

Teaching Genocide in Cambodia: Challenges, Analyses, and Recommendations

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I asked myself whether or not the young generation of Cambodians believe that the Khmer Rouge crimes did exist in Cambodia. Do they believe what their parents and grandparents have told them about their suffering at that time? Has any author or historian written about this history for official school curriculum yet?

This is the sorrowful impression of Soh Seiha, a female Cham Muslim community leader from Kratie province of Cambodia after visiting the former Khmer Rouge (KR) central security center called Tuol Sleng and the killing fields at Choeung Ek. Some members of her family were killed or had disappeared during the 1975-1979 reign of the KR. Her concern about the young generation of Cambodians raises a question: Should young people in Cambodia study the history of genocide, crimes and grave human rights abuses in formal classroom settings?

Genocide education is the only effective way to prevent future genocide and other grave human rights violations, foster reconciliation among victims and perpetrators, and continue to address the question of justice in countries that have experienced genocide. Cambodians cannot talk about justice and reconciliation when the suffering of the victims has not been acknowledged. In order to fight against the possibility of future genocide and other crimes against humanity, young generations of Cambodians have to understand how and why the genocide happened, to learn about its effects and consequences. Genocide education also helps to preserve the memory of the KR atrocities, promote moral and civic values, and advance democracy and rule of law in a culture long accustomed to impunity. Moreover, under-

standing the important historical events enables people, especially the young generations, to participate in the process of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal¹ that helps to promote accountability for the abuses of that period.

However, this vitally and emotionally sensitive issue remains largely absent from school curriculums in Cambodia. The obstacles to introducing genocide education into classrooms appear in several critical aspects: social, economic, political, and pedagogical.

During the 1980s, Cambodian school children were taught about the KR genocide in politically charged, propagandistic ways, which sought to instill in them a desire for violence, hatred and revenge. Because the Cambodian society at that time prioritized basic economic recovery, the suffering of the Cambodian

people under the KR became a folktale for young Cambodians who were born after the regime collapsed. After peace was restored in 1993, the volatile issue of KR genocide was removed from the school curriculum for the sake of reconciliation and political stability. In 2002, the Cambodian government ordered the withdrawal of a section of Cambodian modern history (Cambodia from 1953 to the 1998 national elections), which included the KR history, as a result of the conflict between the two main political parties over the issue of the 1993 national elections. Research shows that young generations know very little about the history of the KR, and many young Cambodians do not believe that their parents and relatives experienced such hardship and unspeakable suffering during that period. In addition to this political dispute, the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS) claims that it lacks resources to teach the history of the Cambodian genocide. Moreover, teachers who are capable of conveying the history are few in number, and they lack the training to teach effectively about genocide.

The absence of genocide education is a sign that the specter of genocide continues to haunt Cambodia. Giving a full picture of what happened, why it happened, how it happened and what the consequences were will provide a foundation for students to share what they have learned at school with their parents, relatives and friends. Genocide education will also help to alleviate the suffering of survivors by enabling them to share their experiences with their children and thereby ensure that their suffering will be remembered and acknowledged. Since the absence of genocide education makes it more likely that future generations will suffer similar circumstances, this paper examines the social, economic, political, and pedagogical obstacles to teaching about genocide in a country that has recently emerged from tragedy.

Social and Economic Challenges

The KR regime that controlled Cambodia from April 1975 to January 1979, destroyed almost all of the country's infrastructures, economic system, public and private properties, and the education system. The regime viewed education through schools and universities as a waste of time and useless for the revolution and the development of the country. As a result, the KR regime closed all educational institutions from primary to higher education. Teachers, doctors and other intellectuals (including those who wore glasses and spoke foreign languages) were systematically killed since they were regarded as bad elements that brought injustice, corruption and exploitation into society and made the country fall into foreign colonization and imperialism.

All children, instead of being sent to schools, were forced to labor and attend indoctrination sessions. The KR claimed that the "hoe is your pen; the rice field is your paper. If you wish to get a baccalaureate, you have to get it at dams and canals."

The results were devastating. As many as two million people were put to death by execution, starvation, forced labor, torture, and sickness without proper medical treatment. The regime left tens of thousands of widows and orphans in complete poverty and illiteracy. Several other hundreds of thousands of Cambodians fled the county and became refugees. The country after 1979 was in complete unrest since people were moving around in search of their lost relatives. Civil war among Cambodian factions intensified. The KR left almost no foundation upon which succeeding regimes might begin to rebuild education in the country.

The presence of the Vietnamese forces in 1979 ended the KR terror and restored a new regime: the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). People received certain basic rights and they were able to own houses, cattle and agricultural tools. Although people still farmed

collectively in “mutual aid teams or solidarity groups,” and had no right to claim ownership on their land, many farmers viewed the conditions in the PRK as considerably better than those under the KR regime. With assistance from Vietnam and cooperation from local people, education was restored and primary schools were rebuilt throughout the country. Basic education subjects, including education on the KR atrocities, were introduced. Teacher training schools were reopened throughout the country and some educators were sent abroad to study in socialist countries, especially Vietnam and the former Soviet Union.²

However, under the PRK Cambodia continued to face a severe crisis in education. Many surviving educators fled the country to the border of neighboring country. The PRK’s Ministry of National Education consisted of a small number of unqualified officials who had little experience in education and few specialized skills. The regime did not have professional experts to develop the curriculum. The PRK depended heavily on Vietnamese advisors to train and recruit teachers as well as to develop the curriculum at all levels. The structure and the management of education were identical to those of the Vietnamese. The curriculum introduced “political morality” study that aimed at instilling in children the socialist concept in an effort to turn Cambodia into a socialist state.

In the attempt to recruit more teachers, the PRK appealed to all educators nationwide to register as teachers. The government strategy to rescue national education at that time was to have “the literate teach the semi-illiterate, and the semi-illiterate teach the illiterate.” By the early 1980s, the total enrollment of students at all grade levels was more than one million, and as many as 37,000 teachers were recruited and trained. Unfortunately, only about 10% of these teachers had formal educational qualifications.³ They knew only what they had learned since the pre-revolutionary period (Cambodia during the 1950s and 1960s). Moreover, the experiences

during the KR regime severely traumatized all Cambodians. Most teachers could not concentrate on their careers since they worried about the whereabouts of their family members and their activities for day-to-day living. Having suffered from KR persecutions and received poor training, teachers mostly conveyed the KR history in emotional terms. In addition to the poor teaching qualifications, the country faced the problem of a lack of teaching materials, educational infrastructure, teacher resources and textbooks. In higher education, about a hundred students received scholarships to study in several socialist countries, such as Vietnam, the former Soviet Union, the former East Germany and Cuba. The recruitment of students was very selective and carefully monitored.

