

**ACCU International Exchange Program under the UNESCO / Japan Funds-in-Trust for
the Promotion of International Cooperation and Mutual Understanding**

2004 University Student Exchange Program

On Peace Education

**International Understanding of the Reconciliation
Process in Post-Conflict Cambodia**

October 30th, 2004 (Preparatory Seminar)

December 16th - 27th, 2004 (Group Research Trip)

February 5th - 6th, 2005 (Public Symposium)

Phnom Penh (and surrounding areas) and Siem Reap Province,
Royal Kingdom of Cambodia

Organized by

TUFS-PCS - Master's Program in Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS),
Graduate School of Area and Culture Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS)

and

Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU)

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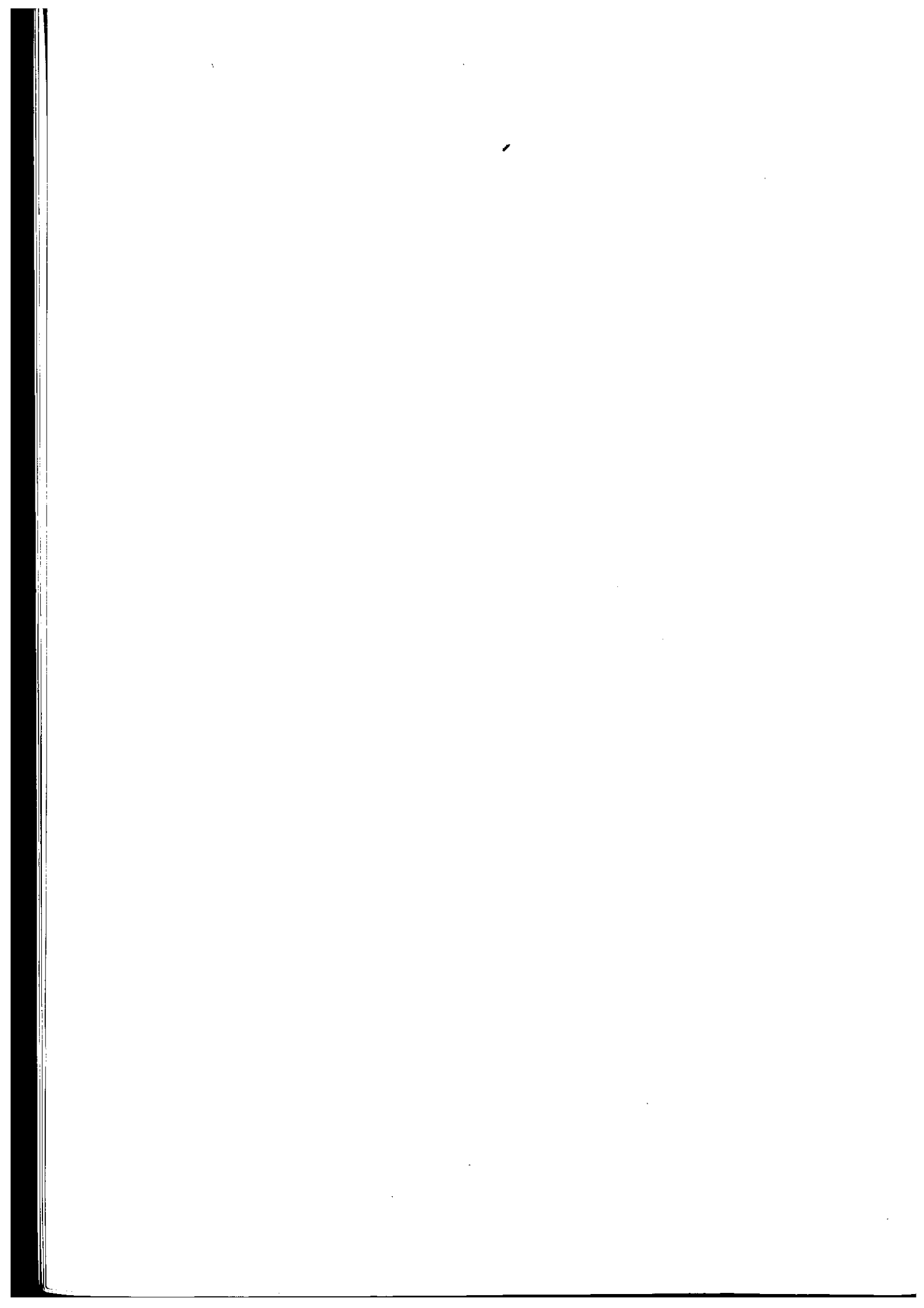
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Acknowledgements

Program Organizers and Participants

The experience of visiting Cambodia has proved vitally important for our participants to gain a real understanding of some of the deep and far-reaching consequences conflict and violence has on those subjected to it, and what it takes to rebuild a culture of peace as that which Cambodians had sustained for hundreds if not thousands of years before their tragedy. This program and the insight it has and will continue to engender in their academic and non-academic research and careers will not easily be forgotten, nor will the contributions of the many organizations and individuals who provided us with invaluable assistance in our preparation, research, and fieldwork. We would like to express our warmest thanks to UNESCO and the Japanese Government for funding our research project through the ACCU (Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO) International Exchange Program under the UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust for the Promotion of International Cooperation and Mutual Understanding.

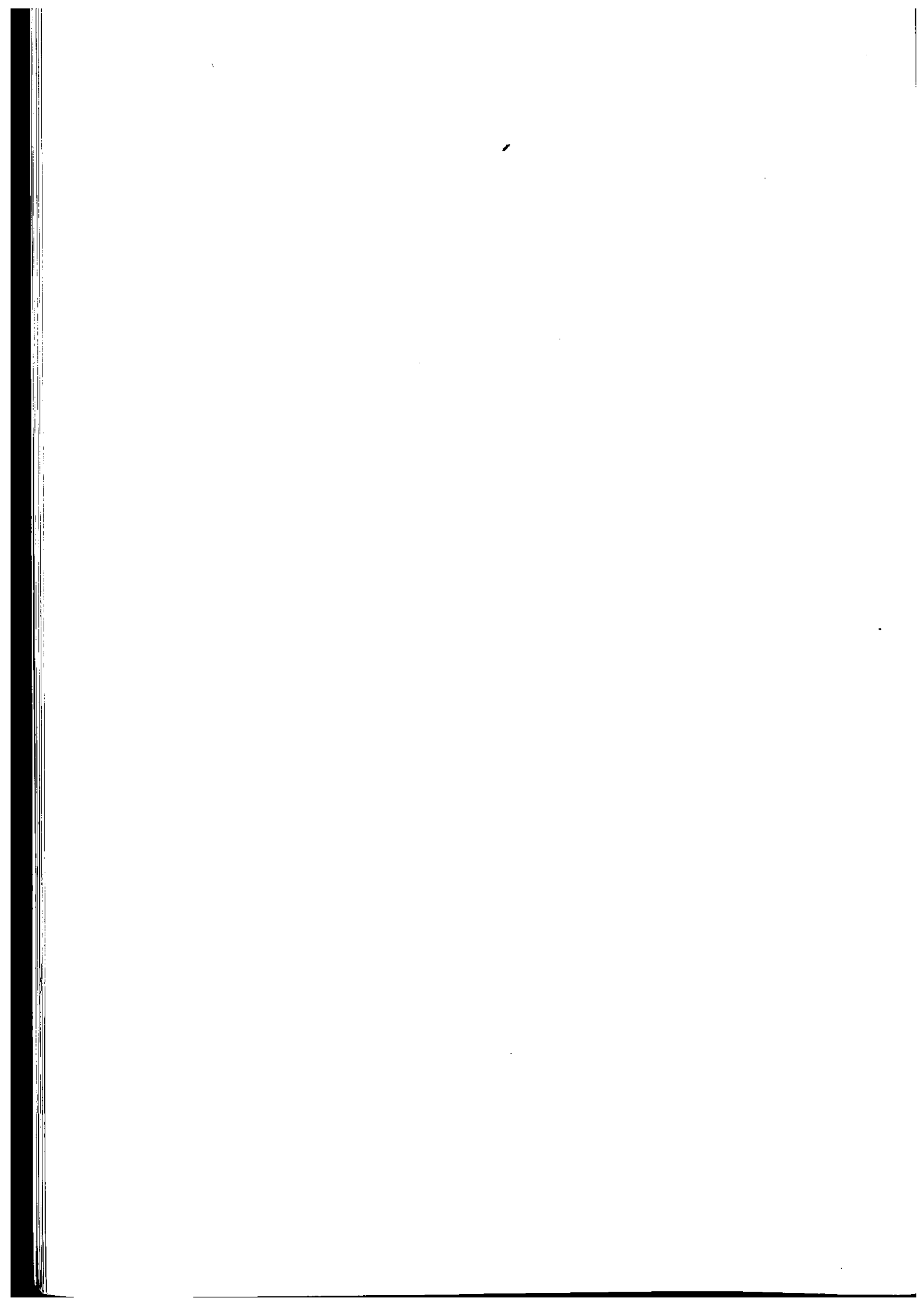
In addition, we wish to extend our gratitude to the many organizations and their committed staff who were generous enough to aid us in arranging research visits before we left for Cambodia, or shared their valuable time and expertise with the group once we were there. Specifically, the following individuals (and their respective organizations) were instrumental in the success of our program: Professor Sorpong Peou of Sophia University in Tokyo; Former Japanese Ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia, Honorable Imagawa Yukio; Minister of Education Dr. Kol Pheng and Mr. Aun Chan-Syavooth of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia; Mr. Ikeda at the Embassy of Japan in Cambodia; Mr. Neil Wilford and the students of the Peace Art Project Cambodia; Mrs. Thida Khus at SILAKA; Ms. Mari Suzuki and Mr. Chan Narin of the Japanese International Volunteer Center, Tokyo and Phnom Penh Offices; Mr. Naem Sary and Mr. Lam Sambo at Cambodian Mine Action Center; Mr. Soth Plai Ngram at the Alliance for Conflict Transformation; Ms. Sambo Tey at UNESCO Phnom Penh Office; Ms. Irene Sokha at the Documentation Center of Cambodia; Mr. Path Heang and Mr. Ray Hossinger at the Center for Peace and Development within the Cambodian Development Resource Institute; the Japan International Cooperation Association, Tokyo and Phnom Penh Offices; Mr. Kentaro Gemma and Mr. Shunichi Kudo at the Japan Small Arms Assistance Team for Cambodia, Phnom Penh and Siam Reap Offices; Mr. Neb Sinthay at the Working Group for Weapons Reduction; Mr. Robert Wildschut at United Nations Volunteers, Phnom Penh Office; Mr. Pith Sokra at Cambodia Trust; Ms. Christelle Chapoy and Mr. Sochivy Khieng at the United Nations Development Fund, Phnom Penh Office; Professor Samnang Heng of the Royal University of Phnom Penh; Mr. Outh

Renne and Mr. Long Khet at Youth for Peace; Mr. Ouk Vandeth at Legal Aid Cambodia; Mr. Thorng Kakada at Khmer Ahimsa; Mr. Ratana Som, Mr. Reach Sambath, and Mr. Phan Sopheap at Cambodian Communications Institute; Mr. Kang San and Dr. Chhim Sotheara at Trans-Cultural Psychological Organization, Phnom Penh Office; Mr. Pieter van der Meer and Ms. Jane Lewis at International Organization for Migration (IOM), Phnom Penh Office; Dr. Chhit Sophal at the National Mental Health Program; Ms. Ponn Ryna, Mr. Uch Kim Y, Mr. Ny Chakrya, and Ms. Sakunthea at Cambodia Human Rights and Development, and Mr. Tsuyoshi Tanaka and Ms. Etsuko Teranishi at the Japan Center for Conflict Prevention, Tokyo and Phnom Penh Offices.

Near the end of our program, we held sessions with a total of approximately 100 students at Cambodia Trust, the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and the Cambodian Communications Institute, and we are greatly indebted to them for allowing our group the opportunity to learn about their thoughts and experiences and to share our own knowledge and understanding. We wish them the best luck for the future and in building and leading their country. Lastly, our research experience could not have been nearly as rich as it was without the hospitality and openness of the many Cambodians who worked with us, or who we met along the way in our travels or during our fieldwork. They spoke with us, shared their stories, and patiently answered our many questions, honestly and thoughtfully.

List of Abbreviations

ACT	Alliance for Conflict Transformation
ADHOC	Cambodia Human Rights and Development
CCI	Cambodia Communications Institute
CMAC	Cambodia Mine Action Center
CPD /CDRI	Center for Peace and Development/ Cambodian Development Resource Institute
DCCAM	Documentation Center of Cambodia
EU ASAC	European Union's Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia
IOM	International Organization for Migration, Phnom Penh Office
JCCP	Japan Center for Conflict Prevention, Phnom Penh Office
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency, Phnom Penh Office
JSAC	Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia
JVC	Japan International Volunteer Center, Phnom Penh Office
PAPC	Peace Art Project Cambodia
TPO	Trans-Cultural Psychological Organization, Phnom Penh Office
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, Phnom Penh Office
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Phnom Penh Office
UNV	United Nations Volunteers, Phnom Penh Office
WGWR	Working Group for Weapons Reduction



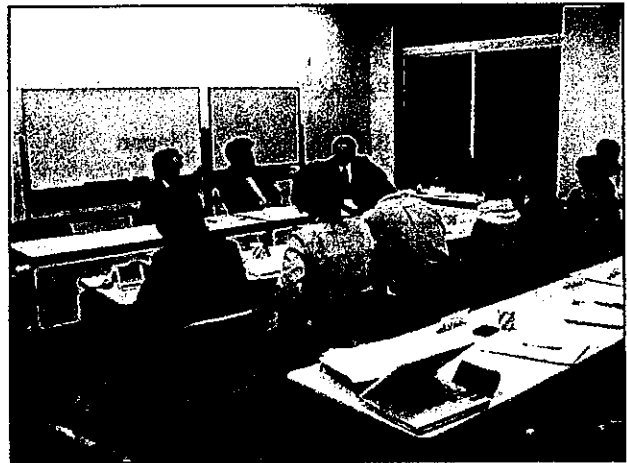
PART 1: PROGRAM INFORMATION

Hiromi HAYASHI, Shaan MAVANI, and Asuka TAKEI

Introduction and Synopsis

This report has been prepared to provide a detailed account of the '*International Understanding of the Reconciliation Process in Post-Conflict Cambodia Program*' organized and executed (under the auspices of the ACCU International Exchange Program under the UNESCO / Japan Funds-in-Trust for the Promotion of International Cooperation and Mutual Understanding, 2004 University Student Exchange Program) in late 2004 and early 2005 by the Master's Program for Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) in Tokyo, Japan. PCS is a degree-granting program that focuses on peace-building and conflict resolution, a field of study that has become increasingly relevant in today's world. The full Program included a preparatory seminar held in Japan involving about 25 participants, a group research trip to Cambodia, and a two-day symposium held for the general public on the TUFS campus to disseminate the results of the Program and spread awareness and international understanding of the peace process in Cambodia and peace and conflict issues in general.

The one-day preparatory seminar was held on the TUFS campus on October 30th, 2004 from 1:00 PM to 7:00 PM with two experts on the Cambodian Peace and Reconciliation Processes. The Honorable Imagawa Yukio, Former Japanese Ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia, lectured on 'The International Community's Involvement in the Cambodian Peace Process' in which he was involved first-hand, and Professor Sorpong Peou of Sophia University (Tokyo, Japan) who is of Cambodian origin spoke about 'National Reconciliation and Peace-building in Cambodia', after which faculty and students from the PCS program as well as other interested students from various universities engaged them in a lengthy question-and-answer/discussion session. Details of both lectures are included in the first part of the Annex of this report.



The 11-day group research trip (December 16th – December 27th) included interviews with

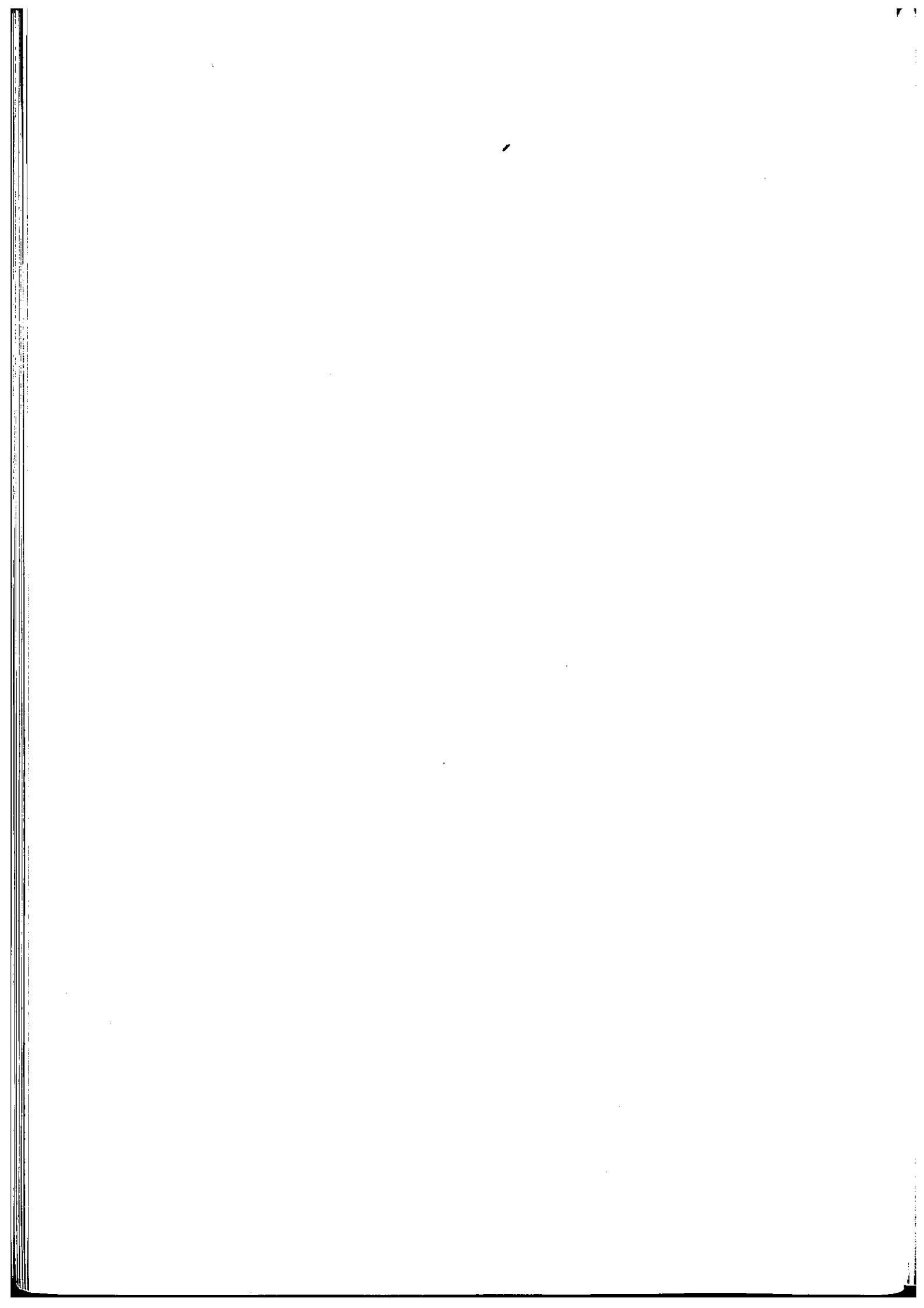
International and Local Non-Governmental Organizations, Government Ministries of the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia, visits to cultural sites and rural villages, and mutual exchange sessions with several student groups. Each day, the group split into 2 teams and visited various organizations or cultural sites, and then reconvened at dinner to exchange information about and their impressions from that day's activities. In this way, the group as a whole was able to cover a large range of activities, whereas each member was able to focus on those activities in which they had the most interest. In addition, the participants were afforded as much time as possible to conduct their own individual field work activities. The 11 participants in the program included the organizing Professor and Program Assistant, as well as five Master's students from TUFS-PCS, and four other Master's students from TUFS and the University of Tokyo. The details of the participants are given in the following table.

Participant	Country	Current Position
Soho MACHIDA	Japan	Professor, TUFS-PCS
Hiromi HAYASHI	Japan	Program Assistant, TUFS-PCS
Nayem AZHAR	Bangladesh	MA Student, TUFS-PCS
Troy KNUDSON	America	MA Student, TUFS-PCS
Shaan MAVANI	America/India	MA Student, TUFS-PCS
S.A.R. MUZAFARY	Afghanistan	MA Student, TUFS-PCS
Eri NAKAMURA	Japan	MA Student, Univ. of Tokyo
Mari NAKAMURA	Japan	MA Student, Univ. of Tokyo
Fernando PALACIO	Argentina	MA Student, TUFS-PCS
Naoaki SHIROTA	Japan	MA Student, TUFS
Asuka TAKEI	Japan/France	MA Student, TUFS

The final component of our Program was focused on increasing public awareness on the types of issues that participants researched in depth during the preparatory seminar and the research trip. Firstly, TUFS-PCS organized a public symposium on February 5th and 6th, 2005, entitled 'Frontiers of Peace-building and Conflict Prevention'. The Symposium featured a variety of speakers, including academics at TUFS and Professionals from the Japanese and Norwegian Governments as well as from NGOs. The keynote speech was given by Professor Soho Machida on 'Why Religions Can Impede Peace', and the two-day event included a presentation made by several of the Program participants, 'Observation Report of Peace Activities in Cambodia', as well as an exhibition of photos taken during the field research in Cambodia. The introduction and schedule

for the Symposium are included at the end of the Annex of this report. Secondly, the group also created a report summarizing their key activities during the Program and several in-depth research papers for print and digital distribution on the TUFs-PCS website.

The rest of **Part 1** of this report explains in more detail the rationale, objectives, and activities of the Program as was outlined above. In addition it covers the outcomes, as well as the strengths and weaknesses as identified by the participants. Finally, it addresses future plans and efforts towards ensuring the sustainability of the Program. **Part 2** is a collection of impressions and analysis submitted by the participants to provide the reader with a basic understanding of what types of issues they were addressing during the Program, the types of insights and understanding they gained through their on-the-ground research activities and contact with various types of groups and individuals, how they believe such knowledge can be applied to other situations and cases of conflict and post-conflict peace-building, and finally, how they plan to utilize their experience in this Program in their future academic and professional endeavors.



Program Details

Rationale and Objectives

The Program was planned and organized to provide the participants with first-hand regional experience with peace-building work. Using Cambodia as a case study, the main purpose was to explore a variety of issues surrounding the peace-building process in post-conflict areas. The remnants of more than thirty years of conflict in Cambodia are clearly visible in all sectors of society including the political system, governance, economic relations, education, mass media and popular culture. These issues, while widely recognized, are often attributed to poverty or marginally broader but still fundamentally economic concepts like human development or even human security, by UN bodies, bilateral donors, and a development sector that has only recently adapted itself to post-conflict work in places like Cambodia.

In fact there is a very large amount of non-governmental actors active in a diverse set of areas within Cambodia. However, the primary development and reconstruction discourse continues to center around political underdevelopment, governance, and rule-of-law based reform, and to a lesser extent, economic issues. At the same time, however, almost all the literature on Cambodia refers to extensive destruction of social relations, structures, institutions, trust, and so on, and this only seems a logical and expectable consequence of the extended conflict and especially the specific nature of the violence during and after the genocide (1975-79). Verifying such a claim in any rigorous way, however, remains a challenge; moreover, prescribing what actions should be taken to address and remedy these problems seems terribly difficult, with the Cambodian government and most other organizations proposing that the usual dose of development aid, in its modern participatory formulation, will somehow resolve them.

We found that there is actually a wide variety of opinions within Cambodia as to the validity, and probably more importantly, the relevance of such issues in terms of the current and future development of the country, and even the resolution and prevention of conflict. Through this program the participants were given a chance to looking more closely at *social aspects* of contemporary Cambodian society like interpersonal culture, psychological health, and social relations, structures, institutions, and trust, to try to understand how these areas were affected by the past conflicts; and second, to explore how problems in other areas like politics, governance, or even economics, can be seen as direct consequences of the destruction of these social resources. As Cambodia also serves as somewhat of a model for the UN, and even more so for Japan, in its peace-keeping and peace-building endeavors, it was instructive for the participants to have a

chance to trace the priorities and initiatives of the development and post-conflict sectors in this country, the way various actors have approached the social destruction under examination here, and what can be learned for conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction in general. Specifically, the last few years have seen the growth of initiatives by the government, bilateral donors, and NGOs, focused on peace, conflict, and social reconstruction. These groups are beginning to show some sensitivity to the importance of the interrelationships between these topics, and are putting into place programs and structures that try to build and reinforce such connections.

The Program was structured around the concept of a 'Culture of Peace' to try to frame the work these groups are doing and issues they are dealing with in an integrated way. This notion continues to be quite ambiguous despite the initiatives of UNESCO to clearly define and disseminate its meaning in the last few years and the large amount of academic work dedicated to clarifying and otherwise researching it. Still, one can easily understand, and especially in the Cambodian case, that the consequences of large-scale and long-term conflict go well beyond what we can usually capture in our discussions of political, economic, social, and even cultural development. The idea of peace as *culture* encompasses behavioral, psychological, religious, and ideological areas, as well as sociological and anthropological perspectives such as the basic building blocks of social relations, social norms and discourse, and the systems of logic internal to culture. This approach lends itself well to assessing such topics as peace education, the role of media in peace-building in social change (e.g. peace journalism), various conceptions of trust in society and in community building, and modern Human Rights, democracy, good governance, and development discourse. It is possible even to approach economic growth and development, as has been done through formal concepts like social capital.

Given this general starting point or perspective, the Program was designed to allow the participants to balance their exposure to different segments of the Cambodian development sector, civil society, students, and other individual Cambodians. The initial seminar held at TUFSS in October was organized to provide the students with a good overview of the peace process to date, and to explore some of the issues specific to the Cambodian case. In the first week of the research trip, the students visited, met, and interact with officials of some Cambodian government agencies, representatives of international organizations, as well as individuals from distinguished international and local NGOs that have field offices in Cambodia, fellow university students, and people at the community level. The rationale behind meeting government officials and NGO staff was to be able to get exposure to a substantial amount of expertise in a very

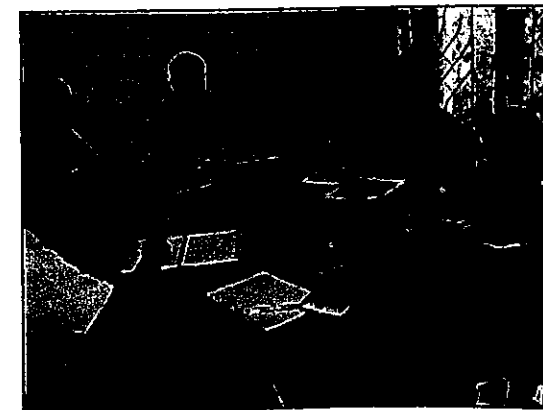
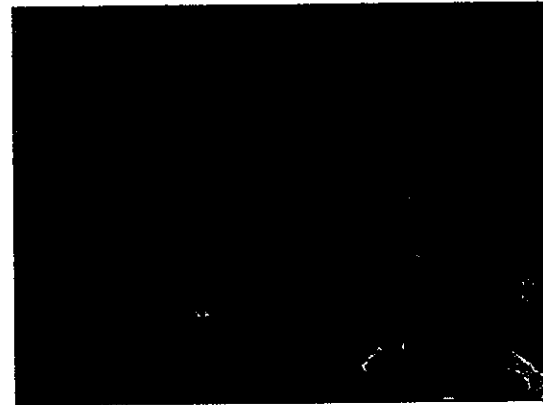
limited amount of time on the progress of Cambodian society in the last few years as well as the current situation from individuals whose main work is to work on and evaluate such things. Moreover, through participating in workshops and seminars with people working at the policy-making and grassroots levels, the participants were able to familiarize themselves with actual implementation issues. Given a longer research trip, considering the subtle nature of the social phenomenon we were trying to assess, we would have naturally preferred to allow for more quantitative and qualitative research in the field with individual members of the Cambodian public. We attempted to balance the large amount of meetings and interview sessions the group participated in as much as possible through visits to rural villages, cultural study (museums, markets, slums, etc.), mutual understanding exchange activities with several groups of Cambodian university students, and by leaving as much time as we could for the participants to do their own individual fieldwork. In this way, the students should have been able to gain exposure to a wide range of opinions about the current situation in Cambodia with regards to peace and conflict issues, as well to attempt to verify or clarify those opinions in the field.

Another objective of the research Program in addition to gaining exposure to different philosophies and perspectives on the conditions of reconciliation and peace-building processes in Cambodia, and doing related fieldwork, was to begin the process of establishing networks of peace educators and practitioners of peace-building through: 1) supplementing the training of our international students in Peace and Conflict Studies (who will work and/or teach in their own countries or internationally after their graduation), 2) the inclusion of four other Japanese graduate students in the Program, 3) the contacts that the participants would gain in Cambodia, and finally, 4) the competence and relationships the TUFs-PCS program as a whole would be able to build through organizing and executing this Program. The sustainability of the Program was envisioned through an ongoing engagement with issues of peace-building in Cambodia in our postgraduate program and research. The final objective was to increase public awareness in Japan and internationally about peace-building, conflict, and the Cambodian situation through a public symposium in early February, and by making the group's research available on the university's website.

The sections below describe in more detail the various activities that took place during the seminar at TUCS in October and the group research trip to Cambodia.

Interview Sessions

As was mentioned above, meetings were held with a large number (more than twenty) of individual experts or groups. As it would require a separate lengthy report to recount the details of those highly interesting sessions, we have decided to instead include selected photographs, and the table below which gives some idea of what kind of topics we heard and spoke about with each group. For more details as to the content of these sessions and the issues discussed, please refer to the more detailed essays of 'Participant Impressions and Analysis' in Part 2 of this report, as well as to the section in the Annex entitled 'Profiles of Organizations Consulted' which provides details about each group's areas of focus and activities.



