



“So We Can Know What Happened”

The Educational Potential of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

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British Embassy
Phnom Penh



WSDHANDACENTER
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE
Stanford University



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CENTER

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THE EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE EXTRAORDINARY
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACC	Accreditation Committee of Cambodia
AIJI	Asian International Justice Initiative
Bophana Center	Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center
CCHR	Cambodian Center for Human Rights
CHRAC	Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee
DC-Cam	Documentation Center of Cambodia
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
DMC	Department of Media and Communications
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
EWC	East-West Center
Handa Center	WSD Handa Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Stanford University
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
KDK	Kdei Karuna (meaning <i>reconciliation</i>)
KR	Khmer Rouge
KRT	Khmer Rouge Tribunal
LDC	Legal Documentation Center [of the ECCC]
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUM	National University of Management
PAS	Public Affairs Section
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PRT	People's Revolutionary Tribunal
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RULE	Royal University of Law and Economics
RUPP	Royal University of Phnom Penh
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNOHCHR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
US	United States
VSS	Victims Support Section
YFP	Youth For Peace
YRDP	Youth Resource Development Program

Author's note:

Cambodian names are usually written with the surname first. For clarity, this order is preserved in this report, while Western names are written in their usual format of surname last. In footnotes and the bibliography, all surnames are listed last for consistency.

Executive Summary

In Cambodia, four decades have passed since the traumatic events of the Democratic Kampuchea (**DK**) regime, however more systematic formal and non-formal attempts to share this history with the new generation which did not live through that period are relatively recent. Many of these efforts have coincided with the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (**ECCC**), the hybrid tribunal set up to try the senior leaders and those most responsible for the crimes of DK. The research conducted for this report sought to probe the connection between the ECCC and the various education and awareness-raising initiatives currently underway in Cambodia. More specifically, the research sought solely Cambodian views on this topic, asking how the Tribunal's existence can be maximized as an educational resource, particularly now that it may be drawing to a close.

This report argues that the ECCC has the potential to make a considerable contribution to a broad range of education initiatives in Cambodia, and that this potential has yet to be fully tapped. Drawing on data gathered through focus group discussions with 83 Phnom Penh-based university students and 16 policy-makers, educators, historians, and other experts, this report disputes commonly held assumptions that Cambodian youth are uninterested in learning about their nation's past. During conversations about the ECCC, students identified the potential for the Tribunal to educate their generation about the past as its biggest potential legacy; ranking this higher than judicial, psychological, or capacity-building legacies.

Responses gathered by this research also identify a low level of awareness among youth concerning existing programs and opportunities available for students who are interested in learning more about DK history. Although a range of initiatives exist in both the formal and non-formal education sectors, students participating in this study were largely unaware of them and often made recommendations for programs or initiatives that already existed. Closing this gap in awareness would improve the effectiveness of existing programs and lead to an increase in overall understanding and awareness of the events of DK.

Although the ECCC may be drawing to a close, it is not too late for it to leave a positive legacy in the educational space. By broadening the discussion on the educational potential of the ECCC, this report hopes to motivate educators and students alike to more actively engage with DK history in creative and thought-provoking ways. This report concludes with a compilation of the recommendations made by students and experts for ways to improve youth engagement with DK history, ranging from a greater reliance on social media to teaching more localized content.

សេចក្តីសង្ខេប

នៅក្នុងព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា អស់រយៈពេលបួនទសវត្សរ៍បានកន្លងផុតទៅហើយ ចាប់តាំងពីមាន ព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ប៉ះទង្គិចផ្លូវចិត្តនៃរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ ទោះបីយ៉ាងនេះក៏ដោយ ក៏នាពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ មាន គោលបំណងទាំងផ្លូវការ និងក្រៅផ្លូវការ ជាប្រព័ន្ធយ៉ាងច្រើនដើម្បីចែករំលែកប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនេះទៅឲ្យមនុស្សជំនាន់ ក្រោយដែលមិនធ្លាប់បានរស់ឆ្លងកាត់សម័យនោះ។ កិច្ចខិតខំប្រឹងប្រែងជាច្រើន បានធ្វើឡើងស្របតាមការ បង្កើតអង្គជំនុំជម្រះវិសាមញ្ញក្នុងតុលាការកម្ពុជា (ហៅកាត់ថា អ.វ.ត.ក ឬសាលាក្តីខ្មែរក្រហម) ដែលជាសាលា ក្តីកូនកាត់ ត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើងដើម្បីកាត់ទោសមេដឹកនាំជាន់ខ្ពស់ និងជនដែលទទួលខុសត្រូវខ្ពស់បំផុតសម្រាប់ ឧក្រិដ្ឋកម្មនៃរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីចងក្រងរបាយការណ៍នេះ បានខិតខំប្រឹងប្រែងធ្វើ ការស៊ើបអង្កេតរកឲ្យឃើញពីភាពភ្ជាប់គ្នារវាង អ.វ.ត.ក និងការអប់រំផ្សេងៗ និងគម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមលើកកម្ពស់ ការយល់ដឹងនានា ដែលកំពុងអនុវត្តនាពេលថ្មីៗនេះនៅក្នុងព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា។ ជាពិសេសទៅទៀតនោះ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ បានស្វែងរកទស្សនៈយល់ឃើញរបស់កម្ពុជាតែមួយគត់លើប្រធានបទនេះ ដោយបានចោទ សួរសំណួរអំពីរបៀបដែលអត្ថិភាពរបស់សាលាក្តីនេះអាចផ្តល់ជាអតិបរមា មានដូចជា ធនធានអប់រំជាដើម ជាពិសេស ដោយសារតែឧទ្ធុរៈនេះ សាលាក្តីអាចនឹងឈានជិតដល់ការបិទបញ្ចប់របស់ខ្លួននៅពេលខាងមុខ។

របាយការណ៍នេះ អះអាងថា អ.វ.ត.ក មានសក្តានុពលក្នុងការរួមចំណែកយ៉ាងសន្ធឹកសន្ធាប់គួរឲ្យកត់ សម្គាល់ ដល់វិស័យអប់រំក្នុងព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ហើយសក្តានុពលនេះមិនទាន់ត្រូវបានយកមកប្រើប្រាស់ ពេញលេញនៅឡើយនោះទេ។ ដោយផ្អែកលើទិន្នន័យដែលប្រមូលបានពីកិច្ចពិភាក្សាក្រុមគោលដៅ ជាមួយនឹង និស្សិតសាកលវិទ្យាល័យក្នុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញចំនួន ៨៣នាក់ និងអ្នកបង្កើតគោលនយោបាយ អ្នកអប់រំ អ្នកប្រវត្តិ សាស្ត្រ និងអ្នកជំនាញដទៃទៀតចំនួន ១៦នាក់ របាយការណ៍នេះ បង្ហាញពីការមិនយល់ស្របនឹងការសន្មតជា ទូទៅថា យុវជនកម្ពុជាមិនសូវចាប់អារម្មណ៍ក្នុងការសិក្សាពីអតីតកាលរបស់ប្រទេសជាតិ។ ក្នុងអំឡុងពេល សន្ទនាអំពី អ.វ.ត.ក និស្សិតបានកំណត់សក្តានុពលសម្រាប់សាលាក្តីក្នុងការអប់រំដល់ជំនាន់របស់ពួកគេអំពី អតីតកាល ដោយបានចាត់ទុកថាជាកេរដំណែលដ៏មានសក្តានុពលធំធេងបំផុតរបស់សាលាក្តី ហើយបានផ្តល់ ចំណាត់ថ្នាក់នេះខ្ពស់ជាងកេរដំណែលដទៃទៀត ដូចជា៖ កេរដំណែលតុលាការ កេរដំណែលផ្លូវចិត្ត និងកេរ- ដំណែលក្នុងការកសាងសមត្ថភាពជាដើម។

ចម្លើយតបដែលប្រមូលបានតាមរយៈការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ក៏កំណត់ផងដែរពីកម្រិតទាបនៃការយល់ដឹង ក្នុងចំណោមក្រុមយុវជន ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងកម្មវិធីដែលកំពុងមានអត្ថិភាព និងឱកាសនានាសម្រាប់និស្សិតដែលមាន ចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍ក្នុងការសិក្សាបន្ថែម អំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ។ ថ្វីបើគម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមជាច្រើន ដែលមានអត្ថិភាពស្រាប់នៅក្នុងវិស័យអប់រំក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធ និងក្រៅប្រព័ន្ធក៏ដោយ ក៏និស្សិតដែលបានសន្ទនាជាមួយ យើងខ្ញុំ មិនបានដឹងពីគម្រោងអប់រំទាំងនោះ ហើយជាញឹកញាប់បានផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ស្នើសុំឲ្យមានកម្មវិធី ឬ គម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមនានា ដែលតាមការពិតកម្មវិធី ឬគម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមទាំងនោះបានមានវត្តមានរួចរាល់ទៅហើយ។ ដើម្បីបញ្ចប់គំណិតនៃការយល់ដឹងនេះ គួរគប្បីអភិវឌ្ឍប្រសិទ្ធភាពនៃកម្មវិធីអប់រំដែលមានស្រាប់ ហើយសង្ឃឹម ជឿជាក់ថា នឹងនាំមកនូវការលើកកម្ពស់ការស្វែងយល់ និងការយល់ដឹងឲ្យកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយ អំពីព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ នានានៃរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ។

ដើម្បីពង្រីកកិច្ចពិភាក្សាជុំវិញសក្តានុពលវិស័យអប់រំរបស់ **អ.វ.ត.ក** របាយការណ៍នេះ មានក្តីសង្ឃឹមថា នឹងជំរុញលើកទឹកចិត្តដល់អ្នកអប់រំ រួមទាំងនិស្សិតផងដែរ ឲ្យចូលរួមយ៉ាងសកម្មពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជា តាមរយៈមធ្យោបាយនានាប្រកបដោយភាពច្នៃប្រឌិត និងគំនិតចង់ចេះចង់ដឹង។ ថ្វីបើ **អ.វ.ត.ក** អាចនឹងឈាន ជិតដល់ទីបញ្ចប់របស់ខ្លួនក៏ដោយ ក៏ប្រការនេះមិនទាន់ជាការយឺតយ៉ាវក្នុងការបន្សល់ទុកនូវកេរដំណែលវិជ្ជមាន របស់ខ្លួនក្នុងវិស័យអប់រំ។ របាយការណ៍នេះ បញ្ចប់ជាមួយការចងក្រងអនុសាសន៍នានាដែលបានមកពីនិស្សិត និងអ្នកជំនាញ ដើម្បីផ្តល់ជាមធ្យោបាយនានាក្នុងការជំរុញលើកកម្ពស់ការចូលរួមរបស់យុវជន ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងប្រវត្តិ សាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ ដោយចាប់ផ្តើមពីភាពគួរឲ្យជឿទុកចិត្តកាន់តែប្រសើរឡើងលើប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយ សង្គម រហូតដល់ការបង្រៀនខ្លឹមសារដែលត្រូវបានធ្វើមូលដ្ឋាននីយកម្មបន្ថែមផងដែរ។

1. Introduction

Nearly four decades after the Khmer Rouge regime was toppled, the ECCC represents more than an end to impunity: it is an important educational opportunity for the generation of Cambodians who have grown up after the regime ended. Since the ECCC's inauguration, a broad range of formal and non-formal education initiatives have been launched to increase young Cambodians' understanding of their nation's recent past. But to what extent do Cambodians see these initiatives as effective, and how do they think they could be improved?

The educational potential of the ECCC goes far beyond the simple act of teaching dates and names. Through exploring this period of history, its root causes and long-term impacts, there is the potential for broader understanding of conflict, a totalitarian past, genocide, the treatment of minorities, gendered experiences, and how the Cambodian experience fits into the global context. The fact that the ECCC addresses these topics both publicly and in the Khmer language makes them immediately more accessible to the Cambodian population.¹

This potential for the Tribunal to serve an educational role has been under-appreciated and under-studied in legacy discourse around the ECCC. Similarly, the views of Cambodian youth – which make up almost two thirds of the population² — have largely been overlooked in a debate that is dominated by foreign voices. There is a common assumption that Cambodian youth are not interested in learning about the past.³ This report aims to address this by presenting the views of Cambodian youth about their nation's recent past and what they think about the legacy of the ECCC.⁴

Democratic Kampuchea

The events that took place in Cambodia between 17 April 1975 and 7 January 1979 have been covered in great depth by others.⁵ A brief summary of this period is a useful starting

¹ The ECCC has three official working languages: Khmer, English, and French. Proceedings are simultaneously translated into all three at all times, and documents are also to be translated into all three. *See* Article 26, Agreement between the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia Concerning the Prosecution Under Cambodian Law of Crimes Committed During the Period of Democratic Kampuchea (hereinafter, **UN-RGC Agreement**), p. 14.

² For the purposes of this report, 'youth' refers to Cambodians under 30 years old. The United Nations Population Fund (**UNFPA**) estimates that one in five Cambodians are aged between 15 to 24, and "almost two thirds of the population" is under 30. *See* UNFPA, 'Cambodia Youth Data Sheet 2015' (25 February 2016), p. 1.

³ *See* Audrey Wilson, 'Injecting Something New Into the Study of Cambodia 's Dark Past' *The Phnom Penh Post* (8 July 2016), <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/post-weekend/injecting-something-new-study-cambodias-dark-past>, last accessed 8 December 2017; and, Seth Mydans, 'Pain of Khmer Rouge Era Lost on Cambodian Youth' *New York Times*, (7 April 2009), <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/08/world/asia/08cambo.html>, last accessed 8 December 2017.

⁴ This report mostly uses the term 'legacy' in the singular however this is not intended to reduce the multiplicity of legacies that will no doubt be left by the ECCC after its closure, as "given different perspectives, themes and lessons learnt there will unlikely be *one* legacy of the ECCC, but many." *See* Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee, 'Aims and Objectives of the Conference' in *Hybrid Perspectives on the Legacies of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) Program* (13-14 September 2012), p. 1.

⁵ *See, for example*, Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (United States: Yale University Press, 1996); Elizabeth Becker, *When The War Was Over* (New York: Public Affairs, 1986); David Chandler, *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); and, Philip Short, *Pol Pot: Anatomy of a Nightmare* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 2004).

point for this report. The regime, which called itself Democratic Kampuchea, took power on 17 April 1975 after years of violent civil war waged against the United States-backed Lon Nol regime. When the civil war ended, many Cambodians were initially relieved by the end of violence and welcomed the little-known Khmer Rouge (**KR**) soldiers.⁶ However, this relief did not last long. The new regime began by immediately evacuating the capital of Phnom Penh and forcibly relocating millions of Cambodians from cities to the countryside.⁷ The regime aimed to “bring about rapid socialist revolution” and targeted former city-dwellers and those connected with the former Lon Nol regime.⁸ For most Cambodians, the ensuing period comprised forced labor, communal living, and the dismantling of money, markets, and private property. The DK regime was ultimately defeated on 7 January 1979 when Vietnamese troops, who were working with Khmer Rouge defectors, took control of Phnom Penh.⁹ Scholars are divided on how many people died from starvation, exhaustion, and execution during the DK period, however estimates range between 1.7 to 2.2 million Cambodians; almost one quarter of the population at the time.¹⁰

The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

After years of negotiations between the United Nations (**UN**) and RGC, the ECCC Law and UN-RGC Agreement entered into force in April 2005 and court staff began to take up their positions in February 2006.¹¹ Public hearings in Case 001 – against Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch – began in 2009.¹² The ECCC is a hybrid tribunal comprising Cambodian and international staff, lawyers, and judges, and it has a mandate to try only “senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those who were most responsible” for crimes alleged to have taken place between 17 April 1975 and 6 January 1979.¹³ To date, the Tribunal has convicted three men of crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, and murder, torture, and religious persecution in violation of the 1956

⁶ François Ponchaud, *Cambodia: Year Zero*, (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 5, and Sebastian Strangio, *Hun Sen’s Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2014), pp. 14-20.

⁷ For more about the evacuation of Phnom Penh and other cities, see Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, pp. 39-51. Two forced population movements formed part of the charges against Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan in Case 002/01, for which they were sentenced to life imprisonment in August 2014, upheld on appeal in November 2017.

⁸ Office of the Co-Investigating Judges, *Case 002 Closing Order* (15 September 2010), D427.

⁹ Fighting continued after 7 January and some parts of the country continued to be controlled by the Khmer Rouge until UN-sponsored elections in 1993. For more on the fall of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979 see: Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy: The War After The War* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 370-372.

¹⁰ Ewa Tabeau and They Kheam, ‘Demographic Expert Report: Khmer Rouge Victims in Cambodia, April 1975-January 1979. A Critical Assessment of Major Estimates’ (30 September 2010), D140/1/1, p. 19.

¹¹ Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, ‘Timeline of Key Events’ <https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en/keyevents>, and Steve Heder, *A Review of the Negotiations Leading to the Establishment of the Personal Jurisdiction of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies: 1 August 2011).

¹² An initial, procedural hearing was held in Case 001 in February 2009 and evidentiary hearings ran from April to September 2009. Weekly reports covering Case 001 are available at <https://krtmonitor.org/category/reports-2/case-001-reports/>.

¹³ ‘Law on the Establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed During the Period of Democratic Kampuchea’] (27 October 2004), p. 1 [hereinafter **ECCC Law**].

