



30 September 2012 — Samdech Techo Hun Sen offers the land title to people in the commune of Chhnal Moan, Kuas Kralar district, Battambang province (Kampuchea Thmey).

## Handing Out Land Titles in Snuol

21 September 2012 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)

### Handing Out 890 Land Titles to 660 Families in Sre Jar and Pi Thnu Communes

I am so glad today that I have a chance to preside over and for the first time to hand 890 land ownership titles to 569 families, in our effort to “implement existing policy by new actions with regard to land reform” in the communes of Sre Jar and Pi Thnu, Snuol district, Kratie province.

What impressed us the most is the fact that we spent some two hours exchanging with the youth volunteers and the people who will receive their land titles today. We spent less time discussing with the youth volunteers though. This has made our meeting today so significant not only by the provision of land ownership titles for the people but a straightforward people’s seminar has been conducted.

Excellencies and Lok Chumteav have heard already from our exchange about what

has happened here and may have thought that similar things would happen somewhere else.

After issuing and handing our people the land ownership titles, we must see that further infrastructural development are in place as priority – road, school, health clinic and water for consumption and irrigation. Relevant institutions must take them up as their priorities for areas where land measuring have been conducted so far. It is my understanding that there is a need for establishing more new villages and the Ministry of Interior will have to judge according to the sub-national level authority’s proposals where and when to set up them.

As for the commune of Sre Jar, it is quite large as it stretches all the way to the Jriv canal bordering with the province of Kompong Cham. However, there are not many people taking up residences here.

Today we are offering 890 land

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## CUS Diploma Presenting Ceremony

04 September 2012 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)

### Congratulations to Graduates in Phnom Penh and from Provinces

It is my pleasure to join with 6,435 graduates of the Cambodia University for Specialty (CUS) for their graduation and diploma presentation ceremony, which is the third time of its kind. This gathering is confirming further national achievement for we have made joint efforts for betterment of human resources. The report of the Rector, HE Sdoeung Sokhom, clearly illustrates progress and advancement of CUS by extending its educational services not only throughout Phnom Penh but also in various provinces. It should be noted that among them, 1,969 students got their associate degrees, 3,540 got bachelors and 926 got masters.

According to the report, today, there are 2,732 students from Phnom Penh’s program, 751 students from Kompong Cham’s program, 1,054 students from Siem Reap’s program, 413 students from Battambang’s program, 367 students from Banteay Meanjei’s program, 691 students from Kompot’s program and 426 students from Kompong Thom’s program.

I am so happy that, because of joint efforts of both state and private educational institutions, in response to the policy of the Royal Government on education sector that allows for participation by the private sector in human resource development, we have scored such progresses ...

### Quality Consistency between City and Provinces

My recommendation for CUS and its programs in provinces, as well as other universities and their provincial programs, is that quality of education must be consistent between the programs provided in Phnom Penh and those in provinces. This should ensure that students who attend same university benefit from similar curriculum. I appreciate that opening branches in provinces will allow more students in the provinces to take up studies without having to move provisionally to Phnom Penh. By staying in their home provinces, those students can also pursue their studies in universities. That is why I am calling for consideration and attention to quality of education. It is in this note that I reminded earlier that we must focus attention on strengthening their educational curriculum in Phnom Penh but also among their programs in the provinces. I also urge that all of you subscribe to the concept that learning is endless.

I must remind you that, in the current development state, you are backtracking even if you just stay in one place. Situation evolves and it does not wait for anyone. Social, human and technological evolutions require that everyone must learn at all time. With this argument, I urge you all to go on studying though you have graduated with so and so degrees already. We should not allow ourselves to be conservative at all. Con-

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titles for 660 families. This does not mean that we are going to stop the measuring process. Just now we have the proposal from the people to measure those lands on the northern side of the national road as we already did it on the southern part. Therefore I would like to make public that measuring will continue and we will not stop until we have fulfilled the mission.

### **Two Cases of Land Cannot Be Measured**

The case in which lands cannot be measured is when it is in dispute. Today we have 25 cases of lands in dispute on display and 13 of them have been resolved by land owners. So they have been measured. The remaining 12 cases have yet to be measured as their differences have not yet resolved. The second case where land cannot be measured is when those lands are recently claimed.

The state cannot be forced to accept any person or group's inappropriate power or the public administration would lose its efficiency. Take for instance the case of Kompong Damrey, you have just heard from the people here, there were actions of forcing the people to do so and so and to pay tax too. That is outrageous and unacceptable.

