of criticism | all kind of comments from any part  
R: hm | so erm | <<asking> do you think it matters for some cambodians  
that former khmer rouge soldiers are gaining economic advantage |  
out of this history>  
C: <<requesting> out of the tourist site | like pol pot tomb>  
R: yes | that former khmer rouge are gaining [econom ]  
C: [well you] know | khmer  
rouge cadre are also people | they are also human | they are  
cambodians | erm | they can be considered as the victims of the  
khmer rouge as well  
R: hm  
C: erm | so (.) | I think they have the right to live in cambodia |  
they have the right to enjoy the resources of cambodia | large | the  
victims | the real victims  
R: hm okay | <<asking> so do you think the decision of the government  
to promote anlong veng is a good decision | basically>  
C: erm | basically I think it’s good to develop this kind of places |  
first for the sake of economic development | for the people over  
there  
R: hm  
C: and second for memories | can be collective memories for the old  
population  
R: hm  
C: yes | to see ta mok’s house in anlong veng | or pol pot’s tomb | you  
know | it’s a kind of historical site | and that should be preserved  
for the young generations  
R: <<requesting> so you think it’s important>  
C: I | I believe it is important to | to develop this sites  
R: erm | do you also think it will enhance the tourism spectrum of  
cambodia | that it will be a good add>  
C: erm | it is similar to tuol sleng and choeung ek  
R: aha  
C: for anlong veng  
R: <<requesting> so you are not worried about the stories | that are  
getting told there | because your program makes progress | and your  
book will be distributed there | and it will be created a more  
complete story | some kind of dialogue | and you are sure that it  
will contribute to the story that is getting told there | is that  
right>
C: yes | it is compliment each other | the history book compliments the
   tourist sites | and the | the tourist site compliments the textbooks
   | it is like  erm | oral history | the survivor story | so it
   compliments each other | the text book talks about the entire
   picture | the big picture of the khmer rouge | and it put the events
   happened through the khmer rouge
R:  hm
C:  erm | but the individual stories | is about the personal experiences
R:  hm
C:  which adds up to what is described in the textbook |  erm | so it
   compliments each other
R:  hm
C:  put together the pieces of history
R:  <<asking> so it can be very fruitful then>
C:  yes | in regard to education of khmer rouge history
R:  so erm | now a bit about remembrance | your personal [opinion]
C:  [hm  ]
R:  how far do you get in contact with the past besides erm | besides
   everyday work at the documentation centre of cambodia> | <<asking>
   so do you think much about the past | and  erm | in relation to  erm |
   is it a usual topic during discussions in cambodia | at home | or
   whatever | in your freetime | do you confront often with the past>
C:  <<requesting> do you mean the topic of the khmer rouge | is it a big
   concern>
R:  <<asking> is it a big concern | yes>
C:  erm
R:  <<asking> in daily life >
C:  for cambodian people |  erm they seem to take their own suffering for
   granted | but it is a (xxx) topic | it should be a concern for
   cambodian society ((unclear pronounced))
R:  <<requesting> it should be a>
C:  it should be a concern for cambodian society | for us
R:  sorry
C:  it should be a big concern | a big concern for | for us
R:  hm
C:  you know because | the killing | the crimes happened in cambodia |
   and the experience | and  erm the witness the crimes by ourselves |
   so we have to take action | that these kind of crimes don’t happen
   again in the future
R:  hm
C: so by preventing | we have to learn and to understand | and to tell
our young generation
R: hm
C: so that we all can contribute | and built up the mechanism | to
prevent future genocide | to prevent crimes against humanity not
happen again in cambodia
R: hm
C: so it should be | it should be a big [topic for discussion]
R: [but it’s not yet ] |
because you are working | that it is getting a bigger topic
C: yes so far | it | it has not been get a big topic | but right now we
work in collaboration with the ministry of education | erm to
educate the entire young generation
R: hm
C: about the khmer rouge
R: hm
C: like I told you | we trained three thousand two hundred teachers |
[nationwide ]
R: [that’s a lot]
C: they are all history teachers
R: hm
C: khmer rouge study | and citizen morality teacher | its three
subjects
R: hm
C: erm teacher | who are specialized in this three subjects | will
receive training by two thousand eleven | and we have been | we have
distributed three hundred thousand copies of the textbooks | and the
aim to publish seven hundred thousand copy books | so that one
million cop | copies will reach all secondary school students | so
it will get by a big topic of discussion nationwide | for sure
R: there is no way ((both laughing)) | I am sure yes | so erm |
<<asking> are some people against the coping with the past>
C: erm for some people | they don’t understand the importance of coping
with the past
R: hm
C: for some peoples the stories too emotional | erm | to recall it |
erm | but it will be some incentives | and they will | erm recall
what happens | and erm | they will understand
R: hm
C: if we will give some eplanation and some incentives to them | they
will understand | erm the importance to cope with the past | erm
larger | you know I met one teacher | she told me | a female teacher
| she told me that I never told my story to my children | because I
don’t want them to hear | and to emotionally experience it
R:  hm
C:  I want to forget it | and move on with my own future | and I don’t
want to talk about the past
R:  hm
C:  and she is the national teacher that we train
R:  okay
C:  among twenty four national teachers | who are going to train
provincial teacher | and provincial teachers will train community
teachers | the three thousand community teachers
R:  hm
C:  so the national teacher here | you know the top trainer | the master
trainers | believe that she should not talk about the khmer rouge
history
R:  hm
C:  but after receiving the training and attending the seminar | facing
history ourselves in London | you know | it changes | it changes her
| her belief | erm
R:  hm
C:  that it is important to discuss | about the khmer rouge history | so
people | cambodian people | need a bit incentive
R:  hm
C:  and explanation
R:  they have to be a bit | erm | urged
C:  yes yes | erm you know | they don’t have the textbooks | so how can
they learn
R:  hm
C:  you can’t complain that | oh the young generation don’t | they don’t
want to learn about the khmer rouge | but what kind of textbook you
want to learn
R:  hm
C:  they don’t have it
R:  hm
C:  you know | foreign scholars have thick textbooks | textbooks like
this thick ((indicating a thick textbook on the table)) | how can
they read in foreign languages
R:  hm
C:  erm four or three hundred pages | so erm | they need a simple
textbooks | to learn | and you know | after the publication of the
textbooks | erm we receive a lot of comments | and voices from the
teachers and students | erm | lot’s of teachers and students called
me | and they asked a lots of question

R:  hm
C:  that’s a | sometime they asked erm | questions more than I expected
them to know | lots of good questions
R:  that’s interesting ((laughing)) | <<asking> are there some groups
who want to confront themselves more likely with the past than
others>
C:  erm | some | some teachers they are so erm | they have erm strong
desire erm to | to teach and to share erm | one teacher I work with
| she is a national teacher | and one provincial teacher | they have
us | you know | they are very energetic
R:  hm
C:  to learn the khmer rouge history | and to teach the khmer rouge
history in class | so you know there are some people who are really
eager to know | who really want to educate the young generation
about the khmer rouge
R:  hm
C:  I just came from takeo province last night | I told you
R:  hm
C:  erm so | one villager erm | he wrote a lot of articles about his own
experiences under the khmer rouge | and he lead ceremonies to
remember the death of the people in his district | so I have
attended his ceremony you know
R:  hm
C:  his ceremony last night
R:  okay
C:  so they have some people who really have strong desire to educate
R:  and also encouraged by themselves without outside support
C:  without outside support | yes | they try to mobilize own sources
within their own district
R:  hm
C:  two held special ceremonies | to dedicate to the deaths during the
khmer rouge
R:  okay | so erm | <<asking> do you know if there are disagreements> | if
you are teaching classes | for sure | I don’t know | parents who
are former khmer rouge | and parents who are victims | <<asking> do
they disagree>
C: erm I haven’t receive anything in this regard yet | because the
teacher start teaching by now | but we haven’t done the quality
control
R: hm
C: the quality control should show the effectiveness of the teaching |
of khmer rouge history in classroom | so when we done this | we will
interview teachers students and their parents | to see their
reaction to the teaching about the khmer rouge | and also to see the
conflicted ideas between the victims and perpetrators
R: hm
C: erm you know | even I don’t receive this information as yet | but I
believe there will be some conflicted ideas
R: hm
C: there will be some different views | on the khmer rouge history |
but it is not bad you know
R: hm
C: people have different ideas | people have different belief |
different erm | political perspectives | so erm | is good to
generate discussion and debate within classroom
R: hm
C: by using the textbooks | by using the story from the parents | as
the foundation | to have questions to ask
R: hm okay | so erm | there are different opinions of course | so I read
that some inhabitants of some provinces in cambodia are afraid of a
comeback by the khmer rouge
C: <<requesting> who>
R: I read it on the ministry of tourism website | I don’t |
unfortunately I don’t know the name of the province anymore |
<<asking> but is it true that in some parts of cambodia the people
are afraid [of]
C: <<requesting> [to] learn khmer rouge history>
R: no | afraid of a comeback by the khmer rouge
C: ah
R: <<asking> that they are afraid to talk | because of the fear of a
comeback | is that true>
C: erm | it’s a kind of traumatisation | cambodian people | they are so
afraid of war and conflict | in the country | they are so
traumatized about what happened to them in the past | so fear still
going around | flying around in cambodia
R: hm
C: that if you don’t vote for the right party the conflict will come again or may start again or genocide may come back again so that is a kind traumatisation that cambodian people have
R: hm
C: and we cannot blame them
R: no no of course just that is not right
C: not right yes
R: so do you think cambodia is besides phnom penh sihanoukville and siem reap ready for international tourism that tourists spread out to other provinces around the country like for instance anlong veng
C: erm you know I believe tourists should not be limited to places like angkor wat or the beach
R: hm
C: erm the capital city the tourists should see the dark side of cambodia larger tuol sleng museum choeung ek or anlong veng which are the important historical sites to remembers erm and as a place to heal and enhance reconciliation erm in cambodia
R: to get a whole picture
C: yes to get a whole picture what happened under the khmer rouge
R: hm do you think do the tourists just your personal guessing do tourists know about the tensions in cambodia and about impunity about this topics
C: that’s pretty happen me to come on erm lots of cambodian people don’t know about what happened in their country ha I don’t know how much the outsider know about what happened inside cambodia like what you said about impunity human trafficking corruption in a lot of other countries they learn a lot before they gave money to the cambodian government
R: hm
C: so they learned a lot but you know I don’t know about the tourists the population
R: yes just your personal guessing what you personally think about
C: (-) I don’t know for sure I don’t know how much they know of course tourists who enter cambodia [they will learn]
R: [they face ]
C: they face it they will learn from what they see
R: yes hm
C: like poor people on the street erm rubbish on the street you know erm the traffics you know people don’t respect the traffic law and they just drive
R: hm