Cambodian Criminal Code.¹⁴ Two of those three men – Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan — remain on trial for other crimes, including genocide of ethnic and religious minorities and the regulation of marriage.¹⁵ The trial judgment in this case is expected to be handed down in mid-2018, after which Parties may appeal.¹⁶ Four more people have been charged with crimes committed during DK – Meas Muth, Im Chaem, Yim Tith, and Ao An – and pre-trial motions continue to be heard. However, it remains unclear whether any of these cases will go forth, and statements from the RGC have consistently dismissed the possibility.¹⁷ Should this be the case, proceedings at the ECCC may end with the final appeal judgment in Case 002/02, projected to be released in early 2020.¹⁸

Conceptualizing the Legacy of Hybrid Tribunals

Hybrid tribunals are so called because of their mix of domestic and international staff and often their use of both domestic and international law.¹⁹ They were first created in the early 2000s as a more cost-effective alternative to other *ad hoc* tribunals such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Discussions of the potential legacies of hybrid tribunals have been a recurrent theme in early assessments of their impact. The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) defines the legacy of hybrid tribunals as providing, “Lasting impact on bolstering the rule of law in a particular society, by conducting effective trials to contribute to ending impunity, while also strengthening domestic judicial capacity.”²⁰ OHCHR identifies three specific types of legacy: human resources and professional development; physical infrastructure or materials; and, law reform and the

¹⁴ Kaing Guek Eav, *alias* Duch, was convicted in Case 001 in July 2010, and his conviction was upheld on appeal in February 2012: *see* Trial Chamber, ‘Case 001 Judgment’ (26 July 2010), E188, and Supreme Court Chamber, ‘Case 001 Appeal Judgment’ (3 February 2012), F28. Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan were convicted in August 2014 and upheld on appeal in November 2016: *see* Trial Chamber, ‘Case 002/01 Judgment’ (7 August 2014), E313, and Supreme Court Chamber, ‘Case 002/01 Appeal Judgment’ (23 November 2016), F36.

¹⁵ Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan were originally two of four people charged in Case 002. The other two were married couple Ieng Sary and Ieng Thirith. Prior to hearing opening statements, Ieng Thirith was declared unfit to stand trial due to advanced dementia, *see*: Trial Chamber, ‘Decision on IENG Thirith’s Fitness to Stand Trial’ (17 November 2011), E138). Ieng Thirith passed away on 22 August 2015, which brought proceedings against her to a close. *See* Trial Chamber, ‘Termination of Proceedings Against Ieng Thirith’ (27 August 2015), E359/1. Ieng Sary passed away on 14 March 2013, prior to the completion of Case 002/01, *see*: Trial Chamber, ‘Termination of Proceedings Against the Accused Ieng Sary’ (14 March 2013), E270/1.

¹⁶ *See* Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, ‘Completion Plan, Rev. 14’ (30 September 2017), p. 13 [hereinafter **ECCC Completion Plan**].

¹⁷ *See* Andrew Nagemson and Erin Handley, ‘Staying Khmer Rouge Tribunal Cases Muddled’ *Phnom Penh Post*, 8 May 2017 <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/staying-khmer-rouge-tribunal-cases-mulled>, last accessed 24 November 2017 and Human Rights Watch, ‘Cambodia: Judges Investigating Khmer Rouge Crimes Should Resign’ (3 October 2011), <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/10/03/cambodia-judges-investigating-khmer-rouge-crimes-should-resign>, last accessed 8 December 2017.

¹⁸ ECCC Completion Plan, p. 13.

¹⁹ ‘Hybrid’ tribunals have also been called ‘internationalized’ tribunals or ‘third generation’ international criminal tribunals. Other examples of such tribunals are the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the Serious Crimes Panels in the District Court of Dili in East Timor. *See* Mathias Holvoet and Paul de Hert, ‘International Criminal Law as Global Law: An Assessment of the Hybrid Tribunals’ *Tilburg Law Review*, vol. 17 (2012), pp. 228.

²⁰ UNOHCHR, ‘Rule-of-Law Tools for Post-Conflict States: Maximizing the Legacy of Hybrid Courts’ HR/PUB/08/2, New York and Geneva, 2008, p. 4.

promotion of rule of law.²¹ The international non-governmental organization (NGO), the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), similarly defines legacy in legal terms: “A hybrid or international court’s lasting impact, most notably on bolstering the rule of law in a particular society by conducting effective trials while also strengthening domestic capacity to do so.”²²

These two commonly-cited, legally-oriented definitions of legacy overlook broader societal legacies. While certainly not dismissing the value of legal legacies, this report is interested in the wider societal legacy of the ECCC, particularly in terms of educational impact on the younger generation. As the ECCC is located in the country in which atrocities took place, and its proceedings are held in the local language, its societal impact theoretically has greater potential than those tribunals located in foreign countries. Further, the four decades that have passed since the crimes being tried at the ECCC make it uniquely positioned as a potential source of information and education for the country’s overwhelmingly young population.

Conceptualizing the Legacy of the ECCC

Observers have long acknowledged the need to plan for the legacy of the ECCC.²³ However, as noted above, there are multiple interpretations of ‘legacy’. Importantly for the Cambodian context, there is no direct translation of the term ‘legacy’ in the Khmer language, raising questions of whether actors who have been working on this topic were in fact working towards the same goals. The commonly used term *ke damnael*²⁴ is generally taken to have a positive connotation referring to things passed down between generations, whereas another common translation, *morodok*,²⁵ is more closely associated with the deceased. Even in French, the ECCC’s other working language, the translation is not exact.²⁶

ECCC actors and others working in civil society have held irregular discussions on legacy. As Viviane Dittrich notes:

There was an early impetus to pursue legacy at the ECCC, which however got caught up in a political tussle about ownership of the narrative of legacy, and meaning making and funding, and eventually was largely abandoned as a result.²⁷

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 23-39.

²² Caitlin Reiger, ‘Where to from Here for International Tribunals? Considering Legacy and Residual Issues’ *International Center for Transitional Justice Briefing* (September 2009), p. 1.

²³ Laura McGrew, ‘The Legacy of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal Needs to be Planned’ *Phnom Penh Post*, (25 August 2006), available at: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/legacy-khmer-rouge-trials-needs-be-planned>, last accessed 24 November 2017.

²⁴ This is written in Khmer script as "កេដំណែល." The Chuon Nath Khmer Dictionary explains that ‘Damnael’ means a spot, place, or any object that is already used by someone, while ‘Ke’ can mean an ancestor's or parent's property.

²⁵ This is written in Khmer script as "មរតក."

²⁶ The most common translation in French is *l’héritage*. *La contribution* and *l’apport* are also sometimes used but mostly refer to positive legacies.

²⁷ Viviane Dittrich, ‘The Legacy of the ECCC’ in S. Meisenberg and I. Stegmiller (eds.), *The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia*, International Criminal Justice Series 6, 2016, TMC Asser Press.

Until recently UNOHCHR co-organized panels on the legacy of the ECCC, inviting a range of civil society, tribunal, government, and legal actors to discuss the impact and potential impact of the ECCC, to “strengthen the work of the ECCC in the domestic justice sector.”²⁸ The Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee (**CHRAC**) and the ECCC held a joint conference on ‘Hybrid Perspectives of Legacies of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia’ in September 2012, at which 60 national and international speakers spoke to 200 participants across four panel discussions and six working groups.²⁹ The CHRAC/ECCC Conference resulted in 39 recommendations on how to better ensure a positive legacy in a number of key areas: jurisprudence, Civil Party engagement, trial monitoring, outreach and archiving, witness support, and access to justice for women.³⁰ Although OHCHR continues to employ an ECCC Legacy Officer, legacy panels are held less regularly. If Case 002/02 does prove to be the final case heard at the ECCC, this may revitalize the legacy debate among interested parties as they reflect on the lifespan of the Tribunal.

Overview of This Report

Therefore, at this critical time in the ECCC’s history, discussions of legacy remain as pertinent as ever. As the ICTJ notes, “The closure of the tribunals will not diminish the importance of continued outreach on the historical record that these tribunals have produced.”³¹ This report argues that it is not too late to build a positive legacy of the ECCC when it comes to learning from and about the past and the multitude of societal benefits that that entails.

This report will begin by providing a short overview of the educational system in Cambodia from its time as a French protectorate until today, showing that, while the DK period did have an intensely negative impact on the educational system, it was by no means the only disruption. The second part of this report presents the views of 83 young Cambodians and 16 practitioners and experts in the field of education and the DK period. Through focus group discussions with Phnom Penh-based university students, the authors were able to gain a glimpse into the views held by some young people about the ECCC, Khmer Rouge history, and the challenges they have faced in learning more about it. The third section of this report explores the different formal and non-formal education initiatives currently underway in Cambodia and the areas where practitioners and students see room for improvement. By comparing and contrasting the views of students with academic professionals and policy-makers, a clearer snapshot of the challenges and successes that exist in this field emerges. At the end of the report, the authors have compiled key observations and recommendations put forward by both students and experts for how to better maximize the impact of the ECCC across different sectors of society, in teaching Cambodian youth about their nation’s recent history.

²⁸ UNOHCHR, ‘Promoting the Legacy of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia’ http://cambodia.ohchr.org/en/news/promoting-legacy-extraordinary-chambers-courts-cambodia?items_per_page=10&page=18, last accessed 24 November 2017.

²⁹ Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, ‘Press Release: Conclusion of Conference on Hybrid Perspectives on the legacies of Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia’ (14 September 2012). A follow up workshop, ‘Implementation of the ECCC Legacies for Domestic Legal and Judicial Reform’, was held the following year on 12 March 2013, co-organized by CHRAC and the Bar Association of the Kingdom of Cambodia (**BAKC**), financially supported by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. *See footnote 22, supra*.

³⁰ CHRAC, pp. 46-52.

³¹ Reiger, p. 5.

2. Methodology and Limitations

The research conducted for this report used a combination of literature review, focus group discussions, and individual interviews to gather information on how young Cambodians engage with the past and what impact the ECCC has had on their understanding of history. In order to fill a gap in the literature, which often fails to consult with Cambodians about these topics, only Cambodians were interviewed during the research phase. Although many foreigners are knowledgeable on this topic, the authors of this report felt that these views were sufficiently represented in the contemporary debates and did not need further consultation at this time.

Between July and September 2017, eight focus group discussions were conducted in Khmer language at four different universities in Phnom Penh.³² Prior to running these eight discussions, interviewers tested the questions with other students to ensure they were easy to understand. The focus group discussions were facilitated by one male and one female Cambodian consultant of the WSD Handa Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Stanford University (**Handa Center**), who had each been trained in the running of focus group discussions. The study gathered students from a mix of faculties within the humanities, law, social sciences, and professions in order to collect a range of opinions. At no time were teachers present during the focus group discussions. The sessions were transcribed live with the assistance of simultaneous translation from Khmer to English. These transcripts were later checked and confirmed with the audio recordings from the discussions.

A total of 83 university students between the ages of 18 and 30 participated in the focus groups; 39% male and 61% female. 54% of participants were law students, 23% media students, 12% English majors, and 11% business students (comprising both accounting and management majors).³³ Students volunteered to participate in the groups after information about the research was circulated by their university professors.

During the discussions, a short activity invited students to write down their responses to the question, “What are the legacies of the ECCC?”. Students were not given specific answers to choose from, but were instead encouraged to come up with their own responses. This activity took place after some initial discussion about what the group knew about the ECCC. The written responses then formed the basis of the ensuing conversation on legacy. This was not a compulsory activity, and a total of 65 written responses were received out of the total 84 student participants. Of the 65 who chose to give written responses, 62% were female, 15% had undertaken an internship at the ECCC, and 58% were law students.³⁴ These answers were then analyzed based on keywords to compile a list of most commonly identified legacies.

³² The groups contained an average of 10 students, and ranged in size from 7 to 14 students, depending on availability. The four universities that participated in this study were the Royal University of Law and Economics (**RULE**), National University of Management (**NUM**), Department of Media and Communications (**DMC**) at the Royal University of Phnom Penh (**RUPP**), and Western University.

³³ Of the 83 students, 45 studied law, 19 studied media, 10 studied English and 9 studied accounting or management. 32 were male and 51 female.

³⁴ Other than law students, 14% were English students, 14% were media students, and 14% were studying business.

In tandem with the focus group discussions with students, authors of this report also approached Cambodian experts and policy-makers in the field of education, history, and the justice sector, to discuss the implementation of their projects and their perspectives on the ECCC's legacy. Between August and October 2017, interviews were held with 16 such individuals.³⁵ The purpose of the individual interviews was to collect more detailed information from practitioners in the field of education. In total, seven members of civil society working in education or Khmer Rouge history, five government actors, and four university educators were interviewed.³⁶ The interviewees were given the choice to speak in either Khmer or English, and interviews were conducted by native speakers of either language.

Due to budget and time constraints, the scope of this report is small, and it is not intended to be representative of the views of all Cambodian educators or all Cambodian students. The participating students represent a small sample from those with the means to pursue higher education in their country's capital. Furthermore, by self-selecting to participate in the research, students indicated a prior interest in the subject matter. Nonetheless, this report aims to make a contribution to an under-studied aspect of the ECCC's legacy by bringing more Cambodian voices into the debate and serving as an entry point to understanding more about the broader societal impact of the ECCC, particularly among young people.

This report was financially supported by the British Embassy in Phnom Penh. The authors of this report are affiliated with the East-West Center and the Handa Center (formerly known as the Asian International Justice Initiative, or AIJI), which has conducted trial monitoring at the ECCC since the beginning of Case 001, and has produced television outreach series which aimed to spread information about the trials across the country.³⁷ During the research process, facilitators of focus group discussions made it clear to participants that they were not employed by or otherwise related to the ECCC, UN, or RGC. No questions were asked about the reports or films previously produced by the Handa Center.

³⁵ A roundtable discussion was also held with 15 key education experts in July 2017, at which participants shared information on their work and ideas for the future. Again, the roundtable was held in Khmer with live-translation allowing for transcription into English. Six of the 16 interviewees also attended the roundtable. Four of the 16 interviewees were from organizations represented at the roundtable but did not attend personally, and a further six interviewees did not attend the roundtable.

³⁶ For this report the primary Khmer-language translation used for 'legacy' was *Ke Domnael*, however knowing that this tends to connote a positive interpretation of legacy, efforts were made to stress that the legacy could also be negative. *Morodok* was also used if people asked for clarification.

³⁷ The videos and reports can all be viewed at the Handa Center's trial monitoring website: www.krtmonitor.org. For more information on AIJI's outreach work, see Christoph Sperfeldt, 'Broadcasting Justice: Media Outreach at the Khmer Rouge Trials' *Asia Pacific Issues*, no. 115 (November 2015).

3. Brief History of Education in Cambodia

Although some casual observers of development in Cambodia blame the majority of the country's contemporary ills on the DK regime, closer examination reveals that this is overly reductionist. The DK period was preceded by years of civil war which also dramatically affected the provision of public services including education. Indeed, what David Ayres terms 'the crisis of education' in Cambodia existed as far back as the French period.³⁸ This is not to say that the DK period was not harmful, but that it was not the only historical obstacle to a strong Cambodian education system. Indeed, the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies highlights, "Striking similarities in [each regime's] approaches to governance and more specifically to education."³⁹ In order to contextualize the observations made in this report, what follows is a brief overview of Cambodian education and particularly history education since 1863.

French Period (1863-1953)

Cambodia was a French protectorate from 1863 to 1953. Prior to that, education had been largely carried out in Buddhist pagodas, but the French began to dismantle that system, preferring instead to develop an educational system that would provide French-speaking civil servants to support its administration.⁴⁰ This educational structure would remain in place for decades despite its limited utility in the Cambodian context, where the vast majority of the population worked in agriculture. No universities existed in the country during this period, and by 1954, only 144 people had graduated high school.⁴¹

Sangkum Reastr Niyum (1953-1970)

After independence in 1953, the Prince Norodom Sihanouk-led regime known as the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* committed 20 percent of its budget to building a strong educational system, seeking to encourage "Khmer character" in opposition to colonial ideals.⁴² Improvements to the education system were rapidly clear. According to scholar Ben Kiernan, "The number of high schools rose from 8 in 1953 to 200 by 1967... Nearly all Khmers now had the opportunity of achieving basic literacy and the country produced over one million educated youth."⁴³ By 1969, more than 11,000 Cambodians were attending universities, however there was a lack of corresponding jobs available to those with higher education.⁴⁴ Further, the changes undertaken at this time did not seek to reform the overall educational system, which remained modeled on the French system producing civil servants, and

³⁸ David Ayres, *Anatomy of a Crisis: Education, Development and the State in Cambodia 1953-1998* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1993).

³⁹ 'Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 'Education and Fragility in Cambodia' (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2011) [hereinafter, **Education and Fragility**], p. 21.

⁴⁰ Ayres, *Anatomy of a Crisis*.

⁴¹ Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, p. 6.

⁴² This included a drive to translate texts from French to Khmer. Thomas Clayton, 'Reorientations in Moral Education in Cambodia since 1975' *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 34, no. 4, Dec 2005, p. 506.

⁴³ Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History*, p. 123.

overlooking important agricultural and technical skills.⁴⁵ The disaffection and frustration felt by graduating students who could not find employment was one factor that led to the coming unrest.