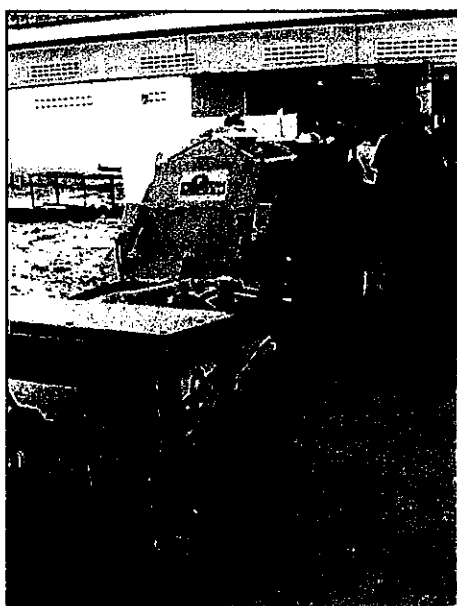
Session	Topics of Discussion
Professor Sorpong Peou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessing the progress of the peace process • Elections, media, and human rights • Peace-building as institutional change • Sustainability of civil society organizations • Various species of corruption (by need, by greed, by system)
Former Ambassador Imagawa Yukio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evolution of the peace talks and peace process • Personal impressions of leading political figures • International issues • Future prospects and problems • Lessons for other peace processes
Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cambodian identity in Khmer history and Khmer Civilization • External causes of the conflicts • Importance of Buddhism in peace education in Cambodia. • Common points between Buddhist thinking and human rights • Buddhist forgiveness and rebirth • Education and national unity
Japanese Embassy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese economic contributions to Cambodia • Separation between political negotiation and economic cooperation • Endemic corruption in government • Government grip on media, elections • Necessity of education/human resources
Peace Art Project/EUASAC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International donor perspective (EU) • Weapons reduction and peace consciousness (flame of peace) • Existing culture of violence • Importance of peace awareness through art • Capacity building for youth • International Resistance to the Proposed Tribunal
SILAKA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-conflict development of civil society • Peace movements/marches until 1998 • Decreasing importance of religious institutions for peace/development • Central role of NGOs and need to target peace issues directly • Conflict management/resolution training • Human resources training

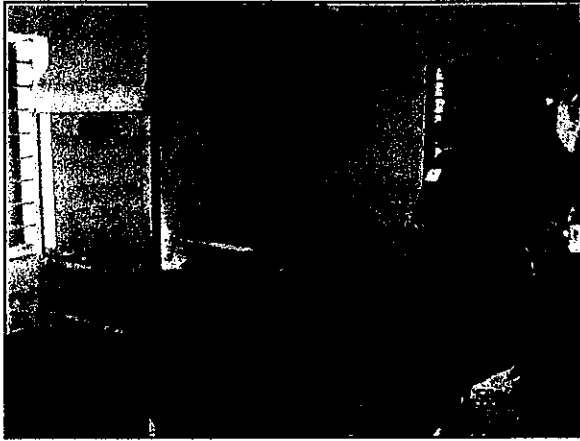
CMAC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to de-mining and Cambodian • Various methods of de-mining • Awareness and education • Importance of de-mining in securing a peaceful society
ACT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of peace related work in Cambodia • Coordination between domestic groups • Networking with international/regional groups • Introducing new issues/research areas to civil society groups • Crime and security • Nationalism and Racism
UNESCO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education - illiteracy, peace, human rights, multiculturalism • Impact of the Khmer Rouge violence on people • Bridging Khmer culture and western values through Buddhism • Living Values curriculum • Current policy environment • Future of education/educational policymaking
DCCAM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building culture of peace through awareness of the past • Collecting and documenting information about the genocide • Importance of the tribunal, justice for reconciliation, rule of law • Film about a woman who survived the Khmer Rouge rapes
CPD/CDRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict management/resolution training • Development and peace – poverty reduction, literacy, land disputes • Elections, Political culture, corruption vs. peace culture • Politicization of everyday life through democratization/decentralization • Comparison to Laos
JICA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main projects in Cambodia: anti-drug, demobilization and reintegration • Land law issues • Cooperation with other NGOs in Cambodia • Problems of lack of transparency
JSAC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weapons reductions programs (differences in different programs) • Peace vs. Development • Peace awareness and education • Capacity building with police and local officials • Other challenges and problems (corruption, cross-border weapons flows)

WGWR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recent progress towards a culture of peace • Developing peace education curriculum • Public Awareness Campaigns • Experience of being a local NGO • Working with the government • Community security initiatives
UNV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting volunteerism in Cambodia • Civil registration and its social impacts • GIPA AIDS program • Human rights education • Qualities required to work as a volunteer in a developing country • Changing face of aid (infrastructure to social reconstruction)
Cambodia Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issues for vulnerable groups (disabled, women) • Notions of peace for those most effected by violence • Building local capacity, management of NGOs
UNDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure and decentralization of rural development • Commune capacity building, participatory development • Conflict resolution in rural area • Actual state of democracy in Cambodia • Social development vs. state-building
Youth for Peace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation of youth in Cambodia, violence in youth culture • Importance of youth mobilization/ civic engagement • Peace education (informal and formal) • Youth workshops, conferences, events, group-based activities
Legal Aid of Cambodia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of legal system in Cambodia • Reconstruction of the legal system destroyed by the conflicts • Land grabbing issues, conflict, and community peace-building • Spreading a culture of law through media, workshops, etc.)
Khmer Ahimsa/Monks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building trust in communities • Non-violence as a philosophy and peace-building approach • Traditional conflict resolution techniques • Changing roles of monks and pagodas in peace-building and in society • Religious institutions and the government • Importance of NGOs and civil society sectors in modern democracy

TPO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cambodian concepts of mental health and traditional healing • Introducing western concepts of mental health • Group therapy and community building • Culturally appropriate ways to approach mental health issues • Securing community cooperation and evaluating results
IOM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking as a consequence of conflict or poverty • Working in former Khmer Rouge strongholds • National mental health program • PTSD and mental disorder/trauma in Cambodia
ADHOC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Rights in Cambodian culture, for peace-building • Monitoring systems • Right to education, employment, healing, voting • Investigation and intervention on land issues • Trafficking of women and children • Advocacy and media for developing democratic culture
JCCP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weapons collection at the grassroots level • Literacy for participation and economic opportunities • School construction, teacher training • Human resources capacity building

Some of the sessions included on-site visits to see what kind of work the organizations were actually doing, as highlighted in the following photographs.





Student Exchange Sessions

The participants also held sessions with groups of students from the (1) History Department and (2) the Media and Communication Department (at the Cambodian Communications Institute), within the Royal University of Phnom Penh, with whom TUFs has a student exchange agreement, and (3) the Cambodia Trust's Cambodian Prosthetics and Orthotics School (CSPO). Each of the three sessions included one or more local Professors and about 30 Cambodian students, and ran for 2-3 hours. The Program participants were able to share their views and impressions on a wide

variety of topics centered on peace and conflict issues and the idea of a 'culture of peace', and hear those of the local students. The participants were thus able to gain a good understanding of the situation of Cambodian youth, and the Cambodian students were able to query the participants about various topics in their respective countries of origin.

Much of the discussion focused on the meaning of peace and awareness of past conflicts and the past in general; the educational system; the role of youth in politics and of politics in Cambodia, including the current situation, democratization, and corruption; and the role of religion, other institutions, and western conceptions of human rights in building a culture of peace in Cambodia. The History students, as they attend a public university and are expected to take employment as



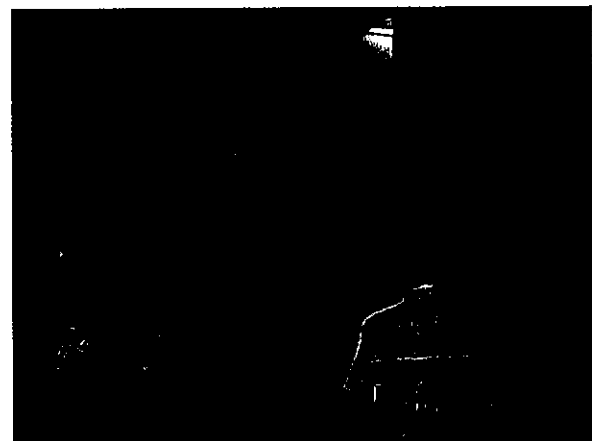
teachers of History or other subjects at public schools after their graduation, had much to say about the manner in which Cambodia's history of conflict is dealt with in formal and informal education. They were also very keen to discuss current international issues.

With the Media students the main topic of discussion was the current situation of media in Cambodia, its main problems and the need for increased professionalism, and its role in the development of the country including for progress in political reform and in peace-building.



Another primary topic was the importance of the International War Crimes Tribunal to try the remaining former Khmer Rouge members that is currently planned to take place in Cambodia once enough funding has been secured. The students held diverse views about the current situation in Cambodia, but were enthusiastic and optimistic about contributing to their country's future.

The session with the CSPO students presented a different kind of opportunity for the Program participants for several reasons. First, the CSPO students included about 10 non-Cambodian students from other South, Southeast, or Central Asian countries, which added a more international dimension to the discussion. Secondly, as the CSPO students did not have any specific training in either peace and conflict studies or related fields (like history or media), and in general have not attended tertiary academic education, the participants felt they were able to get a clearer idea from them of how the youth in the mass of the country see their situation and their country, unfiltered by western influences. In all three groups of students, there were several who had come to Phnom Penh from rural areas, and who were able to shed much light for the participants on the realities in the rural areas, which account for 90% of the population. Given that this trip did not allow for any extensive work in rural areas, this was a particularly important chance to gain some understanding of how most of the country lives and how they may feel about the topics under discussion.



Fieldwork

The actual fieldwork component of the Program consisted of several different activities. First, the group visited several villages outside of Phnom Penh with the Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) where they are active in aiding communities in their development efforts. They do this through meeting with village, commune, and other local leaders, and asking them to find out

what kinds of assistance the villagers need and want most. The primary types of assistance include physical resources and training on how to build and manage wells, rice banks, cow banks, and also funding and organization skills for women's self-help groups that include some type of micro-credit program. JVC showed a high level of sensitivity to local needs and a participatory and community-led development framework. They insist on villagers organizing making decisions for themselves, and to avoid aid dependency, they have strict regulations to regain the monetary value of any loans they make (cash, rice, other building materials) within three years of the lending date. They have had a good amount of success in keeping to these principles and at the same time making a real difference in the material and social life of the villages where they are active.



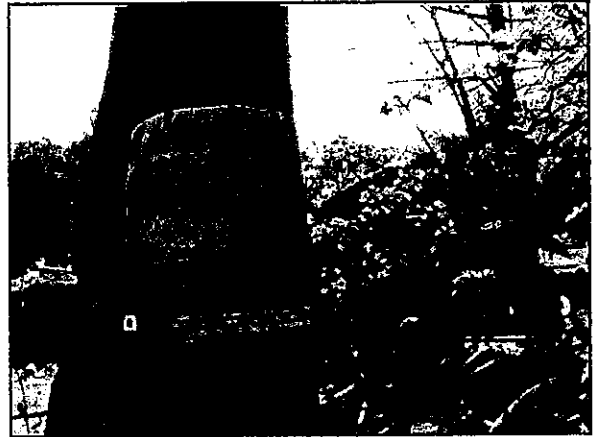
JVC afforded our group the opportunity to visit with several village leaders and question them about various topics including daily life in the village, relationships between villagers and the



remnants of the past conflicts in social life, managing conflict among villagers, history and education, the tribunals, the effects and effectiveness of decentralization policies in dissipating power and possibly over-politicizing everyday life, etc. We also had the chance to speak with individual villagers, and observe and experience the physical and social environment they reside in.



A second field experience came through the Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia (JSAC), who arranged for the group to visit a Peace Awareness workshop they were holding in Siem Reap and well as to see the results of some of the development projects they have implemented. JSAC is very careful to draw a line between these two types of work that they do despite being under the umbrella of the 'Weapons for Development' initiatives ongoing in Cambodia. The representatives stressed the point that development efforts are not being offered as incentives for individuals or communities to turn in weapons. Peace awareness means promoting the idea that peace is a valuable end in its own right. In this way people gain a kind of 'peace consciousness' that is more sustainable in maintaining peace than simple programs where weapons are exchanged for monetary disbursements or even other community-wide benefits. This visit was very instructive as the participants also visited two other groups working on the same issues, but taking different approaches (EUASAC and WGWR).



On-site, the group was able to observe a workshop being led by a local partner NGO of JSAC's in progress, as well as have some contact and communication with the villagers about their

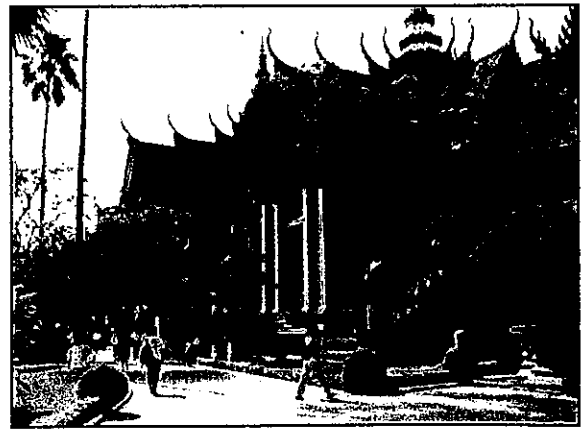


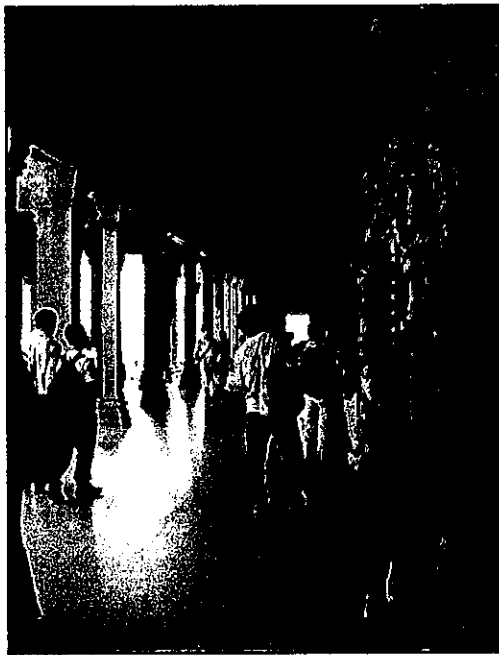
reactions and thoughts to the peace awareness campaign. The group was also able to talk to the JSAC representatives about the specific logistical aspects of their work, and how they go about ensuring that their approach to peace-building and development is understood by the beneficiaries of their programs.

Finally, the participants conducted individual fieldwork activities (e.g. interviewing, surveying, multicultural contact and participant observation) during several designated time slots in the schedule and whenever they had free time. Through these efforts they were able to establish a much better understanding of the lives of the people around them and the various environments they live in, the way Cambodians relate to each other and to their society, what they think about political and social institutions, and so on. Some of the insights the members of the Program gained through the activities described in this section are reflected in their contributions found later in this report.

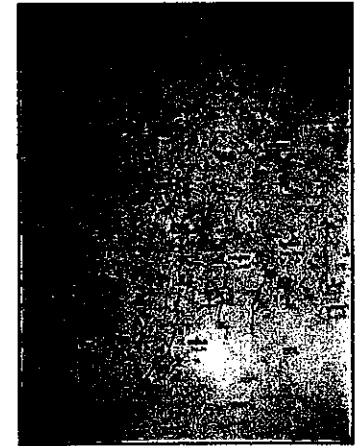
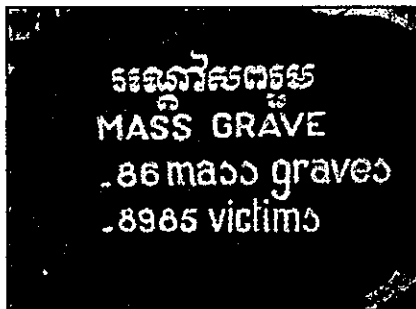
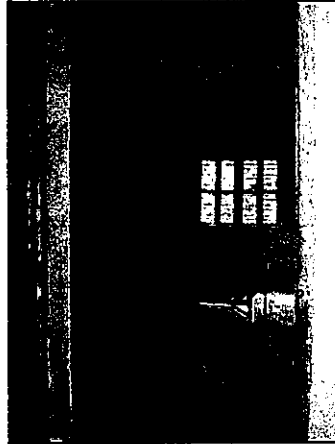
Cultural Study

Trying to get some idea of pre-modern and modern and contemporary Cambodian culture was vitally important for the participants to really understand the roots of the culture that exists there now, what regional and ideological influences went into the evolution of that culture, and how a culture of peace is being rebuilt or can be brought about (if it doesn't exist currently). Therefore, participants visited such places as the Royal Palace, National Museum, the Russian and Central Markets, and Wat Phnom in Phnom Penh, several new temples and pagodas in rural villages outside of Phnom Penh, and the Angkor Wat temple complexes and the Cultural Village in Siem Reap. Some of which can be seen in the photos below.





The participants also covered a good amount of the capital city, including slums and other areas, during their free field research time slots. Finally, the Program also included specific time allotted for visiting museums and memorials dedicated to educating and memorializing the Cambodian history of conflict. This included the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum on the site of the infamous S-21 Security Jail, the Cheung Ek Killing Fields Memorial, the archives at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, and the War Memorial Museum in Siem Reap, from which some photos have been included below.



Outcomes and Future Plans

We had hoped for and are now confident that we were able to achieve several important outcomes through this Program. First and foremost, the participants were able to have a rich and in-depth experience of the realities of a post-conflict situation. Such knowledge is vital in augmenting the more theoretical understanding of such issues that they gain through their current university studies and research, and as a case with which to compare future situations in which they find themselves working. This is especially true given the very subtle and context-dependant nature of social and cultural phenomenon as were focused on in this Program, and is evinced to some degree in the nine essays included in the next section of this report. The participants have developed some new interests in issues such as social and cultural aspects of peace-building and conflict resolution, human rights, peace education and journalism after having seen the impact these issues are having or potentially could have in Cambodia.

A second intended goal of the Program was to facilitate mutual understanding between the participants and the many individual Cambodians they met to: (1) aid in the spread of international awareness of peace and conflict issues, (2) enhance the participants competence and sensitivity in working internationally, and (3) provide them with a broader sense of what kinds of impact development and peace related work can have and how to assess this. From their own assessments, the Program was highly successful in providing the participants an opportunity to gain the mutual understanding required for achieving these three goals.

Additionally, as it was the first time for many of the participants to have substantial contact with a variety of civil society groups, they reported that they appreciated very much the chance to see how NGO's and other groups are initiated and work; what challenges they face logistically, financially, politically, and so on; and how the fact that their perspectives as shaped by their mandates and their staff's personal background greatly impact their approach to their work, has consequences for the people whose lives they are working to improve. Given the short history of the peace-building sector and the diverse range of areas from which people working in this sector come from, we believe that this will prove to be an important lesson for the participants in the future when they are engaged in work related to peace-building, conflict, and social and cultural change. Also, as several of the participants are already or in training to become faculty members at universities, they are expecting to be able to use this experience in their future teaching.

Our efforts to increase the public awareness in Japan about Cambodia's past and current

situation, and especially Japan's involvement in the rebuilding of that country, will be ongoing. In addition to the public symposium we held and the collaborative research reports (in English with abridged versions in Japanese) we made available on the internet, we would like to continue to bring this issue up for discussion in this country in the future through initiating more public events. Especially now that Japan is attempting to play a larger role internationally, in particular in the area peace-building and human security as is highlighted by recent government policy papers and increasing involvement in UN operations, as well as trying to rethink their bilateral aid policies (Japan is and has been the largest donor to Cambodia for many years now), the public is becoming more attuned to gaining a deeper understanding of such issues. Eventually we would like to contribute to the public debate through various activities, for which successfully completing this Program was an important and valuable first step.

In terms of specific future plans, we will also be holding a series of workshops where students will jointly discuss and evaluate our experiences and findings within our post-graduate curriculum at TUFSPCS. This Program, specifically, can fit easily into our curricula as it emphasizes practical experience in the field of peace-building. This gives us an opportunity to evaluate our experience with peace-building in post-conflict Cambodia by comparing it to similar experiences in other regions. Several of the students are planning to expand the work they started in this Program in their Master's theses, for which they will possibly return to Cambodia for research later this year or in 2006 to partake in research projects they are currently setting up with the help of organizations with whom they met during the Program. Finally, The TUFSPCS program itself is also planning to stay engaged with the Cambodian situation and to propose and carry out several research projects in Cambodia regularly over the next few years. We expect future projects and students to be able to build off the contact and experience we have gained through this Program.

As a result of the success we have had in executing this Program, the Japan International Cooperation Agency has agreed to fully fund a Cambodian student to attend the PCS Master's degree program from 2006-2008, which will be especially important for us in forming new relationships with the research community in Cambodia in order to stay engaged in the situation there as was mentioned above. The TUFSPCS students and faculty plan as well to maintain an ongoing relationship with some of the professors and student groups that we met or made contact with, i.e., Royal University of Phnom Penh, Cambodia Communications Institute, and the Peace Studies program at the University of Cambodia, as well as with NGO staff and student volunteers for future collaborative research efforts.

We also need to address some of the weaknesses of the Program that came out of our discussions with the participants and their evaluation forms for improving the quality of our programming in the future. Specifically, stemming from the fact that this is the very first year for the TUF-PCS postgraduate program, and this Cambodia Program is only the second field research program that we have organized and executed, the organizers did not make the best choices in certain areas. First of all, the bulk of our research about Cambodia was done in the short time between receiving the grant from UNESCO and leaving for our trip. Therefore, we did not have the time to develop a specific enough research focus with the participants. We plan to not repeat this situation in the future by developing our research plans more actively before we apply for specific grants, and to schedule the fieldwork portion of future programs so as to leave a more substantial period of time for research and preparations. Also to provide participants with a more specific research focus, the organizers need to consult more experts who have deep knowledge on the region and issues in question, and we need to talk with the participants from early on about exactly what the goals and objectives of the program are and to jointly decide how we should achieve those.

In this specific program we allowed the participants, who are also MA level students, to take the initiative to decide what research topic they would like to focus on, what types of activities they would like to organize, and which they would like to attend. As the organizers of this Program also have limited experience in post-conflict issues as well as in doing on-the-ground fieldwork, we felt this was the best decision to take. However, we realize that as we gain more experience and competence with doing such research, we should take a more leading role in setting objectives, choosing the research focus, organizing activities, and guiding the students in general. We have to maintain better balance between having the students do these things on their own as learning and skill-building experiences, and knowing when we, as organizers, should take decisions on our own initiative. For example, student feedback has let us know that they would have preferred that we provide basic research materials rather than leaving them to do the bulk of their preparatory research independently. In addition to the difficulty they had in securing such literature, it seems that without taking a concerted effort in such a direction, the participants cannot close the gaps in their backgrounds and interests. Again this requires a good familiarity with the region or topics in question on the part of someone in our faculty or securing outside experts to advise us. At the same time, the participants have requested that we also find a way to provide more guidance for the research that they do independently in the field. We acknowledge that it is very important in the future to ensure that students are comfortable with various social research methods, and have translators and sufficient time at their disposal to do rich and

productive research. We also found through this trip that the size of the group mattered very when approaching individual and groups of Cambodians during fieldwork. We have to keep this basic constraint of social research in mind, especially when our topic is focused on uncovering and understanding deep social processes as was the case in this Program.

Lastly, several other issues came up in the course of our Program. We decided to involve the participants in the writing of this report. This was again to provide them skill-building experience, but also because the papers they produced for this report were used in the public symposium we held in early February and disseminated on our website. This turned out to be difficult for the students because of the quick deadline for this report, especially as the group returned from our research trip to Cambodia in the middle of the winter holiday break. In the future, we will separate any reports we need to provide to the funding organization and those we use for our own research and publication purposes so that the students don't have to be involved in more administratively focused reports such as this that usually come with strict deadlines. The timing of our public symposium is also a source of concern for the students since it falls in the middle of their exam and term paper period. We will try to improve our scheduling overall in the future. On a related note we need to find more concrete ways to make such programs sustainable for our organization as well as for the participants. Of course, we need to form stronger links with groups working on similar issues in other countries, and especially post-conflict situations, as our postgraduate program grows and we accumulate more experience. Using the Internet (e.g. web pages dedicated to ongoing research focus areas) to maintain contact and working relationships with the people and groups we met in Cambodia, as one of the students has suggested, may be a good answer to this problem.

PART 2: IMPRESSIONS AND ANALYSIS

Constructing a Culture of Peace in Cambodia

Fernando Palacio

Introduction

The present analysis is an attempt to approach the issue of building a *Culture of Peace* in post-conflict countries, particularly in Cambodia. As a student of Peace and Conflicts Studies at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS), having had the chance to come close to a society like Cambodia and to the efforts that are being made there in order to move on from its protracted conflict towards a more functional and more peaceful society, was a very enriching experience.

As a group, we not only had the opportunity to learn about the process in a theoretical manner by doing pre- and post-field trip literature reviews, which contributed to developing a general mental framework for the situation; but also, thanks to the support of UNESCO and TUFS, we had the possibility of going on a field trip that opened the door to a much closer look at Cambodian society. Thus, we were able to directly see and learn from the actual work being done on the spot by a wide number of actors, such as the government and its ministries or agencies, international and local NGOs, bilateral donors and multilateral agencies such as UNDP or UNESCO, and perhaps most importantly, by the Cambodian people themselves.

Our group was able to interact with the people who are doing the work of building this culture of peace, people committed to the process at different levels, such as governmental officers, organizations' members, teachers and students, and mainly the protagonists of this story: Cambodians. These intercourses were both formal and informal, and both had a deep impact on the way we have come to understand post conflict societies in general and the Cambodian case in particular. We were able to gather and internalize a large amount of information and different experiences, all of which have contributed to a more holistic comprehension of what has been done so far, what is being done at the moment, and what is still to be done in the future.

On a more personal level, the experience we had in Cambodia has sharpened my understanding of post conflict societies and the kind of work that is required to overcome the causes and consequences of war, both at the social development level (politics, economics, culture, educational, etc.) and at an emotional and interpersonal level. I have learned about specific required tasks and skills that will be essential not only to the writing of my own MA research thesis, but also for my future work.

The trip has broadened my theoretical knowledge and deepened my knowledge of concrete concepts and skills such as developing, managing and assessing projects, the importance of getting the consensus and promoting people's participation at the time of creating and carrying out projects aimed at them. I have witnessed in practical terms that "*peace is, by nature and by definition a political model*" and thus it must be treated and approached as such. As mentioned before, this is an attempt to approach the issue of building a *Culture of Peace* in post-conflict countries, particularly in Cambodia. In so doing I will develop through the following lines *one possible theoretical framework* to identify what the elements and interactions of such a general concept as *Culture of Peace* can be.

Main Argument

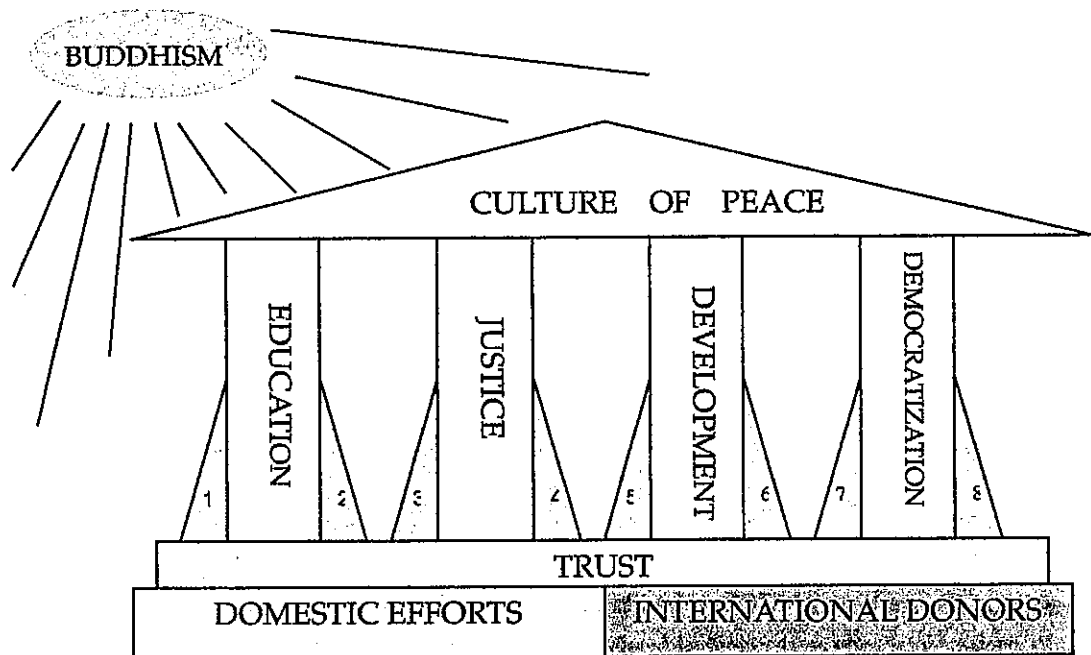
The protracted conflict in Cambodia has left its marks all over its territory and its people. The older generations are the central characters of the conflict, as it is they who took part in the fighting, and were victimized as well. The younger generations, as they are directly related to the conflicting parties, have also been injured and affected both in terms of physical and emotional integrity. Subsequently, it is they who are currently responsible for the development and rebuilding of the nation. These marks can easily be observed, for example, in the relatively late economical, political, and social development of the country in comparison with its neighbors in Southeast Asia; the amount on antipersonnel mines still active, the quantity of small arms still in possession of civilians; the substantial cost of the conflict in terms of victims – amputees, disabled people, and post-conflict emotionally stressed persons – and the lack of state institutional capacity to deal with daily matters and fragile governance.

However, one of the most striking marks one can see is the way Khmer people relate to each other through the stigma of suspicion. The bloody nature of the Khmer Rouge regime and the following Vietnamese occupation have made Cambodian miss the most essential element of any kind of peaceful relationship: trust. In my personal view and from the experience of our trip, today's Cambodian society's most urgent need seems to be: trust building as a way to achieve peace. Peace, not only as the absence of war, but as a state of mind. In fact, Huge efforts are being carried out towards this aim. Both domestic and international endeavors are being supported by indigenous and external sources, and although most perspectives are only relatively optimistic in terms of economic development – at least in the short- and middle-terms – the consolidation of a culture of peace seems to be on its way. Taking into account UNESCO's definition of Culture of Peace¹ and by observing Cambodian society today we can see that mutual efforts (domestic and

¹ "The culture of peace is based on the principles established in the Charter of the United Nations and on respect

international) are slowly leading to some level of internalization and acknowledgment of this goal by the most relevant societal actors. Achievements of this goal are regularly assessed by a wide set of organizations and by the government at different levels. The most noticeable variable that can be observed is the progressive decrease (quantitatively and qualitatively) in the number of violent incidents on a daily basis.

Perhaps a way to understand how the construction and consolidation of a *Culture of Peace* in today's Cambodia can emerge may be seen in the following graphic, which relates all actors involved through an integrative perspective that includes all essential areas. The graphic can be seen as a Greek temple, with a frontispiece of Culture of Peace as the final goal, held by four main columns: Education, Justice, Development and Democratization; all of which are individually supported by a number of smaller columns showing specific areas (triangles with numbers in the graphic). The base is a firm monolithic stone showing the foundation of a peaceful society: trust. The temple is built on two interrelated bricks: Domestic and International Donors efforts, and the role of religion -Buddhism- as a sun that nourishes the structure.



for human rights, democracy and tolerance, the promotion of development, education for peace, the free flow of information and the wider participation of women as an integral approach to preventing violence and conflicts, and efforts aimed at the creation of conditions for peace and its consolidation." (UNESCO.A/Res/52/13, 15 January 1998, paragraph. 2)

This graphic gives us a simple tool by which we can approach the topic and acquire a general picture. However, if we take every piece of it and analyze each part of our temple by itself and in relation with the rest of the pieces, we will have a much more complex framework, and a more realistic view of the current state of affairs. Considering that *peace is not only the absence of conflict, but requires a positive, dynamic participatory process where dialogue is encouraged and conflicts are solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation*², the four main columns become essential requirements for peace to occur, understanding that peace is only *one kind* among many possible interpersonal relations that must be based on mutual reliance and through a constructive commitment of concerned actors. Let us now take a bit more detailed look.

Building Blocks of Peace

A culture of peace is a goal in itself, but at the same time it needs to be understood as something that is constructed and as something that must be learned in order to fully crystallize in people's attitudes and behaviors. Thus, our first column comes into place: EDUCATION. The role of Education at the time of building a culture of peace is essential because it is the main tool through which values are taught, it is the arena where people actively contribute to the formation of a shared identity.