In light of this, every land holder who has land disputes must resolve the differences among themselves. The twelve families with land disputes have lost their chance to get the titles now but it seems they already had their titles.

The point is that the people who hold the titles and the people who actually work on the land are different. So they have to work out their differences and find a suitable solution later. As is said the recently newly claimed land would not be recognized and measured.

### **Social Land Concession and People's Seminar**

The Royal Government clearly understands our people's need for land and has prepared land for giving out as social land concession for the people. We continue to provide social land concession to the people who really need land. This has clearly reaffirmed the Royal Government's policy on profound land reform through the "new implementation of existing policy."

I am seeking our people's understanding – in Snuol district, in Kratie as well as in the whole country – that sooner or later we will complete this task. Please do not be anxious. It is just a question of time. We will proceed with measuring land for the people.

It is indeed like a seminar. However, it is different from the seminar that was organized by the civil society and participated by various political parties' representatives, a few days ago. The moderator said in that seminar that the Cambodian People's Party could not make it to the seminar because of busy schedule. Let me clarify that the Cambodian People's Party has not got time for a hotel-organized seminar. The CPP already has a clear land policy and is actually implementing it. Aside from that the CPP officials are making active participation with the Royal Government's mechanism, which there is also the help of Funcinpec, to measure land for the people.

Our seminar today has not been accounted for but I told relevant officials last night that if we had time I would discuss a bit with people who would receive the ownership titles. That is why we have asked the youth volunteers to make some remarks on the settlement and the cultivation in the ownership provision areas. The people will be confident.

Take for instance the issue of

four prioritized infrastructural components to be resolved for the people in those places.

### **Administrative Solution and Infrastructures**

As these places are far away from the centre, people here are all new residents except those in the village of Mean Jei, which is an old village and close to the National Road. Perhaps there are few other places too that are old residential areas. However, during the war, people fled and only returned after the war ended too. Some returned to their own villages while others did not.

Based on the reality we have the need to establish new villages and while this is the responsibility to be taken by the administrative authority, I am sure we all agree that there must also be support provided for the infrastructural development as well. We have to make sure these people are accessible to road, school, health clinic and irrigation on top of water for consumption. Institutions concerned should incorporate the relevant four areas of infrastructural development into short and medium term policies so that we can work out on budgeting.

As for school, today HE Im Chhun Lim (Minister for Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction) and HE Sar Chamrong, Governor of Kratie, will cover the cost of building one school here. I do one too. We also provided five school buildings for Siem Reap, seven for Banteay Meanjei and one for Kompong Thom. These are the contributions generous people can make but as far as road, irrigation, health clinic are concerned, they should be included in short and medium term political framework.

### **CPP-Led Government Resolves Land Issues Four Times**

Resolving land issues and providing land to the people is

not a new matter for the Cambodian People's Party or the Royal Government. Why do I always mention "new implementation of existing policies"? It is because it is not a new issue for the Cambodian People's Party and/or Hun Sen. Measuring land and giving people land titles this time can be considered the fourth of its kind.

The first one was after the liberation (from the genocide) in 1979. Take for instance, the gentleman over there and brother Nhim Khev here never have land ownership titles before. (Haven't we heard them said) the Frnech (companies that were in Cambodia to run the rubber plantation) chased them from one place to another. They moved to Mean Jei village. They after were arrested and jailed by the Polpotists. The liberation of the country in 1979 allowed them to return to their village but there were no such things as land ownership titles. If I am not mistaken, it has been a whole life already that people between Snuol of Kratie and Krek of Kompong Cham province never have land ownership titles.

I had been among the people who farmed in the Jamkar Thmey (new farm) in Memot too.

My father led us here. Toward the end we bought about 12 hectares of land at Pong Toeuk (but I do not remember if) there were any ownership titles. We just bought (and possessed) it like what Mr. Khev did. (I think it was a good idea that) he did not use all the money he had to buy motorcycle but 25 hectares of land. I think brother Khev has got gold (by which I mean) the land is the gold. We cultivate and sell our produce from the land. With the sale one can buy gold, motorcycle, etc.

Well, Pol Pot discarded the land ownership no matter if there were or not one

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everywhere throughout the country. Take for instance areas along the national road 7. During the war in 1970 people fled their properties. That was followed by the fact that Pol Pot later abolished all ownerships. After 1979, our people came back to possess the land once again. Some went to former places while some went to new places. That is what was given in the first place.