Generally, the development of education during the PRK regime was a slow process. The regime not only struggled to put children in schools, but also fought illiteracy among adults and older people, in addition to many other social problems, including daily incursions from KR factions as well as international economic sanctions. Due to the international political tension and the influence of the Cold War, the PRK neither got the seat for Cambodia in the United Nations, nor received international aid. The regime received only limited humanitarian aid from international organizations, such as UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross. However, those agencies could not do much to help the existing mis-oriented educational problems, including education on the recent events of the KR period. The PRK inherited the educational problems from the KR. Together with its social insecurity, social unrest, and undeveloped state-controlled economy, the PRK encountered a hard time in national as well as educational rehabilitation and reconstruction during the 1980s. The content on the KR history did not improve throughout the entire PRK period and never became a national concern. As earlier emphasized, the curriculum on the KR history provided by the

PRK's Ministry of National Education was a political tool designed mainly to justify the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia.

The transition period under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) also saw little improvement in education. In order to maintain a neutral political environment in Cambodia, UNTAC exercised control over five key ministries, including the Ministries of National Security, Defense, Foreign Affairs, Consular Affairs and Finance, but not the Ministry of Education.⁴ All political factions were more concentrated on political stability, national security, national reform, election campaign, and political as well as military power. The presence of UNTAC was solely intended to ensure the implementation of the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement on the comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. Its mandate, according to its website, included "aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of election, military arrangements, civil administration, maintenance of law and order, repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, and rehabilitation of Cambodian infrastructure."⁵ UNTAC had very little authority to intervene in education reform. With minimal changes in education during this transitional period, students continued to study using the old curriculum. No effort was made to improve genocide education, which was not on the list of the country's priorities at that time.

After the 1993 elections, the new Cambodian government made numerous efforts to improve the quality of education at all levels. As of 2007, thousands of primary and secondary schools have been built across the country, though the teaching quality and teachers' living standard have not yet been given full attention by the government. Today, there are as many as sixty public and private universities. The government appears strongly committed to achieving its strategic plan of Education for All (EFA) whose goal is to ensure that by 2015 all

Cambodian children will have equal access to education.⁶

However, the Cambodian government has not yet solved its social and economic problems that bring a lot of negative impacts to its EFA goal. More importantly, if the government is not able to consolidate these problems, it is unlikely that it will be able to address other imperative questions, such as educating students on the subjects of genocide and human rights which are necessary to ensure peace, democracy, respect of human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, and to prevent future genocide. What are the social and economic challenges for the present Cambodian government? What should the government do to meet those challenges?

Up to 2002, with assistance from the international community, especially the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the government managed to devote twelve per cent of its national budget to education. However, all educational projects focused exclusively on general education, and there has been extremely little effort to put the KR genocide on stage.

Moreover, there has been little effort to foster research on KR history among Cambodian students. Since the collapse of the KR regime, a considerable number of publications on this issue came out, but they were all written by foreigners and in foreign languages. The books contained theoretical analyses, which were difficult for Cambodian secondary school or university students to grasp. Some of the books were translated into Khmer, but they consisted of hundreds of pages, which made them unlikely good sources of knowledge since Cambodian students did not have the habit of reading. Among the twenty subjects at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the biggest and oldest public university in Cambodia, history was one of the less interesting subjects. Because of economic constraints, Cambodian students tend to study the subjects that could generate earning potential in a short period of

time. Not many students enrolled in history classes each year. This is one of the important gaps that the government should address to raise the students' awareness of the importance of history and to give more incentives to students to enroll in history classes.

In addition to the absence of significant content about the KR history in the current secondary school curriculum, university students are also given little opportunity to learn about this dark period. Within the four-year program of Bachelor of Arts in history, students are introduced to various world histories (such as Chinese history, American history, Vietnamese history and Thai history) as core courses. In contrast, KR history is integrated into Cambodian history from 1953 to the present as one core course in the second semester of the fourth year. Even though the discussions under the university history course are broader and more detailed than those in the secondary school subject, they have similar content. Moreover, a very small number of history course students graduate to become teachers in various Cambodian secondary schools and who are capable of conveying the history of the KR.

Moreover, people seem to be either unaware of the problem of the absence of genocide education or take it for granted. They are probably inhibited by their poor living standard, though many of them experienced the KR period. Parents in the countryside usually discourage their children from continuing their education to higher levels. They ask their children to help out in agricultural work or to get jobs in order to ease family burdens. In the paper "Education reforms in Cambodia," Charlene Tan argues that many children from poor families who enrolled in primary school "may not be able to complete their primary school education as many of them are unable to cope with studying full-time and working part-time after school to support the family."⁷ Mostly female students face this problem. Parents often send their daughters to work as garment workers in the

cities, and they have to abandon their studies. Daughters are also asked to help out in family businesses so that sons are able to continue their education. This results in high female illiteracy, and high drop out and repetition rates among women and girls at all levels of education.

Corruption within Cambodian society is another social problem that leads to the low quality of education. Officials of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS) and teachers receive salaries (28 US dollars per month for primary school teachers) that are too low to support their daily living expenses. Generally, teachers are not able to survive with their net income from the government. They have to force themselves "to engage in second income-generating job."⁸ The most popular source of income is to charge students extra fees in the classrooms, or to keep some important lessons for their private classes. Students who are unable to pay the charges may not be able to pass the comprehensive examination, which results in repetition. Unless general education is improved, genocide education will never be become the next issue to deal with.