In the case of Cambodia, Education is supported by two smaller columns, FORMAL and INFORMAL, which represent education in terms of peace-building and teaching a Culture of Peace. Today these two subsidiary columns seem to have taken different directions since the official curriculum does not include any kind of subject teaching either recent Cambodian history or specifically on the genocide. There are also no subjects on conflict resolution, civic education, democratic principles, or Human Rights. Surprisingly, the Ministry of Education seems very confident of the fact that those polemic areas will be taught directly by Buddhist monks to children and families.³

On the other hand informal education – mostly distributed by Multilateral Agencies and domestic or international NGO's – has taken a very active role in providing Cambodian people with innovative tools to resolve conflicts and create training programs on peace building, disarmament, Human Rights, Women and Children Rights, and so forth. Clear examples of these are the work of organizations like UNESCO, UNDP, Youth for Peace, TPO⁴, Documentation

² As it reads in UNESCO's 1995 Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy

³ As stated by Mr. Aun Chan – Syavouth, Director of Cabinet of the Ministry of Education, and the Minister Kol Pheng himself in the interviews we had with them in Phnom Penh on December 17th, 2004.

⁴ Transcultural Psycho-social Organization

Center of Cambodia, JICA⁵ or JSAC.⁶

Without JUSTICE there can simply not be Peace and a Culture of Peace cannot be constructed. The Cambodian case today is one of the most outstanding cases of impunity. Perpetrators of the genocide are still free, and the most potent case – Pol Pot himself – died in 1998 without any kind of formal trial. This fact is present in today's Cambodians' minds, and even though many people prefer to plainly forget about it...*how is it possible to achieve peace of mind when no justice has been carried out?*

Justice in Cambodia can be seen as supported by two smaller columns representing domestic or ordinary crimes resolution and the International Penal Tribunal for war criminals. In this aspect Cambodia is facing big challenges due to a lack of trained lawyers, most of whom were killed during the Khmer Rouge regime, lack of institutional capacity at the Judiciary level and a severe shortage of financial resources to deal with daily cases and ordinary justice. In regard to the special tribunals for crimes against humanity, there is no agreement among Cambodians about the purpose of the tribunal and risks of new conflicts arising once it starts.

The cost of this international tribunal is overwhelming (approximately \$52 million US) and this causes two debates: 1) why not spend that money on development projects that will help people look to the future and not to the past; and 2) how to get all the required funds before all the Khmer Rouge leaders die – as they are getting old and sick. So far, the Cambodian government has committed it self to support half of the costs, while among international donors only the Australian government has decided to cooperate with \$2 million US. From the international ground the tribunals are perceived as facing the following challenges that still need to be solved: *a) Insufficient guarantees for international fair trial standards; b) Insufficient guarantees for an independent and impartial court; c) Failure to incorporate the strongest principles of criminal responsibility and law on defenses; d) Inadequate victim and witness protection, e) Absence of provisions on reparations; f) Failure to link the proposed judicial procedure on the rebuilding of the Cambodian criminal justice system.*⁷

DEVELOPMENT is perhaps the area where most considerable improvements have taken place so far. According to the UNDP 2003 Human Development Report *Cambodia remains one of the poorest Countries in the world ranking 130 out of 175 in the Human Development Index.*⁸ The report places

⁵ JICA, Japan International Cooperation Agency

⁶ JSAC, Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia

⁷ AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL Public Statement. AI Index: ASA 23/003/2003 (Public) News Service No: 065 21 March 2003.

⁸ <http://www.un.org.kh/undp/index.asp?page=cambodia.asp>

Cambodia in the 32 top priority countries where urgent action needs to be taken in order to meet the Millennium Development Goals.⁹ A big number of challenges still remain, such as extreme poverty and inequality, lack of women integration and enhancement, government-controlled and irresponsible (unprofessional) mass media, lack of human and institutional capacity, and the lack of resources to finance Cambodia's development agenda. The country however, has a growing economy and good prospects for economic development provided the current challenges are overcome. The subsidiary columns represent a wide series of activities that are taking place among many groups aiming, for example, to improve governance, organize the macro-economy and taxation system, increase general productivity, improve people's health, enhance rural and urban management, etc.

DEMOCRATIZATION. Cambodia is an emerging democracy and a post-conflict country. It held its third democratic elections, which constitute a significant step forward in its rebuilding process, in July 2003. However, it is also experiencing some setbacks, such as high levels of corruption, lack of governmental transparency, and no real independence of powers (especially in the Legislative and Judicial in regard to the Executive). The two smaller columns supporting the big one represent the efforts that are being made with the support of UNDP through the SEILA and CARERE I and II programs, which aim to reverse these setbacks through **DESCENTRALIZATION** of the government and by enhancing the people's **PARTICIPATION** in the process of assessing real needs and empowering them in the political decision making process.

These four main columns are interrelated to each other and to the whole of the building as well. They are the essential means to supporting the construction of a Culture of Peace, but they also constitute goals by themselves. There can no be real Development without Education, Justice and Democracy for all, as these three concepts are *per se* intrinsic ingredients in the very definition of development. In order for Democracy to take root it requires educated citizens who are proactive and responsible. In order for it to be consolidated strong and functional institutions that are able to address the people's needs are required, as is an independent judiciary system able to monitor and correct the performance of the institutions and their actors. Justice cannot be envisioned in a society where inequality is the rule and where people prefer to utilize informal ways and private violence to deal with their conflicts, due to the fact that they cannot appeal to the formal system due to its excessive cost and lack of access. Justice is blasphemy in a society where children do not have access to school because they are sent by their parents to work and beg in order to

⁹ UN Millennium Development Goals

support their families. Finally, Education cannot take place in a society where people are unable to choose their own curriculum as a way to address their needs, both short- and long-term. Education becomes an inaccessible dream for youngsters who wish to leave the poverty trap if they lack the financial resources to access it, and finally becomes an institutional lie if the government does not address it seriously and responsibly. These four elements constitute individual rights that in many cases are being neglected in today's Cambodia, but that is a completely different topic, thus I will not enter into it.

At the base of our temple we have a monolithic stone: TRUST, upon which the whole building is standing. One of the things we most often heard during our interviews and visits to different organizations and ministries was the fact that *Cambodian people do not trust each other*. During the years of the Khmer Rouge regime and later during the Vietnamese occupation, people were persuaded to support different and conflicting groups, children were taught to distrust their parents and their families, friendship was considered to be a disvalue, all for the sake of personal and ideology safety. Perhaps the most painful lesson learned from this experience is realizing *the human capacity to destroy human relations* – which ultimately are the base of any communal life.

Today, Cambodians face the immense challenge of rebuilding themselves from the very bottom. They need to define who they are and who they want to be. They need to rethink their identity to themselves as individuals, to their communities as members of the group, and to the world as a nation. This process will take time and effort, which must be made by Cambodians themselves with the support of the International Community. This is how the last two pieces of our temple come into place; both the Cambodian People (population and government) and the International Community (public, private, and non governmental sectors) hold the responsibility to build a culture of peace for Cambodia. Without the commitment of both parties the whole building will fall apart.

Finally, Religion plays a key role in structuring Cambodian people's behavior, and thus, BUDDHISM is represented as a warming sun outside the temple because even though we heard a lot on the importance of Buddhism at the time of constructing a Culture of Peace in Cambodia, it always seems to me that religion is a very passive actor in this process. Pagodas are a characteristic feature of the Cambodian landscape, and Monks are central personages in the personality of the country. For example, in the dualism between good and harmful that influences all activities and decisions in life, nothing is ever up to chance. All actions will bear consequence in this life or the next. Difficulties are seen as a punishment or as a retribution for one's deeds.

However, in terms of political participation and active "measurable" work towards a culture of peace, Monks do not have a strong and united voice these days. This tendency has been increasingly strengthened since the riots of 1998, when the National Police killed 6 activist monks as they campaigned for peace. Ever since, monks seem to have gone back to more religiously founded peacekeeping methods such as meditating and visiting the houses of regular people to teach and explain more about Buddhist principles, while vigorous actions like Peace parades or more "tangible" methods have been left aside.

This is how all the pieces of the analysis come together to give us a general understanding of the process. Even though the structure of this building seems solid and fixed, it should be understood for what it is: a tool to appreciate the work that has been done so far in terms of building a Culture of Peace. The stones of which our temple is made are still fragile and permeable and thus require a lot of continuing and consolidated effort to keep them as an integrated endeavor. Time is a central aspect that has to be taken into account, since only time and actions will generate the expected result: a *Culture of Peace* based on the principles of the UN, respectful of human rights, democracy, and tolerance, that promotes development, education, the free flow of information and the wider participation of women in order to prevent violence and conflicts, and to consolidate peace.

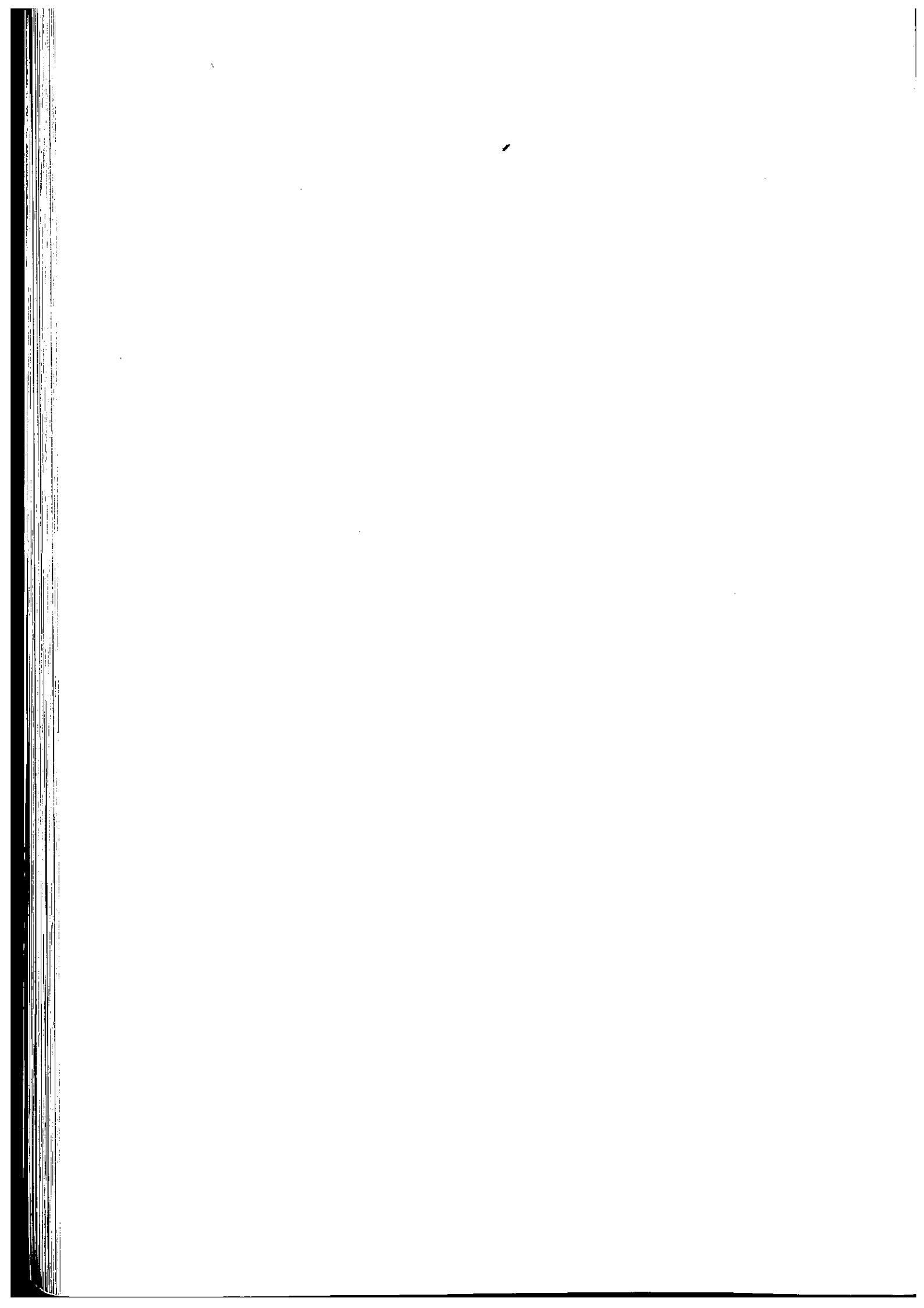
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Political Participation and Peace Culture

Hiromi HAYASHI

My Impressions and Analysis

Throughout our research trip to Cambodia, whichever organization we visited and whomever we talked to, our questions for them seemed to center around the following topics:

- 1) The issues surrounding teaching the history of conflict to Cambodia's young generation (controversy over whether or not to teach it at all, how to teach, by whose standard/perspective it should be taught, etc.)
- 2) Corruption at all levels of government in all sectors.
- 3) Religion's, especially Buddhism's and Buddhist monks' roles in reconciliation, peace-building, and conflict prevention.
- 4) At organizations that specialize in arms management, the effectiveness of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) collection projects and weapons reduction education programs conducted in rural areas.

One theme that connects the above enquiries is as follows: in order to alleviate the problems pestering Cambodia, such as corruption in politics and economic and social underdevelopment, and to move forward to creating a more peaceful society that is also stable, Cambodian people need to become more involved in political life. Civil society is still in its burgeoning state in Cambodia, but it is sure to grow. Each and every Cambodian's more active participation in politics will lead to a more peace-conscious society and a democratic government more responsible for the people's well being. It is inspiring in this sense to turn to the remark of Ms. Thida C. Khus, Executive Director of SILAKA, a prominent Phnom Penh-based peace-building training and advocacy non-governmental organization (NGO) which our group visited, that "Peace is political."¹⁰

In Cambodia today, the effects of more than thirty years of conflict are still felt in various ways, one of which is the people's reluctance to engage themselves in political affairs. This is not surprising given the harsh memories of social polarization that accompanied the conflict and made people suspicious and distrustful of each other. If "Conflict viewed through a political economy lens is not about irrational breaking down of societies and economies: rather 'it is the re-

¹⁰ Interview with Ms. Thida C. Khus at the SILAKA office in Phnom Penh, December 17, 2004. We are so grateful of her for speaking out of her own experience in dealing with various government sectors and sharing with us her deeply-thought idea that peace does not consist merely of absence of war, nor does it come into existence only by non-political teaching for people to be internally good and peaceful persons.

ordering of society in particular ways,"¹¹ as Goodhand recounts, the conflict in Cambodia caused a re-ordering of society in extremely destructive ways, and the effect is people's negative attitudes towards politics. The safest way for the people under the communist regime to protect themselves was to remain silent and stay away from any political activities.

At the same time, if people in post-conflict societies do not educate themselves in the meaning of democracy and in the ways to exercise their inherent rights through political process, they risk going back to the days of violent political contests or totalitarian rule. It should be stressed that, "Societies which have experienced violent conflict are in a sense 'geared up' for war, and are more vulnerable to future violence than pre-conflict societies with similar risk factors."¹² A post-conflict society such as that of Cambodia is much more at risk of falling into the spiral of violence again precisely because there exists a legacy of induced polarization and subsequent grievances. Therefore, one of the main tasks for the people in the post-conflict society as well as for the international community is to reduce such risk factors. In turn, an effective way to reduce the objective risk factors is to raise the people's political awareness.

Transition to a *Culture of Peace* in a post-conflict society must include establishing clear boundaries between political contests and violence not only in political institutions but also in people's mindsets. Individuals should be able to regard it as a matter of course that politics and violence do not go together. Simple as it sounds, it is the most essential element of a Culture of Peace in any society. The alternative to the linkage between politics and violence is a democratic political process, where different political viewpoints meet and people are guaranteed freedom to express their opinion.

Since Cambodian society is now reshuffling, as it were, towards the creation of a Culture of Peace, the people need to participate in the process to build a sound, functioning, democratic political culture. This is a chance for them to transform their society – the state, institutions, livelihoods, political culture and social relations – into one based on a Culture of Peace. All Cambodians must be educated and motivated to exercise their right to participate in the process through such channels as demonstrations, strikes, publicizing complaints across by using print and electronic media, protests by the opposition and by NGOs on their behalf, and other forms of non-violent opposition. Peace is political and so is peace-building.

¹¹ Jonathan Goodhand, "Enduring Disorder and Persistent Poverty: A Review of the Linkages between War and Chronic Poverty," p. 631.

¹² Ibid. p. 633.

I will illustrate below how the characteristics of today's Cambodia represented by each of the above-mentioned four enquiries can be linked in terms of the need for Cambodians' political involvement.

1) Teaching of the recent conflict history in formal school settings is bound to be political and controversial in any society, given the existence of lingering hostility and suspicions between former enemies. For all concerned parties to first agree on whether the history should be taught in schools and second decide how it should be written in the textbooks, as many people as possible, from experts of history to public officials to ordinary citizens, from teachers to students to parents, from perpetrators of crime to victims, must take part in the debate. Such a process will facilitate and ensure objectivity in history lessons.

2) To tackle the problem of corruption, one of the most intractable obstacles to sound political development in Cambodia, there must be, along with a working law enforcement system, a mechanism where the electorate can proactively monitor government spending and have some control over the budget through the legislature. Lack of accountability in the government partially stems from lack of vigorous monitoring structures. Sustainable peace-building includes building the capacity of governments for just and competent governance. Peace-building also includes developing the capacity of civil society, including local NGOs, to put pressure on the government's competence. As broad electorate pressure on the government can work effectively for pursuing transparency and accountability, not only at the national level but also at the local community level, people need to be empowered to exercise such pressure.

Fostering a vigorous and functioning civil society capable of pursuing a transparent government in Cambodia entails changing people's view of their government. A main root cause of Cambodia's corruption-filled politics can be found in the nation's paternalistic political soil. It also poses a challenge to reforming the overly centralized government. Professor Sorpong Peou of Sophia University points out that "The culture of reliance on leaders within political parties still seems pervasive."¹³ At the general public level, the majority of Cambodians still hold a paternalistic view of government, which inhibits the government's transparency and accountability by allowing government officials to act arbitrarily as 'protectors' of the people. Such a political culture has impeded the process or even the idea of decentralizing their intra-

¹³ Sorpong Peou, with S. Ham, and S. Chanto, etc., *International Assistance for Institution Building in Post-Conflict Cambodia: Working Paper 26*, p. 26.

party governance. The vice of such an inbuilt culture must be addressed to pull politics down to the people's participatory decision-making level.

3) Buddhist monks can indirectly promote political consciousness by means of propagating the ideals of respect for life (or human rights), love of peace, non-violent ways of struggle for a just society, and so forth. Over ninety percent of Cambodia's 14 million are adherents of Theravada Buddhism, the dominant religion of the Khmer people since the thirteenth century.¹⁴ Cambodia's state motto is, "Nation, Religion, King." Moreover, Cambodia's constitution makes Buddhism the state religion.¹⁵ Buddhism obviously plays a major part in Cambodians' social life. It is said that traditionally, pagodas and monks have occupied a central part in "schooling, moral education, community decision making, political advice, spiritual counsel, and conflict resolution."¹⁶ Catherine Morris goes even further to claim:

Buddhism is the only institution that cuts across all political and social divisions in Cambodia. The Buddhist clergy evokes widespread popular deference, and has exceptional power to sway people at the grassroots level.¹⁷

Although Buddhist monks' power to leverage public opinion or mobilization has been severely cut back since the government crack down of the 1998 Peace March, given their social status, monks still have the potential to rally calls among people for just governance through peaceful means. Despite the fact that religion and religious leaders throughout the history of mankind have been exploited or manipulated for political purposes, and Cambodia is no exception in that aspect, freedom of expression through religious means must be guaranteed in a democratic society and people should demand it to be guaranteed.

4) Some weapons collection programs present a successful example of encouraging former Khmer Rouge combatants to be advocates of peace and incorporating them back into local communities. It was inspiring to see, in the video we watched at the Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia (JSAC) Siem Reap workshop site, that the NGO has a former Khmer Rouge commander to talk to his fellow villagers on behalf of their abandoning weapons, using his background to make the NGO's message even more convincing. The program showed that there are positive ways of encouraging former soldiers to participate in civilian activities, which enable their successful reintegration into community. Participation in local

¹⁴ Cathrine Morris, "Peacebuilding in Cambodia: The Role of Religion."
<http://www.peacemakers.ca/research/Cambodia/ReligionandPeacebuildingReport1a>

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

politics can also be a useful method to build trusting relationships between security forces and civilians.

The works of SALW reduction NGOs also contribute to the building of grassroots-level democratic processes by offering villagers a forum for dialogue. According to JSAC and other NGOs specializing in weapons reduction, one of the reasons why people keep small arms even today is lack of trust between security forces and civilians.¹⁸ Aiming to build trust between security forces and civilians, JSAC programs invite policemen to their workshops together with civilian villagers, offering them chances to share their ideas with each other about security issues and concerns. Both the policemen and villagers (hopefully) gradually gain mutual trust, which is a base for developing a democratic decision-making system, through such meetings. Considering that eighty five percent of Cambodia's population lives in rural villages,¹⁹ starting to raise political awareness at the grassroots level seems very effective.

The purpose of encouraging people to be politically active is not to create unnecessary divisions among them, although some might fear such a consequence. It is not ungrounded that Cambodians who suffered from destructive polarization of their society in the recent past hold reservations against active political involvement. Cambodians at the same time have learned the hard way that complicity, silence, or apathy on their part during the years of conflict were not conducive to relieving the social turmoil they experienced. In fact, the young generation in Cambodia seems headed for much more involved in politics. The university students we met in Phnom Penh showed their willingness to speak out about politics, or at least about the country's political problems, and were evidently capable of doing so.

Promoting Cambodians' participation at all levels of civic life is one of the keys to a Culture of Peace in the country. It is of course by no means a panacea to all of Cambodia's problems, as peace-building requires a full range of approaches, processes, and stages for effecting a transformation towards a stable society. But, civic participation from all walks of life is a necessary step to cope with difficult issues and toward a promising future. People in Cambodia need to be more aware of the importance of participatory decision-making processes. After all, peace is political and peace-building is a political process.

¹⁸ JSAC organizational leaflet, given at TUF5-JSAC meeting at JSAC Phnom Penh office on December 21, 2004.

¹⁹ Judy L. Ledgerwood, "Rural Development in Cambodia: The View from the Village," Asia Society.
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Application of This Thesis to My Personal Research

My personal academic research focuses on the development of political discourse between conservatives and liberals in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Although the social conditions and situation are different from those of Cambodia, issues of political participation have gained significance lately in Iran, too. Iranians were quite enthusiastic about the prospect of political reform or liberalization after the first election in May 1997 of President Mohammad Khatami, who was believed to be more progressive and sympathetic towards liberal voices than his contemporary mullahs. Towards the middle of his second term however, those who supported the President began to turn away from politics in general, as was shown in the low turnout rate to the polling stations in the parliamentary elections in February 2004. There is growing disenchantment among the electorate with the so-called reformist power's inability to bring about real change or any substantial improvement in the political system, in addition to much disillusionment with the conservative-dominated politics.

This increasing indifference towards politics, however, does not help to better their lives. A main challenge for Iranians, as in the case of Cambodians, is how to start mobilizing people again into vibrant, yet non-violent, political discourse in order to form a more democratic state system. In that sense, both Cambodia's and Iran's cases are worth paying attention to in terms of measuring the success of constructing democracy and peace in pre- and post-conflict societies. The two country's case studies will provide useful insights into the role and importance of the people's political awareness and participation in creating a culture of peace in conflict-prone societies.

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Buddhism as the Foundation of Peace?

Asuka TAKEI

Introduction

With more than 90% of its population describing themselves as believers, Buddhism is the dominant religion in Cambodia. It was introduced into Cambodia in the 3rd Century BC.²⁰ Buddhism is deeply rooted in the Khmer culture; "For the Khmer, Buddhism and Khmer identity are synonymous. Thus, being a Khmer is being a Buddhist. Without Buddhism one hardly can conceive of Khmer culture and tradition."²¹ Many people that I met in Cambodia talked proudly about the prosperous years of ancient Khmer civilization, and its influence over other Southeast Asian countries. Buddhism had been the socializing and unifying factor in Cambodian society, until thirty years of conflicts destroyed the country. Cambodia became the scene of a tragedy where the interests of European colonies, expansionist neighbors, the Cold War superpowers, and the Khmer Rouge intersected and exploded. After 1991, Cambodia has been the focus of some of the world's most concentrated peace-building activities in history. More than \$ 1.8 billion was spent on the UNTAC mission.²² With the support of the domestic and international NGOs, Cambodia is now rebuilding some stability and democratic society, e.g., the enforcement of security through de-mining and weapons reduction programs, elections, etc., though the progress has been and continues to be slow.

Peace-building includes not only the reconstruction of infrastructure, the political system and institutions, but also supports and rehabilitation for mental and psychological distress in the hope of establishing a broad and sustainable "Culture of Peace". In fact, psycho-social distress raises many problems. NGOs workers I met mentioned «mistrust» as the primary underlying problem of the Cambodian society, especially when considering issues of peace and conflict. As is expressed by one author, "It is also increasingly being recognized that peace-building efforts must not neglect people's spiritual heritages."²³ In Cambodian society, where the influence of religion was so important, Buddhism is often suggested as a viable means to heal or help in healing people's mental anguish and stress from the conflict, and help them to find their identity

²⁰ YI Thon, Advisor, Ministry of Religious Affairs, The History of the Tripitaka in Khmer Language , <http://sojusha.com/newpage10.htm>
(BFC), Publication of the Khmer Buddhist research center, 1986.

²¹ Dr. Somboon Suksamran, The Buddhist Concept of Political Authority and Society as Basis to Rebuild the Khmer Society and Nation, Buddhism and the Future of Cambodia

²² Peacebuilding in Cambodia: The Role of Religion, Catherine Morris,2000, <http://www.peacemakers.ca/research/Cambodia/>

²³ Peacebuilding in Cambodia: The Role of Religion, Catherine Morris,2000, <http://www.peacemakers.ca/research/Cambodia/>

again. Buddhist thinking is beginning to be used also for promoting western democratic values and an overall "Culture of Peace". It is possible because the main principles of the religion such as «love of peace» are generally coherent with the notions of the human rights.

Overall, then, it seems that people accord to Buddhism a number of functions for peace-building. Yet, if we remind ourselves of the recent history of Cambodia, neither the religion or its broader culture could not prevent conflicts, nor one of the prime examples of social violence in our time, the genocide carried out by the Pol Pot Regime. Historically, the religion, its doctrines and institutions, in fact have been manipulated and abused by successive Cambodian governments. It is only prudent today to call for a rethinking of whether Buddhism can really be the core of the process of building a democratic society, and more generally, a peaceful one. To answer this question, I will address the following questions in this paper: (1) Why Buddhism could not prevent the conflict?, (2) Why Buddhism could survive the oppression that destroyed almost everything else in the Country?, and (3) How did the religion influence people during the war period? Finally, I will conclude by trying to see how Buddhism can be adapted in the post-conflict society in Cambodia.

Buddhism, Ideology, and Genocide

Buddhism was powerless in the face of the force of the genocide. The Buddhist thinking of destruction of all suffering could not urge people to react against authoritarian power. Buddhism preaches on peace and induces people to avoid war, but this refusal of violence may lead people to passively yield themselves easily to the enemy. In an interview with ADHOC, an official explained to us that when a superpower came to dominate the country, Cambodians who were taught to not kill other by the teachings of Buddha, respected it loyally. In fact the respect for life is common to both Buddhism and to the modern regime of human rights in general.²⁴ In Buddhism however, this notion is elevated to the highest degree, to the extent that it deprives people of the use of violence to protect themselves or others. If this implies their own death or suffering, we may consider it a volitional, and possibly even highly moral choice of peace over life, in line with modern non-violent approaches to conflict resolution. However, when acquiescing to the enemy leads instead to victims becoming participants in the act of genocide or other forms of suffering on other, the merits and righteousness of such passiveness becomes much more controversial.

²⁴ Interview with ADHOC, Phnom Penh Office, 23/12/2004, Deputy Head of Advocacy Section

Of course, we cannot blame only Buddhism for the incapacity to avoid or prevent the genocide. The UK involved was in training KR forces at one point, and the US obviously contributed to Cambodian crisis and instability through their actions related to the Vietnam War. France, the colonial master also has some blame to share, but I would like to focus instead on the fact that the Khmer Rouge regime was heavily nourished by the communist totalitarian system. Vietnam, the USSR and other Eastern Europe countries, and eventually China all supported the Khmer Rouge to expand the communism to Cambodia. The atrocity and ferociousness of the Khmer Rouge is considered to be exceptional. But, the basis was in fact the same as other communist totalitarian systems: "education in hatred, the destruction of the family, the mock enemy, the new man of the new society, the omnipotent party, the nomenclature, etc. The Khmer Rouge also learned from communism, how to destroy the traditional society and the old civilization."²⁵ In facing the Khmer Rouge regime, supported by such powerful states and more so ideologies, the Buddhist way of resisting calmly was powerless.

The Khmer Rouge targeted those who were abandoned at the very bottom of the social scale to recruit members. The poor of the society whom Buddhist monks did not take care of were selected by the K.R. and placed in a better situation under the new regime. The Khmer Rouge chose for their cadres those who could go furthest in their brutality. "They selected those who had sadistic and brutal inclinations ... and chose others among the social categories which were most backward."²⁶ The Khmer Rouge regime was supported by superpowers, and it built and exerted its powers in very specific ways. It reinforced its ability to inflict atrocity by recruiting people who had a grudge against the society, to pursue their revolution. It was an enemy of Buddhism that went beyond its control.

Despite a long history of debate in Buddhist history about the relationship between politics, religion, and other aspects of life, I would argue that political authority and religion have always been and continue to be very closely related to each other in Cambodia in a very profound way: "political authority is viewed as being established because of the imperfections of man and the need for the social order."²⁷ The king is considered as a righteous ruler, requiring a mandate from religious authorities. This has the converse effect of giving the ruling government a strong grip over religion. For example, the teachings of the Buddha were modified and used even by the K.R., though of course in this case to the extreme and in direct opposition to their later inclinations to

²⁵ Ieng Mouly, *Causes of the Suffering and the Options of a Strategy to Rebuild the Khmer Society*, p.58, BFC

²⁶ Ieng Mouly, *Causes of the Suffering and the Options of a Strategy to Rebuild the Khmer Society*, p.60, BFC

²⁷ Somboon Suksamran, *The Buddhist Concept of Political Authority and Society as Basis to Rebuild the Khmer Society and Nation*, p.110, BFC

destroy the religious establishment in its entirety, and were used to support their revolutionary causes. Within their peculiar formulation of the Marxist-Leninist program, I believe that one can see a large influence of Buddhist doctrines. The Heng Samrin Government praised monks but subsequently used them for political objectives. Monks were urged to join in revolutionary training. They were taught that in order to protect Sanga, they had to fight with the superpowers and protect the country on the side of the government.²⁸

Historically, Buddhism and the governments have collaborated throughout the existence of the country. "Until the last monarchy, the leaders of the Buddhist monks were among the high personalities composing a committee to select the future king of Cambodia".²⁹ For the government, Buddhism was useful to gain popularity among the people. And reciprocally, the government served for Buddhism as its protector. This relation, however, was not evenly balanced, forcing the religion to not just be obedient to the government, but as a primary tool to enforce and reinforce its power. This tendency continues to persist now. Two monks we met at a meeting with the NGO "Khmer Ahimsa" in Phnom Penh, and who are active in peace-building, explained to us that they prefer to keep good relations with the government, especially after the state violence in the 1998 ending the Peace Marches, so they avoid any action that may irritate the authorities. The Minister of education expressed the necessity of Buddhist thought and practice for building peace in Cambodian society through possible inclusion in educational programming. I feel however that it is highly questionable whether such a Buddhism, strictly under the control of the government, can be the core of reconstruction of democratic society and peace. In a country where the chance of return to authoritarian government still seems substantial, it may be dangerous to rely too much on highly controlled religious institutions.