In the decade 1980, each family might consist of only father and mother plus two children. Over thirty years later the family size becomes larger with more children, sometimes in matter of double or triple. When most of the families each had four people, two hectares of land was good to feed them. However, when the family size grows bigger, the feeding capacity of two hectares of land does not suffice. People therefore had to seek new land, where some claimed and possessed them and some purchased those claimed land.

We engaged in another land settlement for the second time in 1991/92 and early 1993, when we had returnees coming from Thailand to Cambodia. The State of Cambodia then was in charge of finding lands for those returnees. In the early phase of the process, lands were provided and homes were built but in the later stage of the development, the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) opted for giving those returnees with cash and let them find a place of their own. I told Mr. Yasushi Akashi, Head of UNTAC, that that would result in numerous consequences.

Finally, a number of those returnees have anarchically occupied certain places in various cities. It is in that respect that anarchic occupation of state land is not solely the responsibility shouldered alone by the former State of

Cambodia but also by UNTAC.

When did we provide people with land for the third time? It was after the intergration (of the former Khmer Rouge forces and occupied areas in 1998) when people in the former Khmer Rouge-held territory and those migrating there were provided with land. Now is the fourth time. We provide people with land titles over the lands that belong to the three land categories that I mentioned earlier – first, forest concession land, for example the land that is relating to Samling or Kasutim companies here; second, economic concession land, where we need to define clearly the boundary between companies and those belong to the people; and third, state land that are occupied by the people and have yet to be legalized.

#### **Delimiting Land Owned by the People First**

In some instances, because of insufficient research relating to the areas where people reside and cultivate and also because people do not have ownership titles, misunderstandings and acts of encroaching upon one another between people and companies arise. In fact lease of land on concession to companies for agricultural investment is nothing new or disastrous. The problem so far has been the uncertainty between the boundaries of the lands that belong to the people and the lands that the state provides to companies. It is in this development that the Royal Government is taking a necessary step to make it a priority to delimit the two and measuring land for the people must be conducted first and leaving the lands for companies to be settled later.

For instance, in this area, a size of over 1,000 hectares of land have been provided as concession to private companies. As of now, some 990 land holdings or 900 hectares of land have been cut

out. As long as the lands have not yet cultivated (by the company) and the people have actually resided and cultivated on those lands, the state can take the lands back (from the company).

It would be a different matter only if the land has already been cultivated. So we are addressing shortcomings from the past by prioritizing our land measuring work for the people first. It is in this regard that companies whose land areas are not clear with regard to their boundaries with those land of the people must cease their action for the time being and abide by those instructions stated in the investment regulation.

#### **Land Possession Yet-To Be Legal**

The third type of land to be sorted out for the people is those claimed and occupied illegally some years ago and now I see the need to revise the way to address as lands whose possessions have yet to be legalized. Take the case of Mr. Khev and Mr. Kev into consideration, those lands that they have claimed or bought and/or possessed before today have yet to be legalized because those lands are the public state land and have to be transferred first into private state land. The companies working here are also not yet fully legal because their lands need to have transference first. The land transference was just issued on 17 September 2012. In general, there are three types of land – first, the public state land; second, private state land; and third, private lands belong to people and their families.

Based on this reason, the Royal Government or the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction would not be able to issue land ownership titles as long as they are not yet transferred. That is why in some places it is necessary to issue a subdecree to transfer public state land into

private state land before issuance of ownership titles could proceed. Take for instance in the case of land that we provide land titles today, we based on the subdecree 148 ANKr B/K dated 14 September 2012 to issue these land titles. If the land has yet to be transferred and we issue land titles today for the people, the land titles would mean nothing and it is the Prime Minister who acts against the land law.

As far as I could remember, land in such condition is no less than two third of the land to be addressed. The remaining one third would be relating to forest concession land. According to the data provided by 21 provinces and cities, we have 1,825,734 hectares of land and 478,928 families concerned. These are the figures that we are dealing with in our work so as to provide our people with full land ownership rights. All these are the work concerning our efforts to provide land to our people for the fourth time.

#### **Official Land Ownership Titles and Boundary Pillars**

It was stated before that we might issue primary land ownership titles for the people (while the final titles would be issued thereafter). Today we give out to people the official titles right away because all procedures have been fulfilled, including also the display of land holding information for a period of thirty days.

With trust placed on efforts of the cadastral officials, local authorities of all levels and the youth volunteers in strictly measuring these lands, we have decided to issue official titles for the people without having to go through the two phases as planned.