Atrocities during the KR regime directly affected every single Cambodian family and indirectly affected those Cambodians who were born after the regime. Young Cambodian generations usually receive the burden of earning for the family since their parents or adult family members died or became disabled during the genocide and civil war. The legacy of the KR has affected people and young children in many ways, especially in terms of education as emphasized earlier. Moreover, the vast majority of Cambodian people, both victims and perpetrators (former KR cadres), have developed some degree of mental problem without proper treatment over the period of almost thirty years since the collapse of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime. According to a survey done by Cambodia's Transcultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO), "81% of Cambodians have experienced violence, 28.4% suffer from post-traumatic stress

disorder (PTSD), 11.5% from mood disorders, and 40% from anxiety disorders.” This is a real social problem that the government has to cope with in order to enhance the quality of education for young children and to foster an environment of reconciliation.

Acknowledging the suffering of the victims through formal education is an effective way to foster reconciliation between victims and perpetrators. Instead of addressing the issue, however, the government appears to want to bury the past. Youk Chhang, Director of DC-Cam, emphasized that it is important that people start to tell their life stories during the KR era “no matter how hard it is or how horrible your story is.” He asserted that, “the Khmer Rouge regime is an important part of Cambodia’s history and has touched nearly every Cambodian.... We must also teach our children about it and make sure they learn from our suffering. [Doing so] we share the experiences of genocide with millions of other Cambodians and many more millions around the world...” Though talking about the past, as Youk Chhang puts it, faces “so many barriers: cultural, language, personal and even political,”⁹ understanding about the roots of suffering is an important step to alleviate the victims’ trauma and free them from the past. This also establishes a sense of empathy and reduces the spirit of hatred and desire for revenge among victims and perpetrators. More importantly, it develops interest in the KR history among students.

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal process, though some analysts believe that it may open old wounds and retraumatize victims, is a good mechanism to uncover the past and to answer questions about why this atrocity happened. The tribunal with its official name the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) will additionally function as an educational center teaching Cambodian young generations as well as people around the world about the atrocities during the KR period. The hearings at the tribunal will uncover

and settle many of the unclear events during the KR period that are viewed differently among politicians and scholars.

The Cambodian government has to continue to alleviate issues related to education if Cambodia is to develop on the path of democracy and rule of law. Introducing genocide education into the classrooms is one way by which the government could help shape people’s attitude towards respect for human rights. It is one effective dynamic that develops fundamental solutions for other social issues.

Political Challenge

The collapse of the KR regime and the establishment of the PRK by Vietnam marked the starting point of a very controversial, political interpretation of Cambodian history, particularly the history of the KR genocide. In post-genocide Cambodia, genocide education became a political tool for parties competing for power. Children in the PRK-controlled territories were taught that the KR were inhuman devils or monsters that killed people and sucked people’s blood. In contrast, children in the KR-controlled areas were indoctrinated to believe that Vietnam was going to annex Cambodia and that the talk about Cambodians being killed during the war and genocide period was an evil trick of the Vietnamese. As a consequence of this politicization, the tragedy of Cambodian history ultimately became a myth.

To justify the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia, the PRK used textbooks for primary school education that described the KR genocide in propagandistic terms. Children from grade one and up were taught via these textbooks to hate and fear the KR. For example, a reading textbook for grade one (published in 1979 by the PRK’s Ministry of National Education) contained the following two sentences devoted to the KR period: “Our people supplied foodstuffs to soldiers who were sweeping up the traitors

Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea eliminated the traitors Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.”¹⁰ While most researchers put the number of deaths during the genocide at between 1 million to 2 million, students were taught inaccurately that the KR killed 3.3 million people. In the reading book for 2nd grade, the following sentences appear: “Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique killed more than 3 million people and completely destroyed everything in Cambodia. We are absolutely furious and strongly struggle against these atrocities.”¹¹ In addition, the pictures in the textbooks included graphic depictions of the KR disemboweling people, the cruel tortures at Tuol Sleng prison and killings that are too violent for young children to grasp. These textbooks were used to teach the young Cambodian generations who were born after the KR and during the period of Cambodian civil war from 1979 to 1991.

In 1991, all parties in the conflict, including the KR faction, reached a peace agreement and agreed to hold the first national elections in 1993 under direct supervision of UNTAC. The elections marked a turning point in Cambodian politics and education system. The PRK’s textbooks were replaced by new textbooks. But none of the new textbooks included an account of the KR era. The government claimed that the absence of KR history was necessary “for the sake of national reconciliation.” Teachers were instructed not to mention the KR in the classrooms. Instead, the new social studies textbooks focused exclusively on the pre-Angkorean and Angkorean periods (Cambodia before the 12th century and later) and, in the modern period, on Cambodia during the 1950s and 1960s. From 1991 to 2000, political instabilities ensured that the account of the KR history would continue to remain absent from school curriculum, even though officials at the Ministry of Education had frequently discussed about putting the KR atrocities as content of the school curriculum. In 1996, Tol Lah, the then-Cambodian Minister of Education had

vowed to teachers and researchers that the Ministry of Education would not take the KR history for granted. He was quoted in the local newspaper, *The Cambodia Daily*, saying that, “We will not rewrite history. History is to be history. Facts have to remain as they are.”¹² However, the question of when and how to educate Cambodian students on KR history was still unresolved.

In 1996, the government was negotiating peace with the KR faction as part of its policy of reconciliation and national unity. At that time, a large portion of the KR, led by former DK Foreign Affairs Minister Ieng Sary, agreed to dismantle their armed forces and defect to the Royal Government of Cambodia bringing with him tens of thousand of KR soldiers and cadres back to the government fold. In 1998, three other senior leaders (Khieu Samphan, Noun Chea and Ke Pauk) defected to the Royal Government leaving only a small faction of the KR forces near the Thai border. This development created a pause on the consideration of teaching young children about the KR. “For the sake of national reconciliation,” the government, during this interval period, ignored this important issue.

Following the defection of the KR, civil society began to demand that the school curriculum be revised to include an account of the Cambodian genocide. The MoEYS finally revised the existing curriculum in 2000-2001 and published new social study textbooks for grades 9 and 12. The new textbooks included an account of Cambodian modern history, from Sihanouk’s regime up to the recent 1998 national elections, and an account of the Cambodian genocide. But although the Cambodian government, via these textbooks, introduced KR history into the classrooms, the account was shockingly brief, far too brief to ensure that young generations of Cambodians understand what really happened at that time. Indeed, the 9th grade textbook devotes only five sentences to the KR era:¹³

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 DK, led by Pol Pot, came into existence, following which the massacre of Khmer citizens began.