C: cross your car | so they will visually learn it | for sure they will know

R: [yes ]

C: [what] happened to cambodia

R: so my final question would be | if you think that such a tourist destination like anlong veng | where tourists are visiting the grave | ta mok’s house and the lake | and the museum where pol pot’s belongings are exhibited | do you think its immoral that development>

C: <<requesting> you mean bad>

R: yes | <<asking> do you think its not moral | is it unethical>

C: I don’t think it is immoral to preserve this kind of places | as a tourist place

R: hm

C: 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 | erm to learn | you know | to take their children there

R: <<asking> and you are not concerned that it is getting commercialized>

C: that is the bad side | erm you know | of the | if the cambodian government does that | if its too much commercialized on the tourist sites | or the historical sites | like erm | you know like anlong veng or tuol sleng | erm you know | they should preserve the place as a memorial place | erm | they can take money for the sake of preservation and management | erm but not you know | to get it to a private company like choeung ek

R: hm

C: the government gave it to the japanese company | which on the one side they can do | but why they commercialize it to the japanese company

R: hm

C: there have been a lot of criticism about choeung ek | so

R: hm

C: anlong veng could possibly the same thing in the future

R: hm

C: commercialization

R: <<asking> and you don’t worry about that>

C: it’s a kind of a concern | if that happen

R: at the moment it’s just a concern | its not happening so far | so it could be a tourist destination | thank you
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
R: my questionnaire will be about erm anlong veng and how far it could
connaue [how far you think it could contribute to the national
reconciliation process in cambodia <<asking>> do you know about
anlong veng and the governments plan to make a tourist destination
out of it>
D: (~) yes | I just heard erm | about that | erm (.) | yes I think |
erm to transform such a kind of history connected place | into a
site of tourism | and also to understand the | the war | atrocities
| is very important in cambodia | it | it needs of the cambodian to
really erm | learn from the own [past]
R: [hm ]
D: pain painful past | and because cambodian | they want to erm | they
want to know wh[y ]
R: [why] it happened
D: why we killed other people | so this question is still you know
R: hm
C: in the minds you know | of the people | the survivors and the
children of survivors
R: hm
D: erm yes we hope | the court make | can contribute somehow | on maybe
some truth
R: hm
C: erm | and that can respond | can reflect to the | can answer the
question
R: hm
C: but their | their needs of | their needs of | of more trust in | in
erm the level of perpetrators
R: hm
D: because to court look at the top level
R: hm
D: and those people | they are the master plan you know | of the
policies
R: hm
D: erm | they may know something
R: hm
D: erm | but big truth in the implementing level
R: hm
D: you know practICE | followed by the perpetrator
R: yes
D: and those perpetrator
R: are still
D: are not bring for justice by | by the e: ce: ce: ce: | because of
   the limitation |
R: hm | <<asking> | [so you see the] problem that still too many
   perpetrators are living in the society>
D: yes yes | actually they are living in the society | and erm we need
   | we need those part of truth | from from their side | from their
   side
R: hm
D: because you know | this talk maybe | its easily for them to to
   reject | and they can | they can erm not blame anothers | not one
   another | o-oh | because they really don’t know about that
R: hm
D: at that time | but maybe many of them blame to pol pot and die
   already | and so the whole | the whole story | you know of | why we
   kill our own people | we don’t find that | so its important for |
   for us | erm to transforming | you know | those mass killing sites |
   erm this historical sites related to khmer rouge | to the sites erm
   | for publics | erm for tourists
R: hm
D: and other education are very important
R: hm
D: because it can contribute to | to the truth telling | can contribute
   to the reconciliation process
R: hm
D: because they are connection | between erm survivors | the children
   of survivor | the next generation | and the former khmer rouge
   involving telling their story | so its important you know | to to
   that
R: hm
D: so erm cambodia have been | have done a good job on political
   reconciliation on the national level | but it still not | can not
R: [people don’t trust]
D: [didn’t work well ] at the community level
R: hm
D: you know | as as you can see clear | erm (xxx xxx) their job is on
   top | and they know lower level | and those people still can not
   bring accountability | to those direct | to the perpetrator
R: hm
D: and the needs of telling whys and hows is is there | at this time | that’s why youth of peace | why we work | erm on reconciliation in
   the community
to bring the victims the survivors and former khmer rouge to talk
to share the experience | you know the | and and we have the older
generation in talk with the young generation | to bridge this gap
to bridge hm
to bring this two generations | the survivors erm have
difficulties to | to tell their children | and the children hardly
believe them | so that’s a big gap there
because the parents | the parents and grandparents | they are afraid
| that talking about the khmer rouge | involving politics
so that’s why are difficult | so so youth for peace train young
people to understand history | the root causes of this atrocities |
of this killing | so what is the role of young people | to
contribute to the reconciliation and killing process
and then we bring them to listen to the survivors | to tell the
survivors techniques to tell their story
so that they have the conversation | and they erm reconfirm their
understanding of history
is this true or not
the youth | do they distinct between perpetrator and
victim | or is every cambodian the same | in their eyes>
its difficult here in cambodia | erm I think some | some | because
most of them erm | hide their identity
they live in community | but some community | they recognize
yes | bur erm | some of the research also show that erm | some of
youth | erm feel | erm angry
and want to revenge with the perpetrators
you can see our studies | erm on | on the impact of genocide on the
next generation | so talking about the feeling of the next
generation | the young people erm | and the knowledge of young people on the khmer rouge | how young people are enrolling in the reconciliation process

R: hm
D: erm yes | so
R: <<asking> so there are no arguments and fights in public | between victims and perpetrators | its more quiet>
D: right more quiet there | erm this not mean everything is (xxx xxx xxx)
R: <<requesting> sorry>
D: everything fixed | when they live in silenty | but the (~) erm | the need for justice and truth | among those people | when the perpetrators them tell | they also want to know why | there is still the big question of why
R: hm
D: on that | why you know | we fall in that situation | and how people came up with killing | and this
R: hm
D: and some people have a doubt about | some perpetrator are still in power
R: hm | that’s problematic
D: right problematic | that’s why it difficult for them to | sometime to speak about k: r:
R: they are afraid that
D: yes they are afraid
R: <<asking> so (. ) its not freedom of opinion kind of | they think>
D: right right | that’s part of it | but also the | the fears | you know the feeling of fears
R: that they
D: for many generations | you know
R: hm
D: the (british) society | pressure | erm and | some part of | erm what we call erm | so erm social (xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx) | to train people | erm not to | erm not to | erm speak out their mind | just follow what the leader tells to do tells
R: hm
D: yes erm | especially the khmer rouge | same | initiatives |
creativities | and ideas | suppress
D: ideology
R: ideology
D: and feel | because still feel enough | erm erm what we call (. ) | erm silence
R: hm okay | <<asking> so you don’t | people are not worrying | because anlong veng is a former khmer rouge stronghold and many former khmer rouge are living there>

D: hm

R: <<asking> and so people are not worried about what kind of story the tell to tourists or visitors | maybe they tell things like that pol pot was a good guy and ta mok did good things | or whatever | so would that be a problem>

D: (-)

R: <<asking> what do you think>

D: right right | erm erm | it depend on how you | you write your narrative in that area | anlong veng is just | the last stronghold of the khmer rouge | anlong veng not represent the | erm erm |

R: killing sites

D: for the whole cambodia | just another part | that khmer rouge stay the last minute in there | erm but but we can connect a lot of things | from the place to the history | from the place to the root causes | of why happening | so not only what happened but why happened | is very important

R: <<requesting> so you think it depends on how the story is told>

D: yes

R: <<requesting> if there are also explanations and descriptions and not just displaying of things | that it could be also vital | and positive in the reconciliation process>

D: yes yes | definitely

R: hm

D: and the place is only the place | only another place | how you transform that | how you connect that to the concept of reconciliation

R: hm

D: is very important | erm like youth for peacennow working | erm more on the community level | trying to bring the bottom up approach erm | for erm memorialisation

R: hm

D: so we do | erm erm consultation process | to bring people in community | different stakeholder | to come up with the own erm | erm erm memorials

R: hm

D: erm so we think this process is important | because because people feeling | have the feeling of ownership | people own the process |
people invest the initiative to bring up you know | 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 tellings

R:  hm

D:  and healing processes there | not just erm | not just the stupa and
you know | to keep the skulls and bones there | and to just to
remember and respect the dead | but to be a place where people have
story to tells

R:  hm

D:  so in kind of january we conducted this process | now we have a lot
of pictures and stories | and a wall of the building drawing the
stories | erm we have historic markers | to tell the prison in the
stories | so a lot of thing develop there by the community