Surviving Genocide

Given that Buddhist culture was incapable of preventing conflicts in past, the natural question arises why it was strong enough to survive the Khmer Rouge's attempts to destroy it. In fact, Buddhist thinking seems to have helped people who underwent the difficult moment by in some sense accounting for or explaining their suffering. The force of Karma (destiny) decides the fate of people and even of a nation. This thinking was applied by Hun Senn, the current leader of the country, to explain the genocide: "Our Khmer Nations has been - if we remember the height of its power 800 years back - also a belligerent country. Our ancestors attacked and conquered many of

²⁸ Ieng Mouly, *Causes of the Suffering and the Options of a Strategy to Rebuild the Khmer Society*, p.42, BFC

²⁹ Somboon Suksamran, *The Buddhist Concept of Political Authority and Society as Basis to Rebuild the Khmer Society and Nation*, p.109, BFC

the neighboring countries. Perhaps this led to a bad Karma for which Cambodia has to suffer at present."³⁰ Thus, Buddhist thinking was interpreted to mean that suffering should be accepted as an inevitability rather than something that should be fought against: "All these situations are part of the noble truth of sufferings that Buddha teaches us to understand."³¹

Secondly, the concept of "unpermanence" convinced people that the bad times wouldn't last forever. The Dalai Lama has stated: "unfreedom is like the morning dew on the flowers. It disappears, when the sun rises."³² Such a mode of thinking may have encouraged people to at least try to endure the crucial moments of the conflicts. It was the weight or burden that they had to bear in order to achieve happiness. What may appear to be a simple attitude of resignation or compromising one's principles and dignity if we adopt the western point of view, in actuality requires a good amount of patience, perseverance and some underlying motivation to resign and endure without recourse to violence. We have to remember that the victims of successive regimes in Cambodia did not just suffer from malnutrition, poverty, and other social ills common in much of the world. They had to endure severe attacks on their basic humanity, their psychology, and their social being. Moreover, after experiencing such obviously intentional destruction, one needs to be able to control his anger, and the desire to revenge. What seems certainly to be a passive way, a kind of non-oppose, in reality, was and is in a sense very active in that it demands transcending one's own ego. Still, I am unsure how realistic it is to claim that the mass of the population was able to find strength in such tenets of Buddhism as I have outlined above.

Hun Senn has also advanced the idea that the Buddhist concept of "forgiveness" allows people to get rid of the remnants of the past in their minds that continue to torment them. But this comes off more as a word of politicians who are seemingly indifferent to people's suffering, as is reflected in the politicization of village life and the pagoda system that is currently underway. In reality, at the grassroots level, Buddhism seems to have become a simple object of ritual. People have begun to visit the pagoda primarily to give offering in order to be protected by the Buddha, and to have a better next life. The interest for the teachings of Buddha itself has been decreasing.³³ Historically, there are however also some cases won the other side in which monks committed themselves actively to political actions. For example, under the French Protectorate, the Buddhist monks expressed some opposition in the "Demonstration of the Umbrellas" in 1942.³⁴ The Peace

³⁰ Son Sann, *Buddhism and the Future of Cambodia*, p.158, BFC

³¹ Ieng Mouly, *Causes of the Suffering and the Options of a Strategy to Rebuild the Khmer Society*, p.43, BFC

³² Son Sann, *Buddhism and the Future of Cambodia*, p.161, BFC

³³ Ieng Mouly, *Causes of the Suffering and the Options of a Strategy to Rebuild the Khmer Society*, p.45, BFC

³⁴ Son Soubert, *The Historical Dimensions of the Present Conflict in Cambodia*, p.13, BFC

Walks or marches that I mentioned above, led by Maha Ghosananada from 1992 to 1998, is the best example of Buddhist peace-building in Cambodia. He founded the *Dhammayietra* movement: "Considerably inspired by Gandhi, the Dhammayietra movement has aimed at teaching and exemplifying active nonviolence as a way of reconciliation."³⁵ Although peace walks were organized only after the intervention of the UN through UNTAC, its impact on the society was important for the period that it was practiced. With the cessation of such activities, it is very unsure how Buddhism can find a place in peace-building in Cambodia. In the concluding section I will sketch out some possibilities.

Buddhism and Peace in the Future of Cambodia

As we saw, Cambodian Buddhist religion and culture could not prevent the conflicts, but it survived and has continues to influence how Cambodian's perceive the world and act in it. Khmer identity and Buddhism are still synonymous, in more than simply name. It is hard to imagine the Cambodian people separating their Buddhist roots from politics or any other sphere of life. Yet in the modern sense of the word, democracy includes the separation of the state and religion. But in Cambodia, on top of the religion being integral to national identity, people can actually understand and accept the notions of democracy more easily if we combine Buddhist thinking with modern western values, especially in rural areas not in contact with or open to such values directly.

The Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia explained to us in our meeting that Buddhism is important in introducing the peace concept in education and for augmenting and cementing peace and reconciliation outside of the formal educational system. The minister added that there are in fact two kinds of national reconciliation: the national reconciliation (through governmental accords), and a kind of national healing. By this he means the end of hating past enemies, and of hatred in general. This notion cannot be realized by the law, formal protocols or agreements, but needs to be felt in the hearts and minds of individuals. Any decisions made at the top cannot effectively lead people to stop hating each other. It was here that, he again stressed the role of Buddhism to bring peace. Using the Buddhism concept in this way seems to allow one to avoid recourse to western values. According to the Minister it is better to use traditional thinking than importing western concepts of human rights because these concentrate mostly on the government and public officials rather than the public at large. He also saw a contradiction in that the same westerners who advocate human rights continue to sell toy

³⁵ Peacebuilding in Cambodia: The Role of Religion, Catherine Morris, 2000

guns to children and real guns to adults, and so cannot gain the trust of people with their new "ideologies".

One of key terms in education in Cambodia nowadays is to teach the respect of life, respect of others, and to end the cycle of hate. It is proposed that achieving these things will make it possible to unify the country, and create a solid foundation for internal peace and at the same time defense from external attacks. In this way, the educational system uses the Buddhist thinking to teach peace, but a non-passive formulation of it. In any case, the actual Buddhism that currently exists in Cambodia in my opinion lacks the energy to lead the people in the post-conflict society. One reason is the demolished state of religion. Nearly every temple and Buddhist library had been destroyed during the wars. The lack of monks causes serious problem. "Buddhism has been extinct after the holocaust of the Khmer Rouge. From ca. 80,000 monks, who lived in Cambodia before 1975, only 500 survived the regime of the Khmer Rouge."³⁶ And the Monks cannot read Buddha's saying written in foreign languages, so they only learn and repeat it by heart. This weakness of Buddhism was, in disappointment to my own expectations, was conceded to by the monks we met who were involved in peace-building. They commented that only NGOs have capacity to change the society in meaningful ways. According to them, social problems are becoming too violent to deal with. Problems such as rape and domestic violence exceed their capacities. The manner in which local temples and pagodas are becoming the objects of political patronage at least in part through the internationally sponsored "democratization and decentralization" points to even less scope for action and legitimacy on the part of the monks in the future. Cambodian Buddhism needs to be redefined after being disabused by so many regimes. Today Buddhism is struggling to re-establish itself although the lack of Buddhist scholars and leaders and the continuing political instability and oppression is making this task seemingly impossible.

So, despite the fact that from a culturally informed point of view, Buddhism is indispensable for rebuilding a democratic and peaceful country in Cambodia with some semblance of identity, Buddhism itself needs to be redefined. The misuse of Buddhist doctrine by politicians is also inadmissible. The concept of "forgiveness" cannot suffice in helping people who suffered directly from the genocide, when those to be forgiven continue to hold places in government and gain disproportionately from the society. In order to forgive, justice needs to be achieved at the secular level, above and beyond whatever suffering a devout Buddhist expects ruthless people to receive

³⁶ Somboon Suksamran, *The Buddhist Concept of Political Authority and Society as Basis to Rebuild the Khmer Society and Nation*, p.110, BFC

in their Karmic souls. But, even the former Khmer Rouge are punished in an international court or tribunal proceeding, it will not heal people's wounds. The future and the lives destroyed by such criminals cannot be repaired by trials. They only demonstrate socially that the evil is punished. People also need more forward with understanding their past and redefining their heritage in a way that best suits them now and for the future.

During the field research, we met a professor of the Royal University of Phnom Penh whose family was killed by the K.R. and who is very active now in trying to change the direction his country is headed. He and the guide at the War Memorial Museum in Siem Reap who lost his leg and eye during the war both told us that they don't hold any grudge against the K.R. But they are committed to changing the current state of affairs. In a way, they seemed to be more enlightened than those who just talked about the necessity of Buddhism and forgiveness to rebuild a peaceful society. I felt in observing them that I was seeing an authentic Asian-value based power that allows people to overcome their anger and suffering and keep their eyes fixed into the future. I could learn a new philosophy of life. It made me curious whether the religion can help people to forgive and forget the crime committed against them, or if it is really deeper aspects of culture that can lead to a "Culture of Peace". In fact, I believe that the Buddhist religion cannot help us in recovering from our trauma. We may forgive, but to forget the crime is another thing. We should not passively accept and especially not forget the past if we want to build a peaceful society in one where there was widespread conflict. Instead, we should never forget those pictures displayed on the walls of the Tuol Sleng genocide museum. We have to remember the past so that we will never let others commit the same atrocities again, nor let them compel us to.

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Peace Through Development

Nayem AZHAR

Abstract

My recent visit to Cambodia pushes me further to think about the impact of poverty on conflict. This report examines the relationship between poverty and conflict vs. development and peace. My hypothesis is that if conflict is the consequence of poverty then development could stop conflict and may bring peace. I will explore these issues by questioning of how development can help the peace-building process in a post-conflict country like Cambodia. I elaborate this question in the context of economic, social, political, and cultural aspects of Cambodia.

Introduction

Peace is all about economic security and the prevention of conflict. Development can stop conflict, and therefore introduce this economic security. The growing argument is in favor of poverty as a consequence of conflict.³⁷ Though in the case of Cambodia this is true, the present situation is far removed from such a simplistic analysis. In the pre-Khmer Rouge era, Cambodia's per capita income was not less than other ASEAN countries. That means their economic condition was much better than the present. But, poverty was not the cause for the coming to power of the Khmer Rouge regime or when genocide erupted. When the Khmer Rouge came to power and the mass of people were socially excluded, the genocide began. Having experienced a prolonged civil and international war, present Cambodians seem to be too tired to engage in conflict, but another cause of conflict, 'poverty' needs to be explored. I will argue that people need their economic security to work for peace. Only if people are not worried about their daily livelihood they might not engage in conflict. Low-level conflicts may occur in society but they take a small amount of time to eliminate, if people are still able to rear their families well. However, our prime task is to bring peace to society, but one of the important ways to do so is through development. It has become increasingly important for post-conflict countries to conduct such developmental work according to the practical needs of the people so that this development can help the peace-building process. Let us first talk about what kinds of aspects need to be developed to address development related issues. If the central issue we are trying to understand is 'poverty causes conflict' and 'development brings peace', then I would like to relate this to the question of how development can help peace-building in Cambodia. We can discuss four essential components of

³⁷ Jonathan Goodhand, *Enduring Disorder and Persistent Poverty: A Review of the Linkages Between War and Chronic Poverty*, *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 629-646, 2003

development: economic, social, political, and cultural, which are all needed for development. As our main focus is development, implicitly economic development, we will emphasize the economic aspect over the others though they are closely inter-related.

Economic Development

If we look at the present economic situation in Cambodia, we can see that the past tragedy of the Cambodian people is one that burdens their economic development. Although Cambodia has joined the wind of peace with the help of the international community, peace may evaporate if there is uneven development. A large number of people are still under the poverty level. According to the UNDP (2003) Human Development Report, Cambodia remains one of the poorest countries in the world ranking 130 out of 175 in the Human Development Index (HDI).³⁸ This indicates that following the departure of UNTAC there was a slight economic improvement but people are still under chronic economic misery. One of the main causes why I'm stressing this issue is that economic development automatically propels societies toward more open and participatory forms of governance.³⁹ Thus economic development needs to be structured. Only a well thought out plan between government and NGOs could help with speedy economic development. Most of the people that we met were accusing the government about their decisions regarding this issue. There is no real collaboration between the government and NGOs. Government does not pay attention to the activities and demands of the NGOs,⁴⁰ due to which people are losing their faith in the government. That is why people like Kakada Thorng now think that only NGOs can help them to achieve economic development as well as peace in society.⁴¹ The contradiction is that government can understand their role in alleviating poverty as a vital prerequisite for stopping new conflicts, but there is a huge gap between their planning and execution.

Like other people, Kakada Thorng's comments about NGO activities provided me with interesting ideas. But I was a bit skeptical about the role of NGO activities, wondering how much they actually help people. Let me give first some of the NGO activities we witnessed. We visited a good number of NGO offices and also observed some of their field activities. When we visited a village close to the capital it was good to see how the village people were working together to help each other. Some of the projects that the villagers are maintaining, supported by a Japanese

³⁸ <http://www.un.org.kh/undp/index.asp?page=cambodia.asp>

³⁹ Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53: pp. 69-105 where he argues that if there is a rising economic development that will help other social requisites to bring a prosperous society.

⁴⁰ Interview with Thida C. Khus, Executive Director, SILAKA, 17 December 2004

⁴¹ Interview with Kakada Thorng, Co-Director, Khmer Ahimsa, 22 December 2004

NGO, are 'rice banks' and building wells.⁴² These activities are really good for the rural people.

Let me give another example. We visited 2 NGOs (Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia, JSAC, and the Japan Centre for Conflict Prevention, JCCP), who are working to collect small arms and light weapons. One of their projects is 'weapons for development.' When we met them in Phnom Penh and were informed about their activities and later attended an awareness campaign in a village at Siem Reap (JSAC awareness campaign), I was curious to know what they are doing in terms of weapons and development concepts. I appreciate the work these NGOs, but I found a big gap between how they present their work and how it is carried on in the field.

It may seem to be a caricature, but it is true that without any political savvy NGOs are spending money to collect weapons through creating awareness, asking for voluntary submission, or even giving them low incentives like helping them to build wells, or create local infrastructure development (very low), or cash rewards. But does it really work to prevent conflict? The government and the NGOs seem to measure the development required for peace on a very low scale. Collection of weapons may create a weapons free society but what about their poverty? If there is no economic development, particularly income generating activities, conflict may occur again. These programs could also be dangerous in that they may encourage people to possess other weapons, as they will get certain rewards if they submit them. So, their actual target to eliminate weapons from society is far away from the reality. In my opinion NGOs should focus on income generating developmental activities rather than just supporting the building of wells or creating rice banks or even giving incentives for voluntary submission if they are really intending to secure peace. Though some argue that unless there is any stability, development work cannot be performed. Still, one cannot wait for such a perfect time, as due to poverty, low scale conflict is constantly taking place in Cambodia. Economic development is intertwined with political development, as well as social and cultural development.

Political, Social, and Cultural Development

Cambodia has achieved a fair degree of political stability, but we cannot presume that peace is prevailing everywhere, as the political killings of 1998 remind us that if the political parties in particular are not in full compliance with the state rules, and peace may soon be jeopardized.

⁴² 'Rice bank,' where villagers will store rice to support others if they don't have rice or to support during the time of famine or other natural calamities. Another one is 'building water well'. Both the activities are supported by Japan Volunteer Centre (JVC).

Above all they have to be committed to democratic changes of power. Its long-term impact is too broad to be ignored. As 'democracy is a domestic game and its long-term outcomes are very much the preservation of local actors and conditions,'⁴³ the use of political violence and intimidation should be stopped. It is one of the most important tasks for government to create awareness among people for a participatory democracy. The institutional design for political development is one of the most important factors. Here, checks and balances for any governmental and political institution should be guaranteed. Since economic goals compete with others, a certain level of political development is needed for Cambodian society. Political discrimination is another cause for conflict. People always think that other political parties must be their enemies, a common source of distrust in Cambodian society. This kind of political allegiance or discrimination should stop. Many people argued that due to a low-level of political consciousness people are far removed from the decision making process. This is one of the main reasons that people do not feel any interest in politics and are too afraid of political atrocities. This makes the overall development process a slow down.

The weak associational life or civil society in Cambodia accounts in some part for the peace-building 'deficit' in the country. The lack of horizontal voluntary associations and the weaker role of religion could help explain the persistence of conflict in Cambodia. Independent, nongovernmental associations should help foster social development in Cambodia. The social destruction caused by the civil war has yet to rebound. At the local level, Cambodians are facing tremendous difficulties in affecting the intended changes they desire and need. The people of Cambodia, especially workers and socially vulnerable groups, are far away from the mainstream. All people combine available symbols with opportunities to solve mundane needs for food, housing, and the like to create their 'strategies of survival.'⁴⁴ For these strategies of survival Cambodian people need a strong state/society relation where a large number of civil society members will work for the benefit of the mass people. The decline of social morality is another factor. Due to the civil war Cambodian people did not have access to proper education and knowledge. So, people do not think about others before they act. People do not abide by the laws of the society. The younger generations are prone to take drugs and possess weapons as a way of showing off. This kind of social degradation also needs to be taken into account regarding developmental activities. They also need to focus on community development. If there was such development associated with economic development, people would have the capacity to manage

⁴³ Benjamin Reilly, "Post-Conflict Elections: Constraints and Dangers", In *Recovering From Civil Conflict: Reconciliation, Peace and Development*, edited by Edward Newman and A. Schnabel (London:Frank Cass, 2002) p. 137

⁴⁴ Joel S. Migdal, "Strong Societies and Weak States", Princeton University Press, 1988. p.27

conflict before it occurs. Although this societal development takes a long time, once people feel economic safety there will be a gradual societal development.

The last aspect of development is sub-political and related to norms, values, and culture. Norms, values, and culture are functioning through non-formal institutions. Culture does not change unless there is a cultural revolution. The prolonged civil war destroyed Cambodia's cultural heritage. They need to repair it. Buddhism as a religious belief is still strong in Cambodian society. Some people argue that the level of religiosity among the young Cambodians has negatively affected their religious culture. If there were economic development but no retaining of their culture, the overall achievement of cultural development would not be satisfactory.

Concluding remarks

My tacit assumption is that only economic development will bring peace in Cambodia. The means for effective economic development in addition to a long-term strategy for political, social and cultural development would help them to transcend the culture of violence to a culture of peace. You cannot achieve peace unless you know how to mitigate conflict. One of the assumptions that we discussed is that poverty may lead Cambodians again to a culture of violence, but we should break the ignorance of the people through education and economic development. When people are secure enough about their earnings then I think it is obvious that they have less impetus to engage in conflict. That is why we have to keep our attention in eradicating poverty from society. Though Cambodia has structural and economic problems, innovative social entrepreneurship could help people to become self-sufficient. Social inequalities should be taken into account too. Otherwise, there will be unevenness in development.

To conclude, if we search for possible remedies, we should know that when people are worried about their economic security, nothing prevents them from engaging in conflict or violent activities. Unless we think about their economic, social, political, and cultural rights they may not hear us. They may submit one weapon but have other two or more to use or to defend them from some future threat. This can only create the possibility for future conflict. For this reason, peace focused NGOs should work with development issues in a more integrated way, so that people may benefit from their own economic activities. Also, Cambodians have to work themselves, in their own lives, to establish the 'trust' that they lost due to the protracted conflict they experience. Unless they trust each other any kind of development work will not help them. Peace must be vigorously cultivated, and I believe development will be a primary factor in preventing conflict of any kind.

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Constructing a Culture of Peace in Cambodia

Naoaki SHIROTA

Happiness and Culture

One of the primary questions I was trying to answer through my research in Cambodia is what the cultural appropriate way for the Cambodian people to regain peace and achieve development is. As our group saw, there are a large number of NGOs working in Cambodia implementing a variety of activities based on specific presumptions and methods and intended to lead to peace and development. Almost all of them explained that they have achieved a certain success to a certain extent, and verified this through various evaluation processes, and I agree that as an outsider it is not difficult to grant them some measure of success in limited areas.

In my opinion, however, there still remain questions surrounding the concept that such organizations have for words such as "peace" and "development". Though there are many different ways to define the word "peace", as it can be formulated as a rather abstract concept, it may not be wrong to say that peace is - *the state in which people can feel content and happy*. While this may seem to be a naïve idea, it also links with an argument for the direction of development, which should aim at people's content and happiness. However, this is the point where we must face a difficult problem. If two societies have different roots and different social and cultural backgrounds (e.g., climate, social structure, economic system, history, religion) they naturally have a different framework of thinking about what happiness is, in the same way that two individuals even in the same society are different in their value consciousness if they have very different background. Therefore, my point is the following; when external organizations try to engage in supporting activities in a developing country, they have to think about *what peace for the local people, what happiness is for them*, and have to pay careful attention not to impose their own opinions about what should be targeted as a state of peace. In order to consider this problem, in the following section I will first briefly summarize the methods which the NGOs we met actually took in the field, and after that I will suggest some additional thoughts I have about the problem mentioned above.

Methods NGOs are Actually Taking in the Field

The representative of the Ministry of Education emphasized the importance of Buddhism in the education system in Cambodia, in order to build peaceful society and prevent conflict that had happened in the past. On the contrary, the Executive Director of SILAKA told us that *peace is always very political* and assessed the power of monks in the current political situation as

comparatively low, and gave importance to NGOs' activities to facilitate effective institutional structures. The monks that we spoke to agreed on this point.

Two of the main remaining problems that are ongoing sources of suffering for the people in Cambodia are the small arms and landmines problems. The Japan Small Arms Assistance Team to Cambodia (JSAC) analyzes the reason for people's possession of guns and collects them, through workshops that facilitate public awareness of small arms. They especially focus on mistrust of the police among the public through offering capacity training to the police forces, so that they can play a sufficient roll to maintain peace. With regard to landmines, the Cambodian Mine Action Center (CMAC) has an awareness program and trains local staff to sustain its initiatives at the local level, while doing mine clearance activities in the field. The Peace Art Project, associated with the EU's Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons (EU ASAC) in the Kingdom of Cambodia, has a unique strategy, which is transforming arms into works of art in order to spark the spread of peace awareness against violence and for peace.

We also met NGOs that aimed at local capacity building. The UNDP's decentralization programs tries to build commune councilors' capacity and promote local meetings to identify each village's problems and solutions. The representative also explained the need to manage its program to fit the local villagers' schedules, in order to allow them to participate more in the meetings. The Japanese International Volunteer Center (JVC) staff showed us their activities in the field, such as supporting villagers in digging well, rice banks and women's support programs, while they also explained to us the specific problems in the particular village we visited.

There are also quite a few organizations whose activities are focused on trying to change the minds of Cambodians. UNESCO tries to introduce into the education system in Cambodia so-called "living values" and concepts of democracy for building a "Culture of Peace". The United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Phnom Penh Office explained us that their key concept is "Volunteerism is a foundation for sustainability", and though there had been strong mistrust caused by past conflicts in Cambodia, many members of the younger generation have participated in volunteer activities. The Trans-Cultural Psychological Organization (TPO) gave us a very interesting presentation about mental health problems in Cambodia, and explained what kind of treatment is effective specifically in this setting, as it is a post-conflict, developing country.

Three Underlying Approaches

Among these methods we can extract three types of approaches to achieve a "Culture of Peace":

(1) *Institutional Approaches*, (2) *Physical Environmental Approaches*, and (3) *Cultural Approaches*. We can see the first approach expressed in a statement of SILAKA's representative, which emphasized the importance of external organization intervention to help provide stable institutions when domestic politics are overly complicated and fragile. The activities to promote civil registration, a fair election system, and economic support can be included in this type of approach. In fact, these kinds of interventions were the primary task and focus of the past UN mission to Cambodia (UNTAC). They are comparatively easy to evaluate by concrete figures and numbers, and most of them are recognized as they can show certain amounts of success.

The second approach is what JSAC and CMAC are basically taking. As long as small arms and mines continue to remain and threaten people's ordinary life, people can not feel or think that they are in peace. This factor is also easy to evaluate and at least the two NGOs mentioned above said that they so far had achieved their objectives and some clear success.

The third type of approach is that which we can see is taken by UNESCO and JVC. This way is intended to plant the concept of peace into Cambodians' minds through introducing such values that are thought by the NGOs to promote the concept of peace. For example, the "living values" curriculum offered and adapted by UNESCO include the following: co-operation, freedom, happiness, humility, love, peace, respect, responsibility, simplicity, tolerance and unity. The tactics aim at rebuilding and regaining mutual trust among people and the notion of conflict prevention through implementing these values. Although it is difficult to know to what extent these values come to take root in people's mind, I think that this method is necessary for the people to come to want peace for themselves and their society, and this state is a precondition to make peace sustainable in the future.

Within these three approaches, it seems to me that a common method is often used in the field - *the workshop*. The workshop is envisioned as a place where people can get useful information about what to do to avoid conflicts and achieve the state of peace. Awareness and educational programs are staged at these workshops, and external organizations have the opportunity to sufficiently explain what they are going to do and the people are able to have a chance to express their needs and problems and to obtain knowledge for keeping their life peaceful independently. I think this method is appropriate and effective in situations where people need *information* and a *chance to speak up about their needs*.

The Gap Between Traditional Culture and a Culture of Peace

The first two of the three approaches outlined above can be seen, so to speak, as the infrastructure of a "Culture of peace". To keep stable order and security is a base for peace, a preparation for people to feel content and happiness. But, here is where we have to properly consider *what happiness is* for Cambodians. This is mainly the problem the third approach. Let me clarify this point further.

The first issue seems to be whether the implementation of "human rights" and "democracy" in the educational system in Cambodia is suitable given that they are concepts that were born originally in a European cultural background, that is, outside Cambodia. For Cambodians to regain trust with each other, is it sufficient just implement such "foreign" concepts augmenting approaches one and two? Second, the village leaders we met said that the situation there had changed largely and that young people seem to have lost a feeling of interpersonal respect. He also said that the prominent concern in the village is "having a good harvest". Yet, when I talked with some young people and asked their opinions about whether Cambodians want their countries to become like Japan, as economically developed but where people are compelled to work so much, they generally answered in the negative.

Although they are of course too limited a sample and just only individual opinions, I think these considerations above can be put in other words; there is a problems of a gap the gap between the traditional culture, which seems to be have been highly peaceful in its own right, and the newly introduced "Culture of Peace". The representatives of UNV told us that before they begin implementing their programs, they do a careful briefing of the local culture, but some of the tribes still show them uncooperative attitudes. As the three approaches I spoke about above are linked with each other for the purpose of building a "Culture of Peace", to try to reduce this gap is vitally important. Therefore, my opinion is that we should pay more attention to and assess more carefully the traditional, cultural structure of the country we are going to support, and we need to dedicate more resources and effort to find out *what is the appropriate direction that the local people want their happiness to take*. We also need to create appropriate frameworks for finding such things out and introducing the results into the actual field. In order to consider this point of view, in following chapter I will refer to one book specially focusing on the traditional way of life in rural areas in Cambodia, and the appropriate way of supporting Cambodians with giving due attention to this tradition.

The Cambodian Way - The Middle Way

The name of the book that I mentioned above is "*Towards Restoring Life – Cambodian Villages*", told by Meas Nee with John Healy as listener and scribe. Nee works in a local NGO called *Krom Akphiwat Phum* ("The Group to Develop the Village"), committed to personal, social and economic development at the village level. The members visit villages where they work, staying with the people and becoming part of the village life.

In chapter two in his book, the author describes the peaceful village life he once had before the conflicts began to rage in Cambodia. All of the family members worked together during the rice planting and harvesting times. Every eight days they went to the pagoda to listen to the stories of monks, having some snacks and chatting with each other in a happy, relaxing atmosphere. People made long term plans for a better future for their family and worked in a variety of ways to achieve their hopes. Nobody was forced to help others but people disciplined themselves to do that. Life was ordered and predictable. He said that many of the village traditions showed an extraordinary degree of trust even where people were not close friends; for example, there was a wide variety of *provas*, or the loaning of belongings and labor. He also talks about the dignity of hard work freely chosen. Each member of a family had a lot of small jobs, which they combined together and which filled their day. He says that living depending on his own efforts made him have a happy and satisfying life. According to him, this was a Cambodian way of living with *dignity*. The poor were happy if they could earn money even with many small jobs, but knew that they were *self-reliant*.

But, war has taken away this *trust* and *dignity*. Promoting betrayal among people for sustaining their regime, the Khmer Rouge systematically destroyed trust. As trust was broken they reached a time when they could think only of themselves. The only thing left was numbness so they came not to be able to decide anything, and it deprived people of dignity. The loss of trust and dignity still remained after the Khmer Rouge was ousted in 1979. The author emphasized that this loss of dignity was strong and deep, and was same as the loss of identity, power, and values.

After describing this specific history and the current problems in the villages in Cambodia, Nee starts to talk about a solution that he thinks is most suitable for this situation. He says that the first thing is to help rebuild relationships, not to make projects. The major goal of the redevelopment of the community is to help village people to regain dignity and unity. He suggests that when people feel abandoned and isolated, the first step is for them to just sit

together while joking and chatting in order to be able to speak with each other honestly. Outsiders should also join them, trying not to give them any sort of pressures about development projects, listening to what they are talking about and also building relationship with them, slowly helping people to restore relationships, confidence and trust, and only gradually start helping people to become able to redevelop their community for themselves independently. This helps people regain dignity and society lost in the wartime.

In the last two chapters Nee talks about the "Cambodian way" for restoring peace and helping development in the villages. Again, first he emphasizes the importance of paying attention to villagers' relationships, not repairing physical infrastructure. He says that unless trust has been developed among them, no projects will work out successfully. He criticizes the several things. Starting projects with meetings is mistake for during the Pol Pot regime, the meeting was a place for criticism and propaganda, therefore it will bring flashbacks of those terrible memories for many villagers. Just asking them for their cooperation is also not effective if the goal is real peace-building. These two things are useless unless trust has been or is actively being restored. Even when outsiders try to empower the people to be self-reliant, there is difficulty because if westerners are in charge of such activities village people tend to think they are just being treated to charity because of the cultural patterns remaining from the French colonial period.

Thus, according to this author, the "Cambodian way" is the *middle way*, which means to not be too strict by setting outsiders' limits and discipline, but not too loose by giving aid as hand out. The former prevents villagers' own initiative and the latter also provides no sense of dignity and responsibility. *Friendly, gentle, listening, moving at the paces of the ordinary people* is what the author prescribes. Starting from just listening to villagers' feelings, then to problems, making good relationships with them while helping them also to be able to do the same thing with each other, collecting information of what they think they really want and helping them to start independently in order to solve their problems, through mutual trust - this is the point that with the phrase *middle way* Nee is intending to make. In the concluding section he says that if outside donors or parties want real community life to be restored in Cambodia they should not plan for this in their own countries, as each village is different with different needs and wants. That is, we should set up a system that is flexible and can accommodate these differences.