In the 12th grade textbook, the chapter on KR history extends to three pages in the Khmer language (about one and a half pages in English). This chapter briefly discusses the political conditions, the formation of the DK government and economy, and how people lived.¹⁴ But the textbook omits the important historical events during DK, and fails to describe who the KR were and how they came to power. The textbook neglects to mention the KR four-year plan, the forced labor, purges and massacres, and other grave human rights abuses that characterized the period. Moreover, the short chapter ends by echoing the same skewed number of deaths given in the PRK’s textbook: “This regime had more than three million innocent people killed...the DK plunged the entire country into a real catastrophe in only three years, eight months, and twenty days.”¹⁵

The inclusion of a brief account of KR history in the textbooks shows that Cambodian leaders and educators of the MoEYS saw the importance of genocide education differently. The way to deal with the past, for them, was to forget the past. The Chairman of the Committee for Curriculum Development said that the texts did not discuss the killings in detail because “we don’t want Khmer children to repeat the bitter history. We try to bury even the smell.”¹⁶ This comment echoes Hun Sen’s remark that “it is time to dig a hole and bury the past even when we consider that the past is for thousands of Cambodians an unbearable burden.”¹⁷ Similarly, former DK Head State Khieu Samphan, though denying that he knew anything of what happened during KR regime, apologized for those who died and suffered during that time and called upon the

Cambodian people to “forgive and forget.”¹⁸ Yet members of the MoEYS, especially teachers, have the responsibility to convey the KR history, especially the events that are still controversial today, so that students are able to find out the truth. Rather than limiting the content, the Committee for Curriculum Development should have allowed the debatable topics to be depicted in the textbooks more broadly. Moreover, Cambodian politicians have to be brave in facing history and allow professional and pedagogical experts to decide what should be put into the curriculum.

Teaching the KR history of genocide in classrooms remains an issue in Cambodia today. The key decision-making about the content of curriculum still lies in the hands of politicians, and the depiction of modern Cambodian history in the two social studies textbooks remains politically controversial. For example, while the 12th grade textbook mentions the Cambodia’s People Party’s (CPP) victory in the 1998 national election, it neglects to mention that the Royalist Funcinpec Party won the first national election in 1993. Prince Norodom Ranariddh, then head of the Funcinpec party and President of the Cambodian National Assembly, criticized the content of the book for failing to mention his party’s victory, and called for further revisions. In response, officials of the then Ministry of Education agreed to review the textbook and add more information on the section of the Khmer Rouge history.¹⁹ Yet subsequent discussions between the two key political leaders, Prime Minister Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Ranariddh, led to even more omissions. The section on Cambodian modern history, including the account of the KR era, was removed entirely from the 12th grade textbook. The new edition of the textbook was thinner and focused almost exclusively on histories of foreign countries. Later, in the middle of the school year in 2002, Hun Sen ordered the withdrawal of all 12th grade social studies textbooks. Minister of Education Tol

Lah confirmed the confiscation of the book but could not answer the question of how long it took to bring the book back into school.²⁰ It was the question beyond his authority.

Up to the present day, Cambodian students study history without a textbook. The Association of Independent Teachers has unsuccessfully appealed many times to the MoEYS to return the book to schools. This decision to withdraw the textbook has been seen by many educators as a violation of civil rights and the freedom of the press and expression. Moreover, the decision of the Prime Minister ethically, though not technically, overlaps the mandate of the Ministry of Education that has professional expertise in developing curriculum. Perhaps, rather than remove the Cambodian modern history from the school curriculum, the Prime Minister should have suggested that the MoEYS review and improve the accuracy and the validity of the content of the history textbook.

Seeing this important gap in governmental responsibility, the DC-Cam, which has been independently documenting the KR genocide since 1995, approved the establishment and implementation of a Genocide Education Project. The aim of the project is “to enhance the capabilities of teachers and the Ministry of Education to convey the regime’s history through the provision of ideas, materials, recommendations on curriculums, and a short text on the history of Democratic Kampuchea.”²¹ The project started in September 2004 and ended in March 2007. The result of the project was a hundred-page history book called “A History of Democratic Kampuchea.”²² Coinciding with the start of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal process, copies of the book were distributed and were very well received by students, teachers, researchers and the public. One thousand five hundred copies were delivered to two hundred fifty-nine secondary schools throughout the country. In this context, the government seems to open more opportunities for, and remove the barriers to, the way Cambodians students

are educated about genocide. This can be considered as the first time that the government allowed such a political issue to be published and disseminated throughout the country. This is the first fruitful move towards genocide education in Cambodia.

The KR period is a politically significant event that links Cambodian history from one regime to another. When talking about KR history, one cannot avoid discussing events during the French colonial period, Cambodia under Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Khmer Republic regime and the American bombings. Nor can one stay away from discussion of the PRK regime, the State of Cambodia (SOC), the transitional period of UNTAC and the second Kingdom of Cambodia. Generally, the Cambodian situation from the French colonial period up to the present day is an inseparable collective event, and the KR history is the integral part of this event. The full dimension of the KR genocide can hardly be understood unless it is presented in a framework that highlights the emergence of the communist movement in Cambodia from the 1940s up to the time of its total collapse in 1999. This approach allows students to grasp the full picture of the KR regime and enables them to trace the development of the KR movement and to link this movement to other historical events for further research and broader understanding.

History, by its nature, is always problematic. However, our understanding of the history shapes the way we deal wisely with problems in the present. Therefore, the absence of an account of Khmer Rouge history in textbooks and school curriculum presents dangerous possibilities. Historical research, such as the history book published by DC-Cam, should be accepted as part of the country’s historical truth for teaching history. Philip Short, author of the book, *Pol Pot: The History of a Nightmare*, was quoted in the *International Herald Tribune* claiming that the newly published history book “is an accurate and objective account of a very

complex period, and it therefore deserves to be not merely an approved textbook for Cambodian schools, but a compulsory text, which all Cambodian school children should be required to study.”²³ This historical research should be used in order to formulate historical memory and historical consciousness so that history will not repeat itself, and Cambodian young generations are able to get out of the shadow of the past and find a way to build a better nation. As such, the truth of the KR history is preserved from generation to generation, which is an effective measure, as Yair Auron said, to prevent “the forgetting that is always present along side the memory.”²⁴

MoEYS officials said that the Ministry planned to revise the curriculum and bring the book back into school in 2009. David Chandler, scholar on Cambodian history, gave his impression as quoted by the Associated Press that, “the government seems unwilling to produce such a text, or at least does not share a sense of urgency about exposing this period of the past.”²⁵ Political and financial issues may stall the process, and teachers will continue to address KR history informally or convey the history inappropriately in class. DC-Cam has extended its genocide education project to 2010 in the hope of cooperating well with the MoEYS in securing the formal inclusion of the KR history into the school curriculum. However, political will is the key factor in solving this problem.