Khmer Republic (1970-1975)

In 1970, Prince Norodom Sihanouk was deposed by General Lon Nol in a US-backed coup, which led to a period of protracted instability and civil war. The war and US bombing campaign took priority over other government services of the new Khmer Republic.⁴⁶ This period has been described as a “complete breakdown of the education system...[and] the disruption of schooling for hundreds of thousands of students,” as well as witnessing increasing teacher strikes and student demonstrations.⁴⁷ As Lon Nol increasingly lost control of the country, Cambodians joined the growing communist insurgency and were taught revolutionary ideology. In one surviving document from 1973, former primary school inspector Ith Sarin summarizes the main topics covered by ‘revolutionary education’ at that time: “[R]evolutionary discipline, the national revolution, social classes in Cambodian society...revolutionary hate...collectivism, criticism, self-criticism, etc.”⁴⁸ Lon Nol resigned and fled the country before communist Khmer Rouge troops took control of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975.⁴⁹

Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (**UNESCO**) estimates that 80% of Cambodia’s teachers died during the 1970s, encompassing both the Khmer Republic and DK period.⁵⁰ While many top DK leaders were educated in France or Thailand, they did not prioritize education as part of their revolution. Instead, the period was characterized by “purposeful neglect” of education, which had serious long-term impacts.⁵¹ Although it is often believed that Khmer Rouge forces intentionally destroyed school buildings and textbooks, Ayres and Locard have each argued that a more reasonable interpretation is that the Khmer Rouge simply abandoned these things, or co-opted them for other purposes.⁵² What little education children did receive at this time was very basic and largely politically motivated, with a focus on manual labor skills, after the slogan, “The hoe is

⁴⁵ Frederick J. Hollister, ‘Education in Cambodia’ *The Clearing House*, vol. 33, no. 4 (December 1958), pp. 209-212.

⁴⁶ Ben Kiernan describes the US bombing campaign as “probably the most important single factor in Pol Pot’s rise.” Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, p. 16. For more on the Lon Nol period, see Ayres, p. 89-93.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Sarin Ith, *Nine Months with the Maquis*, translation from the French by US Embassy Phnom Penh, May 1973, (Phnom Penh, 7 May 1973).

⁴⁹ Kiernan, pp. 31-34.

⁵⁰ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, ‘UNESCO National Education Support Strategy (UNESS): Cambodia 2010-2013’ (Phnom Penh: UNESCO Education Unit, May 2011), p. 25.

⁵¹ ‘Education and Fragility’, p. 24

⁵² See Ayres, pp. 126-129, and Henri Locard, ‘Draft Report on Higher Education in Cambodia, Phnom Penh – Canberra, July-August 1995’ UNESCO Report.

your pen; the rice field is your paper. If you wish to get a baccalaureate you have to get it at dams and canals.”⁵³

People’s Republic of Kampuchea, State of Cambodia and UNTAC (1979-1993)

The Vietnamese military took control of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979, installing a new Cambodian government under the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK).⁵⁴ In the immediate aftermath of the DK regime, the country struggled to rebuild with very limited international support.⁵⁵ Education was a priority for the Vietnamese-backed PRK government, not least because, “The PRK realized far better than the DK that public education has political benefits.”⁵⁶ The Education Ministry was one of the first to reopen, and by 24 September 1979, it announced that it had reopened all Phnom Penh schools that had existed pre-DK.⁵⁷ Lessons focused the blame for the atrocities committed during DK on the ‘Pol Pot-leng Sary clique’ as schools tried to rebuild confidence in socialism after the devastation of the DK regime’s politics.⁵⁸ Another tool aiming to achieve this was the annual ‘Day of Anger’ (*Tivea Chang Kamhoeung*)⁵⁹ public holiday which began in 1983 and was used to direct anger at the senior leadership of the Khmer Rouge. Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia in 1989 and elections, supervised by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), were held in 1993.

The Kingdom of Cambodia (1993 to present)

Following the elections, the new government removed the history of DK from official textbooks and the annual Day of Anger was suspended, arguing that such changes would encourage peace and stability.⁶⁰ As Un and Ledgerwood have said, “This political compromise shielded a whole generation of Cambodians from learning about the Khmer Rouge crimes.”⁶¹ After the 1993 elections, the international community increasingly began

⁵³ Khamboly Dy, ‘Teaching Genocide in Cambodia: Challenges, Analyses and Recommendations’ *Human Rights Education in Asian Schools*, (DC-Cam: Phnom Penh, 2008), p. 130.

⁵⁴ They did not manage to gain control of the whole country, however, and parts remained under Khmer Rouge control for years and conflict was ongoing. Those living in KR-controlled areas had a very different experience during this period than those in PRK-controlled areas.

⁵⁵ Margaret Slocomb, *The People’s Republic of Kampuchea 1979-1989: The Revolution After Pol Pot* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003).

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 168.

⁵⁷ Tom Fawthrop and Helen Jarvis, *Getting Away with Genocide? Elusive Justice and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), p. 17.

⁵⁸ Clayton, p. 510. Many Cambodians continue to refer to the DK period as ‘*Samay Pol Pot*’, or ‘the Pol Pot time’ (សម័យប៉ុល ពត), which can be at least partly attributed to the PRK education system. See Rebecca Gidley, ‘The Political Construction of Narrative and Collective Memory in Cambodia’ *Situations*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2017, pp. 99-118.

⁵⁹ This is written in Khmer language: ទិវាចងក៏ហ៊ឹង.

⁶⁰ Dy, ‘Teaching Genocide in Cambodia’, p. 132 and Gidley, pp. 108-109.

⁶¹ Kheang Un and Judy Ledgerwood, ‘Is the Trial of ‘Duch’ a Catalyst for Change in Cambodia’s Courts?’ *Asia Pacific Issues* No. 95, June 2010, p. 3.

funding NGOs working in Cambodia, many focusing on education.⁶² However, education about the DK period was not prioritized at this time. In 1998, in the midst of high-level Khmer Rouge defections and the final demise of the Khmer Rouge as a political force, Prime Minister Hun Sen famously said, "We should dig a hole and bury the past and look ahead to the 21st Century with a clean slate."⁶³ In 2001, some steps were taken to reintroduce the DK period into formal history curricula, but this was limited to two sentences in a textbook.⁶⁴ It was not until 2007 that a full Khmer-language textbook on the DK period was produced, and parts of it were included into the official high-school curriculum (see **Section 5.A** below).⁶⁵

In 2005 Burçu Münyas conducted field research with approximately 200 Cambodian young people and concluded that:

In the absence of adequate education on the history of the Khmer Rouge period, the prevalent exposure to the horrors of the genocide at homes, schools, museums and memorials has worked to produce fear, anger, disbelief or denial in many Cambodian youth.⁶⁶

The recommendations contained in Münyas' report include providing genocide and peace education, creating civic spaces for youth dialogue, translating foreign works on genocide into Khmer, and transforming Tuol Sleng into an educational museum.⁶⁷ All of these have been addressed in some form or another in the twelve years since Münyas conducted her research. Indeed, the landscape looks very different today than it did ten years ago. This in part can be attributed to the public trials taking place at the ECCC renewing dialogue and debate about the Khmer Rouge era.

⁶² Indicative of the number of NGOs working at this time, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (**MoEYS**) data shows that, in 2004, 223 education projects were being supported by 113 different organizations, with the cost over the 2003 to 2008 five-year period estimated at USD \$225 million. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, 'Expanded Basic Education Programme (EBEP) (Phase II) 2006-2010' Submitted to Sida (October 2005) Phnom Penh, p. 19.

⁶³ Seth Mydans, 'Cambodian Leader Resists Punishing Top Khmer Rouge' *New York Times*, (29 December 1998), available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/12/29/world/cambodian-leader-resists-punishing-top-khmer-rouge.html>, accessed 24 November 2017.

⁶⁴ See Khamboly Dy, 'Genocide Education in Cambodia: Local Initiatives, Global Connections' PhD Thesis, (Newark: Rutgers University, May 2015). Dy lists the two sentences: "From April 25 to April 27, 1975, the Khmer Rouge leaders held a special general assembly in order to form a new Constitution and renamed the country 'Democratic Kampuchea'. A new government of the Democratic Kampuchea, led by Pol Pot, came into existence, following which the massacre of Khmer citizens began." Ministry of Education Youth and Sports of the Royal Government of Cambodia, *Social Studies Textbook for Grade 9*, Lesson 12, Page 169, edition 2000 (unofficial translation of Bun Sou Sour, DC-Cam). Dy further notes three pages on DK history were introduced into the Grade 12 history curriculum, intended to be covered in one hour for the full term.

⁶⁵ Khamboly Dy, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2007).

⁶⁶ Burçu Münyas, 'Genocide in the Minds of Cambodian Youth: Transmitting (hi)stories of genocide to second and third generations in Cambodia' *Journal of Genocide Research* (September 2008), vol. 10, no. 3, p. 414.

⁶⁷ Münyas, pp. 431-432.

4. The ECCC Through Cambodian Eyes

Leveraging criminal trials to enhance educational initiatives is not a new concept. In 2006, Cole and Barsalou recommended engagement in court proceedings as a means of starting historical dialogue due to the “inherently dramatic” proceedings of courtrooms.⁶⁸ Similarly, Un and Ledgerwood, reflecting on the end of Case 001 in 2010, identified the most likely legacy of the ECCC as its ability to teach the history of DK to the Cambodian public, saying “It is not just that the trial teaches history, but that it generates interest in people to learn more.”⁶⁹

However, due to the ECCC’s location some 15 kilometers from the center of Phnom Penh, it is somewhat isolated from wider Cambodian society. For the more than two million residents of the capital, it is both physically and figuratively out of sight, out of mind. For Cambodians who do not live in the capital, it is even more of an abstraction. Spreading knowledge about what is happening at the Tribunal among the Cambodian population has been one of the chief challenges facing the Public Affairs Section (**PAS**) and the rest of the ECCC since the Tribunal’s inception.

In addition to challenges physically accessing the ECCC, other difficulties exist in maximizing its potential as an educational tool. Ciorciari and Ly identify a number of obstacles to the ECCC having a strong educational impact, including the difficulty of explaining complex legal issues to the public, the limited scope of charges and small number of defendants, and the lack of mandate to explore the “complex domestic and international forces that helped bring the Khmer Rouge to power or prolonged conflict in the country after 1979.”⁷⁰

Cognizant of those limitations, the ECCC nevertheless represents a significant source of public information in Khmer that was not previously publicly available. If properly tapped into, the Tribunal certainly has the potential to form the starting point for broader research projects, debates, and analysis among students, researchers, academics, and the public at large. What follows first is a brief overview of existing literature on Cambodian perspectives of the ECCC, and existing public outreach initiatives. The second section then presents the main findings of this study’s empirical research.

A. Background

Discussions on the ECCC’s legacy often sideline Cambodian perspectives in favor of international and legal viewpoints. However, some work has sought to present Cambodian views of the ECCC. The Human Rights Studies Center at the University of California, Berkeley conducted population-based surveys in 2008 and 2010 aiming to assess the

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Cole and Judy Barsalou, ‘Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict’ *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, Washington DC, Special Report 163, June 2006, p 12.

⁶⁹ Un and Ledgerwood, p. 3.

⁷⁰ John Ciorciari and Sok-Kheang Ly, ‘6. The ECCC’s Role in Reconciliation’ in Ciorciari, John and Anne Heindel (eds.) *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2009), p. 321.

Cambodian view of the ECCC before and after the first trial took place at the ECCC.⁷¹ Participants were asked to rate their level of knowledge about the Khmer Rouge regime, how often they spoke about the regime, and to what extent they wanted to learn more about the past. Between 2008 and 2010, both the level of interest in and knowledge about the Tribunal and the DK regime increased.⁷² 57% of respondents in 2010 stated they knew more about the Khmer Rouge regime after Case 001.⁷³ This finding indicates some positive correlation between knowledge about the past and the conclusion of the first trial at the ECCC.

In 2008, 85% of those who did not live under the Khmer Rouge expressed a desire to learn more about that period, compared with 74% of those who did live under the regime.⁷⁴ This higher level of interest among young people in learning about the past is supported by a 2012 study on memory initiatives in Cambodia, which found that young people were more interested in projects that educated them about the past, while the older generation preferred projects with a healing or memorialization focus.⁷⁵

Further research conducted in 2013 and 2014 by the Open Society Justice Initiative (**OSJI**) found that, while many acknowledged faults exist in the ECCC process, all but six of 109 total respondents considered the ECCC “a positive force in Cambodian society.”⁷⁶ The survey found that most interviewees wanted Case 002/02 to continue, although most also admitted to being less interested in court proceedings as time progressed.⁷⁷ These three studies indicate an interest among Cambodians in learning more about the past, and a generally positive view of the Tribunal, even if levels of knowledge remain rather low.

Media Coverage and Impact

Media coverage has been critically important to enhance public awareness of ECCC proceedings in Cambodia. As shown above, when public hearings began in 2009, knowledge of the Tribunal initially began to rise. Tellingly, 72% of those surveyed in 2010 who knew about the Tribunal said their main source of knowledge was television.⁷⁸ The weekly television show, ‘Duch on Trial’, which summarized proceedings in Case 001, was estimated to be watched by approximately three million Cambodians each week, or about a

⁷¹ Phuong Pham et al., ‘So We Will Never Forget: A Population Based Survey on Attitudes about Social Reconstruction and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia’ *Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley*, (January 2009), and Phuong Pham et al., ‘After the First Trial: A Population-Based Survey on Knowledge and Perception of Justice at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia’ *Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley*, (June 2011).

⁷² For a detailed breakdown of these results, see Pham et al. (2011), p. 3.

⁷³ Pham et al. (2011), p. 5.

⁷⁴ Pham et al. (2009), p. 26.

⁷⁵ Kristina Chhim, “Pacifying vindictiveness by not being vindictive”: Do memory initiatives in Cambodia have a role in addressing questions of impunity? *Impunity Watch*, (Utrecht: Impunity Watch, 2012), p. vii.

⁷⁶ Open Society Justice Initiative, ‘Performance and Perception: The Impact of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (New York: Open Society Foundations, 2016), p. 71.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 78.

⁷⁸ Pham et al. (2011), p. 22.

fifth of the population.⁷⁹ However, television coverage has waned since the end of Case 001 to the point that it is now negligible.⁸⁰ Follow-up programming, 'Facing Justice', went off the air in February 2015 during the fourth week of Case 002/02 proceedings.⁸¹ Ly Ratana's 2016 survey of 58 ECCC actors, employees and donors found that, "Almost half...were dissatisfied with or indifferent to the broadcast techniques of ECCC proceedings."⁸²

ECCC-Led Outreach

While no dedicated outreach unit exists at the ECCC, public visits to the ECCC are coordinated by the Tribunal's Public Affairs Section (**PAS**).⁸³ The section's work on regular public visits has ensured that record numbers of Cambodians have seen the trials, compared to other tribunals. These visits are generally coupled with trips to other memorial sites in Phnom Penh, such as Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum or Choeung Ek. In addition to public visits, PAS also arranges for its staff to visit schools and hold public information sessions nationwide. ECCC spokesperson Neth Pheaktra estimates nearly 400,000 people had either visited the Tribunal or participated in a public lecture to date.⁸⁴ PAS has also produced stickers, flyers, and an information booklet entitled 'An Introduction to the Khmer Rouge Trials' which has been updated seven times since it was first published.⁸⁵ While reaching many people, the ability of this form of outreach to stimulate a deeper debate about key historical issues is limited. Further, budgetary restraints mean that PAS staff do not have the capacity to reach all Cambodians with their public lectures. In this context, it was important that numerous NGO-led outreach initiatives complemented ECCC outreach and continue to do so.⁸⁶

B. Study Findings

Despite some early promise as a result of relatively high numbers of people attending proceedings in the courtroom or watching television reporting, media coverage and public interest is presently on the decline. It is not too late to address this declining interest and bolster efforts to incorporate lessons from the ECCC in different types of education. What follows is a presentation of findings from our study, which reached 83 university students and 16 policy-makers, ECCC experts, and education practitioners.

⁷⁹ Robert Carmichael, 'Khmer Rouge Trial a Cambodian TV Hit,' *ABC News*, 25 August 2009, accessible at: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-08-25/khmer-rouge-trial-a-cambodian-tv-hit/1404094>, accessed 22 November 2017. In the 2010 UC-Berkeley study, almost one quarter (23%) of respondents indicated they had watched 'Duch on Trial', and of those, 82% had seen it more than once. Pham et al. (2011), p. 22.

⁸⁰ Sperfeldt, 'Broadcasting Justice', p. 8.

⁸¹ All 53 episodes of 'Facing Justice' as well as 'Duch on Trial' are available the KRT Monitor website: <https://krtmonitor.org/tv-show/>.

⁸² Ratana Ly, 'Prosecuting the Khmer Rouge: Views from the Inside' *International Nuremburg Principles Academy*.

⁸³ The ECCC's Victim Support Section (**VSS**) also coordinates outreach activities with Civil Parties and survivors.

⁸⁴ Interview with Pheaktra Neth, 11 October 2017. The public gallery at the ECCC has a capacity of around 400 people.

⁸⁵ Public Affairs Section, 'An Introduction to the Khmer Rouge Trials, 7th edition" (8 November 2017).

⁸⁶ Christoph Sperfeldt, 'Cambodian Civil Society and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal' *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 6 (2012), pp. 149-160.