R:  hm

D:  so youth for peace only facilitates this process

R:  hm

D:  because | I also studied the memory process sin cambodia

R:  hm

D:  in cambodian contact | studying different theories from other
countries

R:  hm

D:  and learning also the memorialisation process | so far in cambodia |
erm the initiatives by the state and by some local en: ge: o: and
how this will | how this can contribute to the memorialisation

R:  hm

D:  and (.). | to restore history memory in cambodia | erm we found that
the | in facilitate | erm in legacy of memory | in building legacy
of memory | we have to facilitate this process

R:  hm

D:  you know | erm | during the eighties the government initiate | (.).
you know they built up many stupas

R:  yes

D:  to bring all the skulls to keep it there | erm | but the idea is for
| for the respect of the dead is more an religious aspect | erm and
also for erm the evidence | to keep as evidence | preserve as
evidence of the atrocities

R:  hm

D:  and also for the | for erm | I think also political agenda is also
involved in that | because they want to mobilize more people to
involve | to support them and to involve | in erm | in battle
against the khmer rouge | because during the | after the battle they
moved westward | moved to the part | erm western part and northern
part | western and southern part yes

R:   hm
D:   to fight against the | the government | erm so erm | we cannot have
a dialogues when you go to see | for example
R:   the stupa with the skulls
D:   so our idea is to (-) | to have more dialogues | not just for the
religious aspect | for education | reconciliation | yes and other |
for example maybe potential tourists | if we have developed those
memory sites
R:   hm | <<asking> so you think if in anlong veng for example | if the
inhabitants the people there | and the companies over there | or
whoever is interested in the place | and historians would work
together | it could be very positive>
D:   yes
R:   but if it is not the case | if its more the other direction and its
getting commercialized and strange incomplete stories are getting
told | <<asking> so would it be still for you a place erm | that
should be a tourist destination | or is it then just a forget it
kind of thing thought | is it not if you worry that it is not
contributively to the reconciliation process because its commercial
| like for example choeung ek | its getting more and more
commercialized | would you support the development of anlong veng as
a tourist destination or would you be against it | what kind of
position would you hold>
D:   erm (-) | erm (.) | I | I think to | to attract travellers |
tourists | also important to | is part of education process | they
can learn something | erm (.) | but erm we should also emphasize a
lot of erm | on the aspect of education | not more on the commercial
of business | this may affect the | the | affect on the (.) | erm on
the | the stories | affect on the history | the understanding of the
people | yea | there may not go deeper | (-) | go deeper on the root
causes why | that erm for us | for us for us the | the emphasis on
education | the aspect of education | reconciliation is very
important
R:   hm
D:   not just for entertainment or tourist | (xxx xxx xxx xxx)
R:   hm
D:   that’s the think there
R: <<asking> so that would be a concern>
D: yes
R: so erm | <<asking> do you know if erm | are cambodians or your
parents for instance | or older people who survived the khmer rouge
regime | do they like the presence of tourists at such places | or
do they don’t like their presence at such places like choeung ek and
tuol sleng or anlong veng | is it kind of strange for them that
people cone there | and have the tourists there | or is | do they
don’t care and don’t mind>
D: erm I think they (. | the idea of | of memorials or (. | is
to | to open to the publics | erm (. | and if memorials | erm |
museum of memorial built | in a | in a quiet place | it does not
contribute anything for the people
R: hm
D: so at least they understand
R: hm
D: they know | what happened there
R: hm
D: erm | some other country they | they transform | those kind of
places into the tourist | but we need also to have attention | and
to | to be well prepared on the | on the design | of how you | how
you erm | tell the visitors
R: hm
D: about those things | many erm museums and other places around the
world | they prepare very well | they arrange very well those things
| so erm | those kind of erm places | peope go not for having fun |
but they want to know what happened and why | so
R: hm
D: so even | even it it | it plans | the government plans | to have a
tourist sites | but we need to erm | think and and erm | prepare
very well in the designs
R: hm
D: in the way things there (xxx) (((mumbling)) | that are very
important | because the | we need also museums | sites of memory |
we need | we need visitors to see
R: hm | <<asking> so you thing the survivors of the regime | they don’t
have a problem | they think its good if people are interested in the
history>
D: erm (-) | I I think the survivor | erm they can not come into that
analysis
R: aha
D: yes | erm they | that’s why it it | difficult for them to to |
really erm | erm (.). | protect the place or just let it be | by the
government and by the companies | and other
R: hm
D: yes it’s difficult | in that position | of the survivor | erm | we
can ask them how they feel about that | they can say something | erm
(.). | but erm | I think erm | it difficult for them
R: hm
D: to (.). | to really mobilize themselves
R: to think about the meaning
D: yes the meanings
R: [for themselves ]
D: [just protect that] | so erm | so if that | if that | erm | under
the control of the state | the government | erm erm | then there are
not participation of the survivor
R: hm
D: in that process | erm | then (.). | there are different narratives
R: hm
D: by them | erm | if political parties | if the leaders control | then
they integrate the implement a lot of politics
R: hm
D: and that affects the real reconciliation process | in [cambodia]
R: [hm ]
D: that’s why youth for peace looking it | looking | seeing this
constraint
R: hm
D: and trying to to move | you know to | to bring the bottom up process
| initiate things | the memorialisation process in the community
R: hm
D: so that | the legacies are the ownership of the community
R: hm
D: which we include different stakeholder | the youth | the survivor |
the victims | local sovereignties there | (xxx xxx xxx) | different
stakeholders
R: hm | <<asking> so that you get a complete picture>
D: a complete picture yes
R: hm
D: and erm | and it’s the representation | the collective identities in
the communities
R: hm
D: its representer | so we see this | this approach meaningful
R:  hm
D:  for them | yes | a critic also the process of the state| because
they done | erm erm | they don’t | think about erm | other purposes
| multiple purpose | only the | the idea is just to preserve the
atrocities to remember what happens and to respect the dead | and
religious aspect | but what youth for peace is trying to do is erm |
erm (,) | represent erm | multiple aspects
R:  hm
D:  education | religion there | I think we come up with some how to
reveal | for them to respect the dead | (.) but dialogues |
interactive dialogues and two way conversation | not only just one
way of telling stories
R:  hm
D:  dialogues | also very important | to tell the truth | erm the main
part of reconciliation the community level | especially the next
generation is | is | is telling WHY
R:  hm
D:  so the story telling them WHY what happened | WHY
R:  hm | that there are also outer effects
D:  so the court can not tell the the the | the question WHY to the
people
R:  no
D:  no | no way | because the two | as I mentioned | the two erm part |
big part | the policy maker | the top leaders
R:  [hm      ]
D:  [you know] | are the perpetrators | but the other part is
implementor | you know | implementor have their own way to do | they
may transform the policy and do something different | they may not
use all the policy | they have their own strategies | you know their
own way to do | so in this court you can not expect that | erm the |
the court can bring truth
R:  hm
D:  and can answer the question WHY | the khmer killed khmer
R:  hm
D:  so one way is to | encourage the former khmer rouge to tell | WHY |
you know what is the experience
R:  hm
D:  and recall all those stories to keep in (xxx xxx)
R:  in one place
D:  we must criticize where we transform to the centres | this is the
main part | as anlong veng is just a place
R:  hm
D:  of the last battlefield of the khmer rouge | but anlong veng never
tell you know | the truth | never tell you why they kill
R:  hm
D:  but the people can contribute to develop those place
R:  into
D:  into you know | healing process | reconciliation process | and into
the place where who can tell the stories of those
R:  [and this ]
D:  [otherwise] is just a place for the visitor | and then come back |
you don’t get anything
R:  yes
D:  you don’t learn anything
R:  the visitor doesn’t learn anything and the place | doesn’t change
D:  yes | does not change | no change of the mindset of the people | so
then it doesn’t contribute to reconciliation | in that sense | yes
R:  hm | so erm | you erm | I read on your homepage that you are
discussing current topics with the young people at youth for peace |
are you discussing also anlong veng | or is this
[not such an important topic]>
D:  [no no                      ]| we are talking about | we are talking
about khmer rouge in general | and the roots causes | we are looking
at the external and internal factors
R:  hm
D:  internal factor | we are talking about the societies before khmer
R:  hm
D:  those
R:  hm
D:  and external we are looking at the cold war | the clash between
capitalism and socialism
R:  hm
D:  cambodia is just | just the | the edge | the edge of the battlefield
| between those two ideologies
R:  hm
D:  from capitalism and socialism | vietnam and thailand
R:  hm
D:  cambodia is a battlefield | that’s why | why the the conflict in
cambodia became worst | became worse | because the mix of | erm erm
influence | of outsiders | ideologies from outside and internal
revolutionaries
R: hm
D: so this | this erm | factors
R: hm
D: created this severe | erm | violent complex and mass killing
R: hm
D: yea
R: so the | <<asking> anlong veng is not interesting for them to
discuss or | do you think this topic is in public kind of | or is
nobody interested in what is going on there | or are people talking
about>
D: (-) erm (.) | anlong veng erm | when I heard about anlong veng | we
just | you just recognize | you realize that is about the past of
the khmer rouge | its not the
R: not the present
D: yes just not the present | its not the identity of atrocities like
tuol sleng or
R: [choeung ek]
D: [choeung ek] | different now | image of this place
R: hm
D: so anlong veng | it might be more attractive for tourists | you know
R: hm
D: outsider | because they may interested in ta mok and pol pot
R: hm
D: they died there | but its not a place | to remember the atrocities
R: hm
D: its not the place represent atrocities there
R: but there is written that there are are two thousand cambodians are
visiting the site every month | <<asking> so do you have an idea why
they are visiting anlong veng>
D: I think I think the-e | I think | erm | they want to visit to see
the last battlefield | the last stronghold of khmer rouge there | they want to see the place where pol pot lived and died there | amd
the place where ta mok also | there | so this pol pot | erm | this
is (.) | is very erm impressive by outsider | you know
R: hm
D: to see that place
R: but the cambodians | they | <<asking> do you think victims want to
go there to see it> | <<asking> because if there are two thousand
cambodians visiting this site | are they former khmer rouge or are
they victims who want to be sure he died | you also don’t know an
explanation for that>
D: I don’t have an explanation for that
R: okay | (--) | <<asking> so you don’t know about the details the government wants to do there | there is nothing in the news right now>
D: hm
R: <<asking> do you think it’s problematic that former khmer rouge are operating the site | or is it okay that former khmer rouge are operating the site>
D: erm | erm | I do not know the process
R: hm
D: erm (.) | but the plan initiated by the government | and I don’t know who will responsible for | you know | to show the place and manage the place
R: hm | right now it’s the | I think the photographer of tuol sleng | he wants to do an exhibition there | and he started to do something
D: yea yea | I think it’s a good place | you can do a lot of things there | erm (-) | but I am not sure if the place operated by former khmer rouge there | or by people of business from here | but any any groups | erm | can live | but if if they can have the | develop the consultation process | you know to transform the place (xxx xxx xxx) | is very important
R: hm
D: not just by one group of people | or one company | to develop that place | but the participation of different stakeholders you know
R: hm
D: you know from civil society | from the victims | from the government | and other | many stakeholders | to contribute to the process of erm developing that place | is very important
R: hm | so hm (-) | <<asking> are there special groups in cambodian society who want to talk about the past | or is | obviously its more likely the youth which is initiated | but are there also other groups you can | you recognize that they are more likely want to speak about the past than others>
D: erm | erm (-) | it so far it difficult | erm there are many reasons like I mentioned | the survivors expressively | they don’t want to talk | they don’t want to share their painful memory to their children | because they don’t want to their children feeling bad about that
R: hm
D: because they don’t want to have their children be involved in politics | because they think that their children do not believe them
R: hm
D: so there are | there are big gaps | between the survivor and the children of the survivor
R: hm
D: the next generation
R: hm
D: in the textbook not very detailed | part about the khmer rouge fall | but only the harder | the hardship | only the suffering | and political ideology a lot | but not the root causes WHY |
R: hm
D: erm | and the teaching methodology is very traditional | just reading and not so interesting | so other reason for example | the current leaders | some of the current leader involved in the past | that’s why the current situation of telling the stories | telling those past to the next generation | is very poor
R: hm
D: very low
R: hm
D: but after the tribunal | and especially the
R: <<requesting> after the>
D: after the establishment of the e: ce: ce: ce: | civil society and people trying to | erm motivate people to speak | because they believe that | erm speaking | speak out the (.) erm painful past |
can contribute to healings and reconciliation
R: hm
D: and can can | can heal the generations | the survivor and the second generation | to bridge the gap
R: hm
D: and can can look for word | move for ward | by healing this gaps
R: hm
D: by bringing this story | by learning about the root causes by why | and we can move forward
R: hm
D: right yeah | and I think now people start to talk | especially if you if | if you do a lot of community memorialisation process | develop erm size of memory in the community | and this creates the continuation of of dialogues | even when the e: ce: ce: ce: end | but the places is still there | and the story still there
and the people in the community can go there and learn | and you know.