Pedagogical Challenges

To be able to introduce KR history into secondary school classrooms in Cambodia, the production of a short, simple, accurate, unbiased, and understandable textbook of the history of Democratic Kampuchea is the first crucial step. It is important to make sure that the MoEYS reforms the secondary school curriculum so that the content on KR history is integrated.

The teaching methodology, the way teachers discuss KR history with students, is the second important step. As emphasized earlier, KR history is politically and emotionally sensitive; therefore, introducing this controversial subject can either foster or undermine democracy, peace and unity. The outcome hinges largely on pedagogy. How should history be taught? What kind of textbook should teachers use to convey KR history in classrooms? Can teachers use other materials besides the state-approved textbook? How much training should teachers receive? How much time should be devoted to this subject? How can teachers be protected in an environment where this politically sensitive issue may produce violence? What are the roles of history teachers?

Currently, the MoEYS’s resources (both human resources and teaching materials) are scant. There are very few secondary school teachers who are capable of delivering KR history appropriately and professionally in class. There are also very few students who have received degrees in History. These students who are going to become secondary school teachers in different parts of the country are trained on various histories - Cambodian, Asian and world. The history course was developed in 1980 and has been updated gradually with assistance from foreign countries and donors. Moreover, most research books are written in English and French, which make them even more difficult for students to comprehend. The KR history is integrated as a small part in Khmer history in the second semester of the fourth year, forming a limited knowledge on this critical subject. Both history graduate students and current secondary school teachers need a generally acceptable history textbook, study plan, and other supplementary materials with accurate historical narratives that do not instill political bias and do not generate hatred and a desire for revenge.

Nationwide teacher training on the KR history is important to ensure that teachers have the necessary knowledge, skill and confidence

to convey their country's history in the most objective way and that they are able to provide the answers accurately and to assist their students to address the past in a critical and impartial manner. This teacher training will also enhance the realization of genocide education in social reconstruction since most post-conflict countries emphasize "subjects seen to have practical value, such as foreign languages, math, science, technology, and vocational training," as Elizabeth A. Cole and Judy Barsalou claim in their report *The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict*.²⁶ Should teachers be not well trained, even the most objective and accurate textbook might be useless and Cambodia might face similar circumstances or new forms of social problems.

In addition to teacher training, the MoEYS may need to focus on some degree of pedagogical reform to address the question of year levels that should include the study KR history and whether this study should be incorporated into or taught alongside human rights education. These are also major issues in teaching about genocide, crimes and violence. Some analysts believe that it is better to introduce the subject at the primary level since correct attitudes are formed at the early stage of life. However, in Cambodia, primary school students are too young to grasp the KR history and too early to study about torture and killings. With respect to the high illiteracy and high drop out rate as well as the on-going crimes and extra-judicial killings happening everyday, young children and the drop-out students are likely to imitate the lessons from classes. Other analysts believe that students should attain a certain degree of "emotional maturity and intellectual sophistication in order to comprehend the enormity and magnitude of the genocide."²⁷ In this sense, only secondary school students are mature enough to understand, analyze, and handle the lessons appropriately.

With this complexity, lessons on KR history should pedagogically be either incorporated

into or taught alongside the human rights study. The combination of study of genocide and human rights allows students to make comparisons and, as Schwart argues, "to draw insights concerning conditions that give rise to mass killings, and helps them understand something about the behavior of the perpetrators and victims of inhumanities."²⁸ This would not be a big challenge since human rights education is widely introduced in the current curriculum of the MoEYS and human rights issues are broadly expressed and taught to people by many NGOs in Cambodia.

While teaching KR history objectively, teachers may face conflict of understanding or perception of history not only between teachers and students but also among teachers due to different experiences, knowledge, and political interests and thinking. For instance, in Cambodia, some teachers believe that the presence of the Vietnamese in Cambodia is in the form of invasion while some others see it as an intervention. In a politically-charged situation like this, as Cole and Barsalou claim, history teachers face a "threat to physical safety and generally are under enormous pressure... to play too many roles—from psychologist and guidance counselor to conflict resolution expert and mediator." Therefore, before instilling in the students the knowledge on KR history, it is crucial to instill in the teachers the wider knowledge and understanding on this sensitive subject and the highly ethical issue in teaching and conveying KR history. History teachers need strong support from people, and particularly from the government, to be able to teach KR history objectively and with no fear.

To overcome this challenge, the MoEYS is in a better position to seek assistance from outsiders for the training of the Ministry staff, undertaking teacher training, developing teaching materials and improving teaching methods and interests to make sure that teachers have both passion and capacity to teach. DC-Cam has played a key role in this process since the beginning.

DC-Cam has offered teaching resources to the MoEYS and agrees to help train teachers as well as to develop a guidebook. More importantly, resources provided by non-governmental organizations are more accurate, objective, and politically unbiased than the ones produced by the government. However, these two institutions have to cooperate together well.

Recommendations

There is an urgent need to introduce genocide education in Cambodia. KR history has to be fairly and accurately presented, not to be interpreted and placed upon by those with political authority. Cambodian politicians have to stop using the suffering of their people as a political tool and allow practitioners of the MoEYS to redraft school curriculum, initiate the plan to train history teachers to be able to teach KR history, and improve teaching methodology in conformity with this change. It is necessary to help students uncover the truth and realize that the Cambodian genocide is not the designed fate from God or from any other mystical power. It is clearly the result of the utopian and radical ideologies of a group of Cambodian leaders, the architects of this genocide. Students need to understand how the Cambodian leaders who were supposed to be highly influenced by a culture of respect for life could commit crimes and kill more than a million of their own people. To meet these challenges, the following recommendations should be considered and undertaken.