Conclusion

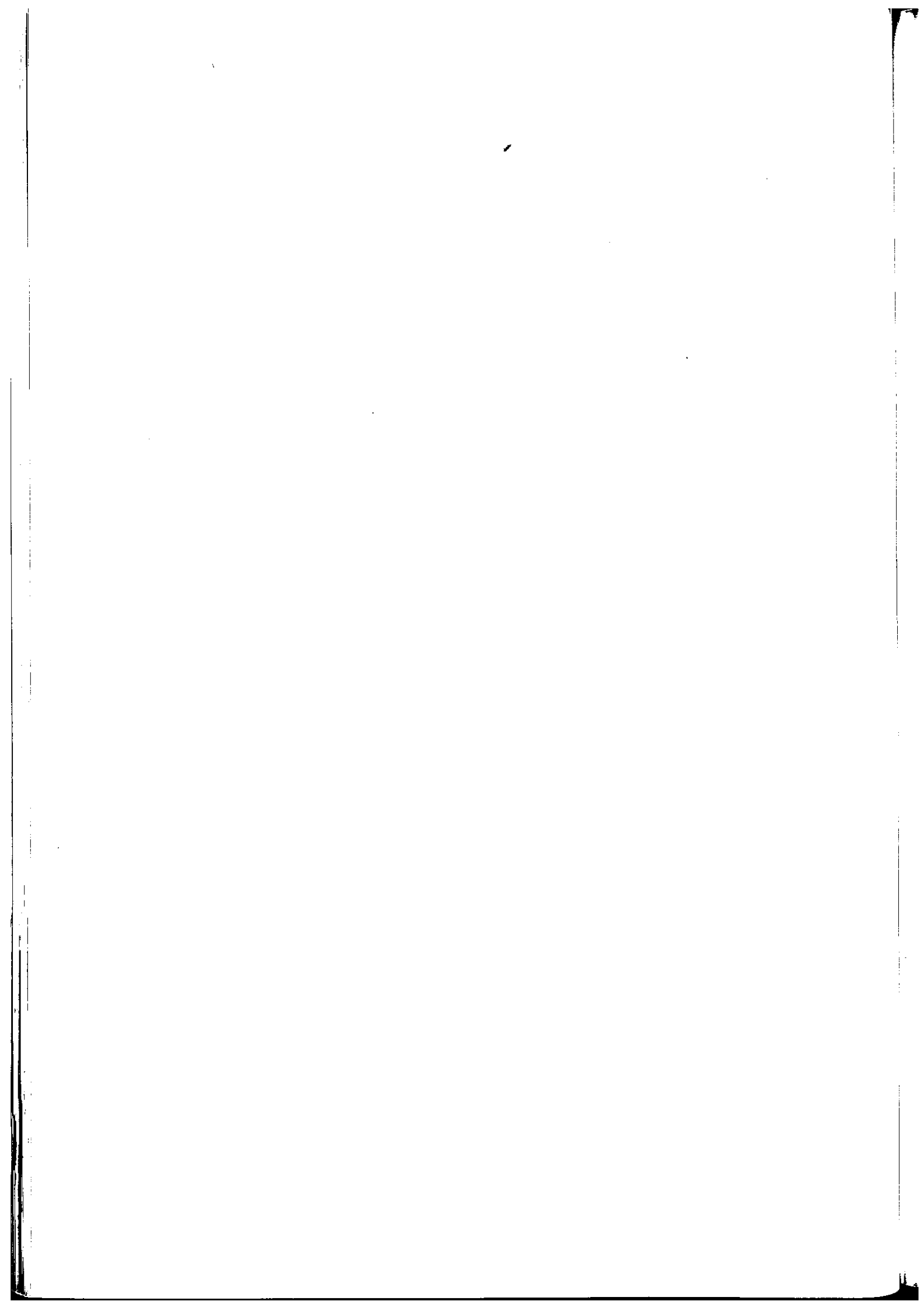
Summarizing Nee's argument, the important thing is to try assist in helping to build

relationships between villagers and help them to improve their living conditions independently, in a way that they can again gain *trust* and *dignity* which they once had. For that purpose, what should be done by outside organizations is not just to suggest their projects but to listen first. Unless outsiders genuinely try to find out what villagers think about and feel, projects will be useless, or even worse can do great harm to the social trust and dignity in the village.

To reduce the gap between the traditional culture and the 'new' Culture of Peace, I think that a long-term commitment to the life of the people in the areas that we are going to support is required. Of course there are many good results that have been achieved by NGO activities that I have observed first hand. However, as long as we accept that there are different notions of *peace* and *happiness*, we have to think about *what once existed to make people's lives happy* in post-conflict settings, and to always keep this question in the front of our minds. This is the basis for building a sustainable *Culture of Peace* in cooperation with the *traditional and local cultures*, with the past, the present, and the future.

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Assessing the Proposed International Tribunal

Eri NAKAMURA

Introduction

When I went to Cambodia last December, a professor, workers at UNESCO, and NGO employees all told me that they were looking forward to the international tribunal in Cambodia. *"Finally, we can set a clear line in our history."* In Cambodia, under the regime of the Khmer Rouge, it is said that more than one million people were killed,⁴⁵ but the people who carried out the genocide have not been prosecuted.⁴⁶ One could easily say that this is because in Cambodia the rule of law has not been established, but we must also consider the country's complicated history.

After Cambodia became independent from France in 1953, in less than 20 years, it plunged into a civil war over controlling the power of 'the nation state.'⁴⁷ To fight against the regime of Lon Nol, who was supported by the United States, King Sihanouk cooperated with the Khmer Rouge in the early 1970s. After the genocide by the Khmer Rouge, in an effort to fight against the regime of Hen Samrin, who was supported by Vietnam, many countries recognized the Khmer Rouge as the legitimate regime in Cambodia until the war was over. Through the process of mediation the countries that had interests in the Cambodian issue compromised with the Khmer Rouge. After the boycott of the election in 1993 by the Khmer Rouge, the Cambodian government gave amnesty to individuals who surrendered from the Khmer Rouge to the government in spite of the passing of a law that made the Khmer Rouge illegal. On the basis of these reasons, it is clear that peace in Cambodia was created through compromise with the Khmer Rouge, so it is difficult for the government to judge people who committed genocide.

These points raise a few questions. Now after more than 20 years, is it necessary to have an international tribunal in Cambodia? Would this tribunal contribute to peace in Cambodia? Would the purpose of this tribunal be for the realization of international standards of justice in Cambodia, or to facilitate reconciliation?

To examine these questions, this paper will first look at the process of negotiation between the United Nations and the Cambodian government for establishing an agreement on holding an

⁴⁵ The number of victims depends on the source. The number is from 1 to 3 million.

⁴⁶ See 'Ex-Khmer Rouge Leader Admits to Genocide,' WPVI.com December 30, 2003
http://abclocal.go.com/wpvi/news/print_1230003-khmer.html

⁴⁷ See Naoko Amakawa, 'The war in Cambodia about building nation state and the breadwinner of it,' p40, Amakawa (ed.)(December, 2001) 'The reconstruction and development in Cambodia,' (kanbojia no fukkou kaihatu) Asian economy research center, (Asia kezai kenkyu jyo)

international tribunal. Second, this tribunal will be compared with other international tribunals in Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, and so on. Third, the merits and demerits of having the international tribunal in Cambodia will be discussed. Last, the conclusion will offer a recommendation for Cambodia based on the findings above.

The Agreement for an International Tribunal

In 1996, one of the top leaders of the Khmer Rouge, Yen Sari, surrendered to the Cambodian government, which gave him amnesty and the right to govern Pailin, close to the northwest border with Thailand. The United Nations considered this decision unfavorable, and the United Nations Committee of Human Rights adopted a resolution, urging the Secretary-General to examine the request for support with management of the genocide issue in Cambodia. The special representative of the Secretary-General for human rights in Cambodia visited the nation and discussed the situation with the Cambodian government. The Cambodian government then requested support for the tribunal, which would be held for crimes against humanity under the Khmer Rouge regime, from the United Nations. The expert group on a mission for the Secretary-General went to Cambodia to research the possibility of an international tribunal in Cambodia. In a report written by that group, they proposed to have an international tribunal for crimes against international law, similar to ICTY (International Crime Tribunal in Former Yugoslavia) or ICTR (International Crime Tribunal in Rwanda), because the national court in Cambodia does not have independence or neutrality from the Cambodian government. The Cambodian government was against this proposal, and insisted that the national court in Cambodia should handle the case. They warned the United Nations to consider fully the needs of Cambodians for peace, national reconciliation, reconstruction, and development to reduce poverty when considering the prosecution of the leaders of the Khmer Rouge.⁴⁸

Through a back-channel, United States Senator Kerry tried to persuade the Cambodian government, and in July 2000 the Cambodian government and the United Nations made a temporary memorandum of understanding. After the Cambodian government passed a law for having this tribunal, it was planned that this temporary memorandum would become a formal agreement. In August 2001, the Cambodian government established this law called, 'Law on the Establishment of Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed during the Period of Democratic Kampuchea.' Through the process to decide the details of the agreement between the Cambodian government and the United Nations, they

⁴⁸ See U.N. Doc. A/53/851-S/1999/230

conflicted over what would determine the extraordinary chambers: the agreement between the United Nations and the Cambodian government or the Cambodian law? The Cambodian government insisted that the national law would do, but the United Nations insisted that their agreement was better. It seems superficial that this conflict was over a technical problem about the rules that would be applied, but essentially, this was related to a practical problem: how much initiative the United Nations could take over the conduct of the extraordinary chambers, and the how closely the extraordinary chambers would follow international standards.⁴⁹ They could not close their gap, and the United Nations stopped negotiations with the Cambodian government in February 2002. The United Nations judged that it was impossible to have an agreement with the Cambodian government.

When the break in negotiations was announced by the United Nations, not a single country supported the decision.⁵⁰ On the contrary, all states that were interested in the tribunal urged the Secretary-General to resume the talks.⁵¹ As a result, the United Nations and the Cambodian government resumed the talks in January 2003. The United Nations proposed a plan that would make the tribunal more international, but the Cambodian government refused the proposal, so they agreed to follow the national law made for the tribunal. In May 2003, the General Assembly approved the scheme of the agreement, and signed it officially in June. The United Nations has since been working on setting up the tribunal.

Feasibility and Problems of the Tribunal

The international tribunal in Cambodia has an unique character. It is significantly different from the ICTY or ICTR. First, it will be judged through Cambodian national law, and will be held by a national court placed inside the judicial system of Cambodia. The Cambodian government will have jurisdiction over it, so the agreement between the Cambodian government and the United Nations will just recognize its exercise. Also, the majority of judges are Cambodians. This is the point the United Nations and human rights advocates have been worried about.⁵² As one report mentioned, it is doubtful that the courts in Cambodia have neutrality and independence from the government and that they could indemnify Cambodian people's human rights. To make things

⁴⁹ See Furutani, S. (January 2004) 'The meaning and problem of the special chamber in Cambodia,' (Kanbojia tokubetusaibanbu no igi to mondai) Journal of international law and diplomacy, (Kokusaihou gaikou zasshi) 102:4.

⁵⁰ See Jarvis, H. (2002). 'TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS The Latest Twists in the Long Quest for Justice for the Cambodian Genocide' Critical Asian Studies 34:4 p607.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 607.

⁵² When the United Nations stopped the talks with the Cambodian government in February 2002, it is said that there was some pressure on the United Nations by the human rights advocacies. See David J. Scheffer, 'Justice for Cambodia,' New York Times December 21, 2002.

more complicated, normal trials in Cambodia are often solved by bribery, something this special court is also concerned about.

The Cambodian government has been supporting the activities of Documentation Center of Cambodia and Yale University's Cambodian genocide programs⁵³ because it gives them more legitimacy governing Cambodia. But this support only goes so far – if the DC collects facts inconvenient for or opposed to the government, they will not be supported. This means that in the special courts there is also a possibility of bringing to court for trial people who are unrelated to the genocide. There are many people who were members of the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian government today because of amnesty from the former King. We can say that giving amnesty and making the members of the Khmer Rouge take part in government may have brought peace and stability to Cambodia, but in the case of the extraordinary chambers, this will be the cause of problems. Also, as I mentioned above, even the former King and the present government are not innocent because they cooperated with the Khmer Rouge during the civil war in Cambodia. It means that in Cambodia the present government is a kind of legacy of the Khmer Rouge regime.⁵⁴ In this kind of situation, would regular people be able to talk about the genocide comfortably? It is questionable.

People are also apprehensive about the possibility of instability when the international court is being held. In Pailin, the Khmer Rouge still has power. There are many remnants of the Khmer Rouge there. Several months after the Secretary-General counseled to have an international court in Cambodia, leaders in Pailin threatened to go to war repeatedly, and it was reported that armed soldiers had been gathering there.⁵⁵ Also, more than 20 years have passed since the genocide. Many people who carried out the genocide and who had responsibility under the regime of the Khmer Rouge fled from Cambodia or have already died, like Pol Pot. Even if we have an international court, could we have a fair trial?

Merits of the Tribunal

We can discuss the kinds of risk or problems that I mentioned above, but also we have to look at the merits of having an international court in Cambodia. First, we could finally try people who administered the genocide under the regime of the Khmer Rouge. They live freely now in Cambodia without having had any trials. Many Cambodian people who lost their parents,

⁵³ Jarvis, p. 610.

⁵⁴ See Amakawa N, (2002) 'How to manage the memory of death under the regime of the Khmer Rouge?' p. 35.

⁵⁵ Amakawa, (2002) p. 34.

brothers and sisters under the regime of the Khmer Rouge have been waiting for justice. One Cambodian whom we met in Cambodia said, "All my family was killed by the Khmer Rouge, so through the international tribunal, I really want to know who was responsible for the genocide. Of course I know many Khmer-Rouge leaders have already run away from Cambodia, so we cannot judge all of them, but we can make it clear who had responsibility."

Second, we can show the attitude of the international society, which would like justice to be held according to international standards. In Cambodia, more than one million people were killed in the genocide, but no trials have taken place, which means that the international society recognized the act with a wink and a nod. There was the ICTY in the former Yugoslavia and the ICTR in Rwanda, but we do not have anything in Cambodia in spite of the same sort genocide. However, to maintain the legitimacy of the standards we have, they must be applied to all countries and to prevent such a terrible genocide, it is meaningful for our international society to set up an international tribunal in Cambodia.

Third, through the process of the international tribunal, we can have an opportunity to adjust the judicial system in Cambodia more in compliance with international standards. During the trial, the United Nations and individual countries that have interest, like the United States and Japan, will send people who are experts on judicature. Cambodia can learn from them how to manage fair and neutral tribunals.

Fourth, Cambodian people can look back on their past and history, and learn what happened during the regime of Khmer Rouge and afterwards. Because of today's system of history and peace education or lack thereof, people cannot face or know their own history. This means that they do not have a national history. So through the international tribunal, it is possible that they will make a national consensus on history.

Finally, it has been said that in Cambodia there is 'a culture of impunity.' For a long-lasting peace and stability, the rule of law is essential, but unfortunately, it has not been taken root there. To change people's minds and the culture, an international tribunal can show that the rule of law is important for the Cambodian people and respected in Cambodian society. This will set an important precedent.

"We want justice and peace, but can we have both?"⁵⁶ This comment from a Cambodian expresses the dilemma and the potential of the international tribunal. Through the process, we can hope for a more to rule of law in Cambodia to some extent, but we do not know what will happen because of it, or what effect it will have on Cambodian society overall. Sometimes, justice brings instability to a society, but without any justice, peace is very fragile. The Cambodian peace is still weak. Will it become stronger or weaker through having an international tribunal? We have to look at the progress of this process carefully as members of the international society that has given the idea of justice to Cambodia.

⁵⁶ See Raviv, C., '25 after Khmer Rouge's Rise, Would Justice Derail Peace?' International Herald Tribune, April 18, 2000.

Toward a Sustainable Peace in Cambodia

Mari NAKAMURA

The civil war lasted over 30 years in Cambodia and destroyed the society from its foundation. After the war, backed by the international community, Cambodia began to work on peace-building as well as nation-building and it continues to be an ongoing effort. In terms of political developments, Cambodia achieved formal entry into ASEAN, and the last general election in 2003 was declared a success by the international community. Therefore, many people argue that Cambodia is proceeding smoothly in building a peaceful society. But, should we really be assured that Cambodia is achieving a peace not riddled with serious problems? Does this view express the reality of Cambodian society? To begin with, what is peace for Cambodian society? In this report, I try to describe the present situation and some of the main problems in Cambodia from social and psychological perspectives, as I observed through the experience of this program, and lastly consider ways and means to respond to these issues.

The Social Side of Peace-building in Cambodia

What is sustainable peace-building? According to the UN, 'peace-building' is defined as 'process of recovering political stability and reviving the economy after the conflict'⁵⁷. When we break down this process of peace-building over time, we can divide it into 2 main phases: the short-term and the long-term. The short-term goal is to restore a general condition or environment of peace, in the narrow sense of a ceasefire and the recovery of the capabilities of a nation. The long-term goal for peace-building is to establish a stable peace by further development and through ensuring security⁵⁸. Cambodia is at this phase today. Achieving this goal of stable peace requires two things: 1) removing fundamental and structural causes of future conflicts, and 2) building capabilities to deal with and settle conflicts in society. Through firmly establishing both of these, things peace in a society can be sustained and strengthened even after the international support leaves. Cambodia needs the most effort to be put into this 'sustainable peace' in order to gain the capacity to be able to keep peace by themselves.

The Situation of Peace-building in Cambodia

From my viewpoint and through the experience I gained in this program, there are three main problems in the peace-building initiatives ongoing in Cambodia. First of all, government doesn't have enough capacity of governance and there is not a highly reliable and matured system of law

⁵⁷ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, United Nations (New York), 1992.

⁵⁸ Commission on Human Security, *The Final Report of Human Security*, United Nations, 2003

serving as a basis for legitimate state functioning. There is widespread corruption throughout the government to the extent that almost all international donors have stopped projects related to judicial reform as they seem to have concluded that it is somewhat of a lost cause.

Secondly, for ordinary people, the environment surrounding them for ensuring peace is still so vulnerable. Poverty in Cambodia is severe especially in rural areas and it threatens the life of people, yet still there is not any real minimum social insurance or social safety net despite efforts of countries like Japan to add allot some portion of its bilateral aid to Cambodia specifically for such a purpose. Also their security is constantly undermined by the proliferation of small arms and landmines, which continue to cause severe human damage. People aren't guaranteed basic human rights and freedom of expression. Popular media, meaning the radio and TV as most of the population is illiterate, is strictly controlled by the government except for very few independent media stations who mostly focus on nonpolitical issues, and there remain concerns throughout society about political violence against the opposition parties and individuals criticizing government leaders and their policies.

Lastly, distrust in this society has the most serious and profound consequences for peace-building. It is clear from most of the people we talked to and/or interviewed that they agree about this widespread mutual distrust. The history and experience of having one's own government slaughter people in one's community and country without clear reasons seems to have affected seriously this tendency to mistrust in Cambodian society. People sometimes have to live with the people who killed their families and neighbors. How can they live with their memories and history for lasting peace?

Still now, although many people in the Khmer Rouge remain in government, and everyone seems to know about it, there seems to be some sort of taboo to speak about it openly. The traumas of the 'killing field' in that regime continue to haunt many people today. Education doesn't play a significant enough role in the promotion of peace due to lack of related content in the curriculum, informal restrictions on teachers to broach such topics, as well as from the overall lack of capacity and insufficiency of the educational system.. This is despite the government's and international civil society's often heard claims that the genocide must be remembered and its memory passed down to prevent it from ever happening again. This shows the attitude in Cambodian government and society of looking away from the past history of conflict, and perhaps paradoxically, keeping Cambodians in the social and psychological grip of the conflict. I will later discuss this point in more detail, but let me return to the framework for sustainable peace that I mentioned above.

As I stated above, Cambodia is now formally 'in peace' without major conflict, but the situation is far from a real, 'sustainable peace'. Therefore we need to consider what measures can be taken to overcome these problems. First, with regards to *removing fundamental and structural causes of future conflict*, the narrowing of social disparities by poverty reduction and through social and political empowerment of people are required. Developmental approach can advance poverty reduction, and empower people and communities to live and sustain themselves and also enhance the administrative capabilities of the government. This would help to correct urban-rural or regional disparities in the society and lessen public discontent with are often causes of conflicts. Moreover, the consolidation of the democratic system for promoting the political participation and preventing government from abusing power and using violence as means of settlement of disputes. Promoting a free and professional press, decentralization of administrative capacity and community development will make further progress. Human security should be ensured by developing the public security system and collection and disposal of small weapons. The security concerns held by people may easily contribute to or act as a trigger for future violence. Also, guarantees for basic human rights to free expression and human life through development of a functional and legitimate legal system and social security system are required.

Second, with regards to *building capabilities to deal with and settle conflicts in own society*, though we saw much ongoing work in conflict management resolution training starting to be disseminated to public officials, police, and so on by international and local NGO's, it needs to be more widespread to prevent the society from becoming more divided and susceptible to conflicts. Creating a culture and awareness of conflict prevention is especially important as the life of Cambodians is becoming more and more politicized at all levels. To accomplish these things, again, empowerment of people and additionally the promotion of mutual understanding are required. The low rate of literacy is an obstacle of development, but also more directly to conflict prevention, as education should play the role of promoting the understanding of peace and mutual trust. Social organization, including local community initiatives, empowers citizens and promotes mutual cooperation among people. Facilitating information sharing by spread of people-sensitive and peace-sensitive media and IT will enable a sense of being a member of society and further social cohesion. Information sharing also helps the empowerment of people. Additionally, developing legislation and law enforcement is necessary for settling dispute through peaceful mechanisms. Lastly, I want to add that all of these efforts toward 'sustainable peace' should be achieved by encouraging self-help efforts of the Cambodian people and cooperation among various actors from international organizations and domestic NGOs.

Peace Consciousness and Trust Building

The peace in Cambodia still remains fragile. This is the impression I gained through the field work we undertook in this program. As I have discussed above, although there are many problems with 'sustainable peace' in Cambodian society, there are also serious problem which inhibit peace in Cambodian consciousness. Again, the majority of the people that we interviewed agreed about widespread mutual distrust in Cambodian society and culture. After the civil conflict, the trusting relationship among people is not recovering enough. To sustain peace in the society after the conflict requires work directly targeting at people's peace and community consciousness.

Of course, then I should discuss how to promote peace and make it firm in people's consciousness. I will discuss this question from the view of media's functional capability. Many international organizations supporting peace-building take the perspective that reconstructing a free and fair media in Cambodia will contribute to sustainable peace there. They envision primarily that the media play a 'watchdog' role, helping to keep the government and other interest groups in society in check through public accountability. In its current state, the Cambodian media is not able to contribute in this way. Several important things, however, are accomplished through the media including dissemination of information in support of vulnerable groups like disabled persons, women, and trafficked children. However, the Cambodian case highlights two other functions the media can play in peace-building and more specifically in trust building: 1) supporting democratization - promoting trust between government and the people, and 2) promoting reconciliation - promoting trust among people.

Promoting Democracy

JICA refers to the need for supporting media as a primary means to support democratization in peace-building activities⁵⁹. In the case of Cambodia, there are various types of international support for media, with one of their objectives being to see liberal democracy flourish after two decades of destruction and war under the Khmer Republican, Khmer Rouge and PRK/SOC regimes⁶⁰. The short-term goal of these programs is to improve Cambodian journalists' skills and foster a relationship of mutual respect between media and authorities. The long-term goals for these Cambodian journalists' training projects is to strengthen the peace-building process by assisting in the development of a more independent, open, and accountable media. In many

⁵⁹ JICA, Approach to peace-building support.2003.

⁶⁰ Sorpong Peou, International Assistance for Institution Building in Post-Conflict Cambodia, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2004.

countries, there is similar support being provided for the media sector in the peace-building process. For example, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) has a implementing an agency for supporting media⁶¹.

What results have these efforts achieved in Cambodia? Concerted efforts have been made to give more coverage to opposition and independent political views, with increasing success each year. The general election in 2003 showed a good amount of progress from the last one, in terms of neutral and fair media coverage. In another area, Mr. Sary, Director of Cambodia Mine Action Centre (CMAC) said that media had a major role in raising awareness of the importance of DDR issues. Legal Aid of Cambodia is actively engaged in publicity activities through radio stations which are independent from the government.

On the other hand, negative and worrying aspects remain. Ms. Khus, Executive Director of the Cambodian based local capacity building and training NGO SILAKA emphasized the strong pressure from the government on opposition parties, religious groups, and NGO's. The media hesitates to broach such issues, focusing in general rather on political bashing and tabloid style news. It is difficult to justify the claim that Cambodian people are guaranteed the freedom of expression, though most people there recognize a good improvement in the situation over the last five years. Still, there are other problems on the part of the media. The tendency of the media to report rumors and foment conflict had disastrous consequences for Cambodia. Such false accusation fueled historic tensions between Thailand and Cambodia when the local media wrongly report the rumor that a well-known Thai actress said that the Angkor Wat temple complex, the national symbol of Cambodia, should belong to neighboring Thailand. Mobs in Phnom Penh burned the Thai Embassy and destroyed numerous Thai-owned businesses, forcing the evacuation of Thai citizens. Diplomatic relations were suspended briefly between the two countries, and there has been a continuing subsequent rise in anti-Thai sentiment. This case shows that unprofessional media can easily lead the conflict⁶². And, without creating professional codes of conduct for the media to adhere to, and without making helping them to find other strategies to become financially sustainable, the media will continue to use such irresponsible tactics and reporting to attract an audience.

In addition, we should look at the function of the media that monitor and push the government to democracy. Media can help people lead their country to peace without having to wholly rely

⁶¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs

⁶² CPJ, Attacks on the Press 2003, 2003.

on the workings and whims of the government by conveying timely and accurate information. An informed citizenry is a powerful and empowered citizenry, and this will strengthen the capacity of the underlying social system to prevent conflict and promote peace. Media should recognize this opportunity, and more so responsibility to develop both the state's and the public's capacities to achieve democratic governance and society.

Promoting Reconciliation

A "Culture of Peace", or in other words a truly sustainable peace, requires restoring trust in society. Without trust, not only is the society always in high tension, but there is a strong possibility of a recurrence of conflict. Restoring trust requires promoting reconciliation among people. That requires both aiming for sustaining and expanding the present state of peace, and also dealing with past crimes and conflicts.

In our interview, the Minister of Education, Youth, and Sport said that the teachings of Buddhism include respect for others and love for peace, and thus promoting Buddhism in society in general is enough to sustain and develop peace in Cambodia. But I wonder, is it truly enough? Of course the question arises as to why the Buddhism was not enough to sustain or even make peace over the last 30 years. Many Cambodians cite the involvement of outside parties like Vietnam and the US when responding to this somewhat naïve question, but in the end, most, including the more politically active monks we talked to, also expressed a skepticism that Buddhism can be such a strong force for peace and peace-building. This would suggest that it is not enough for 'sustainable peace' only to recognize the importance of peace. A culture of peace also requires establishment of a system of institutions and practices which can handle disputes and settle the sources of friction and conflict within society.

Such a system had to have a mutually reinforcing relationship with the mutual trust in a society. This further implies that that reconciliation cannot be left out of the peace-building process and people be aware of and should face up to the past for reconciliation. People needs to overcome their own country's past sin and conflict by looking into the conflict, bringing war criminals to justice and understanding this as their own history. All of these processes should be initiated and implemented by Cambodians themselves.

In my opinion, the courts for war criminals in post-war Germany offer some lessons for this. At end of World War II, it was impossible to expect fair trials in Germany because many of judges

were Nazi and trials were eventually held by the countries which won the war⁶³. But, the trials have come to be perceived as retaliation in the German perception of history. Tribunals have the function of generally limiting the responsibility for war crimes to specific persons. This function addressed the entirety of war crimes by the German's and imposed responsibilities to certain members of the leadership. The responsibility of the German population as a whole was left in vague. However, more than 30 years later, the Germans held their own war crimes tribunals and judged by themselves. These trials provided a valuable opportunity for the German people to learn the lessons of history. They also were able to realize that the only way to come to terms with the past was to face up to the sins committed by people in their country, and sometimes in their name.

In Cambodia, the semi-international tribunal of war crimes recently seems more likely to be held in near future. Nobody can foresee whether this tribunal will have a good impact on peace in Cambodia or not. However, it should be noted that this tribunal was originally the initiative of the international community in order to bring Khmer Rouge's crime to justice, but to remain quiet on the acts of various groups in the rest of 30 years of civil war. What I consider as reconciliation for Cambodia requires a full accounting of the entire war, held by the Cambodian people in accord with their standards of fairness and justice. This does not mean that they trial should be corrupt because the government is, but rather that the trial should be initiated and run according to the needs and sensibilities of the Cambodian people by the Cambodian people. This may happen only in the distant future if at all, but the Cambodian people will have to judge the criminals and responsibilities of the conflict themselves, deliberating over the meaning of their history, and learn the lessons it can teach them in order to achieve the sustainable peace. "How difficult it is to leave the role of facing up squarely to the past to the next generation", a man who had engaged in collecting information of war criminals in Eastern Germany once said⁶⁴. The media will clearly affect the evaluation of any war crimes tribunal and the outcome of it on Cambodian society and people because information from reports and news will remain in people's memory giving the impact of such an issue. Currently, some NGOs active in the Media sector in Cambodia like IMPACS (the Canadian Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society) have advanced projects for improving the coverage of international criminal court related issues. IMPACS stresses the role of media in providing responsible coverage and journalistic and editorial practices. New young journalists with professional skills are increasing in Cambodia now. At the same time, journalists who haven't experienced the civil war are also growing in

⁶³ Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt-Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, 1994.

⁶⁴ Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt-Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, 1994.

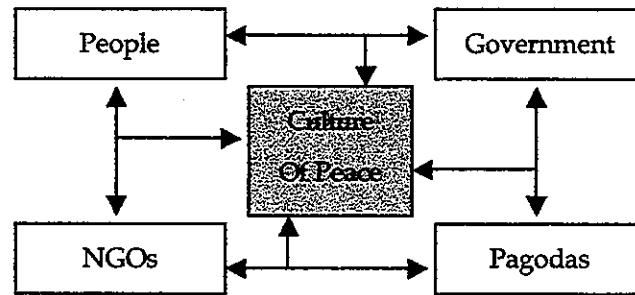
numbers. The problem is that the younger generations either are not educated about the conflict or are apathetic to it because of the lack of importance and reality afforded to it in the society in which they live. Journalists have a major role in offering information about the conflict and history in general and in creating a common or collective memory that enables people to have a sense of being a member of a nation. For this reason especially, journalists should more actively consider and discuss how to inform young people about and make people face the conflict before the generations change and Cambodians lose the chance to repair or at come to terms with the destructive break in their history and culture.

Visions for the Future

This Program enabled me to see and feel the difficulties of remaking society after a drawn out conflict, which is not evident in theory or in books in general. We can build the infrastructure, create organizations for governance, and draft laws; but, if these forms of assistance are not implemented effectively, the society and country wouldn't work. And, they cannot be without first regaining some amount of strength, unity, and trust within the social structure. I realized how difficult it is for something like a nation to function in reality. Moreover, we should pay careful attention to people's consciousness about and relationships in the peace-building process. This is not visible on the surface but it can easily lead to conflicts. We can see such things in countries like Rwanda or Kenya as well, which developmentally were highly successful, but socially on the verge of erupting in conflict as they eventually did. Although I was able catch a glimpse of this issue, I have not as of yet developed my thinking to sufficient depth to offer clear solutions as to how we can effectively help others in growing their sense of being members in their society and country. I hope to have the chance to study and gain field experience with other cases of peace-building that have different troubles than the Cambodian case and also apply what I have learned about the peace-building process to conflict prevention in general. What can we do for making peace sustainable? I would like to consider it more deeply and spread the idea more widely so that people can better appreciate its effects.

Four Corners of Peace

S.A.R MUZAFARY



If you travel to Phnom Penh or some of its outskirts areas you may feel that peace is prevailing. Unlike in the capital, the rural scenario will give you different ideas of 'peace,' or more specifically a 'culture of peace,' to think about. Cambodia, a war torn country, is now on its way to establishing a 'culture of peace' after a bloody civil war from 1975-1998. But what actually forms this process? The general idea is that you have to create a culture where citizens can live peacefully, without violence or any kind of intimidation. This kind of culture would continue to exist for a long time, being bolstered by the state's apparatus, citizens' groups, domestic capacity as well as international support. However, sometimes this concept of peace is taken the wrong way. It is not that you can change any existing culture immediately to another more desirable one. There are other intertwined factors that you cannot ignore if you want to bring a 'culture of peace' to a post-conflict society. Let me get into specific details.