Doing this there | so that’s why youth for peace sees this | erm the trigger | this entry point | and we answer the question what is (xxx xxx xxx) | this place is the next step.

and and it’s a | erm | it’s a long lasting | if we can | if we transform this places of killing sites into places where they can their stories | and there are stories there.

and we can have dialogues there | from generations to generations.

hm okay | so erm | (-) | <<asking> I read that in some parts in cambodia people are still afraid of a comeback by the khmer rouge | is that rally the case?

<<asking> do you think>

<<requesting> the khmer rouge come back>

yes | that they are afraid.

(. ) erm | there | there might not be the real khmer rouge | but different forms of violence.

hm.

different forms of atrocities | erm | (. ) erm | I think this what they mean | not just the same as.

before.

as pol pot and other khmer rouge leaders | but other forms | to critically learning the root cause | is a way to prevent.

hm.

all kind of violent conflict.

hm.

all kind of mass killing or atrocities | for the future society.

hm.

<<asking> yea.

yes.

so erm | not really khmer rouge | not the real khmer rouge | but a different forms of violence.

<<asking> they are afraid>

yes they are afraid | not hundred percent like that | but this also can also help analyze | the current situation of the society.
D: you know | there are differences | and also there are similar issues
still | compared to the khmer rouge
R: hm
D: you know for example | the freedom of expression
R: hm
D: you can not speak | you can not say anything under the khmer rouge |
you were not safe anything | you got killed
R: hm
D: now you can say | but still in limited | you can not say everything
| <<asking> yeah?
R: hm
D: so if you comparing that | you can learn a lot | and you can
struggle a lot | you can develop a society free of violence | free
of pressure
R: hm
D: so it | its important to connect and to analyze
R: hm
D: deeper | into the root causes | deeper to small small elements | to
respond to the current situation | and then how we can | erm erm |
transforming | we can make it a different things
R: hm | <<asking> so do you think its dangerous in cambodia | when you
say people are afraid | so is there a certain kind of danger | is it
not safe as a tourist to be in cambodia or>
D: erm I think generally | related to | its peace in cambodia |
security is fine | erm | its it erm erm | because positive peace |
no more in the form of war
R: hm
D: strong conflict | but still the conflict erm | in the community
level in term of (.) erm different groups | different parties
R: hm
D: in this form | you know hatreds and all this
R: <<asking> so there are different groups with different opinions>
D: yes
R: <<asking> and they are arguing on the community level>
D: yes yes | arguing also some time come to the violence
R: okay
D: and cause deads
R: <<requesting> really>
D: yes
R: okay
D: before election you can see the violence
before the elections okay | (-) so erm its | erm | <<asking> but it can be seen as a safe place for cambodians and visitors>

now yes

<<asking> but you never know | it’s a kind of | you think it’s a kind of in the air thing or>

unless the hatred anger erm | inside

mh

erm (.) | inside resent resentment | frustration | and the conflict will many face somehow in the future

hm

maybe not on the issue of the khmer rouge | but other social issue | like for example erm | lands crabbing

hm

injustices | impunity and all these things

hm

coming to the people | from time to time

hm

so so | it come it make | lots of somehow in the future | if it do not work | [it’s a process ] [you try to do pretend that]

yes | to do this process | work and come out | people you know start to talk | in the different groups

hm

people can understand differences | and can believe in diversities | things like that

hm

it’s the situation of thailand

hm

you can see this fighting conflict

[comes back]

[it stays ]long and | it goes in the people | hard

hm

its just the differences and erm | it erm absolute monarchy power

hm

so erm | and now it blows out | in manifest | in beginning of the conflict you see the surface issue | corruption and thing like that | when it come into deeper conflict it become more | two groups of lower level and elites

hm
you can see this world view | one group represents one side | so it’s a big conflict there | and this for cambodia | we have that conflict during the seventies already

first the new ideology come and the revolutionary movement | to take to erm | take out the king power | and that’s erm | happen already during that time | but in thailand they still | you know manage and come | until now just | so they are very lucky | when those conflict emerges | they don’t have external influence in that | so they are just internal | so cambodia during that time | we have revolutionary movement | changing inside | but in the same time outside

so it’s a severe | very dangerous | than compared to thailand | they are very lucky

because they are wise | you know the involvement and war between those ideologies | in cambodia we are geographically located between these two sides

and when the king claim independent island | we were not involved in any part of the world | so to stay neutral | but we could not do that in that situation | very dangerous

very much pressure in that

yes | you have to stick on place to see protection | otherwise we would be the place where they fight

so from my side it would have been all questions | you answered all my questions | <<asking>> do you have something to add | what would you think be important to know for me>

<<asking>> why do you emphasize on anlong veng>

I visited cambodia two years ago | and erm I was fascinated | and actually I wanted to write about choeung ek and tuol sleng and erm | because I felt strange when I visited the places

<<requesting>> tuol sleng

I felt kind of | like I am disturbing something | like I should not be there | and that bothered my after the trip further | and then I decided to write about cambodia because I think it’s a very interesting country and I loved it to be there | and then mister selmeci from the german development sevice | he recommended me to write about anlong veng | because it would be more current | because there are so many changes right now at choeung ek | because gonna get leased to a japanese firm | and tuol sleng | they try to
transform it now | because of the e: ce: ce: ce: | so he recommended
me to focus on anlong veng and the changes there | so that because I
emphasize on anlong veng
C 5: Transcript of semi structured expert interview with Mr. Elian