Political will: Sustainable development and enforcement of solutions to these challenges are largely a matter of political will. First and foremost, politicians have to remove all barriers, restrictions and pressures that obstruct the path to genocide education. The government should create a secure environment so that writers, authors, and educators feel safe to address this politically controversial issue. Most analysts

believe that adequate security is highly unlikely to be accomplished in this politically-charged society that has just emerged from conflict and violence. However, political will and political devotion are the keys to removing these barriers. Only when these barriers are opened, can we proceed to other steps, which are matters of technical solutions.

Secondary school curriculum reform: The MoEYS officially adopted DC-Cam's KR history book "A History of Democratic Kampuchea: 1975-1979" as a core reference to write KR history for integration into national secondary school social study textbooks, which are planned to be revised in 2009. To resolve the criticism of the MoEYS that the DC-Cam's history book is too long, the four major chapters (Chapter 2 [Who were the Khmer Rouge? How Did They Gain Power?], Chapter 3 [The Khmer Rouge Came to Power], Chapter 6 [The Four-Year Plan], and Chapter 7 [Daily Life during the Democratic Kampuchea Period]) have been recommended to be used as major materials. Moreover, the Curriculum Reform Committee should not make many unnecessary changes to the original content of these chapters if the new textbook revision is to serve its prime objectives. The new textbooks should be politically neutral and should serve to advance students' knowledge on the period rather than limit their understanding. In other words, the textbooks should pave the way for students to gain greater insights and new understanding, enhancing their knowledge and, as Schwartz puts, giving them "the opportunity to react and express their feeling and to listen to the sentiments of their classmates." Therefore, the historical narratives have to be as clear, precise, concise, consistent, and cogent, accurate and unbiased as possible.

In addition to the accuracy of the text, the amount of the text devoted to KR history has to be increased from the previous ones. It is understandable that the MoEYS's Social Study Textbooks from grade 9 to grade 12 comprise of

many important lessons and consist of over two hundred pages. The review committee of the MoEYS has raised the concern that incorporating too many pages of the KR history may overload the textbooks and that students may not be able to finish their history study within the academic year. Moreover, the pedagogical research committee of the Ministry of Education needs to balance KR history with other history lessons, and not allow one lesson to displace the others. However, the coverage devoted to KR history should be around twenty pages in each grade. In addition, the new curriculum should include supplementary materials such as books about survivors' stories for students to fully understand this dark period.

University curriculum revision: The Department of History of the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP) needs to revise its curriculum to enable the MoEYS to reinforce its secondary school curriculum reform. These two factors are strongly interconnected. It will be useless if the amount of KR history in secondary school is increased but the capacity of teachers in teaching history remains the same. History Departments, which have the responsibility to produce history teachers, have to increase both study hours and the quantity of KR history content. The History Department should design the study on KR history as a core course in its four-year undergraduate program. Moreover, the history graduate students should be provided the opportunity to visit some important genocide sites, such as the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and Cheung Ek killing fields to visualize the artifacts, skulls, mass graves, torture tools and victims' photos. They should have a chance to screen original documentary films. Perhaps the History Department can develop a program in collaboration with DC-Cam to show KR films to history undergraduate students. The films can help them learn more about the KR regime, and thus enable them to function more effectively as future teachers.

Teacher training and teaching manual:

Assuming the MoEYS includes, in whole or in part, DC-Cam's history book into the school curriculum, and teachers are permitted to use other supplementary sources for reference as discussed above, the next question is, how? This is almost parallel to the activities in university program development, but we go more deeply to develop teachers' capacity building to be able to use history textbooks objectively and to give instruction in class appropriately. Workshops on teaching KR history should be convened on a national scale. History teachers throughout the country should be invited to attend the workshops and share their experiences and the challenges they encounter in teaching KR history. This will allow teachers to form a general policy on dealing with those difficulties and developing new teaching strategies. At this stage, teachers can also be updated on newly-produced materials and provided more training on KR history and genocide in other countries to make them understand that genocide did not only exist in Cambodia but also in many other countries throughout the human history.

This training can be done by DC-Cam in collaboration with the MoEYS and other foreign institutions that have expertise in genocide studies. During the workshop, the teachers and experts can discuss a teaching manual so that they can develop an appropriate guidebook on history teaching suited to the Cambodian education system. The guidebook will help teachers in preparing lesson plans and teaching methodology.

Research and publication: The MoEYS should encourage researchers and students in higher education to do research on Cambodian conflicts, war, and genocide to help shape their perception of their own country's history and find ways of dealing wisely with the issues. Moreover, the government should create an environment that allows researchers to share their findings with policymakers and educators at the MoEYS. This is a very urgent need to support the reform of the curriculum in accordance

with history education objectives, namely, to preserve the memory of the past in the most objective way, promote social reconstruction, and build internal empathy and moral development among students. In other words, the dialogue will enable researchers and educators to integrate genocide education, human rights education and peace and democracy education in order to promote genocide awareness, genocide remembrance, and rule of law, respect for human rights, peace, democracy and national reconciliation as well as national unity. This environment will also help the MoEYS reduce the burden of its professional work because it lacks the appropriate resources to write or produce unbiased lessons or textbooks on its own. The MoEYS's request to DC-Cam to help produce KR history lesson in 2000 was an important step showing how education officials work well with independent researchers to produce the urgent lessons for students.

Cooperation with non-governmental organizations: The MoEYS should continue working closely with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have expertise in KR history. DC-Cam has done research on and collected documents from KR era since 1995. Millions of pages of documents, thousands of interview transcripts, and hundreds of documentary films as well as research monographs, are housed and preserved in the center's archives. Students, teachers, researchers and the general population can view and do research in these archives. Particularly, the MoEYS can seek support from DC-Cam to train teachers. Working towards genocide education is a long-term process, not unlike the process undertaken by the Cambodian government, international communities, and NGOs in the establishment of a judicial organ to prosecute high ranking members of the KR. This process needs a concerted effort among government, NGOs, people, and the international community. We need the government's willingness to address the problem, people's awareness and

participation in solving the problem, support from NGOs, as DC-Cam has done to support the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, and financial and technical assistance from foreign donors.