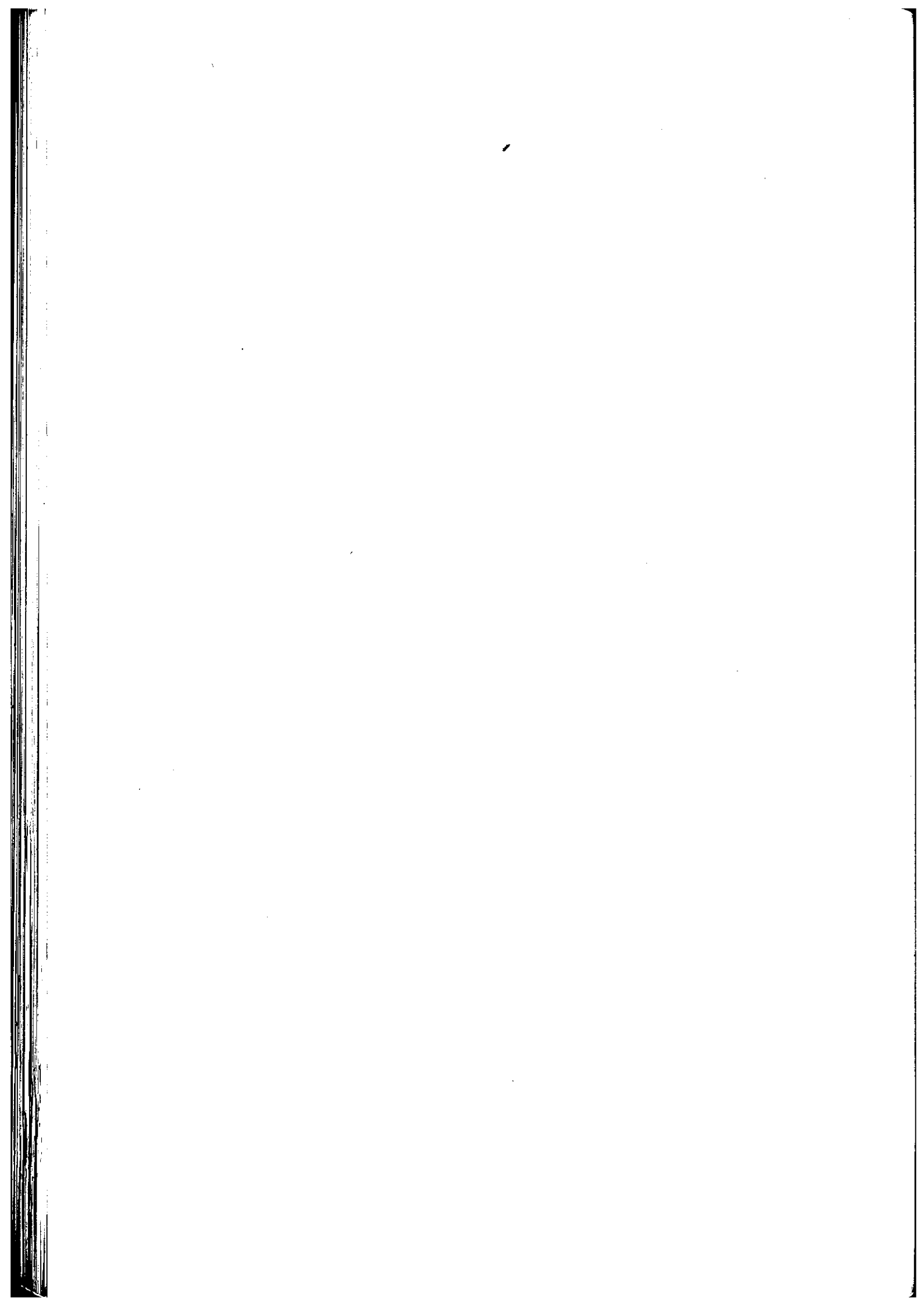
The first question that comes to mind is, "How can such a 'culture of peace' be built in Cambodia?" If you think about any culture that is composed of different values, these values push the people to perform their daily activities in certain ways. In my point of view, a 'culture of peace' should consist of democratic values such as freedom of expression, social justice, human rights, and so on. These values implicitly belong to the people, including those at the top level of society. In Cambodia, the general public is excluded from exercising such values. A small number of people are controlling the mass majority, but people are ready to accept these values to bring peace to their society. Still how does one engage people in such a culture? Although the government should take the initiative to let people know about enjoying the exercising of their rights, when the government itself is basically opposed to many of these, some other section of society has to take on this role. Subsequently, in Cambodia, NGOs are playing a pivotal role in filling this gap, and by doing so, they have become very close to the people.

On the contrary, people are a bit skeptical about government corruption and barriers on their freedom of expression. People's inability to express opposing political ideals is a hindrance to the country's system of good governance. NGOs are more vocal about such issues, as they sometimes take part in demonstrations to apply pressure for their demands. Obviously, there are distinct lines between the government, NGOs, and the people. Furthermore, there is no cohesion or even coordination between government and NGO activities. What I noticed is that people are afraid to express their opinion, particularly regarding government criticism. If people cannot express their opinion, how can we say that the country is moving toward a 'culture of peace?' The violence that occurred during the 1998 'pilgrimage of truth' or peace walk is a clear indication that peace becomes fragile especially when a government's position is insecure and lacks the support of the people.

What is the process of bringing peace into society? First of all, an educated society is required for planting the seeds of peace for the next generation. Cambodia's education sector is vulnerable. A large number of young people are out of the light of education. Government should give more attention to this problem. Second, the problem of government corruption must be tackled. Cambodia is the most corrupt country in Asia. This breeds mistrust among people, which increases the possibility of conflict reoccurring. Third, as mass media is the source for general people to know about the good and bad workings of the government, it should be free to fulfill this purpose. The government should not be in control of the mass media, neither electronic, nor print. If the government does not allow for the criticism, how will people be able to differentiate between good and bad government? Fourth, there still exist two main groups of people: the general public and former Khmer Rouge adherents. There is a big gap between these two groups, most noticeable in the border areas. As there was no proper reconciliation, people feel hatred toward each other. The government should take the initiative to minimize this gap. Fifth, religion can play an important role in Cambodia. The government should change their attitudes toward urban and rural pagodas. It could be fruitful to use Buddhist monks to create awareness among the people. Finally, the gaps between the government and NGOs, and the government and the people should be narrowed. Freedom of expression, human rights issues, justice, development, and other basic essentials should be promoted to facilitate this decrease.

From the discussion above we can say that the pace of moving toward a 'culture of peace' is very slow. It is the government's task to trace the 'invisible' consequences of past violence. There is a need for participatory democracy through which people can learn how to change any existing culture that is not suitable for them. As I mentioned, people are willing to accept any kind of

reform that is suitable for them and their next generation. The exercising of these reforms should be done in a democratic way, as only a democratic culture can help Cambodians maintain a 'culture of peace' for any significant length of time. We can see that the basis for a culture of peace as I have described would look something like the diagram above.



Confronting the Fragility of Peace in Cambodia

Troy KNUDSON

Opening remarks

Before leaving on our research trip to Cambodia, we decided as a group that we would write our report about how Cambodia is currently transitioning from a culture of war into a culture of peace. I thought to myself at the time of discussion that Cambodia's situation would be very much like that of other post-conflict developing countries we have read about for our classes in the Peace and Conflict Studies Master's Program at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. I was convinced that theoretically it would be possible to write the report based on previously read literature alone. How little was I aware that the situation we would find ourselves trying to understand in Cambodia was full of complex dilemmas and seemingly illogical states of reality.

Now that we have returned to Japan, I realize the importance in having been to a country before being able to assess and ultimately prescribe a method for improving that country's status. I would like to use this report as a vehicle for giving my personal assessment of the present and prescription for the future situation in Cambodia. Staying with our initial idea of writing about Cambodia's transition into a culture of peace, I would like to describe how some organizations (governmental and non-governmental) and individuals we visited are either facilitating or mitigating this transition. Then, by using the tools that are most available to Cambodians themselves, I will give a recommendation for how I feel Cambodia's potential culture of peace can be realistically attained.

Qualifying the term 'peace'

One of the most basic things I would like to do before delving into the deep social dilemmas facing Cambodia is to give a clear definition of what I mean by the term 'peace.' I feel the need to qualify it, as I noticed that there were two competing definitions of the term embedded in the ideals of Cambodians at both the institutional and individual levels. The realization of the first definition I noticed can be seen with the naked eye. Its characteristics are quantitative and may be easy to measure empirically. Basically, this definition of 'peace' can be seen as the mere absence of violence. Certainly, in comparison to the state of civil war that suffocated Cambodia and its people for over three decades, the absence of violence is favorable; but when considering a country's transition into a culture of peace, to stop at the point of mere nonviolence is to disallow a full comprehension of what can ease this transition, and in turn, prevent that country from fighting itself again.

The second definition I noticed being alluded to by Cambodians goes a lot deeper than the first, and its qualitative characteristics may not be as easy to measure. These characteristics include a sense of compassion and understanding that can only come about through trusting relationships. In his highly respected prescription for the maintenance of peace in societies of protracted conflict, *Building Peace*, John Paul Lederach asserts that the "relationship is the basis of both the conflict and the long-term solution."⁶⁵ The same can be said for post-civil war societies like Cambodia as well, in that the 'the long-term solution' is contingent upon the quality of the relationship among the conflicting parties. In conjunction with my purpose here, the 'long-term solution' for the stability of post-conflict Cambodia is equivalent to its transition into a culture of peace.

Identifying the problem

It is the realization of this second definition of the term 'peace' that is so elusive, yet so necessary if the peace is to be 'kept,' for if we become satisfied with the tangible results of the first definition, which some Cambodians unfortunately seem resolved to do, then we will succumb to the illusion that peace in Cambodia has already been accomplished. Depending on whom we were speaking to, we heard a variety of dates as to when the civil war ended, ranging from 1979-1999, but no one believed that the war and the violence that was attached to it was still occurring. A state of nonviolence has been attained, but it cannot be sustained with the population's current attitude toward itself. The second definition of 'peace' requires a sense of communal trust that does not exist today in Cambodia. When I think about every NGO and government office that we visited, every villager that we interviewed, and every tour guide who was more than willing to tell us everything he could about his country, I can remember the word 'mistrust' being spoken by every person.

The next logical question, if we assume that the present mistrust is an obstacle to attaining peace based on compassion and understanding, should be, "How can we turn this mistrust into trust?" My answer is that the mistrust must be confronted. In his book, *Creating True Peace*, the Zen Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hahn insists that "To practice peace, to make peace alive in us, is to actively cultivate understanding, love, and compassion, even in the face of misperception and conflict."⁶⁶ I insist that to make our second definition of peace come 'alive' in Cambodian society, the mistrust that currently plagues it must be approached confidently by Cambodians themselves

⁶⁵ John Paul Lederach, 1997, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington, D.C.), p.26.

⁶⁶ Thich Nhat Hanh, 2003, *Creating True Peace: Ending Violence in Yourself, Your Family, Your Community, and the World*, (Free Press: New York), p.1.

and destroyed. Only then will the possibility of transitioning into a culture a peace reveal itself to the country.

However, one of the problems with instigating such a bold confrontation of mistrust in Cambodia is the commonly held perception that today's peace is fragile⁶⁷ and based partly on the assumption that people are simply tired of fighting. My argument here is that the fragility can be stemmed from a present culture of 'peace' composed of characteristics from our first definition, namely the mere lack of violence. This unfortunate stagnation of society has led to two very noticeable traits that hinder Cambodians from making their transition into a true culture of peace: 1) a lack of justice that has been carried out in response to the genocide of years past, and 2) a lack of general knowledge among the society about the atrocities that occurred during the war.

But my argument is not without weakness. It may be true that 1) a tribunal for the remaining Khmer Rouge leaders, and 2) the allocation of truthful history lessons in school may lead to a disruption of the current state of nonviolence, but I think that if Cambodia is to make its transition into a true culture of 'peace,' composed of such elements as compassion, understanding, forgiveness, justice, and truth, these two stalled functions of society need to be addressed. Any disruption of peace that occurs as a result of justice and knowledge being exercised by a democratic nation is a clear indication of the necessity of that peace to be strengthened. Through justice and education, Cambodians can collectively face their own mistrust, as it is the main hindrance to their attainment of a culture of peace.

Assessing the dilemmas

How successful Cambodia is in making its transition into a culture of meaningful peace will likely be determined by how its leaders choose to address the following integrated dilemmas concerning justice and education. Firstly, regarding justice, because the present peace is fragile, a tribunal might cause emotions that have been suppressed (or at least not roused) for years to stir. In the absolute worst-case scenario, this could cause families and even the nation to split in half politically and ideologically, possibly resulting in another civil war. At any rate, the present peace will likely be disturbed to some degree. The other side of this dilemma shows us that even at the risk of disturbing the present peace, if a peace based on compassion and understanding is ever to

⁶⁷ Catherine Morris, 2000, *Peacebuilding in Cambodia: the Role of Religion*, Working Paper, <http://www.peacemakers.ca/research/Cambodia/ReligionandPeacebuildingReportJan2001.html> (accessed 26 January 2005).

be attained, it must be commonly understood throughout Cambodia that political behavior that causes years of genocide is unacceptable to a functioning society. Furthermore, given that the creation of trust in a post-conflict society is based on forgiveness, there must first be something to be forgiven.

Secondly, regarding education, if the young generation does not learn about their nation's history in school, they will get all of their historical information from their parents and friends' parents. Although this type of teaching is important, it is often full of bias and could mitigate the convergence of the two sides of history and lead to an indefinite divisiveness within the society. On the other hand, if the young generation learns a non-biased and fact-based history of their country in school, it could foster the impression that their nation has moved beyond the divisiveness of its civil war years. In conjunction with the dilemma of justice, a common history will help guide the young generation in a common direction that is not confused about the legitimacy of the genocide. Complemented by stories from the older generation, a school-taught history will allow a more complete version of Cambodia's past to be understood, paving the way for a more compassionate culture of peace.

Finding the appropriate source

The last question I will ask here is "Who or what will be responsible for steering the country in the right direction regarding these two dilemmas?" I think that for now the task will obviously fall into the hands of the Buddhist faith. Every Cambodian seems to feel that among all possible foundations, the most trustworthy available for peace in their country is Buddhism: "Buddhism is the sole institution which cuts across the deep political divisions separating Cambodians today."⁶⁸ Like all religions, Buddhism teaches humanity to be peaceful and nonviolent through compassion and understanding, but it seems to me that the practice itself is not active enough to produce results on a societal level. In order to see progress in social development and improvement in all forms of infrastructure, I think a more active form of Buddhism needs to be incorporated.

For example, it concerns me when I see a huge, beautiful temple being erected next to another huge, beautiful temple in an extremely poor village, with no school in sight. It seems that even though Cambodians do not have a lot of money, they are perfectly willing to use what money they have for religious purposes. The money that is used to build temples could also be used for

⁶⁸ Yos Hut Khemacaro, 1998, *Steering the Middle Path: Buddhism, non-violence and political change in Cambodia*, <http://www.c-r.org/accord/cam/accord5/yoshut.shtml> (accessed 26 January 2005).

more practical purposes that could ease some of the educational restrictions, travel limitations, and food shortages each village suffers from. It is unfortunate that as a result of some monks being killed during the 1998 *Dhammayietra* (pilgrimage of truth), Buddhism now plays a smaller role in the promotion of a legitimate and transparent democracy: "The possibility that peace activism will be opposed with force by the government poses the greatest challenge for contemporary Khmer Buddhism."⁶⁹ If Buddhist monks took a more active role in this regard, it could only facilitate a more successful tribunal and an improved system of education, helping Cambodia make its transition into the culture of peace that their faith teaches: "Cambodia's monks...have the influence to hold political leaders to account...This enhances the public legitimacy of politicians though all too often monks have not taken advantage of the opportunity offered to instruct political leaders on their duties to the people."⁷⁰

Closing remarks

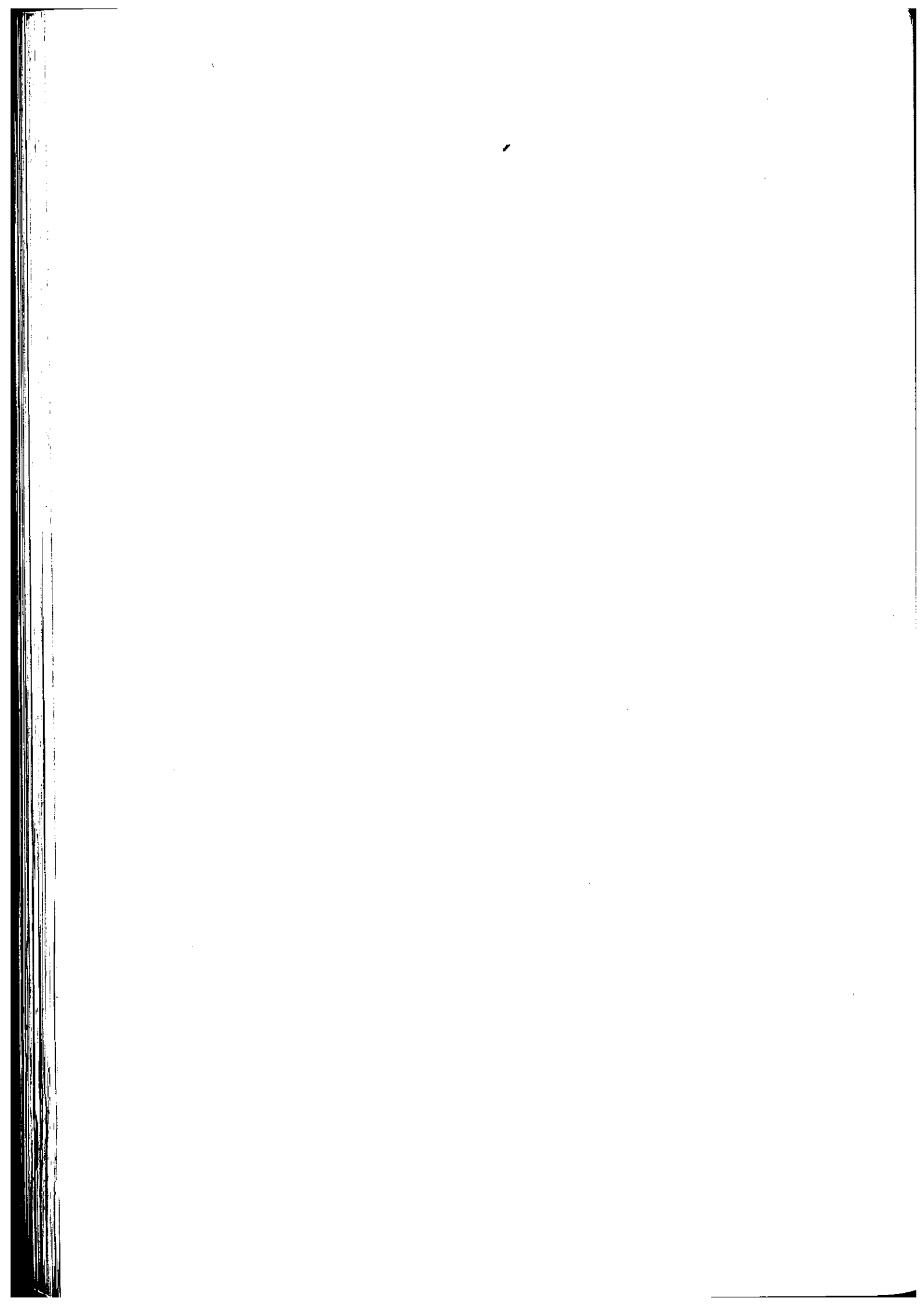
To sum up the points addressed in this report, I think it is imperative to recognize, first of all, that none of the observations that I have included could have been made without the actual experience of having been to Cambodia. That said, from the experience I have taken from there, I think that the country is at a point where it can choose to either face its own history and future with confidence, which would entail the confrontation of its people's mistrust toward each other by way of pursuing both truth and justice, or continue on its present path of stagnation, which nurtures the current state of nonviolence, but allows no room for growth and maturity as a country. If Cambodia is to take the more difficult, but more rewarding path of confronting its own hindrance, it will be dependent on the assurance that only their Buddhist faith, which is embedded deep in the Khmer culture, can provide for them.

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⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.



ANNEX

Shaan MAVANI

Preparatory Seminar Lecture Notes

Lecture 1 – National Reconciliation and Peace-building in Cambodia

Dr. Sorpong PEOU, Sophia University

October 30, 14:00 - 16:00

Dr. Peou is Professor of Political Science at Sophia University, and focuses on International Relations, Comparative Politics, Security Studies, and Peace-building. He is Cambodian by birth, lived for four years under the Khmer Rouge regime, and has written well-received books on peacekeeping, peace-building, and on the transition to democratic nationhood in Cambodia. (In addition to the one-page handout authored by Dr. Peou and attached to this report, the participants in this session received a full copy of his report *International Assistance for Institution Building in Post-Conflict Cambodia*, Working Paper 26, Conflict Research Unit, Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael, The Hague, Netherlands, March 2004.)

Part 1: Introduction to the Cambodian Case

- The Cambodian case is interesting because it came at the end of the Cold War and diminishing US involvement. At the time, international (heavy UN and Japanese) involvement was more focused on peace-keeping or stabilization.
- The UN program did a lot of good, but there were many limits of what they could do at the time, in terms of turning war to peace.
 - ◆ The main failure was lack of disarmament of the factions, though it was the Khmer Rouge was very responsible for this. There is still disagreement as to why KR did not take part in this process.
 - ◆ The political UN work was a success in that 20 parties came together and participated, and also many people voted.
 - ◆ There have been a lot of political violence and other irregularities since that time.
 - ◆ Transfer of power was also a problem. Power sharing is still a problem.
- How should we understand the process of peace building in Cambodia?
 - ◆ In general, peace-building is vague and it difficult to measure results.
 - ◆ It is especially difficult for Cambodians to trust each other and disarm and therefore really have peace after experience such long protracted conflicts
 - ◆ Peace-building is a liberal process, and so one has to understand the philosophy and ideology

behind it, basically originating in Kantian internationalism.

- ◆ Cambodia is now modeled to be a liberal democracy. It was unstable domestically, and conflict spilled over into neighbors. The Khmer Rouge and successive regimes acted aggressive externally. Therefore, intervention was intended to bring about peace domestically and also internationally.
- ◆ The speaker was recently invited by a Dutch group to look at assessing the peace process. We can never measure peace-building comprehensively, but we can look at some small areas separately - elections, human rights, and media.

Part 2: Assessing Peace-building Through Institutions

➤ Elections

- ◆ How can we measure the success of elections towards peace? Multiparty process, political violence and intimidation, electoral rights, transfer of power, etc.
- ◆ The electoral process has shown progress in each election since 1993. Less violence and intimidation, multiple parties, more peaceful transfers of power though opposing groups are increasingly taking much longer to come to agreement.

➤ Human Rights

- ◆ There has been some progress overall, in absolute terms. There were no HR organizations before. UNTAC instituted a liberal constitution that included HR protections. Now there are more than 40 organizations, including at the state levels (Ministry, Senate, etc). Measures of respect for human rights in Cambodia have improved, based on number of deaths, etc.

➤ Media

- ◆ Media has also become a positive force. The number of journalists killed has declined since 1998. The quality of media as well as the strength of the opposition media have made progress

➤ The Market

- ◆ The market as a measure of peace-building is grossly understudied and we should look at the market based economy donors have tried to build in Cambodia. To what extent has it been a success and how has it impacted other aspects of peace-building?

➤ Peace-building is institution building, and has made progress in all these areas. However, it is a long-term process that can be easily reversed. That is why sustainability matters more than transition, which could be considered the first 10-year period.

➤ How institutionalized are these changes in HR, Media, Elections, etc? The speaker does not agree that democratic consolidation is taking place, as some claim, meaning that the current situation will probably not improve in the near future.

- ◆ Institutionally, these areas are not strong enough that they could not be easily reversed or

dismantled. For example, Electoral Administrations and Election Commissions at all level, and involved NGOs as well, are very fragile. They are empty shells, only active when elections come. They are not sustainable, depending on foreign aid for each election. Cambodia cannot actually afford elections, so if donors stop providing assistance for this, as Japan does, democracy would stop.

- ◆ At even a superficial level, HR organizations are also fragile. Only 2 or 3 of the 40 or so odd organizations play any major role. Still, these few rely too much on international aid, are often intimidated and threatened, and are subject to rampant corruption in the system.
- ◆ Media is not sustainable. There are many newspapers, but they are not high quality. The two main papers are in English, one is almost bankrupt, and the other one is owned by someone living in Tokyo, and took huge losses for the for the first 10 years. Papers cannot make any profit, and all news is politicized and supported by partisan groups. TV and radio is controlled by the government except for a very few non-political stations. Attempts to obtain radio licenses by opposition groups are generally rejected, and even those stations who are run by independent groups are often censured or closed if they start to engage in political programming. In general, the media does not have a market.
 - ◆ At this rate, Cambodia will perpetually depend on foreign aid and donors.
- Did the Paris Agreement change these institutions?
 - ◆ It had many flaws as the signatories were under pressure, the drafter had limited time, and there was no time for negotiations and explanations. In general, however, the imposition of liberal democracy on a country with no liberal tradition is a process, and can be achieved successfully. These new liberal norms have transformed Cambodia to some degree so far.
- Other countries in the region
 - ◆ Laos and Vietnam are not politically liberal. As in China, market liberalization may not require it. In a country opening up liberally politically, how can the market be created?
 - ◆ For a country that is not willing to accept the market, this recipe of Media, HR, democratic Elections, etc, we cannot expect to do much in terms of peace-building. The big donors in Cambodia have had a lot of leverage to promote the market and in turn peace-building.
 - ◆ Still, the Vietnamese market is more vibrant than in Cambodia.
 - ◆ The endemically high level of corruption prevents the market from becoming strong, and prevents foreign or domestic investment.
- There are various forms of corruption that require different remedies –
 - ◆ Corruption by Need
 - ◆ Corruption by Greed
 - ◆ Corruption by System

- ◆ Corruption in Cambodia has become so systemic, and moreover it is the foundation of and sustains the overall political and economic systems. Rooting it out is not in the interest of any powerful groups at the present time.
- ◆ Donors should be much more active in rooting out corruption through conditioning their aid or instituting transparent and accountable processes.

Part 3: Future Prospects

- What is the status of national identity in Cambodia?
 - ◆ Cambodia doesn't have any identity crisis. Identity and political structure are distinct things.
- Reconciliation
 - ◆ China has been strongly pushing the CPP and others not to go along with the tribunal, Criminal justice, HR, etc.
 - ◆ Other donor countries like Japan, the US, or UK are also not pushing the Reconciliation and Justice processes or may even be against it
 - ◆ However, in general, the speaker does not see these issues as vital or even relevant for most Cambodians as any International Tribunal would only cover the Khmer Rouge period, which was 30 years ago, and not other periods of the conflicts. Most Cambodians are more concerned with development issues, and especially important is the situation of the large number of youth who will soon be seeking employment that is not there.
- The state is so fragile that Cambodians cannot trust each other. In Europe it took 400-500 years to build the state structure, so the last 10 years in Cambodia has been rather successful. At present, the state is not expected to provide for the society.
 - ◆ Therefore, NGOs and other IGOs are vitally important, in that they have taken over the functions of the state. Human needs and human security issues are being addressed by donors, but donors are also limited in what they can do.
 - ◆ The inability of the state is the main issue, as the extent of need in all areas is great.
 - ◆ The gap is widening between rich and poor.
 - ◆ The state is incapable of rooting out corruption.
- Recently many Cambodians are talking about revolution. Evolution or reform is frustrating people. The economy is not doing well - only 1% growth is expected next year.
- How can the issues discussed above be better institutionalized?
 - ◆ There is no clear answer now. There is no alternative to the current political system, and it has a potential to go the right way.
 - ◆ But corruption has to be properly dealt with.
 - ◆ Also there needs to be a change in political culture, as Cambodian in general still view the

government and political parties as paternal – they expect the political party to support them financially rather than the other way around. Is the electoral system then appropriate? Most Cambodians still don't understand liberal democracy and tend to trust leaders who take a father figure or who can give a strong image. They are still not very trusting of political institutions or parties. Bribery and vote-buying is a major problem as well. Parties have difficulty maintaining loyalty or not splitting up.

- ◆ However, the state cannot be changed too greatly. It wants to preserve its own power and is conservative. Instead we need to do more with civil society, and try to make it sustainable. The speaker continues to support the change to a liberal democratic system overall.
- ◆ Balanced Institutional Development at both the state and societal levels is the key to consolidating and spurring the transition to democratic nationhood
- ◆ International assistance at such balanced institution building was been limited primarily donors have not clearly understood the complexities of this process, and they have been too lax on local organizations (i.e., Electoral, Human Rights, and Media) in requiring them to formulate their missions and activities so as to prioritize accountability and sustainability.
- ◆ If NGO are more democratic and transparent, donors will also be more willing. Some donors are already becoming reluctant to be involved in Cambodia.

Lecture 2 – International Involvement in the Cambodia Peace Process

Honorable IMAGAWA Yukio, Former Japanese Ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia

October 30, 16:00 - 18:00

Mr. Imagawa was Ambassador to Cambodia from 1992 - 1996, a Graduate of Waseda University, with experience working in Vietnam and many other countries with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. He has also published several books on Cambodia and the Peace Process of which he was part. (Dr. Peou, from the previous session, was also present at this session and interjected several comments and opinions.)

Part 1: Historical Introduction to the Cambodian Conflict

- In return for US support, Lon Nol gave a green light to the US to bombard Cambodian territory during the Vietnam War. Many refugees and displaced people came to Phnom Penh during this time (from a population of 400,000 to 2,000,000). Many new difficulties arose due to this situation.
- Pol Pot is said to have killed 1.7 million, and moreover the rest of the population was subject to very hard forced labor. It was almost impossible to escape. Any escape happened right after collapse of the Khmer Rouge.
- Vietnam did not invade Cambodia. Cambodians invaded South Vietnam 26 times, and did many bad things, then Vietnam defended themselves, according to Hun Sen (current leader of Cambodia who at the time was aligned with and installed by the Vietnamese). In actuality, the Khmer Rouge regime was not strong at all, and Vietnamese easily destroyed them in 10 days or at least all the Khmer Rouge abandoned their mission and escaped to the Cambodian-Thai border area or entered Thailand. Despite expectations by most international players that it would be a protracted war, somehow it only took a month for the Khmer Rouge to completely collapse.
- Civil war, mostly in the border areas continued through 1992. Three factions supported by Japan, the US, China, etc against were fighting against the Vietnamese supported government.
- Bug powers were against direct negotiations between the two sides, but CGDK and Hun Sen met in France to settle the dispute where they decided to settle the conflict through political negotiations, and that they would continue the negotiations indefinitely.
- They initiated and continued the peace process by themselves. Both sides were heavily criticized, but went on with it meeting 9 times.
- The Paris Conference took place - the first session was one month in 1989, where 4 factions were represented, including Khmer Rouge related ones. 18 countries including nonaligned countries also joined the Conference. It was the first experience for Japan to be involved in international political conferences about Asia, despite the fact that they were very strong and active in economic conferences or development related areas.