We can take short cut now because we have done a great job. I just want to add here that as we have been using hand-held GPS62S equipment, in order to guarantee proper

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calculation, similar equipment must be used for measurement at any time thereafter.

I urge our people to find big pillars for placing their boundary markers. I have noticed that in some places the boundary markers are made of concrete.

In order to guarantee that even if the land size is in fact larger than the one stated in the land holding information and title, you had better place strong and lasting pillars. If A and B have joint boundary, I urge them go together and plant big pillars together. This should help avoid problem in the future for your children. Now A and B are alive there should not be any problem but when they are no longer here, their children will have boundary dispute because the pillars will not be there or where they used to. They then would leave all the responsibility to their parents or grandparents.

As of today the display of information has been done for 18,151 land holdings. I have followed the data strictly. Even when I was abroad I also looked into this development here. For me this is not a small work as it affects some 50,000 families or about two million people. I would take this time to inform all of the youth volunteers that you now have a website "[kolbotkhmer.com.kh](http://kolbotkhmer.com.kh)" and I encourage all of you to write and post your ideas in it. You can also send your photos there. I am sure you can find place where you can access it from here.

### Handing Out Land Titles Schedules

Judging from the results I think we still have time and we will not withdraw if the job has not been done. Today we ring the bell to launch the schedules for land titles offering. As far as those titles to be distributed to the people in Battambang, I have asked HE Sar Kheng to

start first because I have some prior engagement to attend to.

Coming to Kratie as my first handing out of land titles, some social analysts, so they called themselves, stated that "Hun Sen chose to come to Snuol first because he needs to fix the people's hearts in Snuol." My response would be hard to take but if I do not do it, it would be unfair. If they make such poor analysis, how could they represent Cambodia? The question now is not where I go first but where the job has been finished.

Today we have here a German and a Dutch, who took my picture in the 1980s. (Holding a picture in hand) the picture here shows me going from "Battambang to Banteay Meanjei and from Banteay Meanjei to Siemreap prior to the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops in 1989. Now I could recall it that the picture was taken about one month before the Vietnamese withdrawal and the first Paris conference."

That was how this Prime Minister (Hun Sen) lived and worked. It is not today but since 1989 and in my 37 years of age, I walked, sat and spoke with people. That was when some negotiators said "if there could be no solution, fighting must go on." I responded to them "if fighting goes on for twenty more years, I would be only 57 years old." This means that if they decided to go on fighting for twenty more years, those people might die before me as they were older than I was.

Well, the seminar we had just now clarifies what more we should do. We all have heard that there were confrontation, in which knives and rifles are involved. Those words came from the bottom of their hearts. I am in Snuol today and on 30 September 2012 I will hand out titles for people in Kuas Kralar district, Battambang province. On October 2 I will go to the Kravanh district, Pursat

province (it was later changed to October 1).

On 5 September 2012 I will go to the district of Romies Hek of Svay Rieng province; on 7 October I will go to the district of Thmar Puok of Banteay Meanjei; on 10 October, I will go to the district of Tchouk, Kompot province and on 13 October, I will hand out titles for people in the district of Stoeung Trang, Kompong Cham province. Do I have to be in all these places to fix people's hearts?

### Security Elements on the Land Titles

In order to make it easy to identify, we have designed and printed the titles (holding and showing it to the people) like this. The Royal Government employs certain methods to prevent fake copying or counterfeiting and/or for selling it to others. We have employed technology to make it very hard to copy. That is one security option.

The second security option, the titles are printed on a kind of paper which watermarking technology is used like that of the banknote. At normal temperature, the Royal insignia of Cambodia is invisible but it will appear when the temperature drops to below 17 degree centigrade. Another security reference is when you put the paper against ray of light you will see an image of Angkor Wat too.

With all these special security characteristics, I am sure that Banks will look for them when they purchase, sell and/or pawn. These special security elements should be able to prevent these papers from counterfeiting. As you all have the titles in hands they are gold in hand now. I strongly urge you do not sell them but keep them for your children.

### Thanks All Involved

I thank the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction under the

leadership of Senior Minister Im Chhun Lim for doing such a good job. I thank the provincial authority of Kratie but also provinces where land measuring is taking place. I thank the armed forces and everyone who have engaged in implementing this very big mission. I thank the people for their big hearts to reserve trust and provide support to the cadastral officials and the youth volunteers to measure land and give them their loves. I have been entrusted these youth volunteers from their parents and supervisors so I have to take high responsibility.