Youth Sources of Knowledge about the Past

Among some groups in Cambodia, there is a level of skepticism or doubt about the events of the past. For a variety of reasons, some young people continue to believe the events they hear about are too terrible to be true.⁸⁷ As Chea Savon, the Director of the Legal Documentation Center of the ECCC (**LDC**), summarized:

The evidence lets [the population] know this regime killed around two million people. I suppose that if they don't see this, they would not believe us. Even me, if I did not work here, I would not believe it too. How can one be a human and kill other people?⁸⁸

We asked students about their main sources of information about both DK history and the ECCC (see **Table 1**). In general, students with whom we spoke had a low level of knowledge about the ECCC. Of those participating in our focus group discussions, 22 of 49 responses identified television as their main source of knowledge of the ECCC, which supports the earlier finding made by the Berkeley Human Rights Studies Center.⁸⁹ The next most commonly utilized sources were high school (five responses) and radio (five responses).

Table 1: Sources of knowledge of DK and the ECCC volunteered by focus group participants.⁹⁰

Sources of knowledge about DK period		Sources of knowledge about the ECCC	
Family	19	Television	22
High School	15	High School	5
University	12	Radio	5
Television	6	University	4
Books	5	Visiting the ECCC	4
Online sources/social media	4	Online sources/social media	3
Radio	2	Books	3
Primary school	1	Memorial site visit	2
Visiting the ECCC	1	Family	1

⁸⁷ 16 of 20 teachers interviewed by Shay Galto said they had encountered students who did not believe the genocide education curriculum they taught in classes. Shay Galto, 'Education as a Form of Reconciliation or Recognition: Teachers' Perspectives on Genocide Education in Cambodia' (May 2012) Northern Illinois University, PhD Thesis. p. 65. One respondent told Galto: "When I teach about the Khmer Rouge to my students, that they had to eat grass like animals, did not have food, the people [students] laughed. They do not believe me; it makes me discouraged and hopeless to teach [about] the regime."

⁸⁸ Interview with Savon Chea, 6 September 2017.

⁸⁹ In the 2010 UC-Berkeley study, 72% identified television as a main source of knowledge about the trial, and 47% had seen television programs specifically about the Tribunal. In the same study, 73% identified radio as their main source. See Pham et al. (2011), p. 3

⁹⁰ Note: some students gave more than one response and not everyone responded.

If young people do not believe in the history they are taught, the possibility of them falling into the same pitfalls as previous generations is higher. One respondent in a focus group credited the testimony of witnesses at the ECCC as proving to them the truth of what had happened in the past:

Some people say that such things did not happen in the way they told.
But with the testimonies, I know that it's no longer one-sided, and I
can evaluate the facts and see what is true.⁹¹

These students' responses confirm the value of eye-witness testimony as a validating source of information, and one that can complement other sources to create a more holistic picture of the past.

Youth Interest in the ECCC

As demonstrated in the literature summarized above, there is evidence showing that young people are interested in learning more about what happened during DK. During focus group discussions, students' knowledge about the Tribunal was generally limited to basic facts, such as the identity of the defendants or the ECCC's hybrid structure.⁹² Those in the focus group discussions who volunteered that they had visited the ECCC overwhelmingly described the experiences as beneficial. Here are some examples:

"I think student attendance is better than reading. When I see, I remember more easily. There are books about testimonies, but how many Cambodians read those books?"

- Female law student, NUM, 18 July 2017

"It help[ed] me to know what happened [under] the Khmer Rouge. If we learn through the book, it is not deep. This is the kind of evidence that shows the regime really existed."

- Female media student, DMC, 14 September 2017

"My experience [of] when I [went] there is that I see there is a difference between what is studied in the book and the lecture and the reality of the court. So, listening and reading is not enough."

- Female law student, NUM, 18 July 2017

Many students also asked questions when given the opportunity at the end of the focus group discussions, demonstrating a desire to learn more either about the ECCC process, the DK period, or both. The most common questions were: 'What is the benefit of the ECCC?', 'Why does the process take a long time?', and, 'Why does the Court only prosecute senior leaders?'

⁹¹ Female law student, RULE, 19 July 2017.

⁹² The Human Rights Center at Berkeley found in 2010 that 67% of those surveyed described the Tribunal as a hybrid court, 11% could say how many had been arrested and 11% could correctly name those who had been arrested. The study found there was a distinct gap in knowledge between those who lived under the regime and those who didn't (3% of those who didn't live under the regime knew the names of those arrested compared to 14% of those who did live through the regime. See Pham et al., 2011, p. 3.

Table 2: Questions asked by students during focus group discussions

Questions asked about the ECCC or the Accused	Number of people who asked
What is the benefit of the ECCC?	3
Why does the process take a long time?	3
Why does the Court only prosecute senior leaders?	3
Can the Tribunal find justice?	2
When will the Tribunal finish?	2
Why are the Accused not being tried at the ICC?	1
Did the Accused really commit the crimes?	1
How can we try crimes from so long ago?	1
Can you explain more about the ECCC procedure?	1
Does the Court have a website?	1
Is the ECCC independent?	1
Who funds the ECCC?	1
Why is there no death penalty at the ECCC?	1
Why did they kill?	1
Why don't the Accused respond with 'real' answers?	1

Focus group discussions also revealed a general lack of awareness on the part of students as to where they can access further information about ongoing or past trials. One student's response was representative of many: "To me, [the problem is] the lack of information about it. I want to go to the ECCC, and the problem is that I don't know the date [of] the trial."⁹³ Indeed, despite the evident curiosity of students, no one participating in this research reported having visited the Court independently. The Tribunal's distance from the city center and the logistical difficulties in accessing it could well be a factor here.⁹⁴ Rather than encouraging spontaneous visitation, PAS arranges free transportation to the Tribunal for groups of community members, and high school and university students. ECCC spokesperson Neth Pheaktra estimated he had reached approximately 100,000 students through his office's visits to the countryside. He estimated that 390,000 Cambodians have

⁹³ Male law student, RULE, 19 July 2017.

⁹⁴ The 2010 Berkeley Human Rights Center study found that 86% of respondents agreed that "going to Court is too expensive." Pham et al., (2011), p. 30.

been brought to visit the Court, and that approximately half of that number were youth who did not live through the DK regime.⁹⁵

Educators did not seem optimistic about the potential to engage students with the ECCC process, although some recognized that students from specific disciplines may be more interested than others. Hor Peng, rector of the National University of Management (**NUM**), emphasized the importance of law students understanding history in order to avoid mistakes of the past.⁹⁶ RUPP history lecturer Vong Sotheara believed history students would be the most interested in the Tribunal:

I do not expect [that] I can talk or persuade students in general to pay attention [to] the importance of the ECCC. However, importantly for my students in the history class, I will make sure that they better understand.⁹⁷

When looking at responses from students studying different majors in our focus group discussions, there was no significant difference in apparent interest or knowledge about the ECCC or the DK regime.

Youth Views on Educational Legacy

When asked to write down their ideas of the main legacies of the ECCC, students overwhelmingly listed impacts like “teach the next leaders not to follow such action because it has no benefit to the country,” or teaching “the history for young generation to remember.” The educational benefit of the Tribunal was both the most frequent response overall and the response ranked first most frequently. One law student’s response to the question, ‘What do you think is the most important legacy of the ECCC?’, stands out: “I think the Court’s effect on education and how it teaches the young generation not to repeat [the past] again.”⁹⁸ One student was even more direct: “The purpose of the Tribunal is for the next generation who did not experience the regime, so they can know what happened during the regime.”⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Interview with Pheaktra Neth, 11 October 2017.

⁹⁶ Interview with Peng Hor, 28 August 2017.

⁹⁷ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

⁹⁸ Law student at RULE, 19 July 2017.

⁹⁹ Female English student, Western University, 27 September 2017.

Table 3: *Most popular responses to the question, 'What are the legacies of the ECCC?'*¹⁰⁰

Type of response	%	#
1. Teach/advise the next generation about what happened/learn the truth	29%	79
2. Provide justice/reconciliation for victims/Cambodian people	14%	39
3. Healing/address suffering of the past	10%	28
4. Prevent repetition of crimes	8%	22
5. Prosecute and/or punish the Khmer Rouge leaders	7%	19
6. Teaching knowledge of court procedure	5%	14
7. Documentation	4%	10
8. Teach the world about Cambodian history	3%	9
8. Individual professional or academic growth	3%	8

Table 4: *Response to the question, 'Of the legacies you just named, what is the most important legacy to you?'*¹⁰¹

Type of response	%	#
1. Teach/advise the next generation about what happened/learn the truth	32%	21
2. Provide justice/reconciliation for victims/Cambodian people	18%	12
3. Prosecute and/or punish the Khmer Rouge leaders	15%	10
4. Healing/address suffering of the past	14%	9
5. Documentation	5%	3
6. Prevent repetition of crimes	3%	2
6. Completion of Case 001	3%	2
6. Teaching knowledge of court procedure	3%	2

¹⁰⁰ All 83 students were given the chance to write responses, but only 65 chose to do so. Responses were free-form and then grouped by researchers by keyword. Some students gave multiple answers related to the same topic. A total of 272 individual responses were given.

¹⁰¹ From 65 written responses.

This prioritization of teaching and learning could be linked to the generally low level of education young people receive about history in Cambodia, however it also shows promise for the interest and level of engagement of youth in their nation's past.

Of the 65 students who provided written responses to the voluntary question on ECCC legacy, 10 said they had undertaken internships at the ECCC (nine law students and one media student). Whether the data was disaggregated by gender, study major, and internship status, this intern group was the only group not to rank the educational value of the ECCC as the most important legacy. Rather, respondents from this group instead placed this legacy second, and found 'providing justice and/or reconciliation for the Cambodian people' as moderately more important. (For a comparison, see **Table 5**). 26% of responses from former interns identified 'providing justice' legacies as important, compared to 12% of responses from non-interns and 14% of responses overall. Interestingly, the group of former interns also ranked prosecution and punishment of the former leaders as more important than the non-intern group did (13% of responses from former interns compared to 8% of non-interns).

Table 5: Five most common responses from students to the question, 'What are the legacies of the ECCC?', disaggregated by whether the participant had interned at the ECCC. Students could give more than one answer.

Interned/worked at ECCC		Never interned/worked at ECCC	
Provide justice/reconciliation for victims/Cambodian people	26%	Teach/advise the next generation about what happened/learn the truth	29%
Teach/advise the next generation about what happened/learn the truth	23%	Provide justice/reconciliation for victims/Cambodian people	12%
Prosecute and/or punish the Khmer Rouge leaders	13%	Healing/address suffering of the past	10%
Prevent repetition of crimes	10%	Prevent repetition of crimes	8%
Healing/address suffering of the past	10%	Prosecute and/or punish the Khmer Rouge leaders	6%

Although the sample size here is very small, the finding is noteworthy nonetheless and would benefit from greater study. Young Cambodians have undertaken internships in different sections of the ECCC, and measuring the impact of the internship on their views of justice, history, and the law could provide interesting insights.

Views on Documentation Legacy

The creation or discovery of documents and audiovisual materials and the increased access to information these provide was the most commonly cited legacy of the ECCC by the 16 educators and experts we interviewed. All education professionals we spoke with explicitly identified this as an important legacy. For example, Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia professor Sambo Manara explained:

As a historian like me, we cannot say anything without documents. So, the ECCC helps me a lot to get the documents for me, in order to support my viewpoint, my own critical thinking, and my teaching too.¹⁰²

Educators are likely to value documentation more than others because, by working in education, they recognize the importance of evidence-based teaching. This perceived need to offer proof to students is also indicative of the above-mentioned distrust felt by some towards history (see **Section 4.B**).

However, the impact or effectiveness of these documents seems to be limited from the perspective of students. While some students in our focus group discussions raised documentation as a legacy of the ECCC, it was not a common response (see **Tables 3** and **Table 4**; the response does not appear in the top five responses shown in **Table 5**). When documents were raised, students noted the lack of accessibility of these sources, for example: “There may be many documents but the way of doing outreach...is not well implemented.”¹⁰³ Others emphasized the need to make documents engaging, or had a preference for online or video content instead of written documents: “If we just create... documents, it is more academic and not related to entertainment, so it is not very interesting.”¹⁰⁴ More still expressed a desire for more documents to be available in Khmer language: “For me, if I want to learn more, I search online. But most of the documents are in English and my English is not good. I want to see the documents in Khmer.”¹⁰⁵ Thus, while documents may be a valuable tool for educators in supporting their teaching, students clearly see ways they could be better maximized, either through translation to the local language or being adapted to more engaging audiovisual presentations.

Views on the Role of NGOs

Of the NGO staff members or affiliates interviewed, all but one identified the increased attention paid to history among NGOs as a legacy of the presence of the ECCC in Cambodia. None of the formal educators we spoke with raised this as a legacy. This perception gap is indicative of one of the broader challenges identified in our research: the collaboration between the non-governmental sector and educational institutions. Some educators expressed irritation that civil society programs were sometimes scheduled concurrent to regular school classes, while some in civil society expressed a view that universities were reluctant to work with them. A more collaborative environment not only between civil society and universities, but also among civil society organizations or among universities would benefit students, who would gain increased exposure to a range of historical perspectives and narratives.

¹⁰² Interview with Manara Sambo, 17 August 2017.

¹⁰³ Male media student, DMC, 14 September 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Female media student, DMC, 14 September 2017.

¹⁰⁵ Male law student, NUM, 18 July 2017.

5. Formal and Non-Formal Education Initiatives in Cambodia

With the above Cambodian views on the ECCC in mind, the discussion on history education and initiatives in contemporary Cambodia can now be explored in more detail. After the RGC and the international community have invested over \$300 million and a great deal of time into this Tribunal,¹⁰⁶ how can its impact in the education sector be maximized?

As discussed above, education about the DK regime has been inconsistent until recently. Six of the experts interviewed in this study volunteered the view that Cambodian youth today know and understand more about DK history than in previous years. Five of them credited this with the inclusion of greater coursework dedicated to DK history within the formal education curriculum. The director of DC-Cam's Genocide Education Program, Pheng Pong-Rasy, said that even 10 years ago students did not know much about the regime, unlike today. Freelance consultant Ok Serei Sopheak credited this increased knowledge and willingness to talk about the past to the spread of internet access and associated freedoms:

I think that because Cambodia get[s] more and more cheap access to the internet, documentaries that [are] post[ed] in YouTube about the Khmer Rouge and so on, many youth get access to that and, step by step, they start to know what happened.¹⁰⁷

The following is an overview of the major recent and current formal and non-formal programs focusing on the DK period, drawing upon existing literature and views expressed in our focus groups and interviews, where relevant. It is beyond the scope of this study to explore how lessons from the past are passed down within family and community groups, which are other vital sources of knowledge about the past and a rich field for further study.

A. Formal Education

As discussed above in **Section 4.B**, after family, high school and university were respectively the second and third most common sources of information about the past volunteered by members of our focus groups. That said, the number of responses indicating any additional source of education beyond the family was very low (see **Table 1**).¹⁰⁸

High School Education

High school history education has developed significantly in the last two decades. Many of the experts contacted for this study were educated during the PRK period which, as explained in **Section 3**, above, featured a more politicized history curriculum. ECCC Spokesperson Neth Pheaktra recalls:

¹⁰⁶ This number is found in the latest publicly released budget, Annex A: 'ECCC Revised Budget - 2016/2017 (28 November 2016), available at: <https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en/about-eccc/finances/eccc-budget-2016-2017>, last accessed 2 November 2017.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Serei Sopheak Ok, 7 September 2017.

¹⁰⁸ The 2008 UC-Berkeley Human Rights Center study found that only 6% of those surveyed had learned about the DK regime in high school, compared to 84% who said they had learned about it from relatives. See Pham et al. (2009), p. 46. In Burcu Münyas' study of 200 Cambodian youth, 67% said they had first learned about the DK regime from their parents, 6% from siblings, and 7% from other relatives. See Münyas, p. 435.

At my primary school we also studied... history. But [in] my area, we studied the history depend[ing] on the [instructions] of the regime. I mean, [during] my time, we hated the Khmer Rouge. We learned... to hate the Khmer Rouge.¹⁰⁹

Director of the Department of Policy at the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (**MoEYS**), Dy Khamboly, who went to primary school between 1986 and 1990, described the history of DK as “dominating” all other periods of history at that time. He explained: “Cambodia back then was in political turmoil... So education, in particular textbooks, had to serve the political purpose of each party.”¹¹⁰ Around the world, education and particularly history education will always be influenced by politics. In Cambodia, the state of history education in schools today has greatly changed since the PRK period.

High School Textbook

Turning the tide of formal history education in Cambodia was the Documentation Center of Cambodia (**DC-Cam**), which, in 2007, published the first-ever textbook for students on the history of Democratic Kampuchea.¹¹¹ The textbook, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)*, is 73 pages long, contains 11 chapters and a conclusion, and covers the main topics of the regime in loosely chronological order. The book was authored by Dy Khamboly, supported by a consultation team of 51 Cambodian and foreign reviewers.¹¹² To date more than one million copies have been distributed to high school students at over 1,700 high schools nationwide.¹¹³ The book was produced in collaboration with the MoEYS, and as of writing 16 pages taken across all chapters of the textbook are currently used as part of the official high school history curriculum. Tun Sa Im, Undersecretary of State for the MoEYS, explained how sensitive it was to introduce the new DK history curriculum at first: “There were people that objected to it, and reasoned that ‘The Ministry teaches students about violence and killing.’”¹¹⁴

When reflecting on the production of the textbook, Dy Khamboly described his main objective as: “To ensure that the young generation have enough understanding of their own history and to participate in preventing the genocide to happen again.”¹¹⁵ He continued: “A single textbook cannot answer all questions...this textbook is just the impetus, one of the mechanisms to encourage, to open the dialogue.” It is important to remember that although textbooks are very useful, they are only one source of many needed to build a full picture of the past. Indeed, the results of this research demonstrate that young people learn about history through multiple channels throughout their childhood and that developing a variety of sources is beneficial. As the textbook was created prior to the beginning of public hearings at

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Pheaktra Neth, 11 October 2017.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Khamboly Dy, 2 August 2017.