Unlike one or two decades ago, the Cambodian government now has the resources necessary to facilitate the teaching of KR history to young generations. Many researchers and scholars, both foreigners and Cambodians, have written and published articles and books which can be used as both teaching resources and supplementary materials. In addition, the Tuol Sleng genocide museum, Choeung Ek memorial site and other memorials, as well as former prisons and killing sites throughout the country, are invaluable resources in teaching KR history. More importantly, Cambodia still has living witnesses, victims and perpetrators who survived the KR killing fields. They are the best resources for consultation and informal discussion. Students can discuss what they have learned at school with their families at home.

Financial improvement: In addition, the government should enhance the national budget for educational development and pedagogical research, to ensure that educators are able to use the history books appropriately. Educational reform and development is a long-term process; consuming much time and financial resources. Therefore, the government should ensure that education is free from financial disruption, which is one of the major problems in Cambodia today. This addresses one of the urgent needs to improve the quality of teaching-learning, raising the teachers' living standard. Low salary discourages teachers from making the effort to improve the quality of their teaching.

Conclusion

It has been almost three decades since the collapse of the DK regime, and yet education on critical events of the KR period has never been

accurately, appropriately, professionally, and pedagogically integrated into the Cambodian education system. The conflict over its content remains unresolved. Important historical events have been interpreted and defined by a number of political perspectives depending on the political atmosphere and political trends. Political climates shape the way the writers, authors, and the writing and review committees of the government education agency convey the history of the KR era. As a result, historical depictions in school textbooks represent the interests of the ruling political leaders.

The absence of KR history in public education allows politicians to interpret, modify and manipulate the presentation of history to convey political messages, rather than historical facts, to people, especially the young generations. On the one hand, there is Khieu Samphan claiming in his latest interview with the Voice of America (VOA) in October 2007 that without the KR revolution Cambodia would have become a Vietnam and that the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement would not be reached since its faction was one of the big dynamic forces behind the negotiation. CPP senior leaders, on the other hand, in many public hearings, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, emphasize very often that without “7 January” event²⁹ the KR would continue to hold power and hundreds of thousands more people would have been killed and that Cambodia today would not exist. So what is the truth behind this political propaganda? This is a vicious circle that students find hard to distinguish without proper education.

A study of the various textbooks produced for the formal school curriculum since 1979 up to date, all history school textbooks mention the glorious events of the succeeding regimes and talk about all the bad things about the defeated regimes. The writers do not include any controversial point for debate or discussion in the classroom. Rather, the writers present clear judgments on the debatable issues, which give the sense that students, rather than having the

responsibility to debate, discuss, or find out the truth, have to accept their points of view as valid historical facts. History, emphasized by Cole and Barsalou, should be taught “in a way that inspires young people to believe in their own ability to effect positive changes in society and contribute to a more peaceful and just future.”³⁰

The controversial points in the Khmer Rouge history are the best examples of this issue. Fair accounts of historical events face political pressure since many politicians in Cambodia are not yet able to accept some facts as historical facts, as discussed earlier. This is one of the big crises of the Cambodian education system, whose resolution needs strong political commitment and devotion.

The post-conflict and divided-society of Cambodia is subjected to many kinds of political influences that prioritize the interests of groups over national interests. Any criticism of this situation usually ends up in favor of those who are currently in positions of power, and who were also in power to end the major issues (conflicts, colonization, genocide or invasion) that afflicted the country in the past. Moreover, it is hard for Cambodia, a deeply damaged country, to introduce accurate and unbiased account of KR history immediately after emerging from civil war because of lack of consensus among politicians and educators on how the KR history, and the Cambodian modern history for that matter, should be presented. This follows the observation of Cole and Barsalou that “in societies recovering from violent conflict, questions of how to deal with the past are acute, especially when the past involves memories of victimization, death, and destruction so widespread that a high percentage of the population is affected.”³¹ Ultimately, the question of whether or not this controversial part of Cambodian history should be integrated into school curriculum rests on the willingness, commitment, devotion, and concession among key political leaders.

The Khmer Rouge history is politically and emotionally sensitive because it touches and links all parts of Cambodian histories, from the French colonial period up to the present day. It is very important that young children in the present and future generations fully understand how Cambodian leaders in each regime shaped the country. It is crucial for students to perceive how some former Cambodian leaders interjected powerful ideologies into the social web that affected the entire population.

The *Anatomy of a Crisis* of David Ayres³² best mirrors the Cambodian history. Ayres wrote that Prince Sihanouk, who ruled Cambodia from 1955 to 1970, was determined to “mold Cambodians into good Buddhist socialists committed to the [absolute] monarchy and the struggle against underdevelopment,” while his coup-successor Lon Nol from 1970-1975 embarked on transforming the people into “Neo-Khmer Republicans,” and totally denied the ideas of monarchy and socialism. He further wrote that in contrast, Pol Pot (1975-1979) aimed to abolish all old models and brought Cambodia back to “year zero.” He wanted to achieve an utopian ideal of collectivization and make Cambodia independent politically, economically and culturally from foreign influences. Heng Samrin and Hun Sen from 1979 to 1989, as David Ayres mentioned, “attempted to rescue the communist cause in Cambodia” in the hope that Cambodia could become a socialist country like its neighbor Vietnam.³³ Finally, awakening from civil war, after the 1993 national elections, all Cambodian political leaders, with guidance from international communities, agreed that Cambodians should walk on the path toward multi-party democracy. The failure to discover the past problems will widen the gap and allow the old corrupted social structures to recover and reoccur, which is harmful to people and society as a whole.

For the present generation in the decade of 2000s, secondary school students can talk and share what they have learned in school

with their parents, grandparents, or relatives who survived the KR period. But one or two generations later, the students may perceive KR history as well as Cambodian modern history differently, and may find them irrelevant to their real lives. But though the KR regime had ended, its legacy of atrocity still remains. Cole and Barsalou claim that, “conflict almost always continues at some level and violence takes new forms in the present.” The old forms of violent conflicts should be studied in order to have a basis for preventing their recurrence in the future and, if they recur, deal with the new forms of violence and atrocities. They continue to argue that, “if the regime does not address the origins of the conflict effectively, they tend to be the bases of future instability and conflict.” In Cambodia, power struggles, sexual abuses, prostitution, gangs, domestic violence, social injustice, human rights violations, corruption, illiteracy, and impunity continue to be major social issues. These problems existed in previous regimes, with some of them having become worse today.