**Location and date of recording:** Phnom Penh, Tuesday, the 25th of May 2010
**Time:** 12.00 am
**Duration:** 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
R: erm | I don’t know so much about you and your work | <<asking> just could you tell me please a bit what you are actually doing | you are working at the university of phnom penh since ten years you said>
E: yes | but the first thing is | my name is henri locard | erm I have known this country since nineteen sixty four | when I was a student | I started my career | academic career | as teacher of english | I have two subjects | english and later history as well | erm in the french school (xxx xxx) | from nineteen sixty five to nineteen sixty seven | I left this country in september sixty seven | then afterwards got married | and I have done most of my career in the university de lyon deux in lyon in france | in the english department and also in the politics department
R: hm
E: in the year | later in life I took {{smiling voice}} | I returned to cambodia in nineteen eighty nine | got involved in erm | the found | refoundation of low studies here through | in my university | two univeristeis | lyon deux and trois
R: and started trying to understand what happened to the country I knew and the people I knew | and one cambodian from lyon said he wanted to write his life story because he have been in prison | khmer rouge prisons | erm he spent one and a half year in a khmer rouge prison | in two prison | he was in a prison in the beginning of the regime and at the end of the regime | so then I had a quite a full picture of the khmer rouge prison system | but that was just in one district | in preah nouk kampong cham and sihanoukville | so I in | that was nineteen eighty nine | nineteen ninety one I returned to this country and stated tour the whole country and found that there are similar institutions throughout the country | so I did a first report and (.) | at that time people were only talking about tuol sleng tuol sleng tuol sleng | as in germany you speak about auschwitz auschwitz auschwitz auschwitz | as it there was nothing as auschwitz | that you know | is a place of extermination | then I discovered that in all the main districts | there was at least one main prison | as about one hundred and fifty districts | so I recognized the minimum was one hundred fifty prisons | since a number of researcher have done the same thing than me {{slightly laughing voice}} | like de: ce: cam: and of course the khmer rouge tribunal | or the extraordinary chambers of the court of cambodia | erm de: ce: cam: comes out with one hundred ninety six prisons and the tribunal says at least two hundred twenty
R: hm
E: right | now we identifying the main prisons | with institution that
lasted a certain period of time | that put the prisoners in on bars
| in (knor) | barre de justice in French | (knor) in khmer | erm
| that interrogated then under threat of torture or under torture |
| and usually kill them afterwards | now why did they interrogate them
| because they believe that everybody who did not like the regime
| was not acting individually but in a kind of plot | erm ksai | in
| a string | you know they were always thought they are in strings
| of plotters | in fact as in most communist regimes | and therefore
| once you had admitted your crimes | and once you had given the names
| of all the people you are plotting against the organization or
| angkar | you could disposed of | your life was no longer necessary

R: hm

E: But that was not just in es: twenty one | but in the masses graves
in the country | so I come to the conclusion that approximately one
third of the people who died under the khmer rouge | erm were | erm
voluntarily exterminated through that system | that security centre
system | or prison system | whatever you call them | or reeducation
centre | because people were already sent to reeducation | using the
word prison was taboo | officially there is no prison | of course
they are so different from the prisons | the legal prisons | you
know | you know police investigation| you know people are erm | not
accuse to anything

R: hm

E: they have to accuse | the first question they always asked | in es:
twenty one or throughout the country is | tell us why you are there
| it is up to the victim to accuse themselves | and if it says I
have done nothing that he gets beaten | or electric shocks or what
about

R: hm okay

E: this let me | after this first publication of this first book | to
when I was doing my investigations | collect khmer rouge slogans as
a kind of game | then to help me to understand better about khmer
rouge ideology | very close to the chinese one | erm and then I
published number of articles | so that I then could take a pe: h:
de: in cambodian history | since I retired in the year two thousand
I have been teaching in various institutions in our academy | the
buddhist institute | but now | for the past five years | have been
teaching in the royal university of phnom pehn | training upper
secondary school teachers | who are supposed to be teaching history
((smiling voice))) | but all students | and sorry | all future
teachers are trained in teachers training colleges | they don’t go
to universities | local teachers training colleges | erm for primary
schools | which are six years in this country | all secondary is
another three years | and its only in grade ten eleven and twelve
that the future teachers go through university

R:  hm

E:  so unfortunately | erm the standard of education remains extremely
low | lower than it was in the samkun days | of the time of sihanouk
| and slightly better than in the pe: ar: k: | the peoples republic
of kampuchea | of heng samrin | what is improving is that there are
more and more private schools and and universities | the majority
has usually a very poor standard | what is improving is the standard
of english | the khmer you know | are learning english quite fast

R:  hm

E:  but by in large the standard of education is a businessly no | and
particularly in history | have no history | except of since de: ce:
cam: | the documentation centre of cambodia | of youk chan | created
in nineteen ninety five | nineteen ninety six | with the american
money | has published in year two thousand and seven two thousand
and eight a book | an introduction about democratic kampuchea |
which is well presented with lot of photographs and diagram | there
is many visual things to see | and it summarizes what happened under
the regime of democratic kampuchea quite objectively

R:  hm

E:  except that it says nothing about | you know why the regime came to
power | how it came to power | why was it so lethal low | so
criminal | why did so many people die | but this book is made for
upper secondary | at least before you ask these questions | only
this | the people are asking these questions all the time

R:  hm

E:  erm de: ce: cam: | when it now | they educate the teachers all over
the country | you know they distributed already for free three
hundred thousand copies | which is a huge number | I asked them what
is the question the people ask | they ask political questions
((derisive smiling coice)) | why did sihanouk join the khmer rouge |
why were the khmer rouge rouge great friend of the vietnamese
communists | and why afterwards they turned against the vietnamese
communists

R:  hm

E:  what was the role of chinese | but of course they find none of these
answers in the book | because these questions have been taboo
R:   hm  
E:   in this country  
R:   okay | so that’s the momentaneous station of information about  
history  
E:   <<requesting> what>  
R:   <<asking> so this is the station of information about history right  
now you say>  
E:   this is the state of history | well I am sure you that | you can say  
more about the teaching of history in this country ((towards the  
student)) | because he teaches history to students | <<asking> you  
want to speak a little bit> | to students erm who are erm | learning  
about computer  
F:  yeah  
E:   it’s a private school | but they want their students to have a  
better general education | so (kadu)  
S:   yeah  
E:   is their teacher of modern history | <<asking> so what do you teach  
| what do you trying to explain to them>  
F:  erm | what I am try to explain to my students is  focused on the  
history of cambodia during | after the french protectorate | so erm  
| I can explain them why erm | more about in nineteen seventy which  
is yes | (.) try to explain people in nineteen seventy | we use a  
time important for cambodian history | yeah | after the erm |  
sihanouk was overthrown by lon nol and ( ) | so that’s a turning  
point that what | why | when students understand what happened  
before nineteen seventy and after nineteen seventy nine | they can  
catch up what going on | yeah afterwards | so I also explain them  
communism | what communism come from and truth about vietnamese war  
| vietnam American war | also related to cambodian history | and  
during class I have a video that documentary film andalso teacher  
from de: ce: cam: and teacher from a german institute | we had | and  
explain them | because cambodian student can not read a lot a lot a  
day | this is cambodian also | cambodian student culture | can not  
read a lot like | so I try to make them interesting by erm | erm we  
| with documentary film or teacher | so the documents I give them to  
read are not a lot of pages  
R:   hm  
S:   yeah  
R:   okay | <<asking> and what kind of | are the questions do they ask  
you | is there interaction>
S: yes it’s it’s like a why sihanouk support khmer rouge like that but they know that after my explanation and also like henri locard said erm why khmer rouge fight against vienamese then also they want to know about erm some biography of cambodian leader’s today like hun sen and heng samrin and how they could form a front and to cooperate with vietnam and then overthrow erm khmer rouge

R: <<asking> they don’t have a problem that hun sen was a former khmer rouge or is that a topic>

S: it is not a topic but they want to know what position why hun sen joined khmer rouge and then later on hun sen go to vietnam why say why

E: <<asking> what do you tell them about why hun sen joined the khmer rouge what you tell them>

S: oh it’s seen that the beginning in nineteen seventy nine when hun sen was living in kampong cham so he was fascinated by sihanouk he said in and also wrote in hun sens dramen)

E: well except that’s not the truth

S: <<asking> that’s not the truth>

E: no he is telling you a lie because he joined the khmer rouge earlier than that he joined the khmer rouge he followed his teacher to phnom penh in nineteen sixty eight

S: oh

E: in early nineteen sixty eight he was only about sixteen or something like this

S: oh at the

E: he was born in fifty three or what I forgot I have to check that

S: [erm erm around that ]

E: like so many other lessons you know during the khmer rouge and erm and afterwards he rewrote history and said because he cached things up with sihanouk he said he is sihanouk’s son you know morally I am his son and I answered the appeal of sihanouk on the radio this is why I joined the khmer rouge (. ) untrue