¹¹¹ Dy, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)*.

¹¹² Dy Khamboly, the author of the textbook, spent over a decade working at DC-Cam, before becoming the Director of the Policy Department at the MoEYS.

¹¹³ DC-Cam, ‘Genocide Education in Cambodia: Khmer Rouge History Education’ accessible at: http://www.dccam.org/Projects/Genocide/pdf/Genocide_Education_Poster_January_13_2016.pdf.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Sa Im Tun, 10 September 2017.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Khamboly Dy, 1 August 2017.

the ECCC, it did not initially include information about or from the Tribunal. An additional chapter on crimes covered in Case 002/01 was added to the Teacher's Handbook as part of the judicial reparations awarded in Case 002/01.¹¹⁶ Any further revisions of the book would certainly benefit from incorporation of witness testimony or findings from the Tribunal.

Teacher Training

To complement the textbook, in 2009 Chea Phala and Chris Dearing produced an accompanying teacher handbook *The Teaching of 'A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)'*, with support from DC-Cam.¹¹⁷ The textbook has thus far been published in both Khmer and English, as well as in French, Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese and Thai languages in order to promote the learning of Cambodian history and related themes abroad. Over 5,000 teachers have received training in how to teach the course.¹¹⁸ In order to further encourage students to study the regime, it has recently been included in the national high school exit exam.¹¹⁹ Two particularly valuable contributions of the teaching handbook are the inclusion of interactive and critical thinking exercises and also the examples from other countries around the world which have gone through periods of genocide or mass atrocity. This type of pedagogy is still in its fledgling stage in Cambodia but represents a powerful tool in engaging young people with a deeper understanding of history.

The creation of the textbook and handbook is a very important step, however, it is meaningless if teachers do not know how to teach it. The effective teaching of the DK period in schools faces multiple challenges, both in terms of lack of resources and staff capacity, and more complex issues related to the specifics of teaching Khmer Rouge history. While the lack of access to resources and the limited qualifications of teaching staff remain a general problem in the education sector in Cambodia, the specific challenges facing history education are largely related to specialized training and resources. RUPP history professor Vong Sotheara spoke of his desire to create more teacher training programs for those teaching Khmer Rouge history, lamenting: "Nowadays, approximately half [of the] number of teachers who teach history in the university never learned history before."¹²⁰ Tun Sa Im of the MoEYS, expressed a similar sentiment, particularly identifying teacher training as a key target for improvement.¹²¹ Teacher training has been proposed as a reparations project in

¹¹⁶ Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers, 'Annex 2: Overview of Civil Party Reparation Requests in Case 002/01' (4 April 2014).

¹¹⁷ Phala Chea and Chris Dearing, *Teacher's Guidebook: The Teaching of "A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)"* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2009).

¹¹⁸ DC-Cam, 'Genocide Education in Cambodia'.

¹¹⁹ Pong-Rasy Pheng said three questions about DK were included in the exam in 2016 and one in 2017. Executive Director of Bophana Center, Chea Sopheap, commented on the importance of including DK history in the exit exam. He said the relative importance given to other subjects, like chemistry and mathematics, means students spend more time revising these and less on history: "If the history does not give them good score to pass the exam, then they have to make less attention." Interview with Sopheap Chea, 29 August 2017.

¹²⁰ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

¹²¹ Interview with Sa Im Tun, 8 September 2017. Tun Sa Im also spoke of the issue of lack of materials, particularly pictures and more engaging teaching materials, as a challenge they face in history education. She said: "We lack ... visual materials. ... current learning is more than half based on textual materials. If we had supplementary materials [in addition to] current ones, our teaching would be more reliable and engaging."

Case 002/02,¹²² and some interviewees saw this as a key impact of the Tribunal: “Training the history of the Khmer Rouge Regime is an integral part of tribunal’s legacy.”¹²³

Teaching DK history requires more specialized training than other forms of history education. Pheng Pong-Rasy from DC-Cam has been heavily involved in teacher training and spoke of challenges he had faced in gaining the trust of communities. He said that in some cases, the fact that he was too young to have personally lived through the DK regime meant that people dismissed what he had to say during trainings.¹²⁴ Conversely, Professor Vong Sotheara, who survived the regime, explained the difficulty he faces teaching about DK:

[T]eaching history of Khmer Rouge... reminds me [of] a lot of things during the regime. Therefore, it is very hard for me to teach and explain neutrally about Khmer Rouge history in the name of an independent academi[a] because of my direct involvement in the regime.¹²⁵

A 2011 study of twenty teachers providing genocide education in Cambodia found that those who had not personally lived through the DK regime generally felt “uncomfortable” teaching this period of history. Those teachers who had lived through the regime were found to be more likely to express a desire for “materials to prove that their narratives were true.”¹²⁶ The study further found that 15 of the 20 interviewees taught about the DK era, yet only six of them had seen the official DK history textbook.¹²⁷

Thus in training educators to teach about this period, unique difficulties may arise: either the teacher is old enough to have lived through the regime and therefore may find the events traumatic or difficult to explain neutrally, or else they did not live through the regime and may struggle to understand the events or be taken seriously when teaching them.

University Curriculum

In addition to the high school curriculum, education about the Khmer Rouge period is also presently included in the official university curriculum in the first, ‘foundation’ year. One educator we interviewed with experience on the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia (ACC), said the general national history was “one of the most popular subjects” for universities to include in their first year program. He added that university lecturers he had spoken with were of the view that high school teachers, “Do not [teach] much history study in high school,” which was one reason they supported greater history education in university. RUPP professor Vong Sotheara similarly said: “In the foundation year, we teach [a] Khmer history course including Khmer Rouge history. That should not be forgotten. This subject is [a] requirement of [the] ACC.”¹²⁸ Despite this, students in focus groups generally expressed

¹²² Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers, ‘Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers’ Supplemental Submission on Funding Issues Related to Reparation Projects in Case 002/02 and Request for Guidance’ (30 November 2017) E457/6/2/4.

¹²³ Interview with Pong-Rasy Pheng, 25 August 2017

¹²⁴ Interview with Pong-Rasy Pheng, 25 August 2017.

¹²⁵ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

¹²⁶ Galto, p. 69.

¹²⁷ Galto, p. 86.

¹²⁸ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

the view that history was not taught at all or at least not enough at university. Only four identified university as a source of knowledge of DK history.

Bophana Center employee and RUPP history lecturer Keo Duong spoke of the difficulties in teaching history at a university level:

I think less than 50 percent [of history students at university] are really interested in history in particular. They don't really want to build themselves to be historians or to research about history... They just want to be a teacher or government official, and they thought that history is easier than math and other subjects.¹²⁹

Of the university-level educators with whom we spoke, none knew of any dedicated university course about the ECCC, however, most said the ECCC was mentioned or included briefly in their law or history subjects. Vong Sotheara, for example, told us that he explains a little about the existence and establishment of the ECCC in his classes but does not go into detail.¹³⁰

Challenges Faced in Formal Education

One of the more interesting points raised by this study is the disparity between what practitioners see as being implemented, and what students perceive or report as their experience. As mentioned above, several of the educators and practitioners we interviewed credited the inclusion of DK history in formal curricula as increasing knowledge among Cambodian youth about the regime. However, although the textbook produced by DC-Cam was published in 2007, and to date thousands of teachers have been trained in how to teach the course, many students in our focus groups reported that they either had not studied the regime at all, or that they wished they had studied it in more depth.¹³¹ A common recommendation made in focus groups was:

I want the Ministry of Education to include the knowledge of the Khmer Rouge regime into the educational system...when I was young in primary school until I graduated from high school, I had no knowledge of the Khmer Rouge regime.¹³²

Of those who spoke up in the focus groups, most said they had not studied the regime at school or university at all, even though their age suggested they would have gone through high school after the textbook was part of the national curriculum. This suggests that not enough is yet known about the impact of the new curriculum and textbook on students across the country.

B. Non-Formal Education Initiatives

Although, in theory, formal history education has the benefit of being able to reach students nationwide in a uniform fashion, formal education can also be hard to access for some

¹²⁹ Interview with Duong Keo, 5 September 2017.

¹³⁰ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

¹³¹ A similar desire to know more about the past was expressed by respondents to the 2008 Berkeley study who had not lived through the DK regime personally. 85% said they wanted to know more about the regime. Pham et al., (2009) p. 46.

¹³² Female law student from NUM, 18 July 2017.

sectors of society. The executive director of Bophana Center, Chea Sopheap, mentioned his desire to reach people who were missed by formal schooling due to financial, geographical, or other reasons, recalling:

There are many people who dropped [out of] school. Just [in] my generation, for example...only two people passed the Grade 12 [exit] exam. [The others are] construction workers, they are farmers, they are taxi drivers, they are *moto-dops*, they don't know about the [DK] regime.¹³³

Indeed, in areas of Cambodia where levels of school attendance are low, particularly in rural areas, teaching about the DK period in later years of high school or university will necessarily miss many students.¹³⁴

In Cambodia, the well-established NGO sector has played a critical role in the education since the UNTAC period. Due to funding shortages, NGOs also played a critical role in ECCC awareness-raising and outreach, particularly during its first years of operations.¹³⁵ One educator we spoke to said he believed students mostly learned about the Tribunal outside of the classroom: “The ECCC court...has been introduced to the students by doing extra-curricular [activities].”¹³⁶ The OSJI report similarly found, “The majority of interviewees felt that [the expanded activities of NGOs] had more impact than the Court itself.”¹³⁷ Of the multitude of civil society organizations that work on issues related to the DK period either through education, reconciliation, or awareness-raising, their work can be largely grouped into three types: documentation centers, reconciliation and youth groups, and sites of memory. For this report, we spoke with representatives of these three groups about the experiences and the specific challenges they face.¹³⁸ This report does not have the capacity to summarize the totality of initiatives currently ongoing in Cambodia. What follows is a snapshot of some of the main programs that relate to the ECCC.

Documentation and Resource Centers

As the ECCC nears the end of Case 002/02, and potentially the end of its entire proceedings, the question of what to do with the voluminous case files and related documents is increasingly being asked. Phnom Penh is host to a range of resource centers where students and members of the public can go to learn more about the DK regime. Indeed, through years of investigations the ECCC has had unprecedented access to testimonies and surviving DK documents. There is no question that without the trials many of

¹³³ Interview with Sopheap Chea, 29 August 2017. Tan outlines some of the challenges facing rural and poor families in Cambodia and the decisions they make about education in Charlene Tan, ‘Education Reforms in Cambodia: Issues and Concerns’ *Education Research for Policy and Practice*, vol. 6 (2007), pp. 15-24.

¹³⁴ Tan, pp. 15-24.

¹³⁵ Sperfeldt, ‘Cambodian Civil Society and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal’, p. 151.

¹³⁶ Interview with anonymous educator, 27 September 2017.

¹³⁷ Open Society Justice Initiative, p. 75.

¹³⁸ These organizations were: Bophana Audio-Visual Resource Center (**Bophana Center**), DC-Cam, Kdei Karuna (**KDK**), Youth For Peace (**YFP**) and Youth Resource Development Program (**YRDP**). Two staff members from Bophana Audiovisual Center were interviewed on the recommendation of other interviewees. One other interviewee has freelanced for several NGOs including KDK. We also spoke with the Director of the Legal Documentation Center of the ECCC (**LDC**), and the Director of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (**TSGM**).

these histories and documents would never have come to light, and they may well represent the most tangible, physical legacy of the ECCC.

Phnom Penh has three major document and resource centers. The **Documentation Center of Cambodia** (commonly referred to as **DC-Cam**) is the oldest, created in 1995 by Yale University's US-funded 'Cambodia Genocide Program'. DC-Cam became independent from Yale two years later and has been directed by Mr. Youk Chhang since its creation. A significant number of documents used as evidence at the ECCC were produced by the organization, and it has been running its Genocide Education Program since 2004.¹³⁹ DC-Cam has plans to expand its ability to act as a site of learning by building a new home for its archives, the Sleuk Rith Institute, and it recently launched a Khmer-language Khmer Rouge history website.¹⁴⁰

A much more recently created documentation center is the RGC's new **Legal Documentation Center relating to the ECCC (LDC)**, inaugurated in June 2017. The LDC will house the ECCC's official records and currently houses a copy of the entire public Case 001 case file, as well as civil society reports and other resources related to the ECCC. It is increasingly welcoming students and researchers to use its facilities and has a public affairs section working on raising awareness of its facilities across Cambodia. The LDC also houses a dedicated 'Civil Party room' where Civil Parties are able to meet their lawyers or consult court documents. A core feature of the LDC is its Virtual Tribunal, an online platform allowing users to interactively engage with courtroom footage and transcripts from Case 001. The LDC has a memorandum of understanding with the ECCC and sits under the RGC Council of Ministers. In 2017, the ECCC Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers requested recognition of the LDC as a judicial reparation project as part of Case 002/02.¹⁴¹

Lastly, **Bophana Audio-Visual Resource Center (Bophana Center)** is another important resource for students and those interested in Cambodian history. Focusing on audio-visual materials rather than written documents, Bophana Center has a large collection of films, photographs, and audio files related to the DK regime and other periods of Cambodian history. In 2017, Bophana Center developed a mobile-phone application ('app') titled 'App-Learning on Khmer Rouge History', which was released in Khmer and English for both Android and iOS. The app targets Cambodian youth and aims to engage them with DK history through interactive and creative interplay of textual and audiovisual elements. The app covers eight chapters, from "How the Khmer Rouge Came to Power" to "The Route to Justice," and draws on ECCC documents and in-court testimony as well as external interviews and other resources.¹⁴² Keo Duong, who joined Bophana Center to help develop the app, explained the benefits of using a smart-phone application in Cambodia:

¹³⁹ Un and Ledgerwood say DC-Cam processed 155,000 pages of docs used by the ECCC. Un and Ledgerwood, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ See: <http://www.cambodiasri.org> and <http://www.khmerrougehistory.org>.

¹⁴¹ The full project title in the Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers' request was: "Access to the Judicial Records of the Khmer Rouge Trials and Civil Party Materials at the Legal Documentation Center related to the ECCC (LDC)", see Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers, 'Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers' Final Claim for Reparation in Case 002/02 with confidential annexes' (30 May 2017, E457/6/2/1, pp. 22-24, [hereinafter **LCLCP 002/02 Reparations Claim**]).

¹⁴² The application also covers daily life in DK, the treatment of minority ethnic and religious groups, and family life during the regime. The development of the application was supported by the European Union and the Rei Foundation, and it was launched at an event in Phnom Penh on 25 July 2017. For more information, see 'App on Khmer Rouge History', Bophana Center website: <http://bophana.org/event/app/>.

Cambodian students don't much like reading, but they can also watch, listen, see photos. This is the strong point of the app, which is stronger than the textbook. The text itself, we try to keep it short.¹⁴³

Vong Sotheara, from RUPP, said he promotes the app in his history classes, adding that it "will be [a] very important learning tool for my students."¹⁴⁴

Reconciliation and Youth-Led Initiatives

Some youth-led organizations have embraced the ECCC's presence in Cambodia as a tool to educate those who grew up without a detailed understanding of the DK period. One such organization is **Youth For Peace (YFP)**, an organization which has worked to encourage young people to engage with ECCC proceedings since the Tribunal's inauguration. While the organization's initial focus was on raising awareness about the Tribunal, YFP later moved to also establish 'memory committees' in the provinces tasked with maintaining sites of memory related to the DK regime, including Kraing Ta Chan, which was a crime site in Case 002/02. Another YFP program encourages the children of victims and the children of perpetrators to meet each other and develop conflict resolution skills. As Man Sokkoeun, YFP program manager, explained, the two different groups often lived separately in the immediate years after the fall of the DK regime and thus were educated in very different and often contradictory ways, making reconciliation exceptionally challenging.¹⁴⁵ To address this, YFP arranges field trips that bring young people aged between 14 and 27 from both sides together to discuss creative ways to resolve conflict.