Generally, the social, economic and pedagogical challenges to genocide education in Cambodia are not as outstanding obstacles as the political challenges. When political issues are solved, other challenges seem to be easily resolved or at least do not constitute much concern since they are largely matters of technical and professional expertise. If the political institutions do not support genocide education, the challenges are highly unlikely to be met and the obstacles overcome. The genuine problem at the present time is that the government does not see the urgent need for genocide education. Though the government, with both encouragement and pressures, agrees to put the issue on its agenda, it justifies the decision to exclude the KR history from official curriculum by citing lack of resources (funds included) to do more thorough research and publication. And even when the research and publication (KR history book) are undertaken by institutions outside

the government, such as international organizations, NGOs, or research institutions that have the expertise in the field, the government has no political will to incorporate this research into school curriculums. As time passed, and with the existence of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal and the demands from students, teachers, and the general public to learn about Cambodian history, the government has reluctantly agreed to use the existing history book done by DC-Cam, but with a condition that the MoEYS exercises full right to modify the book without outside intervention or firm participation. In the end, the Khmer Rouge history remains a political tool.

Both formal and informal teachings of KR history at present have improved significantly. Although the government did not agree to endorse the inclusion of the KR history book produced by DC-Cam into secondary school curriculums, they consented to discuss and share some concerns, which have allowed DC-Cam and NGOs working on educational issues to form a foundation on how to reconcile the concerns and to solve the problem. Moreover, the MoEYS review committee's decision to officially allow DC-Cam to publish the history book, and distribute copies to secondary schools throughout the country, marks the first time that the Cambodian government has allowed such a politically controversial publication in the Khmer language to be disseminated.

Genocide education is the only way to establish a society free from human rights violations and wide scale genocide. Cambodia and her people have suffered from war, genocide, conflicts and violence for many decades. It is time we learn from our past to build our future and use our past experiences as mechanisms to instill in our young generation social cohesion so that the rhetorical meanings of democracy, peace, reconciliation, and rule of law, respect of human rights, and national unity employed by Cambodian politicians can be put into practice. Teaching KR history to young generations of

Cambodians serves the collective interest of all Cambodians and all humanity. It is our history, and it is our responsibility to learn it. Understanding the full dimension of KR history will enable young generations of Cambodians to physically, emotionally, legally, morally, culturally, and psychologically engage in solving social problems and participate in the process of national development.

Endnotes

¹ This is the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) established jointly by the Cambodian government and the UN in 2004 to bring to "trial senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those who were most responsible for the crimes and serious violations of Cambodian penal law, international humanitarian law and custom, and international conventions recognized by Cambodia, that were committed during the period from 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979." (Article 1, 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, 2003).

² Duggan, Stephen J., *The Role of International Organization in the Financing of Higher Education in Cambodia* (Melbourne: Victoria University, 1997).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Yair Auron, *The Pain of Knowledge: Holocaust and Genocide Issues in Education* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2005), page 155.

⁵ United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), February 1992-September 1993, <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/mission/untac.htm>

⁶ Charlene Tan, "Education reforms in Cambodia: issues and concerns," *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 6(1):15-24 (2007).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sitha Chhinh, *Satisfaction Sources of Cambodian Urban Primary School Teachers*, a paper for Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation, Hiroshima University, 2003.

⁹ Youk Chhang, Director of DC-Cam, gave a speech at a genocide conference at McGill University in Montreal, Canada.

¹⁰ Ministry of National Education, *Reading Book for Grade 1*, Part 1, Publication of the, Phnom Penh,

Cambodia, 1979, page 43 and 46.

¹¹ Ministry of National Education, *Reading Book for Grade 2*, Part 1, Publication of the, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 1979, page 59.

¹² Pin Sisovann and Matt Reed, "Textbook Delay Reflects Sensitivity of Cambodia's Recent History," *The Cambodia Daily*, March 23-24, 2002.

¹³ Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Royal Government of Cambodia, *Social Study textbook*, Grade 9th Lesson 12, page 169, edition 2000. (Unofficial translation by Bun Sou Sour, Documentation Center of Cambodia)

¹⁴ Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Royal Government of Cambodia, *Social Study Textbook*, Grade 12th Lesson 4, edition 2001. (Unofficial translation by Bun Sou Sour, Documentation Center of Cambodia)

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Sisovanh and Reed, op cit.

¹⁷ Suzana Linton, "Reconciliation in Cambodia," Documentation Center of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2004, page 84.

¹⁸ "Khieu Samphan: Sorry and Please Forget the Past," *Rasmei Kampuchea Daily*, January 1, 1999.

¹⁹ Lor Chandara, "Prince Ranariddh Slams New History Textbook," *The Cambodia Daily*, April 27-28, 2002.

²⁰ Pin Sisovann, "Prime Minister Orders Recall of Textbooks," *The Cambodia Daily*, April 29, 2002.

²¹ DC-Cam's proposal on Genocide Education.

²² The full text of the book in PDF files can be found at: <http://dccam.org/Projects/Genocide/English.htm>

²³ Ker Munthit, "New Text Gives Cambodians Glimpse of Khmer Rouge Period," *International Herald Tribune*, by, The Associated Press, June 18, 2007.

²⁴ Yair Auron, *The Pain of Knowledge: Holocaust and Genocide Issues in Education*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2005.

²⁵ Ker Munthit, "New text gives Cambodians glimpse of Khmer Rouge Period," The Associated Press, June 18, 2007.

²⁶ Cole, Elizabeth A. and Barsolou Judy, *Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict*, Special Report to the United States Institute of Peace, 2005.

²⁷ Schwartz, Donald, "Who Will Tell Them After We're Gone? Reflections on Teaching the Holocaust," *The History Teacher Journal*, 23/2, February 1990.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ This refers to the date when Vietnam entered Cambodia – 7 January 1979.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² David M. Ayres, *Anatomy of a Crisis: Education, Development, and the State in Cambodia, 1953-1998*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), page 186-187.

³³ Ibid.

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