S: yeah

E: no it seem to think that they also of course ask questions about you know the trio you have paintings of chea sim and heng samrin chea sim and heng samrin are professional revolutionist you know they joined the khmer rouge in they joined the khmer rouge in the time of the first chinese war and from erm and from erm that they join the viet minh and they never had any other job before |
R:   hm
E:   so like ta mok | hun sen | thea are professional revolutionaries
R:   okay
E:   professional politicians
R:   <<asking> so you would say that’s not a problem for cambodians that
ehun sen is a former khmer rouge> | that’s just interesting why
E:   no it’s a big problem
R:   <<requesting> it’s a bog problem>
E:   because you know | they don’t like us to teach that | erm as far as
he is concerned | he is teaching a private school | but in a state
school I am not quite sure it would be that frank
R:   hm
E:   one | two | as far as I am concerned (.) | erm I distribute my
course but I don’t sign it
R:   hm okay
E:   there is no name
E:   two | each year they renew my contract | or they don’t renew it |
you never know | three | they always say | erm the minister | I know
the minister | I know the minister of education | im sethy | I know
him since nineteen eighty nine | so that’s over twenty years | so
when I first returned to cambodia | I came my wife who was in an
official mission | you could not come as an private individual | it
was a communist regime | you could come because you were a member of
some kind of organization or because you were a member of a
communist party somewhere
R:   hm
E:   I was neither
R;   hm
E:   my wife was a doctor | and she was a member of doctors without
borders | and she was concerned in an international adoptions | so
that was the pretext | that’s how we get a visa
R:   hm okay
E:   but still I was treated like an official | so I was received
offically in the ministry of education and im sethy was just the
person to receive me | he was the director of one department there |
I think it was primary school or something | and he justified | he
was not an ex khmer rouge | he was just not political | he was just
a teacher before | and he just joined the administration | because
you know that many educating people have been killed
R:   hm
E: and erm erm | right now he is the | now he is the minister | I kept
on with him | he knows right well | and I say well there is major
problems in history | we have currently cohorts with twenty to
twenty five students | we should have ten times more | because it’s
a country of erm fourteen million people | erm which should not pass
that dramatically all these students | because you know | they don’t
learn very hard because they know they will always pass the exams |
erm we should do teach them critical thinking and so on | we should
change the | the teaching methodology | and he say yes yes yes yes
yes | you are absolutely right | I am going to organize the big
conference you know | in the | because I am teaching at ar: u: pe: pe: too | the second campus | we are going to organize something |
we can do something | yes but there is not anything
R: hm
E: because this is how this country is managed | why they manage and
stay in office definitely until they die | you know they | because
they just sit there and do nothing | it’s the en: ge: o:’s and the
international organizations who try to do a education health and
rural development | not the government
R: hm
E: and this men (. | if he wanted to do something | he would be gain
to have problems | because knowing your history | at least the
history of the last fifty years | since independence | is a
political minefield | they had every political regimes you can dream
of | from you know absolute totalitarian regime to today absolute
knowlessness | everybody can drive at pleased along the road | many
just businesses increases | because nobody is going to | if he has
money | he has dollars | you know he can pretty well do what he
wants | so its complete free for all | erm we say in french
capitalist | sovage | savage capitalism
R: hm
E: wild capitalism |erm so it is better that | erm you know | that
younger generations do not think too much about [these kind of
things ]
R: [hun sen’s
background]
E: the background | hun sen’s background | everybody’s backgrounds |
big business backgrounds | of big business you know | leaders |
tycoons background | the main problems of this country today | are
of course land grabbing | many peoples are loosing their land
R: hm
E: the protesters are in the prison not the land grabbers.

R: hm

E: the huge amount of corruption including in that department erm half of the students you know work really slow I distribute my course a week two weeks or three weeks in advance they don’t read it they come to the course they smile they listen they take notes but they don’t work very much at home so when you know when you test them you realize that they know very slow first of all the don’t know the facts secondly they don’t know how to organize the facts thirdly they don’t know how to exercise a critical thinking to the facts give meaning to the facts

R: hm

E: and history you know you can have very different views of history

R: hm

E: they are not just one set history not one official history and I telling them I see this like this but you may think differently every single individual in this room can think individually so for my last course which is next tuesday on the first of june I simply give them a series of questions about the political system here because I am supposed to go down until two thousand and six writing something about hun sen is a mystical because you know he is just in the middle of it so I have a series of questions around the political system the economy society I just have questions I said I can not answer these questions but every single individual student here can answer questions differently from me and you might be right there is no absolute truth you know except you know that two million people died under the khmer rouge pol pot was the head leader you know you have a few facts which are rough sure sure you know but the interpretation the story you can different kind of and my last question is do you think as young people that you have you have a future in this country do you think YES or do you think NO and why this is my last question

R: this is a difficult question

E: it is a very difficult question but I want them to think about it you know after my course and continue to think about it throughout their life erm because they must become from subjects to being citizens

R: hm

E: and they are just subjects they have been subjects since independence they have been subjects of mister norodom sihanouk
they were the subjects of sirik matak and lon nol | we always forget
sirik matak | but lon nol | they were the subjects of pol pot | they
were the subjects of heng samrin | hun sen and today they are the
subjects of hun sen | they are not citizens | free thinking citizens
| although the majority | they are a few thinking individuals
fortunately ((smiling voice)) | the whole generations | not just the
young people

R: hm okay
E: but my | unfortunately the vast majority of the people | and this is
where the electors of hun sen sit | is in the countryside | the vast
majority of the people can not think | because the standard
education is very low | and there is no freedom of media | except
freedom of media for the people who convey the foreign newspapers |
yeah | foreigners can watch foreign tv station foreign radios | but
the vast majority don’t have access

R: hm
E: So the election | complete prisoner | a prisoner of the system
R: hm
E: tight and finally | erm the Buddhist monk within the past | and
particularly in french days | were the centre of a position to the
protectorate | and wanted independence | now are completely
controlled | by the state | because sihanouk is | he institutes the
state religion | and it’s his | which means that the state controls
the religion and they make sure that the majority of the monks are
totally uneducated | and therefore he can not be the centre of a
position

R: hm okay
E: if you think they are thinking monks | but they are less than
thinking monks
R: okay | that’s an answer | erm so | erm | <<asking> maybe I have just
a few questions concerned with the dark tourism sites if that is
okay>
E: <<requesting> to what to>
R: to the dark tourism sites | just a few questions
E: hm hm hm ((nodding))
R: what you said before | <<asking> I would guess you | you don’t think
that tuol sleng and the killing fields erm | [are made for tourism]>
E: [no | I think they are]
very useful for | as an education tool for researchers for academics
| erm but I think the tourists | most members of my immediate family
| wife children brothers and sisters | none of them asked me to go
to es: twenty one | and they have no interest in cambodian history |
I am sorry about that | erm and they are not erm | they would hate
dark tourism ((smiling voice))
R: okay
E: my wife particularly ((still smiling voice)) | my sisters | my
brother | my children you know | but it’s a bit silly | because they
must understand about other people suffering | in some ways it’s a
bit of a shame | if you tell me that choeung ek has improved ((the
researcher told him about during lunch)) | I can’t say that | and
erm es: twenty one I returned | I took some students | you know last
summer | from the museum | my point of view | it’s a disaster
R: hm
E: erm | I asked they to become the museum to become the museum of
democratic kampuchea and not just es: twenty one | because they have
plenty of space and rooms | but nobody really have done that | they
made a few improvements | but there is no upkeep | they have
improved some of the display | of the photographs | but even the
photographs you know
R: hm
E: I am feel very erm ambiguous about the photographs | it’s on you
know
R: hm
E: the television | you see erm | accidents | you see demonstrations |
you see explosions every day | and people suffering | people dying |
people dead | if you know those pictures were members of my family |
I would be very offended you know
R: hm
E: that they are bended throughout the world
R: yea
E: and I think it’s a intrusion into the privacy of the people | it’s
just disgusting
R. hm
E. if it is for research purposes | yes
R: hm
E: but to show around to everybody | I think it’s unpleasant | it’s
disgusting | it sick’s me | and I think there is a commercialization
of this | everything is good you know | for this regime to make
money
R: hm
E: And this is part of it | [particularly ]
[but the tuol sleng] museum is still leaded by the government | so it’s not

it’s the ministry of culture I think

I know the director | it’s a nice man | but they have no money

there is no money | the only money they get is from | I am the one

you know | ten years fifteen years ago said you know | why do you

not charge the visitors | they said oh yes of course | and they

charged the visitors | not the cambodian ones but the foreigners |

so at least they can pay the salary | and they can pay the upkeep of

the building

so it’s not commercialized | [but it’s starts]

far as the erm salary of the director must have been multiplied by
ten

okay ((smiling voice))

instead of earning thirty dollars | he has now three hundred dollars

a month

erm because the state will never give him a decent salary

and is this state | there is no money for culture and no money for

education | AT ALL | there is no money because | not because they

are poor

hm

because they don’t collect the money | as you know | virtually the

rich pay no taxation

okay | no I didn’t now | I don’t | I am not so much into these kind

of thins

virtually

okay

you know what is on the land tax here | house tax | the pool tax |

hm

zero

okay ((smiling voice))

zero | (-) they are poor because | originally because they came out

of the khmer rouge | but that is thirty years ago | they are poor

because they are very bad in manage | you know like most countries

in the south

hm
E: not because no nature | is very very generous | they should be the one who help us
R: hm ((smiling voice))
E: absolutely | to be the other way around ((smiling voice))
R: <<asking>> so do you think the visitors | the cambodian visitors | we have one here ((smiling voice)) | we have one here | do they like to visit this places as well | (do they use this places for commemoration)>
E: [I know that some you know organized tours | people are very angry | because they came to cambodia to enjoy the country | enjoy life | enjoy the restaurants | samsei | the sex live you know | very nutty things | very bad things | and then they come to choeung ek and tuol sleng ((derisive smiling voice)) | they never asked for that | and there Re some people very angry
R: hm
E: I think it’s SPECIAL | it should not be you know compulsory | like I always obt doubt | they got there by coach loads
R: hm
E: taken there whether they really have an interest or not | it’s like in Europe you know | some people go to the cemetery | the war cemetery throughout northern france | of the first world war the second world war | alright you might me | that might be your special interest | why should everybody go there
R: no
E: or go to auschwitz | I went to auschwitz because I wanted to compare with
R: tuol sleng
E: tuol sleng | and I saw it completely different
R: hm
E: these sites have absolutely nothing in common | except that the people were killed en masse
R: hm
E: that’s the only similarity | so I am glad that I went | but I went because I had a special interest in history | and because I was invited in Poland | you know polish university to have a talk | otherwise I would not have travelled all the way from lyon to auchwitz | it just happened because I was not too far from it
R: okay
E: and to have this special interest
R: hm
and the idea of making tourism out of the suffering out of the people is quite horrendous to me

R: hehe | <<asking> and what do you think | you said already with the pictures and the photographs | probably relatives don’t like the display there>
R: I don’t know | I don’t know | I just | the khmers react in very different way | and if it was my mother my daughter my sister | I would say that is my property | it is stolen | there is no copy right | the khmer rouge never allowed me or her or she or that man to take a photograph | and so you have legally no right to display on public

E: or you know | I am the narrator | I can tell you the copy right | it is one million dollars | otherwise you keep it in your archives