Youth Resource Development Program (YRDP) has run a Khmer Rouge history project since 2007. Although program manager Hang Soviet clarified that this program did not develop as a direct result of the opening of the ECCC in 2006, he did acknowledge that the opening of the ECCC led to "more discussion" about this period in Cambodia. He also said YRDP was inspired to create a project focusing on the past because when they went to events discussing DK, they mainly saw foreigners attending and wanted more Cambodians to engage, adding, "We believe, to build young people to become active citizens, you need to understand the past."¹⁴⁶ Rather than targeting all youth, YRDP's Hang Soviet explained that their programs focus on university-level students because, "In the future they will become the leaders, and [a] bad leader will lead [a] bad country."¹⁴⁷

Another organization, **Kdei Karuna** (meaning *reconciliation* in Khmer) also works with youth, particularly to promote inter-generational dialogues and a greater understanding of the past. As executive director Tim Minea explained: "[Youth] enjoy a lot with the study tours...and the dialogues and the discussions. They say even [though] it is a short time, they can learn a lot [aside] from learning from school."¹⁴⁸ In addition to its youth work, Kdei Karuna has strong networks with ethnic minorities in provinces and runs community dialogues on sensitive

¹⁴³ Interview with Duong Keo, 5 September 2017.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Sotheara Vong, 15 September 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Man Sokkoeun, 9 October 2017

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Soviet Hang, 30 August 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Soviet Hang, 30 August 2017.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Minea Tim, 29 August 2017.

issues facing ethnic minorities, or between former Khmer Rouge cadres and former victims. The organization uses testimony and other materials from the ECCC proceedings on the treatment of minorities to add to the impact of its project activities.¹⁴⁹

All three of the above organizations have applied for their projects to be recognized as reparations in Case 002/02. Kdei Karuna has two projects in the request: one on trauma counseling and one for promoting public awareness of the treatment of the ethnic Vietnamese and Cham Muslim minorities during DK. YFP submitted both the theatrical 'Courageous Turtle' project, in collaboration with Khmer Action Arts and Meta-House, and 'Memory Sketches of Kraing Ta Chan,' which, in collaboration with the Peace Institute of Cambodia, is developing the former security center at Kraing Ta Chan into a memorial site. YRDP put forward a song-writing competition about memory.¹⁵⁰

Sites of Memory

The research conducted for this report indicates that visits to sites of memory have a positive impact on engaging young people with history. As one student in a focus group discussion said:

[You should] include educational [institutions] from [the] earliest levels in this. Because when I was young, the school took me to Choeung Ek, and I saw th[e] evidence, so it should be included in early education.¹⁵¹

The most well-known memorial to the DK regime is without question the **Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (TSGM)** in central Phnom Penh. The former high school was infamously converted into the S-21 Security Center during the DK regime and was used to detain, torture, and execute thousands of former Lon Nol regime officials, purged Khmer Rouge cadres, and foreigners accused of various crimes against the state.¹⁵² Very soon after the fall of the regime, the site was opened to the public as a museum, partly, "In [the PRK's] attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge guerrillas in the ongoing civil war."¹⁵³

Chhay Visoth, the Museum's director since 2014, has made considerable efforts to transform the Museum from a memorial into an educational site, creating temporary exhibits on various aspects of the DK period beyond the confines of the former security center and conducting youth-focused activities such as art competitions and peace-building dialogues.¹⁵⁴ He described his goal for the Museum: "To play [an] important role for our society, for Cambodian society...The main purpose we want them to understand is that peace starts

¹⁴⁹ Raising Awareness of Cham and Vietnamese Experiences During the Khmer Rouge Period' *Kdei Karuna*, see: <http://www.kdei-karuna.org>.

¹⁵⁰ LCLCP 002/02 Reparations Claim, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵¹ Female accounting student, Western University, 27 September 2017.

¹⁵² Chandler, *Voices from S-21*.

¹⁵³ Caitlin Brown and Chris Millington 'The Memory of the Cambodian Genocide: The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum' *History Compass*, vol. 30, issue 2 (20 February 2015).

¹⁵⁴ This is in line with one of Burcu Münyas' specific recommendations from her 2005 study on how to improve history education in Cambodia. See page 11.

from ourselves; from [the] individual.”¹⁵⁵ The Museum also houses a memorial stupa around which the names of all of those who died there during the regime are inscribed. While there is collaboration between the ECCC and TSGM to arrange study tours to visit both sites, there appears to be the potential for far greater cooperation. TSGM does display some information about the ECCC proceedings as part of its permanent exhibition, but the information is not currently up to date.

Challenges Faced in Non-Formal Education

Although the positive impact of NGOs on the history education sector was commonly raised by those working in the sector, it was not mentioned by those working in the formal education sector. Indeed, interview responses appeared to indicate a general lack of cooperation and in some cases a mistrust between the formal and non-formal sectors. This can create challenges for engaging with young people, as the two forms of education can be seen as competing for their attention and time. Another challenge facing the non-formal sector is potentially overlapping project goals and competing for funding or status. While some positive examples exist,¹⁵⁶ better communication is needed both between non-formal actors, and between formal and non-formal actors, to harmonize their programs for the benefit of the young people who are interested in engaging with them.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Visoth Chhay, 5 September 2017

¹⁵⁶ Bophana Center’s app is a good example of both cooperation between NGOs whose materials were contributed to the content of the app, and also involving historians and academics in the creation process, thereby making it more likely they will share the app with their students.

6.A. Overview of Challenges and Recommendations

The authors of this report have collated the following recommendations, provided by students in the focus group discussions and key practitioners, experts, and policymakers in personal interviews, on how to better maximize the impact of the ECCC across different sectors of society, in teaching Cambodian youth about their history. (To see the full list of recommendations made by students in focus group discussions, see **Table 6.**)

Increase Use of Technology and Social Media

The most frequent recommendation made by students was for institutions to make more use of social media, online, and audio-visual resources to share information with young people. Nine individuals across the focus groups recommended that short summary videos or informational films be produced and shared online. Students seemed to prefer this way of accessing information, with one focus group participant stating, “Social media is so important. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal should be sharing videos, live videos on Facebook, [or] on their [web]page.” Recent reports on mobile phone usage in Cambodia indicate 30 percent of Cambodians identify Facebook as their chief source of news.¹⁵⁷ Although the ECCC does have a website and a number of social media pages (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), the results of this research indicate that students are unaware of them. Greater and more creative online engagement would have a bigger impact with the young, tech-savvy generation. Only four of those practitioners interviewed expressly recognized this need to increase online and creative engagement.

Embed History Education in Formal Education

Students had many suggestions for how to improve the level of understanding of history among youth. The second most frequent suggestion was for information about DK history to be taught in high school. This is an important recommendation to consider, as DK history is already officially included in the high school curriculum. Thus, this recommendation could be an indication of the time it takes for new initiatives or curricula to have a measurable impact on the ground. Nevertheless, greater steps should be taken to ensure the curriculum is being implemented evenly across the country and that students understand the course content. Three students in focus groups also recommended the history of DK be included in primary school education curricula. The debate over the appropriate age to begin teaching about dark periods of history is ongoing and reservations were expressed by one interviewee on exposing children to this history at too young an age.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it is an important debate to have, and adding the voices of young Cambodians to this debate is valuable.

Translate and Create Khmer-Language Documents

One recommendation which came from both students and experts alike was the need for more Khmer-language materials: both those written by Cambodian authors and those translated from foreign authors. While students tended to recommend an increase in Khmer-

¹⁵⁷ Taken from a study of 2000 participants aged 15 to 65. See Kimchhoy Phong, Lihol Srou, Javier Solá, ‘Mobile Phones and Internet Use in Cambodia’ *The Asia Foundation, Open Institute, and USAID Development Innovations* (December 2016), p. i.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Visoth Chhay, 5 September 2017

language documents in order to access them more easily, experts and practitioners identified a further benefit to Khmer-language texts as a means of restoring a sense of national pride. Some interviewees called for the development of research platforms at tertiary institutions to build national research skills and amplify the voices of Cambodian academics. As TSGM Director Chhay Visoth said, “I think it [is time] for Cambodians to write about our own history.”¹⁵⁹ Not only would Khmer-language documents increase understanding and access among Cambodian students, but they also have the potential to foster stronger cultural identity and pride. One of the key benefits of the ECCC is its contribution to Khmer-language documents and audio-visual materials, providing a huge potential pool of resources for educators.

Enhance Critical Thinking

Another insight from our individual interviews was the need for Cambodian youth to learn not only the facts, names, dates, and numbers of history, but also how to debate and critically engage with history, to understand the socio-political causes of the DK period and what its impacts were. Hang Soviet explained that a main goal of YRDP was to “build active citizens ...develop critical thinking skills, and encourage young people to exercise their civil and political rights,” and that part of this understanding required critical engagement with history. It is a positive sign that the official teaching handbook on DK history includes activities to promote critical thinking, however corresponding teacher training is crucial to the success of such a pedagogical shift.

Hear a Wider Variety of Stories

A number of those already working in the non-formal sector identified groups that were yet to be targeted in education programs. Kdei Karuna Executive Director Tim Minea explained, “Mostly some NGOs work a lot with the victims or survivors, but how about the other group that is still marginalized? The other group that is considered perpetrators, or former Khmer Rouge?”. YRDP’s Hang Soviet made a similar recommendation, however, he suggested this would become easier after the closure of the ECCC, as the fear of potential legal repercussions for admitting past crimes will dissipate. Several suggestions were made to teach students about the more mundane side of life under DK, rather than the most dramatic and well-known stories. Hor Peng at the NUM said “daily lives” were understudied and should be promoted. Learning a wider variety of stories and hearing voices from diverse groups can greatly benefit young people’s understanding of the past and societal power dynamics that can lead to atrocities.

Localize and Globalize DK History Education

Two related suggestions were made by a number of experts interviewed: the need to localize the experience of DK and also to situate it within the global context at the time. Keo Duong from Bophana Center emphasized the value of teaching local history: “[The curriculum] should have local history as a first step and then, after that, they can study national history.” Students exploring local-level history could be engaged more closely as the relevance to their family and friends would be more concrete, particularly for those in rural areas who may feel disconnected from Phnom Penh-focused histories. On the other end of the scale, freelance consultant Ok Serei Sopheak argued strongly for the teaching of history

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Visoth Chhay, 5 September 2017.

with a global perspective, saying that drawing on international experiences would help Cambodian students better understand their national experience.¹⁶⁰ By learning about global experiences with mass violence and communist movements, a greater understanding of the complex reasons for the rise of the DK regime would be possible. The teaching handbook of DK history does include information about the experiences in Iraq, Germany, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia, however, it is essential that teachers are properly trained in how to teach these topics or else they risk being discarded as too challenging.

Challenges Expressed by Interviewees and Students

A gap clearly exists in the awareness of young people – and even those working in the sector – about what projects currently exist in the history and educational space on the Khmer Rouge period in Cambodia. Many students recommended projects or initiatives that exist already, such as short summary films of proceedings, publicly screening ECCC hearings and including Khmer Rouge history in the high school curriculum. Some students asked questions such as whether the ECCC has a website (which it does), or how they could access more information. This demonstrates at once an interest in learning more, but also a disappointing disconnect between what practitioners consider to be happening and the impact it may be having on the ground. The same disconnect was also apparent among interviewees. One interviewee identified a discrepancy between the large volume of educational materials produced over the past decade and the minimal amount of cross-sector sharing that took place. Another recommended an online database be created so that people can remain abreast of current initiatives and avoid duplication. Greater trust and collaboration between different sectors and actors, including ECCC actors, would be very beneficial for students seeking diverse sources of information about the past.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Serei Sopheak Ok, 7 September 2017. This has also been argued by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Salzberg Global Seminar in their paper: ‘Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education: Trends, Patterns and Practices’ 2013, p. 63

Table 6: *List of all recommendations offered by students*

Recommendation	Number of people who made it
Increased use of social media to promote activities	9
Include DK history in the high school curriculum	7
Produce short videos that are more accessible than documents	7
ECCC proceedings should finish soon, they are taking too long	7
Include DK history in primary school curriculum	3
ECCC should facilitate more people to visit the ECCC	3
Include DK history in university curriculum	2
Reach out to people in the provinces, not only cities	2
Should close the ECCC, it has cost too much money	2
Universities should arrange for students to visit the ECCC	2
Translate more sources into Khmer	1
Create a library of relevant documents for students to visit	1
Share more documents about the ECCC	1
More television coverage of proceedings	1
Allow internships at the ECCC for university students	1
More newspaper coverage of proceedings	1
Create a dedicated location at universities to live-stream the trials	1
Show the ECCC proceedings in public places	1
Hold a conference on the ECCC for students to attend	1
Install signs on major roads about the ECCC	1
Refer the ECCC's cases to the ICC instead	1

7.A. Conclusion

The ECCC was created to be a judicial mechanism to try those accused of committing atrocities decades previously. However, over its eleven-year lifespan, its impact has grown well beyond this narrow goal. As one interviewee put it: “In my opinion, the ECCC has had more educational impact compar[ed] to other international criminal courts.”¹⁶¹ The number of initiatives that exist to promote understanding of the past in Cambodia have increased in both quantity and quality over the years, in tandem with the existence of the ECCC.

The research conducted for this report did not support commonly held assumptions that young people are not interested in their country’s history. Overwhelmingly, students identified the educational benefits of the ECCC as the Tribunal’s most important legacy. Indeed, many had questions and wanted to learn more. Those students who had been to the Tribunal expressed views that they learned more there than they could have learned in books. However, this study also found that there is a substantial disconnect between the existence of programs to benefit young people and the awareness of young people of how they can access them. Making information more accessible, engaging, and readily consumable by the youth will be the next challenge for academic institutions, civil society policymakers, and the ECCC. This may also help different institutions and organizations work more cooperatively together to achieve common goals.

As of writing, there are a number of reasons for optimism. The authors of this report welcome recent announcements that the budget for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport is to be substantially increased.¹⁶² Dy Khamboly, textbook author and current policy director at the MoEYS, spoke of current plans to overhaul the primary and secondary school history curriculum, replacing the chronological format with a theme-based approach. Recent news that education projects such as the ‘Courageous Turtle’ and Bophana Center learning app have had their funding extended also indicates their success so far.¹⁶³

Cole and Barsalou argue that, “The connections between transitional justice and educational reform, especially of history education, have been under-explored and under-utilized.”¹⁶⁴ This report seeks to contribute to the field of transitional justice by making this very connection. The question of the legacy of the ECCC is broad and no doubt will be examined more closely by others in coming months and years as proceedings wind down. More attention should be paid to the unique potential this tribunal offers to Cambodian educators. With adequate funding, political will, tactful planning, and a comprehensive outreach strategy, the closure of the court – whenever that may be – may be a great opportunity to spread more information about the ECCC, its proceedings, and its findings more broadly.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Khamboly Dy, 1 August 2017.

¹⁶² Sokhean Ben, ‘Government proposes \$6B budget for 2018’ *Phnom Penh Post*, 30 October 2017, accessible at: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/government-proposes-6b-budget-2018>, last accessed 2 November 2017. The Council of Ministers announced a proposed 24% increase to the MoEYS budget.

¹⁶³ Kdei Karuna’s project on ethnic minorities and YFP’s Kraing Ta Chan project have also had their funding extended. *See* ‘Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers’ Supplemental Submission’.

¹⁶⁴ Cole and Barsalou, p. 12.

៦.ខ. ទិដ្ឋភាពទូទៅនៃបញ្ហាប្រឈម និងអនុសាសន៍

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ប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយសង្គម ប្រព័ន្ធអ៊ីនធឺណែត និងធនធានសោតទស្សន៍ឲ្យកាន់តែច្រើនឡើង ដើម្បីចែក
រំលែកព័ត៌មានជាមួយយុវជន។ និស្សិតចំនួន៧នាក់ក្នុងក្រុមគោលដៅ បានផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ឲ្យមានការផលិត
វីដេអូសង្ខេបខ្លីៗ ឬភាពយន្តព័ត៌មាន និងការចែករំលែកនៅលើប្រព័ន្ធអ៊ីនធឺណែត។ និស្សិតជាច្រើនទំនងជា
ចូលចិត្តមធ្យោបាយនេះក្នុងការទទួលបានព័ត៌មាន ដោយក្នុងនោះ មាននិស្សិតម្នាក់នៅក្នុងក្រុមគោលដៅបាន
បញ្ជាក់ថា “ប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយសង្គម មានសារសំខាន់ខ្លាំងណាស់។ សាលាក្តីខ្មែរក្រហម គួរតែបន្តចែករំលែកវីដេអូ
វីដេអូបន្តផ្ទាល់ នៅលើប្រព័ន្ធបណ្តាញសង្គមហ្វេសប៊ុក (Facebook) [ប្រក៏] នៅលើ [គេហ] ទំព័ររបស់ខ្លួនជាដើម។”
របាយការណ៍នាពេលថ្មីៗនេះស្តីពីការប្រើប្រាស់ទូរសព្ទចល័តក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា បានបង្ហាញថា ៣០ភាគរយ នៃ
ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋកម្ពុជា បានកំណត់ហ្វេសប៊ុក (Facebook) ជាប្រភពផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានយ៉ាងសំខាន់របស់ពួកគេ។¹⁶¹
ទោះបីជា អ.វ.ត.ក ពិតជាមានគេហទំព័រ និងផេក (Page) នៅលើប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយសង្គមជាច្រើនក៏ដោយ
(ដូចជា៖ ហ្វេសប៊ុក/Facebook, ធ្វីធើ/Twitter, អ៊ីនស្តាក្រាម/Instagram) ក៏លទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ បាន
បង្ហាញថា និស្សិតមិនទាន់បានដឹងពីប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយសង្គមទាំងនោះនៅឡើយ។ ប្រព័ន្ធអ៊ីនធឺណែតដែល
ផ្តល់លទ្ធភាពងាយស្រួលក្នុងការចូលរួមប្រកបដោយភាពច្នៃប្រឌិត និងកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយ នឹងមានឥទ្ធិពល
កាន់តែធំឡើងៗទៅលើយុវជន ដែលជាជំនាន់ទទួលយកនូវបទពិសោធន៍បច្ចេកវិទ្យាទំនើបនានា។

¹⁶¹ ដកស្រង់ពីការសិក្សាមួយដែលមានអ្នកចូលរួមចំនួន ២០០០នាក់ មានអាយុចាប់ពី១៥ឆ្នាំ ទៅ៦៥ឆ្នាំ។ សូមមើលរបាយការណ៍
របស់ ផុង កឹមល្បួយ, ស្រូ លីហ្សូល, ចារីយ៉េ សូឡា (Javier Solá) ស្តីពី “ការប្រើប្រាស់ទូរសព្ទចល័ត និងប្រព័ន្ធអ៊ីនធឺណែតនៅក្នុងព្រះ
រាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា” ដោយមូលនិធិអាស៊ី (The Asia Foundation) វិទ្យាស្ថានបើកចំហ (Open Institute), USAID Development
Innovations (ចុះខែធ្នូ ឆ្នាំ២០១៦) ទំព័រ i.