- In 1989, only the third committee (Chaired by Japan and Australia) had success, because the Khmer Rouge was blocking progress overall, but this was not enough.
- From 1990 on, though the Paris Conference was continuing, the P5 (Security Council members) took over. There was some influence from the Cold War thinking. Still, the P5 cooperate amazingly well. They gave a lot of pressure for Cambodians to accept the framework document and draft agreement authored by the P5 representatives and the UN Bureau.
- The 4 major agreements were signed by the 12 members of the Cambodian Supreme National Council and all 18 ministers from the other countries.
- Why were the leaders open to dialogue though they were fighting so much?
 - ◆ They were tired of the conflict.
 - ◆ Dr. Poeu added that the USSR changed its policy in Indochina, and therefore Hun Sen knew he could not get support from the USSR or Vietnam anymore. Hun Sen used this chance to break up the coalition against him, also because his regime was very poor as was his patron – Vietnam - so he needed a way to escape from this deteriorating position.

Part 2: Current State of the Situation

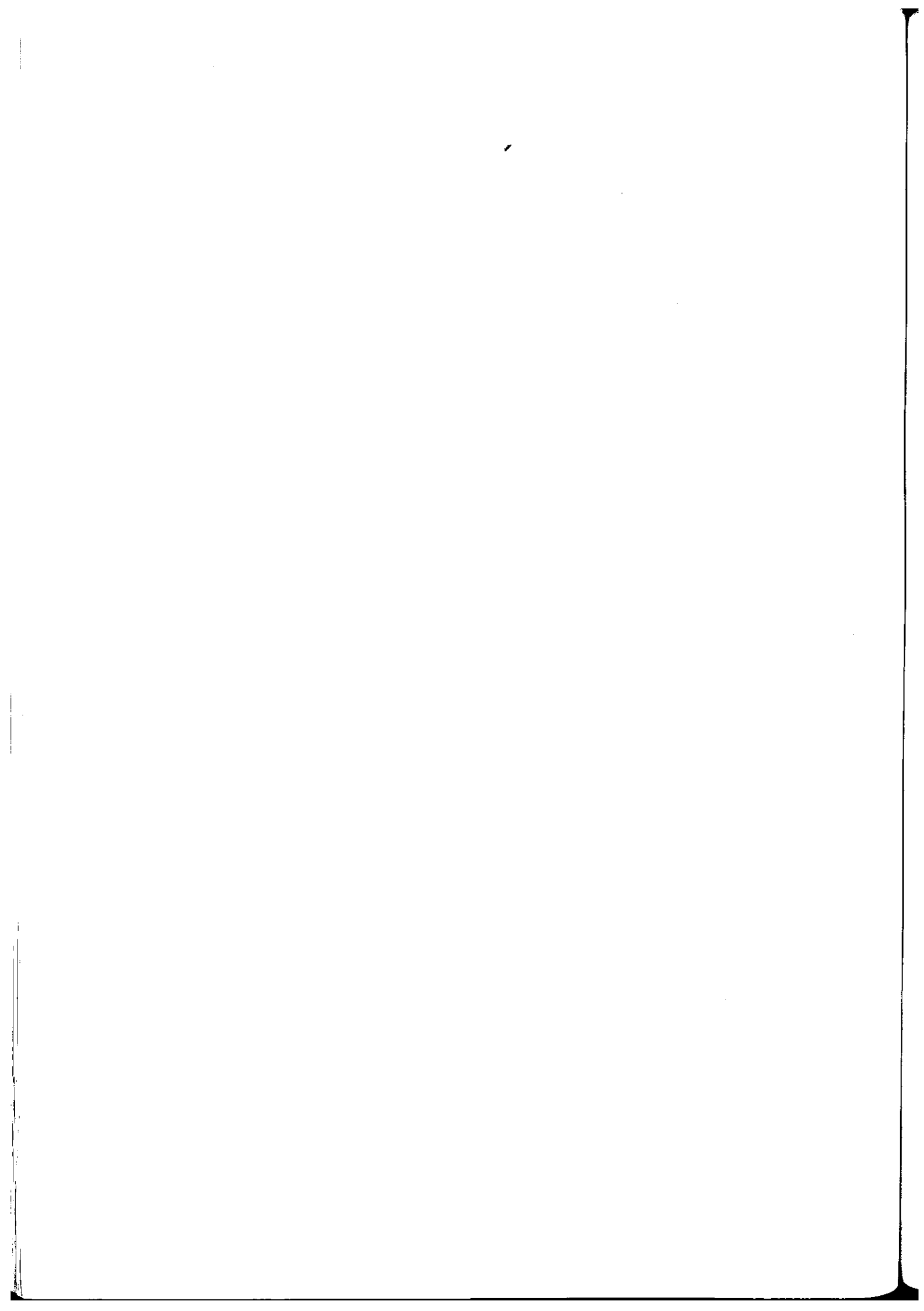
- Leaders in Cambodia always have to fear many other groups in society, and so the tendency to take repressive action is always structurally motivated, more than just a cultural issue. All leaders have been like this there. Some consider Cambodia a mafia state.
- The Cambodian power structure doesn't allow leaders (including Hun Sen who is known as a 'strong man') to act 'properly' towards the opposition. But, the speaker in general sees Hun Sen as the only one capable of keeping the country stable and moving it forward.
- How to change this structure?
 - ◆ The CPP is only getting stronger, so only the donor community can do much.
- Why has China moved aggressively into Cambodia?
 - ◆ Geopolitics - to compete with US.
 - ◆ China-Khmer Rouge connections – they remain opposed to the International Tribunals, Human Rights, etc.
 - ◆ China-East Asia Community Organization, including a Free Trade Agreement with Cambodia. Chinese presence in Cambodia is much more than Japan, and always looking to support a powerful stable state. Japan did and does so much infrastructure building, but most of the investment has come from China.
- The WTO is more important than ASEAN to Cambodia. Bringing Cambodia into ASEAN was very important primarily for diplomatic stabilization. Regional organizations in Asia are weak. Cambodia is also not part of APEC. The post-cold war division of labor between UN and regional organizations

is not working.

- Is Cambodia getting safer?
 - ◆ Yes, they have become open-minded at the grass roots level and can speak freely, but not in the media.
- What is important for reconciliation?
 - ◆ Cambodians are less revengeful than donors, and very forgiving and want to move forward. They have much trauma and probably mistrust each other, but there are no institutions to help this.
 - ◆ People who survived are more important than those who died. Wounds cannot be healed if this issue gets raised again and again.
 - ◆ Peace is more important than justice. There is really no need to destroy the remaining Khmer Rouge or their leaders, let them die. Western policy makers do not like this idea at all, but justice can always only be subjective. Especially in this case there is no clear enemy. Are there ever clear sides in such social conflict?
 - ◆ Criminal justice can work against democracy. Justice will be corrupt in Cambodia, so it will not lead to respect for justice, less corruption, or even more personal trust.
 - ◆ However, different people respond to violence and genocide differently.
 - ◆ People who participated in the Khmer Rouge (by force) have a lot of trauma and are still separated from society. They often cannot live in villages with others.
 - ◆ Dr. Peou mentioned that Hun Sen and many others in government at one time were part of the Khmer Rouge and therefore are very careful in giving support to the tribunal process. The king (and especially the new king) also does not have the power anymore to intervene in or assuage conflicts.
 - ◆ Dr. Peou added that Cambodians in the west, compared to Vietnamese or some other Southeast Asian minority groups, do not get involved in crime of gangs, reflecting that the culture remains peaceful. Though, he added, it is true that once Cambodians are offended or attacked, they generally seem to react in a much more volatile way than many other cultures and this may be traced back to the conflicts they have experienced.
- Corruption –
 - ◆ Even if corruption is cultural, it can be dealt with through the law.
 - ◆ Creating new centers of power - economic, etc.
- What is the impact of small arms and left over weapons from the DDR process?
- Cambodian experience so far shows that this is not a big issue, but this problem can escalate as poverty gets exacerbated.

Part 3: Possible Lessons for Other Conflict Situations

- The initiative for the peace process has to be taken by the parties themselves or at least they have to be brought into the process carefully and very early on.
- Firm and steady international agreements are required as a base for negotiations.
- The international community, and especially the major powers need to be involved.
- Existence of a unifying figure like Prince Sihanouk in the Cambodian case, can be very important a stabilizing figure.
- The UN or other transitional authority should stay on schedule with the transition to democracy via elections like UNTAC did at the expense of DDR or other parts of the peace process if need be.



Schedule of Activities in Cambodia

Day		Date	Travel	Schedule of Activities *Numbers in brackets signify the number of team members attending the associated session.				
Thursday	16-Dec	Leave JPN 10:45 AM/ Arrive PP 6:45						
Friday	17-Dec		9:00 AM Ministry of Education [11]	11:30 AM Japanese Embassy [11]	1:30 PM Peace Art Project / BJ ASAC [11]	4:30 PM SLAKA [11]		
Saturday	18-Dec		9:00 AM Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum [11]		2:00 PM Cheung Ek Killing Fields Museum [11]	Individual Fieldwork		
Sunday	19-Dec		8:00 AM Fieldwork with JVC at Kandal Province [11]				Individual Fieldwork	
Monday	20-Dec		8:00 AM Cambodian Mine Action Centre [5]	9:00 AM Alliance for Conflict Transformation [4]	11:00 AM UNESCO Phnom Penh [10]	2:00 PM Documentation Center of Cambodia [6]	2:00 PM Center for Peace and Development (CDR) [4]	4:00 PM JICA (International Cooperation Japan) [10]
Tuesday	21-Dec		8:30 AM JSAC (Small Arms Reduction) [9]	10:00 AM Working Group for Weapons Reduction [6]	10:30 AM United Nations Volunteers [4]	2:00 PM Cambodia Trust [6]	2:00 PM UNDP Phnom Penh [5]	
Wednesday	22-Dec		9:00 AM Royal University of Phnom Penh / Professor Samrang Heath [5]	9:00 AM Cambodia Communications Institute [6]		1:00 PM Youth for Peace [7]	2:30 PM Legal Aid [4]	5:00 PM Khmer Ahimsa / Monks [11]
Thursday	23-Dec		9:00 AM Cultural Study - National Museum/City Markets [11]		2:00 PM International Organization for Migration [5]	3:00 PM ADHOC (Human Rights and Development) [5]	4:00 PM Trans-Cultural Psychological Organization [5]	5:00 Japan Center for Conflict Prevention [5]
Friday	24-Dec	Leave PP 6:45AM/ Arrive SR 7:30AM	7:30 AM Japan Small Arms Assistance Team to Cambodia (JSAC) [11]			1:00 PM War Memorial [11]	Individual Fieldwork	
Saturday	25-Dec		5:00 AM Cultural Study - Angkor Wat [11]				Individual Fieldwork	
Sunday	26-Dec	Leave SR 7:30PM	Individual Fieldwork					
Monday	27-Dec	Arrive JPN 7:30AM						

Detailed Schedule of Activities

Venue

16 December (Thursday) DAY 1

10:45 Leave Narita for Bangkok FLT. TG641
 15:45 Arrive at Bangkok Airport
 17:30 Leave Bangkok for Phnom Penh FLT. TG698
 18:45 Arrive in Phnom Penh
 Transportation to hotel
 Orientation on emergency contact, medical information etc. at Golden Gate Hotel

Narita
 Bangkok
 Phnom Penh
 (G.G. Hotel)

17 December (Friday) DAY 2

08:30 Leave hotel to the Ministry of (MOEYS)
 09:00 Getting to know each other, students introduction
 Briefing "Incorporation of National Reconciliation into School Education in Cambodia" by Dr. Kol Pheng, Minister of Education,
 Youth and Sports
 Tea break

Phnom Penh
 (Golden Gate hotel)

<p>Q&A Session</p> <p>Discussion on the briefing</p> <p>Transportation to Embassy of Japan in Cambodia</p> <p>11:30 Courtesy visit to Japanese Ambassador to Cambodia</p> <p>Greeting to Mr. Ikeda, First Secretary</p> <p>Briefing on safety etc.</p> <p>12:15 Lunch at a restaurant in the city</p> <p>13:30 Transportation to Peace Art Project Cambodia (PAPC)</p> <p>Tour of facilities and organizational briefing "Importance of Small Arms Collection Program and Peace Art Project (etc.)" by Mr. Niel Wilford, PAPC Coordinator</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Interview and group discussion with the artists</p> <p>14:45 Transportation to SILAKA</p> <p>15:00 Address by Ms. Thida C. Khut, Executive Director, on "The Relationships between Training, Capacity Building, and Peacebuilding"</p> <p>Q&A Session</p> <p>Interview and group discussion with staff</p> <p>Transportation to hotel</p>	
18 December (Saturday) DAY 3	
08:30 Leave hotel	Phnom Penh
09:00 Visit to Tuol Sleng Museum	
11:00 Transportation to or Cheung Ek Killing Field	Cheung Ek
11:30 Field visit	
13:00 Lunch at a restaurant in the city	
15:00 Visit to Watt Phnom (Buddhist temple)	(Golden
17:00 Transportation to hotel	Gate Hotel)
19 December (Sunday) DAY 4	
08:00 Leave hotel to JVC office at Kandal Province	Kandal
Fieldwork with JVC officers	Province
Discussion with villagers	
14:00 Visit to a local temple	Phnom Penh
Lunch in Kandal Province	(Golden
16:00 Transportation to hotel	Gate Hotel)

20 December (Monday) DAY 5

(Group A)

07:30 Leave hotel to Cambodia Mine Action Center (CMAC) Phnom Penh office

08:00 Briefing on the organization's de-mining work by Mr. Naem Sary

Interview with the Center's staff

Q&A session

Transportation to UNESCO Office in Phnom Penh

(Group B)

08:30 Leave hotel to Alliance for Conflict Transformation

09:00 Briefing on the organization's projects by the staff

Interview with the staff

Q&A session

(All members)

11:00 Visit to UNESCO Office

Transportation to Cambodian National Commission for UNESCO office

11:15 Lecture by Ms. Sambo Tey, Director of Peace Education Program on Koh Sla project

Address by Ms. Tan Theany, Secretary General, Cambodian National Commission for UNESCO

Tea break

Q&A session

Interview with the Staff on Peace Education program

(Group A)

13:45 Transportation to Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam)

14:00 Visit to DC-Cam

Address by Director Youk Chhang

Study tour of DC-Cam

Interview with the Center's staff

Individual learning and research in the Center

(Group B)

Transportation to Center for Peace and Development (CPD)

14:00 Visit to CPD

Organizational by Mr. Path Heang, Research and Policy Officer, and Mr. Ray Hossinger, Executive Manager of Cambodian Development Resource

Phnom Penh

(Golden

Gate Hotel)

<p>Institute</p> <p>Discussion with the Center's staff on CPD curriculum, training methods (All members)</p> <p>15:40 Transportation to Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Phnom Penh office</p> <p>16:00 Visit to JICA Phnom Penh office</p> <p>Lecture by Mr. Ono, Coordinator, "JICA's Peacebuilding and Development Work in Cambodia"</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>17:00 Transportation to hotel</p> <p>Evening Group discussion on findings</p>	
<p>21 December (Tuesday) DAY 6</p>	
<p>(All members)</p> <p>08:30 Visit to Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia</p> <p>Organizational briefing on the Center's work by Mr. Kentaro Gemma, Project Manager, and Mr. Shunichi Kudo, Program Manager</p> <p>Discussion with the staff</p> <p>(Group A)</p> <p>09:30 Leave hotel to Working Group for Weapons Reduction (WGWR)</p> <p>Briefing by Mr. Neb Sinthay, Executive Director, on the organizations work; 1) Small Arms, Light Weapons Policy Development, 2) Peace Education and Awareness Unit</p> <p>Q&A and discussion with Mr. Sinthay</p> <p>(Group B)</p> <p>10:00 Leave hotel for United Nations Volunteers</p> <p>10:30 Visit to UNV</p> <p>Briefing on the organization's activities by Mr. Robert Wildschut, Program Officer</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Interview and group discussion with the staff and volunteers</p> <p>(All members)</p> <p>12:30 Lunch at a restaurant in the city</p> <p>(Group A)</p> <p>13:30 Transportation to Cambodia Trust</p>	<p>Phnom Penh (Golden Gate Hotel)</p>

<p>14:00 Visit to Cambodia Trust</p> <p>Address by Mr. Pith Sokra, Administration Manager</p> <p>Tour of facilities</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Interview and group discussion with the staff and students on post-conflict reconstruction, rehabilitation and development</p> <p><i>(Group B)</i></p> <p>13:30 Transportation to United Nations Development Program</p> <p>14:00 Visit to UNDP</p> <p>Briefing on CARRERE project by Mr. Sochivy Khien, Head of UNDP support to the Partnership for Local Governance</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Interview with Mr. Sochivy Khien</p> <p>16:00 Transportation to hotel</p> <p>Evening Group discussion on findings</p>	
<p>22 December (Wednesday) DAY 7</p>	
<p><i>(Group A)</i></p> <p>08:30 Leave hotel to University of Cambodia</p> <p>09:00 Meet with Professor Samnang Heng and the University's students, getting to know each other</p> <p>Workshop orientation by EO</p> <p>Workshop "Reconciliation in Post-conflict Cambodia – from Students' Perspective"</p> <p>Tea break</p> <p>Group discussion with the students</p> <p>Exploration into future TUFS-Univ. of Cambodia collaboration opportunities</p> <p>Lunch and individual discussions with the professors</p> <p><i>(Group B)</i></p> <p>08:30 Leave hotel to Cambodia Communications Institute (CCI) at Royal University of Phnom Penh</p> <p>Workshop begins</p> <p>Getting to know each other</p> <p>Address by Mr. Som Ratana, CCI Administrator</p> <p>Presentation "CCI's media training of Cambodian journalists and</p>	<p>Phnom Penh (Golden Gate Hotel)</p>

<p>relationship between media and peacebuilding" by Mr. Reach Sambath, Lecturer of Journalism</p> <p>Interview and Q&A</p> <p>Tour of Department facilities</p> <p>Discussion with RUPP Communications major students about problems surrounding the media in Cambodia</p> <p>12:00 Lunch at a restaurant in the city (Group A)</p> <p>12:30 Transportation to Youth for Peace (YFP)</p> <p>13:00 Visit to YFP</p> <p>Meet with YFP staff, getting to know each other</p> <p>Briefing on YFP Youth Empowering Program for Community Development by Mr. Outh Renne, Director, and Mr. Long Khet, Program Coordinator</p> <p>Watch a video</p> <p>Tea break</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Discussion with the staff, "How to build a culture of peace among youth"</p> <p>(Group B)</p> <p>13:30 Transportation to Legal Aid of Cambodia (LAC)</p> <p>14:30 Visit to LAC</p> <p>Organizational briefing by Director Ouk Vandeth "Role of LAC in reconstructing legal system in Cambodia"</p> <p>Interview and Q&A</p> <p>(All members)</p> <p>16:30 Transportation to Khmer Ahimsa</p> <p>17:00 Visit to Khmer Ahimsa</p> <p>Meet with Mr. Kakada Thorng, Co-Director and two monks</p> <p>Interview and discussion with Mr. Thorng and monks about local/traditional conflict resolution methods, the role of Buddhism and monks in reconciliation and building a peaceful society etc.</p> <p>Transportation to hotel</p> <p>Evening Group discussion on the meetings</p>	
<p>23 December (Thursday) DAY 8</p>	
<p>Morning Visit to the National museum of Cambodia</p>	<p>Phnom Penh</p>

<p>Lunch at a restaurant in the city</p> <p>(Group A)</p> <p>12:30 Transportation to International Organization for Migration (IOM) Phnom Penh Office</p> <p>Briefing by Mr. Peter van der Meer, Project Development Officer, "IOM Mission in Cambodia: Counter-Trafficking Project"</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Discussion with Mr. Van der Meer</p> <p>15:45 Transportation to Transcultural Psychological Organization (TPO)</p> <p>16:00 Visit to TPO</p> <p>Lecture by Mr. Kang San, Program Coordinator, "Reconciliation from the point of view of psychology"</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>Discussion and interview with the staff</p> <p>Transportation to hotel</p> <p>(Group B)</p> <p>14:30 Transportation to Cambodia Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC)</p> <p>15:00 Visit to ADHOC</p> <p>Briefing by Mr. Thun Saray, President, and Mr. Chun Sath, Secretary General, and Mr. Ny Chakrya, Head of Monitoring Section, on the organization's works and current Human Rights education situation in Cambodia</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>16:30 Transportation to Japan Conflict Prevention Center (JCCP) office in Cambodia</p> <p>17:00 Visit to JCCP</p> <p>Briefing by Ms. Etsuko Teranishi, Project Coordinator, on JCCP's "Weapons for Development Project"</p> <p>Q&A session</p> <p>18:00 Transportation to hotel</p>	<p>(Golden Gate Hotel)</p>
<p>24 December (Friday) DAY 9</p>	
<p>05:20 Leave hotel for Phnom Penh Airport</p> <p>06:45 Leave Phnom Penh for Siem Reap FLT. FT990 07:30 Arrive Siem Reap</p> <p>Transportation to hotel</p>	<p>Siem Reap (Star Royal Hotel)</p>

08:00	Transportation to JSAC fieldwork site Field visit, attend JSAC workshop Briefing on the organization's weapons collection project, and issues and challenges of disarmament in general in Cambodia by the staff Q&A session	
11:30	Transportation to War Museum Field visit	
13:00	Transportation to Culture Village	
14:00	Lunch at a restaurant in Culture Village Visit to Culture Village Transportation to hotel	
25 December (Saturday) DAY 10		
All day	Field visit to Siem Reap remains	Siem Reap (Star Royal Hotel)
26 December (Sunday) DAY 11		
Morning	Field visit to Angkor Wat Temple	Siem Reap
12:00	Lunch at a restaurant in the city	
16:30	Leave hotel for Airport	
19:00	Leave Siem Reap for Bangkok FLT. PG937	20:00 Arrive at Bangkok Airport
23:40	Leave Bangkok for Tokyo FLT. TG642	(Airplane)
27 December (Monday) DAY 12		
07:30	Arrive at Narita Airport	

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Homepage: <http://www.peaceartprojectcambodia.org/>

Profile: Established in October 2003 by Small Arms Specialist Neil Wilford and Artist Sasha Constable, P APC brings together twenty three students recruited from the Royal University of Fine Art Phnom Penh utilizing decommissioned weapons to create works of art. The completed work is exhibited and sold to promote contemporary Cambodian art, young Cambodian artisans and a weapon free society in Cambodia and globally. The P APC custom workshop space is rented from the Development Technology Workshop Incubator Park, a British based charity focusing on the transfer of sustainable engineering skills in underdeveloped countries. P APC has exhibited in twelve Cambodian venues including galleries, cultural centres, weapon destruction ceremonies, NGO offices, restaurants, bars and hotels. Between 1999 and 2004, the Royal Government of Cambodia and the European Union Assistance on Curbing Small Arms in Cambodia publicly destroyed 125,000 weapons across 17 Cambodian provinces. P APC has secured thousands of these weapons, along with destroyed ammunition, tripods, large calibre weapons and mine / ordnance casings from MAG and the Halo Trust for the purposes of the project. A key project goal is to develop a marketplace for project sculptures to enable participants to earn a sustainable living as sculptors. Over fifty pieces have been sold with proceeds divided between direct payments to the artists and workshop costs. In June, the Australian Embassy unveiled a large Dove of Peace sculpted by two P APC artists from 120 AK47s in Sanderson Park Phnom Penh in the presence of over 100 dignitaries. One of the primary successes of P APC thus far has been the manner in which the young artists (some of whom have been orphaned as a result of the Khmer Rouge organised genocide) have embraced and articulated the message of non-violence into both their art and their statements to the media. Nowhere in the Cambodian public sphere are there similar peers promoting such a message. P APC has gained significant local, regional and global TV, radio, newspaper and online media coverage including BBC, CNN, Reuters and Associated Press (maintained in an archive) as word spreads of the nature, excellence and uniqueness of the work being created.

EU ASAC - In 1999, at the request of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Council of Ministers of the European Union decided to assist Cambodia in curbing the devastating effects of widespread availability of small arms and light weapons throughout the country. To tackle the problems, EU ASAC initiated a comprehensive

plan with different components that together are having a noticeable impact on the Cambodian weapons security situation. Working with an experienced staff, the program began operations in April 2000 and the initial assistance covered five areas:

- ① Assisting the Royal Government in drafting a law on use, possession, trade and transport of weapons.
- ② Safeguarding and registration of weapons in the hands of the military.
- ③ Public awareness on the destabilising effects of possession and use of weapons and the link between weapons security and development.
- ④ Voluntary collection of weapons possessed by the civilian population through a process of exchange for community-owned development projects.
- ⑤ Destruction of the army surplus of weapons and of the weapons collected from the civilian population.

In 2002, an additional pilot project was implemented: Registration and safe storage of police service weapons (in three provinces only). In 2003 one more activity was added: Collection and destruction of weapons left over from the civil war and which were hidden in weapons caches in the mountains and the forests

Organization: SILAKA

Contact: Ms. Thida C. Khus, Executive Director

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Boeung Keng Kang I, Chamkamon
(P.O. Box 821)
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Phone: (855) 23-217-872

Email: silaka@forum.org.kh

Homepage: www.silaka.org

Profile: SILAKA trains people from all tiers of society to be more efficient and effective in their work. Three decades of regional and civil wars left Cambodia with little infrastructure and left its people with little skills to reconstruct the society once the fighting stopped. SILAKA's idea is that if Cambodian organizations and individuals are better able to reach their potentials for productivity, then the capacity for building the institutional infrastructure in Cambodia will increase. When this capacity is increased, peace-building, constructive conflict resolution, and effective problem solving is greatly facilitated. SILAKA also acts as a networking administrator for various NGOs in Cambodia, and is active in international networking projects with other training agencies in South-East Asia.

Organization: Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) Fieldwork in Kandal Province

Contact: Ms Mari Suzuki (Cambodia Program, JVC Tokyo Office)

Mr. Chan Narin (SARD Project Coordinator of JVC Cambodia)

Address: 66A, St. 222, Sangkat Boeung Raing, Khan Daun Penh, Phnom Penh
(turn to the east from the corner of Monivong Blvd, just a few blocks)

Phone: (855) 012-293066

Email: suzuki@ngo-jvc.net

Homepage: <http://www.ngo-jvc.net>

Profile: JVC was established in Thailand to assist Indochinese refugees, particularly Cambodian refugees who fled to the Thai-Cambodian border. Soon, JVC recognised the necessity to support people inside Cambodia trying to overcome difficulties. Since then, JVC Cambodia has been giving support to the rehabilitation and development inside the country. In 1982, JVC set up a water supply program in Takeo Province. Other programs including the technical skill training school in Phnom Penh specialized in automobile repairing and the Mother and Child Health project in Kandal Province followed. With experience working in rural communities of Cambodia, JVC assured itself the importance of agriculture and water supply in rural areas. Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD) project was thus kicked off in 1993 in order to carry out comprehensive, diversified activities to improve rural life. Currently, JVC Cambodia has four projects. The first one is improving people's lives through their self-help activities. With extending Sustainable Agriculture as a pillar of its SARD project, JVC conducts field activities to assist mutual cooperation such as Rice Banks, Cow Banks, and Women's Mutual Assistance Group (MAG) as well as to support securing safe waters, and others. The second is managing the Trainers' Resource Center (TRC) to support SARD activities. The third is an indirect assistance to technical skills training which JVC has been involved since 1982. Fourth, the recent concern and endeavor of JVC are the research and advocacy particularly on natural resource management.

Organization: Cambodia Mine Action Centre (CMAC)

Contact: Mr. Naem Sary

Address: No. 10-12, St.528
Quarter Boeung Kak, District Toul Kork

(P.O. Box 116)

Phnom Penh, 12202

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Homepage: www.cmac.org.kh/index.asp

Profile: The presence of landmines in one's region mitigates a society's capacity for development in a number of ways. Obviously many of the disabled and sometimes unemployable persons that we will learn about from our visits to human rights NGOs are physical victims of landmines. Psychologically, people who have lost friends or family members to landmines may be afraid to begin the reconstruction process from fear of losing their own lives. The attitude of CMAC is that the removal of landmines in any area opens up the possibility for that area to be developed. Internally displaced people (IDP) can reclaim land that they have lost due to the laying of mines, which can enable them to build a house or plow a field for planting crops. Removing landmines enables Cambodians to develop their communities and reconstruct their national infrastructure. Unlike some other landmine removing NGOs in Cambodia, CMAC is administrated and organized by Cambodians. They have six demining units stationed throughout the country, including one in Siem Reap that we may be able to visit.

Organization: **Alliance for Conflict Transformation (ACT)**

Contact: Soth Plai Ngarm, or Director

Address: Office #34, St. 480, Psa Doem Tkov, Chamkarmon, PO. Box. 2552, Phnom Penh 3, Cambodia

Phone: (855) 023-217-830

Email:

Homepage: <http://www.act-cambodia.org/>

Profile: The Alliance for Conflict Transformation seeks to be one of the main actors in developing and strengthening effective social mechanisms for peace in Cambodia. It runs workshops to promote peace, particularly domestic peace throughout Cambodia. It also links together groups involved in peace issues. ACT also is part of a regional group called South East Asian Conflict Studies Network (SEACSN). The training unit runs courses on Multiple Approaches Conflict Resolution that mixes modern, traditional, community, and multicultural approaches, in order to establish

sustainable peace. Program goals and objectives are as follows: To promote a foundation for Peace in Cambodia through capacity building and networking. To strengthen the capacity of a network body to support various social institution toward sustainable peace. Constituency building and networking with civil society, governmental and religious institutions. This also can be done at regional and international levels if it is necessary in the sense that Cambodia also needs to participate in a global peace movement. Support peace building and conflict resolution practitioners in the areas of capacity building, forum for peace dialogue, consultation and peace initiatives Set up early warning systems by identifying issues of peace and facilitation communication among relevant social institutions for peace. Strategically, this can be done through information sharing and research. Lobbying and advocacy through different mechanisms to promote peace, democracy and respect of human rights. Facilitation and mediation of individuals and organizational peace building initiatives. Institutional building, identify institutional needs which can help holding social stability and security. To achieve the setting goals and objectives, ACT organizes three main program areas on which it will be working; 1) Capacity building, 2) consultation and information, 3) networking and constituency building. Three different units will focus implementation of each area: Training Unit, Research Unit and Networking Unit. Each unit develops projects of which specific objectives are designed to be achieved in a certain time frame. They also have projects on Nationalism and Racism, Crime and Security, etc., Workshop for the Islamic Community on Peace and Development Issues, and they have a research and consulting unit. The network-building unit tries to coordinate between local, regional, and international peace and conflict related organizations.

Organization: UNESCO Phnom Penh Office

Contact: Ms. Sambo Tey, Director of Peace Education Program

Address: P.O. Box 29, No. 38 Samdech Sothearos Blvd., Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Phone: (855) (0)23 217 244 / 426 726

Email: phnompenh@unesco.org

Homepage: www.un.org.kh/

Profile: • Assisted in the establishment within the MoEYS of a Working Group to review existing textbooks for primary and secondary levels and include into them concepts relating to Culture of Peace.