R: mh
E: or something like that | no I think it’s disgusting

R: <<asking> do you think your classmates or your students | do they want to go to the tuol sleng museum | to see it | or to choeung ek | or is it just | or do they wish to>
S: it it | still depends | because if you study history of cambodia | the history of democratic kampuchea
R: yes
S: they would go | but most of my friends who study business | who study management
R: <<asking> they are not interested>
S: four years in phnom penh they never go | so so | I think its different if you study history | you would go and you want to go | but if you study in other fields | you are not interested at all | cambodian people are not interested at all
R: okay
E: with the bones its even worse | because it’s shocking for european culture | and absolutely revoking for cambodian culture | because it means that the person who is murdered by the khmer rouge died a second death | because he can not go through the usual process of death | you know separation of the soul and the body | erm and they believe in reincarnation | they didn’t have the rights | so the bones if you are buddhist | of course if you are chinese its different | if you are buddhist must be incinerated | so I believe that the researchers must do their job for the khmer rouge tribunal
R: hm
E: for the recording of history | eventually we finished our job | you know for the prison system | because these bones are useful |
because at least it’s one evidence of a prison very often | but once the | the work
R: is done
E: is over | once the (xxx) beneath | eventually myself | and de: ce: cam: have finished investigating the prisoner system | all that should be one day selected in cambodia | one day during the (xxx xxx) | or the time they celebrate the dead | which is usually in the end of september | so over a period about two or three weeks | the time of (xxx xxx) | they single out one day | they incinerate all these bones | and that’s finished
R: hm
E: you know | they are now there for the erm japanese tourists | or the french tourists or the german tourists | to glare and gloat
R: hm ((insecure harrumphing))
E: I think it’s particularly disgusting
R: yea
E: that’s how an | I know they were an instrument of vietnamese propaganda | when the all these minorities were set up nineteen seventy nine nineteen eighty | why | there is no freedom in those days | they collectivized | they had a regime like east germany | which was of course much better than the pol pot regime | but a traditional communist regime | there was no freedom of movement | no freedom of associ association | no freedom of expression and when the people started to rumble and complain | the regime would say | look at these bones | you prefer the pol pot regime
R: okay
E: do you really want to go back to the pol pot regime | is that what you want | of course not | so all these younger generations | the young children | the adolescence | played you know | around the temple (xxx xxx) | pelt and buildings | and they saw these tank of bones | <<laughingly asking> do you think it’s a good way of educating children>
R: probably not | no
E: erm right | another reason is that it was an instrument of political indoctrination and propaganda for | well from nineteen seventy nine until the present day | unfortunately
R: hm
E: now the people if they can avoid the scrutiny of the authorities | organize in a number of incarcerating ceremonies | and gradually those heaps of bone disappear

R: hm

E: so the present government is a bit worried | that’s why they construct new | what they have done at choeung ek | but many places in cambodia | they have been building | the rich men to please hun sen | or the rich general to please hun sen | built | give out money to build

R: little stupa’s

E: proper stupa’s in concrete | strong | with glasses | of course you still must see the bones | they are locked | to make sure the children can not open and play with them | so they are preserved | (-) perhaps we could preserve one place | choeung ek | but even choeung ek is for me disgusting

R: disgusting

E: awful

R: so erm what

E: a stupa | you know a symbol is enough | and what they could do instead of having the bones is the list as you having in germany | as the jews has done | as we have done with the first world war and the second world war | every commune you have a list of all the people who died under the khmer rouge | the graves in stone that would be useful

R: yes | the names would be useful

E: as I know | some people are suggesting it at the tribunal

R: <<asking> so what kind of stories did you hear from anlong veng since nineteen ninety nine | is there any | do you have a clue if there was any information flow or was it just the overthrow of the bandits and then there was silence until two thousand one | or was there something in between>

E: I never follow anlong veng closely | because this was never a khmer rouge base for me | is just the refuge of the last remnants | you know of the defeated khmer rouge army | for instance for some pleasant people | like pol pot and ta mok ((ridiculing smiling voice))

R: hm ((smiling))

E: so for me | I just had happened | my students took me there | otherwise I would not have chosen to go there

R: okay
E: and I thought I did not waste my time | it was | it’s worth seeing
and you understand ta mok better | I understood he was a warlord |
he was like a mandarin
R: hm
E: he sway | you know he thought he was a superior spirit | superior
human being | who knew everything
R: hm
E: therefore he had a right of life and death over everybody | he were
not really communists | predates communism you know by far
R: hm
E: but using communist methods | communist techniques | and erm | so
you understand a little bit more about | how the way their minds
worked of this people
R: hm [okay ]
E: [when he] died you know | they made a huge ceremony | many people
wept (~)
R: <<requesting> sorry>
E: many people were weeping during | you know the funeral ceremony | he
was buried not incinerated | so ta mok was more chinese than
cambodian {{smiling voice}}
R: hm {{smiling voice}}
E: and the journalist did not notice that | very important
R: hm
E: you could be sure in this country | if somebody is more chinese than
cambodian | is incinerated right next door | no sorry buried | if
its chinese its buried | if its cambodian it incinerated
R: okay
E: and you don’t know | until he dies or she dies
R: that’s interesting yes | that’s crazy
E: so ta mok is more of a chinese | I am not surprised | he was such
friends with the chinese
R: hm interesting | if you say anlong veng is not really a place of
importance for yourself | <<asking> do you think [it is for some
others]>
E: [no no it would be
] of importance | I am thinking of (xxx) | because we are
really really really would like to find is if there are any
surviving erm prison orders | prison directors | prison chiefs still
around there in the country | but that would be the most difficult |
because nobody would confess that he was a prison directive | that
he was a chief executioner
R:  
E:  it might be in pailin | in samlot | in phnom erm | phnom malai and  
anlong veng | there might be one two three four five left | but it’s  
like you know | looking for we say a needle in a hey stock
R:  yes
E:  good luck
R:  <<asking> so what do you think about the governmental decision |  
that they want to promote site>
E:  money | money | they hope that it will create a few jobs | that’s  
all
R:  hm | so
E:  no interest in history on the government side | some people are  
interested | certainly de: ce: cam: is interested in history | of  
course they provides them a lot of jobs and money too
R:  hm | it is documented that two thousand cambodians are visiting  
anlong veng each month
E:  uh ((surprised))
R:  <<do you have a | do you have an [explanation for that]>
E:  [I didn’t know that ] | I did not  
know that | I am surprised
R:  I am not | I don’t know if the numbers are accurate
E.  accurate
R:  since you said that they are sometimes a bit
E:  there might | local people might go there because it’s close to the  
thai border and to buy thing
R:  No no | they visit ta mok’s house and the grave | it was written | I  
think I have it here ((looking for the source))
E:  I have no interpretation
R:  you have no interpretation ((smiling voice))
E:  just curiosity
R:  curiosity | it’s in ((still searching for reference))
E:  I hope it’s not because they worship pol pot | (-)
R:  cambodian daily
S:  cambodian daily
E:  I have no idea
R:  <<asking> so erm | do you know recent news about anlong veng>| the  
last news I heard were that they plan | have a master plan | but no  
money for it | and since then it’s like
E:  that’s right | because there is this man | I forgot his name | he  
said that he was going to sell erm ta mok’s | what was it | shoes |
I forget
S: nhaem in
E: nhaem in | that’s right | nhaem in | <<asking> you have got his name | nhaem in>
R: no | that’s a good point
E: you write en: h: i: em: ((spelling)) | en: h: is like nia | there is an i: | en: h: i: yes | <<asking the student> niem or njam>
S: njehm
E: <<asking> njem
S: njehm
E: (...)
((try to spell the name but finally the student writes it down for the researcher))
R: <<asking> and he tries to sell the shoes of ta mok>
E: I think it was the shoes
S: of pol pot
E: <<asking> ah | of pol pot>
S: ta mok
E: <<requesting> you said the shoes of pol pot | the sandals of pol pot>
S: (--)
E: I don’t know ((laughing))
R: someone’s sandals ((smiling voice)) | <<asking> and they want to exhibit it>
E: you understand that very well because you have the same thing with hitler | it’s a whole trade of paraphernalia | of managiest | hm ((laughing))
R: it would be impossible such a thing like anlong veng | in germany | it would be like | ahhh
E: exactly as I think | no this country has no morality what to offer
R: so its
E: everything is good to make money | that sell young girls | they sell young boys | look and careless
R: then of course my last question would be | <<asking> what you personally think about hun sens | erm he said that the place will be educative for national and international tourists and it would be fruitful to learn more about cambodias past>
E: no | because it’s not a common past | its cambodian present and nothing about the past | the cambodian past is in | of the khmer rouge movement is in paris ((writes down in the researchers note book nineteen fifty three to nineteen seventy)) | in beijing ((writes down in the researchers note book nineteen seventy to
nineteen seventy four) and in hanoi ((writes down in the researchers note book nineteen thirty six to nineteen fifty three)) in rattanakiri and in hanoi yes of course and then you understand the khmer rouge past not in anlong veng when the movement was finished

R: hm

E: it’s the appendix it’s the appendix of the movement and it explains he is dead so it doesn’t explain anything it’s just a graveyard

R: hm

E: it’s the graveyard of the communist movement ((smiling voice))

R: <<asking> so you are questioning that the khmer rouge are operating the site by themselves does it make it immoral the whole think that the guides are former khmer rouge and they have their own story of the site>

E: it depends on what what sort of khmer rouge were they common people were they leaders in that case its immoral

R: hm

E: if they were only soldiers were recruited erm who have | press gang you know in the eighteenth century the british navy recruited young children and adolescence they went to villages and | they press ganged them they forced them to come and and row the boats of you know is a very dangerous job very tiring they were press gang this young people now that they are sixty in their fifties and sixties they have no money no pension erm if they can make money with tourism why not