កែសម្រួលយ៉ាងស្មើគ្នាទៅលើការអប់រំប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រក្នុងវិស័យអប់រំក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធ

និស្សិតបានឲ្យយោបល់ជាច្រើនពីរបៀបបង្កើនកម្រិតយល់ដឹងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រក្នុងចំណោមយុវជន។ អនុសាសន៍បន្ទាប់ដែលបានស្នើឡើងជាញឹកញាប់បំផុតនោះ គឺជាព័ត៌មានអំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ ដែលត្រូវបានបង្រៀននៅថ្នាក់វិទ្យាល័យ។ នេះជាការផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ដ៏សំខាន់ដើម្បីពិចារណា ដោយហេតុថា មុខវិជ្ជាប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រត្រូវបានដាក់បញ្ចូលជាផ្លូវការរួចរាល់ហើយក្នុងថ្នាក់វិទ្យាល័យ។ ប្រការនេះ ក៏ជាការចង្អុលបង្ហាញពីពេលវេលាដែលត្រូវចំណាយសម្រាប់គម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមថ្មីៗនានា ដើម្បីផ្តល់នូវផលប៉ះពាល់ជាក់ស្តែង។ ទោះបីយ៉ាងនេះក្តី ជំហានដ៏ស្រស់ដែលត្រូវយកមកអនុវត្តនោះ គួរតែធានាថា កម្មវិធីសិក្សាត្រូវបានអនុវត្តដោយស្មើគ្នានៅទូទាំងប្រទេស ហើយសិស្ស-និស្សិតអាចយល់ពីខ្លឹមសារនៃកម្មវិធីសិក្សានោះផងដែរ។ មាននិស្សិតបីនាក់ក្នុងក្រុមគោលដៅ ក៏បានផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ផងដែរថា ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យត្រូវត្រូវបានដាក់បញ្ចូលក្នុងកម្មវិធីសិក្សាអប់រំថ្នាក់បឋមសិក្សា។ ការជជែកពិភាក្សាពីអាយុសមស្របក្នុងការចាប់ផ្តើមបង្រៀនអំពីសម័យកាលងងឹតនៃប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ កំពុងបន្តកើតមាន ហើយក្តីបានមួយត្រូវបានលើកឡើងដោយអ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ម្នាក់ថា អាចធ្វើឲ្យក្មេងៗរៀនមេរៀនមិនល្អនៅអាយុវ័យក្មេងពេក។¹⁶² ទោះជាយ៉ាងនេះក៏ដោយ ក៏វាជាការជជែកពិភាក្សាដ៏សំខាន់ត្រូវតែមាន ហើយការបន្ថែមសំឡេងរបស់យុវជនកម្ពុជាក្នុងការជជែកពិភាក្សាដេញដោលនេះ គឺមានគុណតម្លៃខ្លាំងណាស់ ។

បកប្រែភាសា និងបង្កើតឯកសារជាខេមរភាសា

អនុសាសន៍ដូចគ្នាមួយដែលបានផ្តល់ដោយនិស្សិត និងអ្នកជំនាញ គឺតម្រូវការសម្រាប់ឯកសារភាសាខ្មែរ៖ រាប់ទាំងឯកសារទាំងឡាយសរសេរដោយអ្នកនិពន្ធកម្ពុជា និងឯកសារទាំងឡាយបកប្រែចេញពីអ្នកនិពន្ធបរទេស។ ខណៈពេលដែលក្រុមនិស្សិតមានបំណងចង់ផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ ក្នុងការបង្កើនឯកសារជាភាសាខ្មែរដើម្បីងាយស្រួលទទួលបានឯកសារទាំងនោះ អ្នកជំនាញដែលបានផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ បានកំណត់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍បន្ថែមទៀតចំពោះអត្ថបទសរសេរជាខេមរភាសា ដែលបានចាត់ទុកថាជាមធ្យោបាយក្នុងការស្តារអារម្មណ៍នៃមោទនភាពជាតិ។ អ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍មួយចំនួន បានអំពាវនាវឲ្យមានការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កម្មវិធីស្រាវជ្រាវនៅតាមបណ្តាគ្រឹះស្ថានឧត្តមសិក្សា ដើម្បីកសាងជំនាញស្រាវជ្រាវថ្នាក់ជាតិ និងបង្កើនសំឡេងរបស់អ្នកសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវកម្ពុជា។ ក្នុងនាមជានាយកសារមន្ទីរប្រល័យពូជសាសន៍ **លោក នាយ វិសុទ្ធ** បានមានប្រសាសន៍ថា៖ “ខ្ញុំគិតថាវា [ដល់ពេល] ដែលប្រជាជនកម្ពុជាសរសេរពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្ររបស់ខ្លួន”។¹⁶³ ឯកសារជាខេមរភាសា មិនគ្រាន់តែអាចពង្រីកនូវការយល់ដឹង និងភាពងាយស្រួលក្នុងការប្រើប្រាស់ឯកសារក្នុងចំណោមនិស្សិតកម្ពុជាប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ

¹⁶² កិច្ចសម្ភាសន៍ជាមួយលោក នាយ វិសុទ្ធ នៅថ្ងៃទី៥ ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។
¹⁶³ កិច្ចសម្ភាសន៍ជាមួយលោក នាយ វិសុទ្ធ នៅថ្ងៃទី៥ ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។

ក៏ប៉ុន្តែឯកសារទាំងនេះ ក៏អាចផ្តល់នូវសក្តានុពលជំរុញការលើកកម្ពស់អត្តសញ្ញាណវប្បធម៌ និងមោទនភាពផងដែរ។

ធ្វើឲ្យប្រសើរឡើងនូវការត្រិះរិះពិចារណា

ទស្សនៈយល់ឃើញមួយទៀតដែលបានមកពីកិច្ចសម្ភាសន៍ផ្ទាល់របស់យើងខ្ញុំ គឺតម្រូវការសម្រាប់យុវជនកម្ពុជាដើម្បីសិក្សាមិនត្រឹមតែរៀនពីការពិត ឈ្មោះ កាលបរិច្ឆេទ និងតួលេខនៃប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ ក៏ប៉ុន្តែថែមទាំងត្រូវរៀនពីរបៀបជជែកពិភាក្សាដេញដោល និងចូលរួមត្រិះរិះពិចារណាអំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ ហើយយល់ដឹងពីបុព្វហេតុសង្គម-នយោបាយនៃសម័យកាលកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ និងផលប៉ះពាល់នៃរបបនោះ។ **លោក ហង្ស សុវៀត** បានពន្យល់ថា គោលបំណងចម្បងនៃអង្គការកម្មវិធីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ធនធានយុវជន (YRDP) គឺដើម្បី “កសាងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសកម្ម...អភិវឌ្ឍជំនាញត្រិះរិះពិចារណា និងជំរុញលើកទឹកចិត្តយុវជនវ័យក្មេងឲ្យអនុវត្តសិទ្ធិពលរដ្ឋនិងសិទ្ធិនយោបាយរបស់ខ្លួន” ហើយផ្នែកមួយនៃការយល់ដឹងនេះ តម្រូវឲ្យមានការចូលរួមត្រិះរិះពិចារណាអំពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ។ វាជាសញ្ញាណវិជ្ជមានដែលសៀវភៅមគ្គុទ្ទេសក៍បង្រៀនជាផ្លូវការពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យបានដាក់បញ្ចូលនូវសកម្មភាពសិក្សាដើម្បីលើកកម្ពស់ការត្រិះរិះពិចារណា ទោះបីយ៉ាងនេះក្តី ការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលគ្រូបង្រៀនដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ គឺជាការចាំបាច់ណាស់ចំពោះភាពជោគជ័យនៃការផ្លាស់ប្តូរវិធីសាស្ត្របង្រៀននេះ។

ស្តាប់រឿងរ៉ាវចម្រុះគ្នាឲ្យកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយ

អ្នកដែលធ្វើការក្នុងវិស័យក្រៅប្រព័ន្ធ បានកត់សម្គាល់ពីបណ្តាក្រុមដែលមិនទាន់បានកំណត់គោលដៅដោយកម្មវិធីអប់រំនានា។ នាយកប្រតិបត្តិនៃអង្គការក្តីករណា **លោក ទឹម មីនា** បានពន្យល់ថា៖ “ភាគច្រើនអង្គការក្រៅរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលមួយចំនួន ធ្វើការច្រើនជាមួយជនរងគ្រោះ ឬអ្នករស់រានមានជីវិត ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ ចុះ! ក្រុមផ្សេងៗដែលនៅមិនទាន់ទទួលបានឱកាសនេះ ទៅយ៉ាងម៉េចទៅ? ដូចជា៖ ក្រុមដែលត្រូវបានចាត់ទុកថាជាជនដៃដល់ ឬក៏ជាអតីតខ្មែរក្រហម?” **លោក ហង្ស សុវៀត** មកពី YRDP បានផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ស្រដៀងគ្នាផងដែរ ក៏ប៉ុន្តែគាត់បានផ្តល់មតិយោបល់ថា ប្រការនេះអាចក្លាយជាជឿនងាយស្រួលទៅវិញ នៅក្រោយពេលបិទបញ្ចប់របស់អ.វ.ត.ក ដោយហេតុថា ការភ័យខ្លាចចេញពីផលវិបាកផ្លូវច្បាប់ដែលអាចកើតមានចំពោះការទទួលសារភាពពីឧក្រិដ្ឋកម្មអតីតកាល នឹងរសាយបាត់ទៅជាបណ្តើរៗ។ មានអនុសាសន៍បីបួនត្រូវបានផ្តល់ក្នុងការបង្រៀនសិស្ស-និស្សិត អំពីផ្នែកសាមញ្ញៗនៃជីវិតនៅប្រចាំថ្ងៃនៅក្រោមរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ ឲ្យបានច្រើនជាងការបង្រៀនរឿងជាប្រភេទល្ខោនសម្តែង និងរឿងដែលគេស្គាល់រួចទៅហើយ។ **ឯកឧត្តមបណ្ឌិត ហោ ប៉ែង** សាកលវិទ្យាធិការនៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យជាតិគ្រប់គ្រង បានមានប្រសាសន៍ថា “ជីវិតរស់នៅប្រចាំថ្ងៃ” មិនទាន់ត្រូវបានបង្រៀនគ្រប់គ្រាន់ ហើយគួរតែត្រូវបានលើកកម្ពស់ការបង្រៀននេះផងដែរ។

ធ្វើតំបន់ការប្រឆាំងយកម្ម និងសកលការប្រឆាំងយកម្ម ទៅលើការអប់រំប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ

អនុសាសន៍ពាក់ព័ន្ធចំនួនពីរទៀត ត្រូវបានលើកឡើងដោយអ្នកជំនាញមួយចំនួន ដែលបានផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ មានដូចជា៖ តម្រូវការធ្វើតំបន់ការប្រឆាំងយកម្មទៅលើបទពិសោធន៍នៃរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ និងដាក់បញ្ចូលប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនេះទៅក្នុងបរិបទពិភពលោកក្នុងពេលវេលាតែមួយ។ **លោក កែវ ដួង** បានសង្កត់ធ្ងន់ទៅលើប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រតាមមូលដ្ឋានថា៖ “ក្រុមវិធីសិក្សា គួរតែមានប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រតាមមូលដ្ឋានជាជំហានដំបូង ហើយក្រោយមកទៀត ពួកគេអាចសិក្សាពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រជាតិ”។ សិស្ស-និស្សិតដែលស្វែងយល់ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៅមូលដ្ឋានអាចមានលទ្ធភាពចូលរួមយ៉ាងជិតស្និទ្ធជាងមុន ដោយហេតុថា ភាពជាប់ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងគ្រួសារ និងមិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ អាចនឹងមានលក្ខណៈត្រឹមត្រូវជាក់ស្តែងច្រើនជាង ជាពិសេសសម្រាប់អ្នកដែលរស់នៅក្នុងតំបន់ជនបទដាច់ស្រយាល ដែលអាចមានអារម្មណ៍ថានៅដាច់ឆ្ងាយពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រដែលផ្តោតតែនៅទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ។ ដោយឡែក អ្នកពិគ្រោះយោបល់ឯករាជ្យ **លោក ឱក សេរីសោភ័ក្តិ** បានអះអាងយ៉ាងមុតមាំចំពោះការបង្រៀនប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រជាមួយនឹងទស្សនៈវិស័យសកល និងតាមបរិបទជាក់ស្តែង ដោយបានលើកឡើងថា ការប្រើប្រាស់ព័ត៌មាន ឬចំណេះដឹងចេញពីបទពិសោធន៍អន្តរជាតិ អាចជួយដល់សិស្ស-និស្សិតកម្ពុជាយល់ដឹងកាន់តែប្រសើរឡើងអំពីបទពិសោធន៍របស់ជាតិ។¹⁶⁴ តាមរយៈការសិក្សាអំពីបទពិសោធន៍ពិភពលោកពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងអំពើហិង្សាធំៗ និងចលនាកុម្មុយនីស្ត ការយល់ដឹងកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយពីមូលហេតុស្មុគស្មាញចំពោះការកើនឡើងនៃរបបកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ អាចនឹងកើតមានផងដែរ។ សៀវភៅមគ្គុទ្ទេសក៍បង្រៀនប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ ដាក់បញ្ចូលព័ត៌មានអំពីបទពិសោធន៍នៅប្រទេស អ៊ីរ៉ាក់ (Iraq), អាល្លឺម៉ង់ (Germany), រវ៉ង់ដា (Rwanda) និងយូហ្គូស្លាវី (Yugoslavia) ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ វាជាការចាំបាច់ណាស់ដែលគ្រូបង្រៀនត្រូវទទួលបានការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលយ៉ាងត្រឹមត្រូវពីរបៀបបង្រៀនប្រធានបទទាំងនេះ ឬបើមិនដូច្នោះទេ ប្រធានបទទាំងនេះប្រឈមនឹងការបោះបង់ចោលដោយសារតែមានភាពលំបាកខ្លាំងពេក។

បញ្ហាប្រឈមនានាដែលបានលើកឡើងដោយអ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ និងនិស្សិត

គំនិតកើតមានក្នុងការយល់ដឹងរបស់យុវវ័យ និងសូម្បីតែអ្នកដែលកំពុងធ្វើការនៅក្នុងវិស័យនេះ អំពីគម្រោងដែលកំពុងកើតមានបច្ចុប្បន្នក្នុងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ និងវិស័យអប់រំ ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងសម័យកាលខ្មែរក្រហមក្នុងព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា។ មាននិស្សិតជាច្រើន បានផ្តល់អនុសាសន៍ស្នើសុំគម្រោងនានាដែលកំពុងកើតមានស្រាប់ ដូចជា៖ ភាពយន្តសង្ខេបខ្លីៗស្តីពីកិច្ចដំណើរការនីតិវិធីសវនាការ ការដាក់បង្ហាញជាសាធារណៈអំពីសវនាការ

¹⁶⁴ កិច្ចសម្ភាសន៍ជាមួយលោក ឱក សេរីសោភ័ក្តិ នៅថ្ងៃទី៧ ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។ ប្រការនេះ ក៏ត្រូវបានអះអាងផងដែរដោយសារមន្ទីរវិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធសម្រាប់សហរដ្ឋអាមេរិក (the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) និងសិក្ខាសាលាសកលសាលាហ្សឺក (Salzberg Global Seminar) ក្នុងអត្ថបទចុះផ្សាយរបស់ពួកគេ ស្តីពី “ទស្សនៈវិស័យសកលស្តីពីការអប់រំហូឡូខូសត៍៖ និន្នាការ លំនាំ និងការអនុវត្ត” នៅឆ្នាំ២០១៣ ត្រង់ទំព័រ៦៣។