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- Supports the production in Khmer of educational materials relating to Culture of Peace. In partnership with the Associated Schools Project network, UNESCO selected and translated into Khmer lessons from the international educational program "Living Values". The Living Values Educational Program offers a variety of experimental activities to teachers and facilitators to enable children and young adults to explore and develop 12 key personal and social values: co-operation, freedom, happiness, honesty, humility, love, peace, respect, responsibility, simplicity, tolerance and unity.
 - Sponsored a national training workshop for 45 master social science trainers and teachers.
 - Distributed among schools from the ASP network a so-called "Peace Pack", containing educational materials that aim to promote values such as tolerance, democratic principles etc. These materials have been field tested and distributed through the Associated Schools Project network.
 - Funded the implementation by the Cambodian Institute for Human Rights, in co-operation with the MoEYS, of a project entitled "Education for Democracy - Democracy for Education". The project consisted in the development of training materials for the training of trainers. The content of the materials produced by the CIHR covered basic principles of democracy, the rule of law, conflict resolution, culture of peace and gender equity. The materials are now being used in several schools of the Kandal province.
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Organization: Documentation Center of Cambodia (DCCAM)

Contact: Ms. Irene SOKHA

Address: DCCAM Public Information Room
66C Sihanouk Blvd., Phnom Penh

Phone: (855) 23 211 875

Email: ruthirene@dccam.org, "Chhayran Ra" <truthchhay@dccam.org>, "Youk CHHANG" <dccam@online.com.kh>

Homepage: www.dccam.org

Profile: The DC-Cam became an independent Cambodian research institute in January 1, 1997. It aims 1) to serve as a permanent resource to provide public with a better understanding of the Khmer Rouge regime, and to Cambodians or others who may wish to pursue legal redress for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity which may have been perpetrated under the Democratic Kampuchea between 1975-79, and 2) to prevent the return of the 'Killing Fields' to Cambodia through legal and peaceful means. The DC-Cam is operated entirely by Cambodians with support from scholars and experts in the USA and Australia. The current staff and volunteer level at the DC-Cam is 25 persons. The DC-Cam is supervised by a Board of Advisors of 28 Cambodian experts in documentation issues and a Board of Directors of 12 members. The DC-Cam's partners include the Cambodian Genocide Program (CGP) at Yale University, the School of Information, Library, and Archive Studies (SILAS) at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), Australia, and the Tuol Sleng (TSL) Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Organization: Center for Peace and Development / Cambodian Development Resource Institute

Contact: Mr. Path HEANG, CPD Research and Policy Officer

Mr. Ray Hossinger, CDRI Executive Manager

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Homepage: www.cdri.org.kh, <http://www.cdri.org.kh/cpd.htm>

Profile: The Centre for Peace and Development of CDRI is a training center that seeks to enhance 1) the capacity for communication and awareness among locals, and 2) the effectiveness and efficiency of government officials and other levels of Cambodian leadership. To reach this end, the Centre provides training, depending on the theme of the workshop, in peace-building, conflict management skills, conflict resolution, reconciliation, and justice. The Centre also trains other trainers in training skills and training theory so that their valuable information can be even further disseminated into society.

Organization: Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia (JSAC)

Contact: Mr. Kentaro Gemma, Project Manager, Mr. Shunichi KUDO, Program Manager

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Phone: (855) 23-721427

Email: gemma.jsac@online.com.kh

Homepage: <http://www.bigpond.com.kh/users/adm.jsac/index.html>

Profile: Government of Japan contributed Grassroots Grant Aid for weapons for development project implemented by EU ASAC in Cambodia (2001, April). Japan dispatched a specialist (Kentaro Gemma, Project Manager of JSAC) for the feasibility study of Comprehensive Small Arms Management Program in Cambodia (2001, October). Peace Building and Comprehensive Small Arms Management Program in Cambodia was concluded between the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Government of Japan (2003, January). Japan International Cooperation Systems (JICS) signed the Agent Agreement with the Ministry of Interior for coordination and the procurement of the program (2003, March). JSAC was organized and started its activities on April 20, 2003. JASC's program consists of 4 projects. It is designed as a comprehensive approach for reducing weapons and building peace. ① Weapons Reduction and Development for Peace Project, ② Weapons Destruction Project, ③ Safe Storage and Registration Project, ④ Public Awareness Project.

Organization: Working Group for Weapons Reduction (WGWR)

Contact: Mr. Neb Sinthat, Executive Director

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Phone: (855) 23-222-462

Email: wgwroffice@wgwr.org

Homepage: <http://www.wgwr.org/>

Profile: WGWR is a Cambodian non-profit organization working to promote peace and safety for all people at all levels of Cambodian society. The WGWR approach is to eradicate small arms and light weapons as an option for problem solving. There are some units. ①SALW Policy Development (The Unit will assist the RGC to improve and create a clear policy and strategy on small security with effective implementation) ②Peace Education and Awareness Unit (Change from a culture of violence to a culture of

peace by introducing the concepts of peace and disarmament in schools and raising awareness on the negative impact of small arms) ③Community Security Unit (increase community security by increasing the capacity of NGOs, community-based organizations and local authorities to address the issue of SALW and security, to build trust between local authorities and people, and to develop viable non-violent problem solving strategies for Cambodian communities. ④Special Project Unit(for example, for demobilization, Khmer Rouge tribunal, national and commune elections) ⑤ Regional and Global Networking (tackle and take concrete action on small arms and light weapons proliferation and misuses through the specific objectives)

Organization: United Nations Volunteers (UNV)

Contact: Mr. Robert Wildschut (Program Officer, UNV Coordinator)

Address: No.53, Pasteur Street, Boeung Keng Kang, P.O. Box 877, Phnom Penh

Phone: (855)23-216-167/217-193

Email: robert.wildschut@undp.org

Homepage: www.unv.org.kh/unv/contact.htm

Profile: UNV is the volunteer arm of the UN system. Created by the UN General Assembly in 1970 and administered by the UNDP, UNV works through UNDP country offices to send volunteers and promote the ideals of volunteerism around the world (nearly 150 countries). In Cambodia, more than 1,000 UN Volunteers from 46 different countries have served since 1992 to assist in the development efforts, making it one of the largest UN Volunteer Programs in Asia. Mr. Wildschut suggests us 2 subjects: the GIPA project and the Civil Registration Project. The GIPA project (Greater Involvement of People Living with or Affected by HIV/AIDS): Nearly 58 million people have been affected globally, and the number rises daily with over 15,000 new infections with each day. In Cambodia, the first case of infection was detected in 1991 and it has the fastest growing rate of HIV/AIDS in the region. UNV helps people who suffer from the discrimination by building support networks and improve their quality of life. The Civil Registration Project: Over 95% of Cambodians has not been recorded in the Civil Register despite the Government's goal of having everyone registered by August 2005. The war and its aftermath have disrupted the system.

Mobile

Registration is the only feasible way to achieve the goal in a country where it is clear that people may not make effort to register in a stipulated period of time.

Organization: **Cambodia Trust**

Contact: **Mr. Pith Sokra, Administration Manager**

Address:

Phone: (855) (0)23-427-067

Email: ctinformation@cambodiatrust.org.kh

Homepage: www.cambodiatrust.com

Profile: Cambodia Trust (C.T.) [a founder NGO of Disability Action Council (DAC)], was founded in 1989 as a U.K. based charity organization, focusing on prosthetic care for mine victims in Cambodia. At the initial stage, it worked in 3 cities Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville and capital of Kompong Chhang. Although at the beginning it focused on prosthetic services but the clinics that were used as treatment centers later evolved into full rehabilitation centers offering orthotic physiotherapy and community work with disabled people. Their objectives include: To provide high quality prosthetic /orthotic, physical and medical rehabilitation care to the people with disabilities in its areas of operation; To establish model programs in the field of community work with disabled people; To establish programs in Cambodia which will increase opportunities for disabled people in income generation through specialist training or mainstream economic activities.

Main projects:

- Physical Rehabilitation

We have set up 3 rehabilitation centers in Cambodia, where local staff make and fit artificial limbs and orthopedic braces and provide wheelchairs and physiotherapy. The majority of people attending these centers are landmine /UXO accident survivors and people affected by polio, cerebral palsy and clubfoot, as well as people who have been injured in accidents. Our rehabilitation centers are in the capital, Phnom Penh (this is a teaching clinic attached to our training school), and the provincial towns of Sihanoukville and Kompong Chhnang. They are entirely staffed by local people and are certified under ISO 9001:2000.

- Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR)

Our CBR Workers survey the impoverished rural areas surrounding our rehabilitation centers, identifying disabled people who need support. We help them to get access to our rehabilitation centers and to other services such as surgery. We help disabled children to attend mainstream schools. We help disabled adults to gain access to skills training and micro credit schemes, and provide support to enable people to set up

small businesses. We work with disabled people to establish self-help community groups. We support the Cambodian Disabled People's Organization, in order to strengthen local capacity and to build effective representation - for disabled people, by disabled people. We are founder members of the Disability Action Council.

- Prosthetic and Orthotics Training (CSPO)

The Cambodia Trust runs an education centre, the Cambodian School of Prosthetics and Orthotics (CSPO), where men and women learn to fit artificial limbs (prostheses) and orthopedic braces (orthoses). The aim of CSPO is to create the foundation of physical rehabilitation services by producing qualified specialists with the skills and knowledge to provide support for disabled people in Cambodia and other developing countries.

Organization: UNDP

Contact: Ms. Christelle Chapoy, Communications Officer; Mr Sochivy Khien, Head of UNDP support to the Partnership to Local Governance (former CAREERE program)

Address: 53, Pasteur Street, Boeung Keng Kang, P.O. Box 877 Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Phone: (855) 23 216 167

Email: christelle.chapoy@undp.org

Homepage: <http://www.un.org.kh/undp/>

Profile: Look at CARRERE Document

Organization: Royal University of Phnom Penh

Contact: Mr. Samnang Heng, Professor of History, Southeast Asian Department of History, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Address: Sihanouk Blvd., Phnom Penh

Phone: (855) 11-975-940

Email: samnanghengdh@yahoo.com

Homepage:

Profile:

Organization: Cambodia Communications Institute

Contact: Mr. PHAN Sopheap, Acting Co-Director

Address: Royal University of Phnom Penh, in the compound of the Institute of Foreign Languages

P.O. Box 2640, Confederation Russia Blvd., Khan Tuol Kork, Phnom Penh

Phone: (855) (0)23 884 408 / (855) (0)12 618 821 (Mr. PHAN's mobile)

Email: phansopheap@hotmail.com

Homepage:

Profile: Set up in 1994 as the first media training centre in the nation, the Cambodia Communication Institute (CCI), a common project of UNESCO, the Royal Government and DANIDA, intends to assist in the reconstruction and development of the communication sector. The main objectives of the CCI are the following: media training through a close co-ordination of international and national efforts; to develop a strategy for the training of Cambodian media professionals and technicians in co-operation with the University of Phnom Penh and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in view of awarding an accreditation to the participants in the courses; to encourage the establishment of closer links to other journalism training institutions in Asia and the rest of the world. Currently CCI is: running a program of media training and skills-based training courses for print, radio, television and other media professionals and technicians, organizing workshops and seminars related with media and communication., making networks with other journalism training institution in Asia and the world. The Institute will retain its main role as the national media training institute in Cambodia while serving a center of media training excellence for university student wishing to take up media and communication as subjects in their degree programs. Established in 1995 the Institute has offered more than 120 skill based training courses to working journalists. Since 1999 it offered a one-year certificate in journalism course with yearly intake of 50 working journalists.

Organization: **Youth for Peace (YfP)**

Contact: Mr. Outh Renne (Director), Mr. Long Khet (Program Coordinator)

Address:

Phone: Office (855-23) 881- 346, Mobile (855-11) 717 442

Email: asmile@online.com.kh

Homepage:

Profile: Youth for Peace is very active with youth in Cambodia. They have major programs in Peace Education and Leadership, and are developing a Youth Empowering Program for Community Development.

Organization: **Legal Aid of Cambodia**

Contact: Mr. Ouk Vandeth

Address: No.43, St 306, P.O. Box 1197, Boeung Kengkang I, Chamkarmorn, Phnom Penh

Phone: (855)23 215 274 / Cell phone 012 85 96 91

Email: lac@online.com.kh

Homepage: <http://www.lac.org.kh/top.htm>

Profile: Legal Aid of Cambodia (LAC), founded in Dec. 1995, is an association of lawyers designed to serving the legal needs of Cambodia's poor in all types of civil and criminal matters. LAC's mission :

- Assisting in the construction of a more civil society and a more just legal system based upon respect for human rights, equal justice and the rule of law.
- Observing whether high-quality legal services are made available to the most vulnerable segments of Cambodian society.

Situation of legal system in Cambodia

From 1975-1979, Cambodia's legal system was completely destroyed.

Prosecutors, legislators, lawyers and judges were executed by the Khmer Rouge. Law books were burned and courthouses were converted to slaughterhouses. As a result of the deaths and departure of Cambodia's legal professionals, the country currently faces a severe shortage of lawyers that can provide legal services to the Cambodians. To answer this situation, LAC was launched as Khmer-run initiative to provide legal service to the poor.

Main projects :

Juvenile Unit (the country's first Juvenile Unit established under the support of the UNDP) focuses on increasing awareness of rights of children in conflict with the law...

Land law project helps landowners register their land and tries land-related cases.

Labor Law Project represents members of labor unions in disputes with managements.

Organization: Khmer Ahimsa (Khmer Non-Violence) and 2 Monks
Contact: Mr. Kakada (Co-Director of Khmer Ahimsa)
Address: #102 Stress113/304 Boeung Keng Kang II
Phone: (855) 012 316654
Email: afscdd@online.com.kh (AFSC America Friends Service Committee)
Homepage: <http://www.afsc.org/asia/cambodia.htm> (AFSC - Cambodia)
Profile: Khmer Ahimsa began as the Local Capacities for Non-Violence Project, established by American Friends Service Committee in 1999 to explore and stimulate local resources and traditions of community level peace building which could help communities unite to reduce violence and injustice. In January 2003, Khmer Ahimsa officially became a Cambodian NGO, committed to community empowerment, peace building, and promotion of non-violent methods of conflict resolutions. Referring to their activities, in September 2003 they held a workshop together with Center for Just Peace in Asia. In the workshop whose purpose was to bring together people from many different countries, ages, languages, ethnic groups, and religious faith who would share powerful grassroots stories, they proposed the idea of changing resources like Buddhism into more practical structures for meeting, sharing and helping each other.

Organization: Trans-cultural Psychosocial Organization
Contact: Mr. Kang San
Address: #209, St 63, Sangkat Boueng Keng Kang I, Khan Chamkarmon, Phnom Penh
Phone: (855) 23 219 182
Email: tpo@forum.org.kh
Homepage: www.camnet.com.kh/tpo
Profile: TPO Cambodia has developed into the Community Mental Health Program Cambodia. The project Started in February 1995. In the past five years, TPO has treated thousands of people who have suffered from the psychosocial consequences of massive trauma caused by the man-made disaster of almost three decades of civil war. Its specific objectives are 1) – Develop culturally appropriate psychosocial and mental health interventions at community level. 2) – Train primary health care and social workers, community leaders, village health volunteers, monks, staff of collaborating NGOs, and government staff counterparts in psychosocial care. 3) – Training of local health care professionals in mental health care. 4) – Increase awareness of mental

health and psychosocial issues by providing information on the complex issue of violence, including human rights violations. 5) – Create community networks, which consist of local resources, NGOs, social workers and health center staff at grass roots level to help their members suffering from psychosocial problems.

Organization: IOM Cambodia

Contact: Mr. Pieter van der Meer, Project Development Officer

Address: No 46, Street 310 Chamkar Mon, PO Box 435 Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Phone: Mobile: (855) 12 990-012, Office: (855) 23 216-532

Email: iomphnompe@iom.int, pvandermeer@iom.int

Homepage:

Profile: See Handout

Organization: Cambodia Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC)

Contact: Mr. Thun Saray, President, Mr. Chun Sath, Secretary General

Address: #1, Street 158, Oukghna Troeung

P.O. Box 1024, Beng Raing, Daun Penh, Phnom Penh

Phone: (+855) (0) 23 218 653

Email: adhoc@bigpond.com.kh

Homepage: <http://www.bigpond.com.kh/users/adhoc/Default.htm>

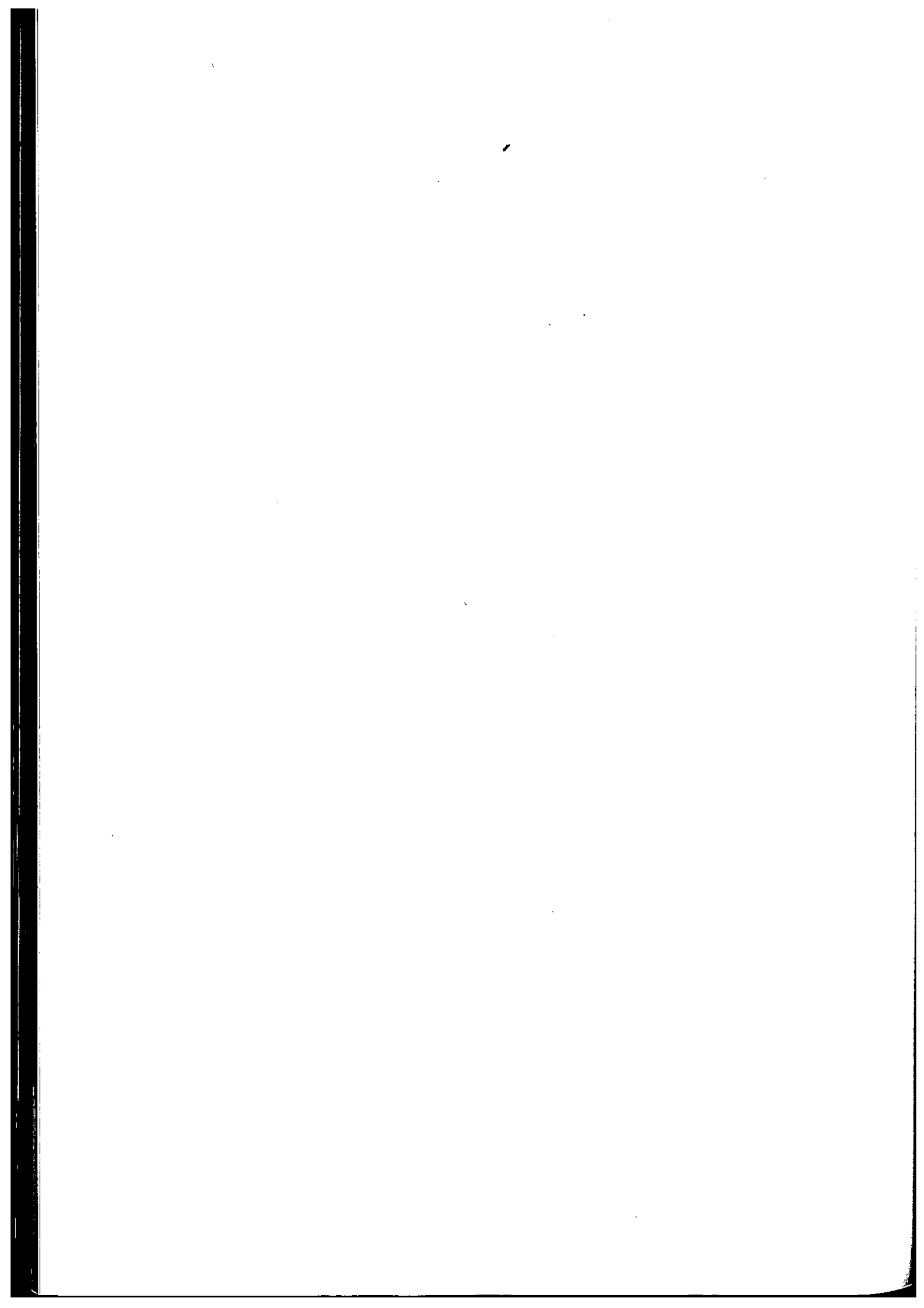
Profile: The Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC) based in Phnom Penh was the first Cambodian organization established to address the human rights situation in Cambodia. It was established by a group of former political prisoners, including the current president of the organization in December 1991, just after the Paris Peace Agreement had been signed. From a small office in a Buddhist temple supported by volunteers, ADHOC has developed into one of the largest Cambodian human rights organizations with 19 provincial offices. ADHOC's main activities include human rights education of authorities, farmers and students, and monitoring and investigation of human rights violations. Special emphasis is placed on women's rights. ADHOC is also actively involved in lobby and advocacy activities, publishes regular reports, statements, and daily event about human rights issues in Cambodia. Abuse of power, political violence, and government impunity deny Cambodians their basic rights and liberties. Through legal advocacy, education, and lobbying, ADHOC works to ensure that the rights of the people of Cambodia are

protected.

Vision: A society that respects human rights and law.

Mission: ADHOC continues its mission to educate and empower the people to realize and defend their rights and to advocate the government authorities to work for better governance and respect for human rights.

Goal: The ultimate goal is to bring about change in the behavior, morality and action through the establishment of the rule of law and strengthening of civil society.



Literature Received/Reviewed

In addition to extensive literature reviews and other research done before and after the main group research field trip of this Program by individual participants, the following literature was received from the various organizations and groups we met in Japan and Cambodia. The publications have been reviewed and will be stored in our library for use in future research.

Source	Publications
Professor Peou	<i>International Assistance for Institution Building in Post-Conflict Cambodia</i> , Working Paper 26, Sorpong Peou; Conflict Research Unit, Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael, The Hague, Netherlands, March 2004
PAPC	<i>Transforming Weapons into Art (informational pamphlet)</i> , Peace Art Project Cambodia, Phnom Penh <i>Kingdom of Cambodia, Nation, Religion, King (informational pamphlet)</i> , The National Commission for Reform and Management of Weapons and Explosives in Cambodia, with EU-ASAC, Phnom Penh, August 2004 <i>The Cambodian National Volleyball League (informational pamphlet)</i> , CNLVD, Phnom Penh
SILAKA	<i>SILAKA Organizational Program</i> , SILAKA, Phnom Penh <i>Metathor Conflict Transformation Program (informational pamphlet)</i> , SILAKA, Phnom Penh
JVC	<i>JVC (informational pamphlet)</i> , JVC, Tokyo <i>JVC Project Area Map (Makak and Toul Prich Commune)</i> , JVC, Phnom Penh, November 2003
ACT	<i>Issues in Reconciliation South East Asian Experiences, Proceedings of the Seventh SEACSN Regional Conference</i> , ed. Soth Plai Ngarm, Emma Leslie, Phnom Penh, August 2003 <i>National Directory, Organizations and Individuals Working on Peace and Conflict Resolution In Cambodia</i> , ACT, Phnom Penh, February 2003 <i>Second National ACT Workshop on Crime and Security</i> , ACT with SEACSN, Phnom Penh, 2003 <i>Alliance for Conflict Transformation (informational pamphlet)</i> , ACT, Phnom Penh
UNESCO	<i>Between a tiger and a crocodile</i> , Fabienne Luco, translated from French by E.Richardson, UNESCO with UNESCO Office in Phnom Penh, Phnom Penh, 2002 <i>Living Values Education (informational pamphlet)</i> , LVEP, New York
DCCAM	<i>The Khmer Rouge Rice Fields, The Story of Rape Survivor Tang Kim (Film Script)</i> , DCCAM, Phnom-Penh, August 2004
CPD/CDRI	<i>Nature and Causes of Conflict Escalation in the 1998 National Election</i> , Caroline Hughes with Real Sopheap, CDRI/CPD, Phnom Penh, January 2003

	<p><i>The Evolution of Democratic Process and Conflict Management in Cambodia : A Comparative Study of Three Cambodian Elections, Working Paper 30</i>, Caroline Hughes and Kim Sedara with the assistance of Ann Sovatha, CDRI with AusAID, Phnom Penh, April 2004</p> <p><i>Annual Report 2003</i>, CDRI, Phnom Penh, 2003</p> <p><i>Publications Catalogue January 2005</i>, CDRI, Phnom Penh, 2005</p>
JICA	<p><i>Guide to JICA</i>, JICA, Tokyo, 2004</p> <p><i>JICA's Cooperation in Cambodia (presentation)</i>, JICA Cambodia Office, Phnom Penh, March 2004</p> <p><i>The Project for Flood Protection and Drainage Improvement in the Municipality of Phnom Penh (informational pamphlet)</i>, Municipality of Phnom Penh with JICA, Phnom Penh, 2004</p>
JSAC	<p><i>JSAC (informational pamphlet)</i>, JSAC, Phnom Penh</p> <p><i>The Mechanism of the WDP (informational pamphlet)</i>, JSAC, Phnom Penh, 2004</p> <p><i>Peace Building and Comprehensive Small Arms Management Program in Cambodia (informational pamphlet)</i>, JSAC, Phnom Penh, 2004</p>
WGWR	<p><i>A Peace and Disarmament Curriculum for Cambodian High Schools</i>, WGWR with Hague Appeal for Peace and UNDDA, WGWR, 2004</p> <p><i>Projects Presentation (informational sheets)</i>, WGWR, Phnom Penh,</p>
UNV	<p><i>UN Volunteers "Opening Doors"</i>, <i>Annual Report 2003/2004</i>, ed. Caroline Stiebler, Bonn</p> <p><i>Volunteer Resurgence in Cambodia</i>, 5 grassroots volunteers share their life stories, Dominique Ait Ouyahia-McAdams, UNDP, Phnom Penh, November 2002</p>
CCI	<p><i>Department of Media and Communication, Student Information Booklet 2004-2005, Royal University of Phnom Penh</i>, 2004</p> <p><i>Meeting-December 22, 2004 (projects list)</i>, CCI, Phnom Penh, 2004</p>
Youth for Peace	<p><i>Youth For Peace (informational pamphlet)</i>, Y.F.P, Phnom Penh</p>
Khmer Ahimsa	<p><i>Khmer Ahimsa (informational pamphlet)</i>, Khmer Ahimsa, Phnom Penh, 2003</p>
TPO	<p><i>Mental Health Work in a Post-Conflict Society: The Experiences of TPO Cambodia (presentation)</i>, Chhim Sotheara, TPO Cambodia, Phnom Penh, November 2004</p>
IOM	<p><i>IOM Activities in Cambodia (informational sheet)</i>, IOM, Phnom Penh</p> <p><i>Alternative Care for Trafficked Women and Children</i>, Sophie Kavoukis, Anne Horsley, IOM, Phnom Penh, 2004</p> <p><i>Needs Assessment and Situational Analysis of Migration and Trafficking from Svay Rieng Province, Cambodia to Vietnam for Begging</i>, IOM with U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, Phnom Penh, 2004</p> <p><i>National Mental Health Program, Country Report 2003</i>, Ministry of Health, Phnom Penh, 2003</p>
JCCP	<p><i>JCCP Informational Sheets</i>, JCCP, Phnom Penh, 2004</p>

February 2005 Symposium Details

- Theme:** Frontiers of Peace-building and Conflict Prevention
- Date:** February 5th and 6th, 2005
- Venue:** Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Campus, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo-to, JAPAN
- Format:** An open symposium designed for students and the general public to provide an idea of the types of topics and issues being studied within the recently initiated "Master's Program for Peace and Conflict Studies" at the Tokyo University of Foreign. The symposium was conducted in Japanese and was aimed at cultivating the public's awareness of Peace Building and Conflict Prevention at the grass-roots level.
- Participants:** 62 members of the public from surrounding areas and around Tokyo
- Proceedings:** The Peace-building and Conflict Prevention Symposium presented the frontiers of current research on Peace-building, Conflict Prevention, and Regional Conflict Studies in a manner that could be easily understood by those unfamiliar with the field. Substantial time was set aside for discussion so that the participants could be fully engaged in the topics being presented. The discussion included not only question and answer sessions between the speakers and audience, but also allowed the speakers to exchange questions and answers with each other. In this way, both the lecturers and the participants were able to work together towards achieving and a better understanding. Generally, at symposiums the lecturers leave after their own lecture, but at this event, the lecturers from TUFSS (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) remained present throughout the entire symposium so that discussions were richer, more comprehensive and maintained a sense of continuity. We believe that the people who attended the symposium were able to reach a level of understanding at which they can discuss with others the main issues surrounding ongoing regional conflicts in the world today and the efforts of Peace-building and Conflict Prevention being undertaken to remedy them.

Schedule

5 th February, 2005 (Sat) * Moderator: NAKAYAMA, Chikako		
10:30 - 10:40	Opening Address	IKEHATA, Setsuho, President
10:40 - 10:50	Introduction	Moderator

10:50 - 12:00	Keynote Speech	"Why religions can impede peace?" MACHIDA, Soho
12:00 - 13:30	Lunch Break (Poster displays are in session at Room #224.)	
		<i>Common Theme:</i> Research Visit to East Timor & Cambodia – Transitions from Conflict to Peace
13 : 30 - 13 : 40	Introduction	Moderator
13 : 40 - 14 : 00	Student Report (East Timor)	"Observation Report of Peace Projects in East Timor" Housam Darwish & Azeez Okunlola (PCS Students)
14 : 00 - 14 : 10	Q&A	"Observation Report of Peace Activities in Cambodia"
14 : 10 - 14 : 30	Student Report (Cambodia)	Fernando Palacio & Naoaki Shirota (PCS Students)
14 : 30 - 14 : 40	Q&A	
14 : 40 - 15 : 00	Break	
		<i>Common Theme:</i> Japan and International Cooperation for Peace-building and Conflict Prevention
15 : 00 - 15 : 10	Introduction	Moderator
15 : 10 - 15 : 30	Keynote Report	"International Cooperation and Support by the Japanese Government" AIKAWA, Kazutoshi (U.N. Policy Div., Foreign Policy Bureau, Foreign Ministry)
15 : 30 - 15 : 50	Keynote Report	"Bridging the Field of International Cooperation and Aid Agencies - JICA" WATANABE, Masao (Director, JICA Hachioji International Center)
15 : 50 - 16 : 00	Comment	MACHIDA, Soho
16 : 00 - 16 : 20		Q&A / Discussion
16 : 20 - 16 : 40	"Message for Those Who Aim to be Involved in International Cooperation" AIKAWA (Foreign Ministry), WATANABE (JICA) Q&A	
17 : 00 - 19 : 00	Reception at the University Restaurant	

6 th February, 2005 (Sun) *Moderator: FUNADA-CLASSEN, Sayaka		
10:30 - 10:40	Introduction	Brief explanation about the session.
10 : 40 - 11 : 20	Lecture 1	<i>Common Theme:</i> <i>Exploring Co-existence Among Different Peoples for Conflict Prevention</i> "The Ethnic Problem for the Kurds in Turkey" HAZAMA, Yasushi (JETRO IDE / TUFSS)
11 : 20 - 11 : 30	Q&A	
11 : 30 - 12 : 10	Lecture 2	"Peace Process in North Ireland - Victory Over Violence and Division" YOON, Hae Young (TUFSS)
12 : 10 - 12 : 20	Q&A	
12 : 20 - 12 : 40	Discussion	General Discussion
12 : 40 - 14 : 00	Lunch Break	
14 : 00 - 14 : 15	Introduction	<i>Common Theme:</i> <i>Various Actors Relating to Peace-building, Conflict Resolution and Prevention; Reconsideration of Japan's Role for International Cooperation</i> "Various Actors Involved in Peace-building" FUNADA-CLASSEN, Sayaka
14 : 15 - 14 : 30	Panel Report 1	"International Contributions of Norway" WIGGEN, Per (Second Secretary, The Royal Norwegian Embassy)
14 : 30 - 14 : 50	Panel Report 2	"Issues for Peace-building - Based on Discussions in Canada" TAKAHASHI, Kiyotaka (Japan International Volunteer Center)
14 : 50 - 15 : 10	Panel Report 3	"Japanese NGOs Working on Peace-building" OSA, Yukie (Advisor, Japan Platform)
15 : 10 - 15 : 20	Comment	HAZAMA, Yasushi
15 : 20 - 15 : 30	Comment	YOON, Hae Young
15 : 30 - 16 : 00		Q&A / Discussion

16 : 00 - 16 : 20	"Message for Those Who Aim to be Involved in International Cooperation" WIGGEN / TAKAHASHI / OSÁ Q&A	
16 : 20 - 16 : 30	Closing Address	FUNADA-CLASSEN, Sayaka