R: hm okay

E: but if it’s ta mok’s family no that cooks

R: there is a clear distinction

E: oh oh yes it was a completely hierarchical society there was no polity you have no you know in a communist regime it is more unequal than you know eastern germany was more unequal than western germany

R: hm

E: yes

R: of course

E: less egalitarian

R: so erm <<asking> do you think it matters for cambodians that khmer rouge ex khmer rouge are operating the site and getting money out of it or they don’t think about it that much>

E: it’s very little money anyway
R: sorry
E: it’s very little money
R: so it’s that
E: no very important
R: yes it makes is | relativists it
E: if again if they were the victims | the young adolescent soldiers |
erm when they were recruited they were victims of the khmer rouge
like everybody else | you know they were made to kill | they didn’t
want to do that | they were drawn
R: hm
E: when they join the revolution they never want to become torturers
and executioners
R: hm
E: so I mean how can you blame them | they have nothing to survive |
they have no food | they have children to educate | grandchildren |
they have no pension | how can they survive
R: <<asking> so it’s okay that they get a bit money out of it>
E: no problem | not for the poor
R: hm
E: the way they make money | you know | is netter than begging in the
street
R. <<asking> so you questioning the decision of the government to
promote the | the site>
E: that’s a decision but they do never do anything to implement it
R: hm okay
E: they can make decisions | that’s just bla bla bla
R: [they | I think they sell it ]
E: [they don’t provide | they don’t] provide the erm | they don’t
provide any capital | to make anything decent
R: hm
E: you know | but you can’t do anything decent anyway
R: [they say ]
E: [apart from] preserving the two houses of ta mok | that’s the only
two things that are worth preserving
R: okay | and erm | I forgot what I wanted to ask | erm | that its erm
| that they promote it on their website in order to gain | or to
develop the area
E: they want more dollars | that’s the only thing | they want more
dollars from outside | from overseas | from your dollars | from my
dollars
R: mh | so pro poor tourism they call it
E: pro poor tourism (smiling voice))
R: you can call it like this
E: yes pro poor tourism when it’s called for pro rich they call it
pro poor
R: hm (smiling voice))
E: yes if the backpackers you know backpackers like yourself
R: yes
E: will encourage pro poor tourism because you go to cheap hotels and
you go to cheap restaurants because the vast majority of the rich
tourists in siem reap erm bring no benefit to the cambodian
government for ever
R: that’s foreign companies yes
E: apart yes foreign companies apart from small salaries very
very low salaries just enough to survive
R: hm
E: at the beginning of the beginning of the industrial revolution
R: <<requesting> in cambodia>
E: no like in the west you know I studied it in england you know
R: hm
E: when marx and engels wrote the condition of the working classes
you know in england
R: hm
E: it’s the same today except that it’s warmer so everybody is
smiling but I mean it’s the same working conditions
R: yeah so erm
E: it’s like in the days of the industrial revolution
R: <<asking> do you think its worth to go there and it’s kind of an
enhancement of the tourist [destinations in cambodia]>
E: [it’s worth going ] |
R: <<requesting> ah if its worth for the general tourist no its
not worth going there it’s a waste of time there is many more
interesting things to do
R: <<asking> and when they on the way to preah vihear>
E: Ph you can go to preah vihear without going to anlong veng ph
again you can you know we have an give me star a guide you
know one star two star three star four star I would just give them
one star
R: okay (laughing))
E: if you happen to be close go there but don’t go out of your way
it’s not worth it
R: okay
E: unless it’s the subject of your master | masters thesis

R: erm | <<asking> do you know if some people are against the | the
thinking about the past of cambodia | [are there some groups outside
the government ]>

E: [yes of course the ce: pe: pe:
| the ce: pe: pe: ] does not want to think about the past | because
they represent themselves as totally democratic | as having
deliberated cambodia from the khmer rouge | erm if it have been for
the ce: pe: pe: | pol pot would be still in power here today

R: hm

E: so | they don’t want the people to know the past | not at all
and not to talk

R: and other groups are | former khmer rouge or | <<asking> is there
some grouping kind of | of mindsets>

E: I thought from time to time that the khmer rouge leaders | you know
from a kind of network at least | but were not really | no |

R: hm

E: I think they are afraid | they don’t want to speak too much |
because they are afraid of hun sen’s police | suong sikceu with
whom I wrote with | he worked for radio democratic kampuchea in
hanoi | during the civil war it was broadcasting not from the (meki
{(cambodian expression | unclear}) | not from the forest | not from
cambodia | but from a suburb of hanoi

R: hm

E: and in the book there is almost nothing

R: okay

E: because he is afraid of the vietnamese you know | because he is
afraid of erm hun sen | so they are just afraid of hun sen you know
| they don’t want to speak too much

R: hm | <<asking> but generally the public would | you cannot say
generally | some people are interested some not | and you have to
create interest probably>

E: there is no public opinion here because you don’t have parties | you
have just one organisation | the ce: pe: pe: | the opposition is
very weak | because its very stupid | and then its united

R: hm

E: 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

R: hm
E: so you don’t discuss | you don’t protest | you are very calm you just enjoy live | you go to karaoke {{smiling}}

R: hm {{smiling voice}}

E: and you enjoy life | there is no public opinion | and the vast majority of the population is very poor | eighty percent are very poor | they are only concerned about earning their living | that’s all they do to day

R: hm

E: and those who are not so poor are only concerned getting a better motorbike | a better car | car | very materialistic | a better telephone | a new television set | even if they are richer | travel to singapore or to bangkok | if they are very rich travel to america or europe

R: <<requesting> the twenty percent>

E: no | the very rich are one or two percent

R: okay

E: fifteen to twenty percent are like him | you know just can survive

R: okay | I have to into that | so erm | <<asking> do you think there are disagreements between the former khmer rouge and erm | victims in villages | when you visited these places>

E: erm this is a question you have to ask de: ce: cam: because they go into that very much

R: okay

E: erm | I think erm | by in large people are just calm and quiet about that | and it’s no longer than | because it’s more than thirty years now | it’s no longer the cause of erm | and erm | most of the khmer rouge who really have done a lot of killing | are either dead or abroad | as I said this morning in the class | or in government

R: hm

E: erm they are minister | they are erm | governors of province or vice governors | or they are kuhm | district leaders district governors or they are khum leaders or phum leaders | they are in the position of responsibility of power | so (.) | people are afraid of them

R: hm

E: but there are less and less now

R: mh

E: because they are dying now

R: of course they are getting old

E: it’s a new generation
R: so | I read that in some parts the people are afraid of a comeback by the khmer rouge | <<asking> is that true or do you think | its impossible>
E: no it is not | it is never | it’s just propaganda | its impossible
R: hm
E: it has always impossible from june nineteen seventy nine | they were completely eroded and expelled from the country
R: hm
E: it’s a myth since nineteen seventy nine | erm developed from perpetrated by | and prolonged rather | by hun sen
R: hm
E: why should they return | they are in power now
R: I don’t know | it’s the people worrying for it
E: they are in paranoia | how can they return
R: that’s why I don’t
E: that is why the standard of education is so low
R: <<asking> so do you think it’s a dangerous place to travel | or is it a safe place>
E: absolutely safe ((talking on the phone))

From time 57:28 to 01:00:56 mister Locard talks on his mobile.

While he was talking, I used the time to get contact and background information from the student. He did his bachelor in history and English in phnom penh. Currently, he is teaching at a private college for technicians and it-students. Besides that he wrote some artices for magazines and is working at youth for peace, the NGO I visited the day before. He works there at the reconciliation office, what we discovered accidentally during conversation. After mister Locard finished his talk, he turned back to us and showed himself positively surprised that we were talking about Long Khet, the director of youth for peace. He acknowledged that it would be a nice organization.

R: my last question would be | <<asking> if you personally think that cambodia is ready for international tourism>
E: oh absolutely | it has been ready for a long time now
R: hm
E:  erm at least since the year two thousand or even earlier in the nineteen nineties | there is a lot of tradition you know | from even before the second world war | international tourists

R:  yes a lot

E:  yes

R:  I think twenty to forty thousand tourists came a year | during the sixties

E:  oh in the sixties of course | but even before | the second world war | [the thirties]

R:  [oh you mean ] even before

E:  there were already international tourists coming

R:  okay

E:  of course selected | just a fe
Persönliche Daten

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Familienstand: ledig

Hochschulausbildung


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“.

Schulausbildung


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

  - Absolvierte Seminare: Theories of Intercultural Understanding, Sociology of Globalization, Transnational Forces and Political Systems, Global Organizations and Civil Society

  - Absolvierte Seminare: Intercultural English, Terrorism – It’s Causes and Consequences, Crimes and Politics in Southeast Asia

  - Assistenztätigkeiten im Krankenhaus
  - Medizinische Versorgung entlegener Dörfer mit dem mobilen Klinikteam


Extracurriculares Engagement

  - Verantwortlich für die Auswahl der Delegierten, deren thematische Vorbereitung sowie deren Schulung in der Verfahrensordnung von UN-Konferenzen

  - Verantwortlich für Pressearbeit

  - Unterstützung des Sponsoring-Teams

  - Pressearbeit sowie Assistenz in der Durchführung von Vortragsreihen

Praktika und Arbeitserfahrung


- 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


- Redaktionelle Mitarbeit an der Homepage der Veranstaltung

09/2003 Praktikum im „Filmbüro Baden-Württemberg e.V.“

- Assistenz in der Organisation des Russischen Filmfestivals 2003


Auszeichnungen und Stipendien


Sonstige Kenntnisse

Sprachkenntnisse

- Deutsch: Muttersprache
- Englisch: Fließend in Wort und Schrift
- Italienisch: Gut
- 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