ជំនុំជម្រះក្តីរបស់ អ.វ.ត.ក និងការដាក់បញ្ចូលប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រខ្មែរក្រហមទៅក្នុងកម្មវិធីសិក្សាអប់រំថ្នាក់វិទ្យាល័យ។
និស្សិតមួយចំនួន បានចោទជាសំណួរជាច្រើន ដូចជា៖ ថាតើ អ.វ.ត.ក មានគេហទំព័រដែរឬអត់? (តាមពិតមាន
រួចរាល់ហើយ) ឬក៏សួរថាតើពួកគេអាចទទួលបានព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមតាមរបៀបណាខ្លះ? នេះសបញ្ជាក់ឲ្យឃើញថា
ទោះបីជានៅពេលមានចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍សិក្សាកាន់តែច្រើនឡើងៗក៏ដោយ ក៏ប៉ុន្តែវាមានភាពផ្តាច់ចេញដោយ
ខកចិត្តរវាងអ្វីដែលអ្នកអនុវត្តវិជ្ជាជីវៈគិតថាកំពុងកើតមាន និងផលប៉ះពាល់ជាក់ស្តែងដែលអាចកើតមានផងដែរ។
ការផ្តាច់ចេញនេះ ក៏បានកើតមានឡើងផងដែរក្នុងចំណោមអ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍។ អ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ម្នាក់
បានកំណត់អំពីភាពខុសគ្នារវាងបរិមាណសន្លឹកសន្ធាប់នៃឯកសារអប់រំ ដែលត្រូវបានផលិតឡើងក្នុងទសវត្សរ៍
កន្លងទៅ និងបរិមាណតិចតួចនៃការចែករំលែកក្នុងវិស័យចម្រុះនានា។ អ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ផ្សេងទៀត បានផ្តល់
អនុសាសន៍ថា ប្រព័ន្ធជុកទិន្នន័យនៅលើអ៊ិនធើណែត គួរតែត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើង ដូច្នេះហើយប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ
អាចដឹងព័ត៌មានបានច្រើនពីគម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមបច្ចុប្បន្ន និងជៀសវាងភាពស្ងួតខ្លា។ ទំនុកចិត្ត និងកិច្ចសហការ
កាន់តែប្រសើរឡើងរវាងវិស័យផ្សេងៗគ្នា និងអ្នកអនុវត្ត រាប់បញ្ចូលទាំង អ.វ.ត.ក អាចនឹងផ្តល់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍
យ៉ាងច្រើនសម្រាប់សិស្ស-និស្សិត ដែលកំពុងស្វែងរកប្រភពព័ត៌មានផ្សេងៗអំពីអតីតកាល។

តារាង ៦៖ បញ្ជីអនុសាសន៍ទាំងអស់ដែលបានលើកឡើងដោយនិស្សិត

អនុសាសន៍	ចំនួនអ្នកដែលបានលើកឡើង
បង្កើនការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយសង្គម	៩
ដាក់បញ្ចូលក្នុងកម្មវិធីសិក្សាអប់រំថ្នាក់វិទ្យាល័យ	៧
ផលិតវីដេអូខ្លីៗ ងាយស្រួលរកបានជាងឯកសារ	៧
សាលាក្តីគួរតែបញ្ចប់ឲ្យបានឆាប់រហ័ស កំពុងប្រើប្រាស់ពេលវេលាយូរពេកហើយ	៧
ដាក់បញ្ចូលក្នុងកម្មវិធីសិក្សាអប់រំថ្នាក់បឋមសិក្សា	៣
អ.វ.ត.ក គួរតែសម្របសម្រួលប្រជាជនឲ្យចូលទស្សនាសាលាក្តីឲ្យបានច្រើន	៣
ដាក់បញ្ចូលកម្មវិធីសិក្សាអប់រំថ្នាក់សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ	២
ផ្តល់ឲ្យប្រជាជននៅតាមបណ្តាខេត្ត មិនត្រឹមតែនៅទីក្រុងប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ	២
គួរតែបិទបញ្ចប់សាលាក្តី ដែលបានចំណាយប្រាក់ច្រើនពេក	២
សាកលវិទ្យាល័យគួរតែរៀបចំនិស្សិតទៅទស្សនាសិក្សា	២
បកប្រែឯកសារឲ្យបានច្រើនជាខេមរភាសា	១
បង្កើតបណ្ណាល័យមួយដែលមានឯកសារពាក់ព័ន្ធសម្រាប់និស្សិតចូលទស្សនា	១
ចែករំលែកឯកសារអំពីសាលាក្តីឲ្យបានច្រើន	១
ផ្សព្វផ្សាយព័ត៌មានតាមទូរទស្សន៍ឲ្យបានច្រើន	១
អនុញ្ញាតឲ្យមានការណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្នកហាត់ការសម្រាប់និស្សិតនៅសាលាក្តី	១
ផ្សព្វផ្សាយព័ត៌មានតាមរយៈសារព័ត៌មានឲ្យបានច្រើន	១
បង្កើតទីកន្លែងជាក់លាក់មួយក្នុងសាកលវិទ្យាល័យដើម្បីចាក់បញ្ចាំងការផ្សាយបន្តផ្ទាល់ពីដំណើរការសវនាការជំនុំជម្រះក្តី	១
ដាក់បង្ហាញកិច្ចដំណើរការនីតិវិធីសវនាការនៅតាមកន្លែងសាធារណៈនានា	១
រៀបចំសន្និសីទសម្រាប់សិស្ស-និស្សិតចូលរួម	១
ដំឡើងភ្នាក់ងារសញ្ញានានាអំពីសាលាក្តីនៅលើដងវិថីសំខាន់ៗ	១
បញ្ជូនសំណុំរឿងក្តីទៅឲ្យតុលាការព្រហ្មទណ្ឌអន្តរជាតិ	១

៧.ខ. សន្និដ្ឋាន

អ.វ.ត.ក ត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើងជាយន្តការតុលាការដើម្បីជំនុំជម្រះក្តីលើជនជាប់ចោទនៃបទប្រព្រឹត្តិអំពើ ឃោរឃៅជាច្រើនទសវត្សរ៍មកហើយ។ ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងនេះក្តី អស់រយៈពេលជាង១១ឆ្នាំកន្លងផុតទៅ កេរដំណែល របស់សាលាក្តីបានកំពុងរីកចម្រើនយ៉ាងល្អប្រសើរពីគោលដៅដ៏តូចចង្អៀតនេះ។ ដូចដែលអ្នកផ្តល់បទសម្ភាសន៍ ម្នាក់បានលើកឡើងថា៖ “តាមគំនិតខ្ញុំ អ.វ.ត.ក បានកំពុងមានផលប៉ះពាល់ទៅលើវិស័យអប់រំកាន់តែច្រើនឡើងៗ បើប្រៀបធៀបទៅនឹងតុលាការព្រហ្មទណ្ឌអន្តរជាតិដទៃទៀត”។¹⁶⁵ ចំនួនដ៏ច្រើននៃគម្រោងផ្តួចផ្តើមដែលមាន ដើម្បីលើកកម្ពស់ការយល់ដឹងអំពីអតីតកាលនៅក្នុងព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា កំពុងកើនឡើងទាំងបរិមាណ និង គុណភាព នៅប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំមកនេះ ស្របតាមអត្ថិភាពរបស់ អ.វ.ត.ក។

ការស្រាវជ្រាវសម្រាប់ចងក្រងរបាយការណ៍នេះ មិនបានគាំទ្រចំពោះការសន្មតជាទូទៅដែលថា យុវជន មិនមានចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍ទៅលើប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសជាតិរបស់ខ្លួន។ លើសពីនេះទៅទៀត និស្សិតបានកំណត់ អត្ថប្រយោជន៍នៃការអប់រំរបស់ អ.វ.ត.ក ជាកេរដំណែលដ៏មានសារសំខាន់បំផុតរបស់សាលាក្តីនេះ។ ជាក់ស្តែង មាននិស្សិតយ៉ាងច្រើនបានចោទជាសំណួរ និងចង់សិក្សាបន្ថែមទៀតផងដែរ។ និស្សិតដែលធ្លាប់បានទៅទស្សនា នៅសាលាក្តី បានបង្ហាញពីទស្សនៈយោបល់ថា ពួកគេបានរៀនសូត្រច្រើននៅទីនោះ ជាងការណ៍ដែលពួកគេ មានសៀវភៅ។ ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងនេះក្តី ការសិក្សានេះក៏បានរកឃើញផងដែរថា មានភាពផ្តាច់ចេញយ៉ាងសំខាន់ មួយរវាងអត្ថិភាពនៃកម្មវិធីនានាដើម្បីផ្តល់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដល់យុវជន និងការយល់ដឹងរបស់យុវជនអំពីរបៀប ដែលពួកគេអាចទទួលបានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ទាំងនោះ។ ការបង្កភាពងាយស្រួលឲ្យកាន់តែច្រើនឡើងក្នុងការទទួល បានព័ត៌មាន ការចូលរួមពាក់ព័ន្ធ និងភាពងាយស្រួលក្នុងការយល់ដឹងរបស់យុវជន នឹងក្លាយជាបញ្ហាប្រឈម បន្ទាប់សម្រាប់ស្ថាប័នស្រាវជ្រាវ អ្នកតស៊ូមតិសង្គមស៊ីវិល អ្នកបង្កើតគោលនយោបាយ និង អ.វ.ត.ក។ ប្រការ នេះ ប្រហែលជាអាចជួយជំរុញផងដែរឲ្យស្ថាប័ន និងអង្គការនានា ចូលរួមធ្វើការសហការណ៍ជាមួយគ្នាដើម្បី សម្រេចបាននូវគោលបំណងរួមទាំងនេះ។

នៅពេលផ្តើមការសរសេររបាយការណ៍នេះ មានហេតុផលជាច្រើនចំពោះសុទិដ្ឋិនិយម។ អ្នកសរសេរ របាយការណ៍នេះ ស្វាគមន៍ចំពោះសេចក្តីប្រកាសនាពេលថ្មីៗនេះដែលថា ថវិកាសម្រាប់ក្រសួងអប់រំ យុវជន និង កីឡា នឹងត្រូវបានដំឡើងយ៉ាងច្រើន។¹⁶⁶ លោក ឌី ខាំបូលី អ្នកនិពន្ធសៀវភៅអាន និងជាប្រធាននាយកដ្ឋាន គោលនយោបាយនៃក្រសួងអប់រំ យុវជន និងកីឡា បានមានប្រសាសន៍ពីផែនការបច្ចុប្បន្នដើម្បីកែសម្រួលកម្ម វិធីអប់រំប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៅតាមសាលាបឋមសិក្សា និងអនុវិទ្យាល័យ ដោយផ្លាស់ប្តូរទម្រង់តាមកាលប្បវត្តិ មកជា

¹⁶⁵ កិច្ចសម្ភាសន៍ជាមួយលោក ឌី ខាំបូលី នៅថ្ងៃទី១ ខែសីហា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។
¹⁶⁶ លោក បិន សុខៀន (Ben Sokhean) ស្តីពី “រាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលស្នើសុំថវិកា៦ពាន់លានដុល្លារសម្រាប់ឆ្នាំ២០១៨” ភ្នំពេញប៉ុស្តិ៍ ចុះផ្សាយ នៅថ្ងៃទី៣០ ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។ សូមមើលតំណភ្ជាប់៖ <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/government-proposes-6b-budget-2018> ចូលមើលនៅថ្ងៃទី២ ខែវិច្ឆិកា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧។ គណៈរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីបានប្រកាសពីកំណើនស្នើសុំ ២៤% សម្រាប់ថវិការបស់ក្រសួង អប់រំ យុវជន និងកីឡា។

វិធីសាស្ត្រដែលផ្តោតតាមប្រធានបទវិញ។ វាក៏ជាជំនឿស្នាដៃយ៉ាងខ្លាំងផងដែរដែលព័ត៌មាននាពេលថ្មីៗ នេះពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងកម្មវិធីអប់រំ មានដូចជា “អណ្តើកក្លាហាន” និងអបកម្មវិធីសិក្សារបស់មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលបុព្វាណា បានទទួលមូលនិធិរបស់ពួកគេបន្ថែមទៀត។¹⁶⁷

ខូល (Cole) និង បាសាឡូ (Barsalou) បានអះអាងថា “ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងយុត្តិធម៌អន្តរកាល និងកំណែ ទម្រង់វិស័យអប់រំ ជាពិសេស ការអប់រំប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ នៅមិនទាន់ធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវគ្រប់ជ្រុងជ្រោយ និងមិនទាន់ប្រើ ប្រាស់ឲ្យមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពនៅឡើយ។”¹⁶⁸ របាយការណ៍នេះ ខិតខំប្រឹងប្រែងចូលរួមចំណែកក្នុងវិស័យយុត្តិធម៌ អន្តរកាល ដោយបង្កើតនូវតំណភ្ជាប់។ សំណួរអំពីកេរដំណែលរបស់ អ.វ.ត.ក មានលក្ខណៈទូលំទូលាយ ហើយ ពុំមានការសង្ស័យណាមួយនឹងត្រូវបានត្រួតពិនិត្យឲ្យបានលម្អិត ដោយអ្នកផ្សេងទៀតក្នុងអំឡុងពេលប៉ុន្មានខែ និងប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំខាងមុខនេះ ដោយសារតែកិច្ចដំណើរការនីតិវិធីសវនាការកំពុងឈានជិតដល់ទីបញ្ចប់បន្តិចម្តងៗ។ អ្នកសរសេររបាយការណ៍នេះ មានក្តីសង្ឃឹមថា ការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់កាន់តែច្រើនឡើង នឹងផ្តោតទៅលើសក្តានុពល ដ៏កម្រមួយនេះ ដែលសាលាក្តីផ្តល់ដល់អ្នកអប់រំកម្ពុជា។ ជាមួយនឹងមូលធិនិគ្រប់គ្រាន់ ឆន្ទៈនយោបាយ ការរៀបចំ ផែនការដោយហ្មត់ចត់ និងយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រផ្សព្វផ្សាយតាមមូលដ្ឋានឲ្យទូលំទូលាយ ការបិទបញ្ចប់របស់សាលាក្តី ដែលនឹងជិតកើតមាន អាចជាឱកាសដ៏អស្ចារ្យមួយដើម្បីផ្សព្វផ្សាយព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមអំពី អ.វ.ត.ក កិច្ចដំណើរការ នីតិវិធីសវនាការ និងការរកឃើញរបស់តុលាការកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយ ។

¹⁶⁷ សំណើរបស់សហមេធាវីនាំមុខដើមបណ្តឹងរដ្ឋប្បវេណី។
¹⁶⁸ ខូល (Cole) និង បាសាឡូ (Barsalou) ត្រង់ទំព័រ ១២។

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WSD Handa Center for Human Rights and International Justice

Established in 2013 at Stanford University, the WSD Handa Center for Human Rights and International Justice succeeds and carries on all the work of the University of California at Berkeley's War Crimes Studies Center, which was established by Professor David Cohen in 2000. Since its founding over, the Center has been dedicated to promoting the rule of law, accountability, and human rights around the world, in post-conflict settings, developing countries, and in societies grappling with difficult legacies from a historical period of violent conflict. Through research and international programs, the Handa Center supports and helps improve the work of domestic courts, international tribunals and human rights commissions around the world. Relying on a small core group of lawyers, scholars, student interns, and volunteers, the Center concentrates its resources where it can make a real difference helping people make sense of the past, come to terms with periods of violent social upheaval, and build institutions that will promote justice and accountability.

East-West Center

The East-West Center promotes better relations and understanding among the people and nations of the U.S., Asia, and the Pacific through cooperative study, research, and dialogue. Established by the U.S. Congress in 1960, the Center serves as a resource for information and analysis on critical issues of common concern, bringing people together to exchange views, build expertise, and develop policy options. The Center is an independent, public, nonprofit organization with funding from the U.S. government, and additional support provided by private agencies, individuals, foundations, corporations, and governments in the region.

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“SO WE CAN KNOW WHAT HAPPENED”: THE EDUCATION POTENTIAL OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CHAMBERS IN THE COURTS OF CAMBODIA

BY CAITLIN MCCAFFRIE, SOMALY KUM, DANIEL MATTES AND LINA TAY

In Cambodia, four decades have passed since the traumatic events of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime. Since the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), both formal and non-formal initiatives aiming to share DK history with the young generation of Cambodians have grown substantially. The ECCC is a hybrid tribunal set up to try the senior leaders and those most responsible for the crimes of DK. The research conducted for this report sought Cambodian views on the connection between the ECCC and various education initiatives currently underway in Cambodia. This report, which draws on data gathered through focus group discussions with 83 university students and 16 expert practitioners, finds that the ECCC could make a considerable contribution to the education field in Cambodia, and that this potential has yet to be fully tapped. During conversations about the ECCC, students identified the potential for the Tribunal to educate their generation about the past as its biggest potential legacy; ranking this higher than judicial, psychological, or capacity-building legacies. Responses gathered by this research also identify a low level of awareness among youth concerning existing programs and opportunities available for students who are interested in learning more about DK history. Students often made recommendations for programs or initiatives that in fact exist already. Closing this awareness gap would improve the effectiveness of existing programs and could improve the overall understanding of the DK period. By opening up the discussion on the educational potential of the ECCC, this report hopes to motivate educators and students alike to more actively engage with Cambodian history in creative and thought-provoking ways. Although the ECCC may be drawing to a close, it is not too late for it to leave a positive legacy in the educational space.

The **WSD HANDA Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Stanford University** equips a new generation of leaders with the knowledge and skills necessary to protect and promote human rights and dignity for all. Reflecting a deep commitment to international justice and the rule of law, the Center collaborates with partners across Stanford University and beyond on innovative programs that foster critical inquiry in the classroom and in the world. Since its founding nearly two decades ago, the Center has pursued its mission through a range of international programs including justice sector capacity-building initiatives, civil society outreach efforts, trial monitoring, expert consultancies, and archival resource development, with a focus on transitional justice initiatives and new technologies. In 2014, Director David Cohen moved the Center from UC Berkeley to Stanford University with the generous support of Dr. Haruhisa Handa. The move enabled the Center to sustain its established international programs while expanding the scope of opportunities for meaningful student engagement by integrating classroom curricula with faculty research, student internships, and community-engaged learning opportunities.

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