I am so satisfied that the authorities, the armed forces and especially the people who are fond of these youth volunteers. In this sense, I also hope their parents and supervisors are also satisfied. This time we have made correct decision. If we were to use up to ten thousand soldiers to do the job we would not be able to guarantee same results because measuring land requires sufficiently knowledgeable person and they must know how to use email and/or GPS equipment.

Some people mocked from the beginning that "they also wanted to join in this mission" but I turn their offer away as there is no need for them to do that. Some people in the civil society said they are so "sorry" and "concerned" because those youth volunteers are wearing uniform. What do you expect?

These young men and women are working in the forest. Even with this military uniform, because of rain almost every day, it wears out fast. Whatever they say, the youth volunteers have gained so much experience concerning social works from helping people and sharing what they have with the poor, people with big family and elderly people. Some also taught kids, fixed school buildings, houses, serving monks and helping local authority to

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Subdecree 46 on systematic land registration. The main idea of the procedure is that the implementation must be participated by the community, especially, there must be agreement when mounting land boundary pillars between people who own land next to one another is concerned. It is now to our understanding that the first point of the Subdecree 46 has been implemented. I also had made it clear since the day when I was seeing the youth volunteers off that land between neighboring owners would not be measured until they have come to agreement first.

**Secondly**, the administration committee organized by the provincial governor includes the provincial governor as head, relevant central and provincial Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, and cadastral officials as members, and head of district, commune and senior citizens in land surveying areas. We have fulfilled this procedure as well.

**Thirdly**, prior to the operation mission in land surveying area, the provincial governor notifies for seven days of the information on place and time of the meeting where and when people in the land surveying area could gather. We also have fulfilled this procedure.

**Fourthly**, I am so happy that as far as this work is concerned, people have participated in various stages. First, they participate in filling in form for their land holding registration, on which there are also photos of both husband and wife. Second, they participate in showing the land surveying officials and youth volunteers their land boundary and mounting their boundary pillars. Third, they participate in reviewing information and family member registration. Fourth, they participate in measuring the land itself and fifth, they inspect all surveying

documents which display in public their names and land holdings for a period of one month. In this period they also have the right to request correction of the displayed data if there are any mistakes.

I will go to Snuol district of Kratie on 22 September to present for the first time the ownership titles for the people. Let me clarify that it will be the final ownership title and not the primary ones. We have completed the work for about 10% of the projected 350,000 families or 1.2 million hectares of land. It is in this understanding that we do not need a transition in point four or we would have to remeasure before we provide the final titles, which is consuming a lot of time and people would have to wait longer.

**Fifthly**, as far as technical issue is concerned, as we have been using the advanced measuring equipment (GPSMA 60S), we have to mention somewhere in the title that when there is a need to remeasure, same equipment must be used. I urge people to mount/plant big pillars, made of cement if possible, at their boundary so that it is easier for the work to be implemented. Even if there is some slight differences, your land would not be lost. Take for instance, a house next to mine at the Independence Monument in Phnom Penh, when its land title was issued in 1990. The measuring then was done by meter band and it is now found to be smaller than when we are measuring it with the proper land measuring equipment.

#### **Land Given by Royal Government or Deity**

We may have to go through heavy rain and these strong boundary poles would not be moving away from their places. So I think when people come to request for land registration, they should be advised to place strong poles as their land boundary markers before actual measuring can commence. I

think this would save a lot of time. When the land of A and B is in conflict, measuring cannot be underway. I am sure by now people understand that they have to know how to coordinate among themselves. They should now understand that the land given by the Royal Government is in fact like the land given by deity.

I would like people in other places be informed that measuring land will continue if only we are running against time. The only reason that measuring cannot be underway is when land possessors are in conflict. If they put their land conflict at the court's attention, they will have to wait for the court's decision. If their land has problem in the state jurisdiction, we will resolve it for them. It is because their land possession has not been legal – either with environment, or companies - that we have the need to legalize it for them.

#### **No Withdrawal Till the Work is Done**

I have noted that the youth volunteers in the province of Siem Reap are approaching their schedule to move from the current village to another and they have requested for two school buildings. There have been requests for four school buildings for this province. One building construction can start right away except the remaining three has to wait until dry season comes. One school building requested by the youth volunteers in Kompong Thom province has also been positively responded. I also have approved request for seven school buildings for those in Banteay Meanjei ...

#### **21 September – to Present Land Titles in Snuol/Kratie**

I wish to inform that if anyone of you would like to learn about the activities involved the youth volunteers, you may visit the Kolbotkmer.com.kh and you may find the most popular song “father and mother are always

by your side” in it. Let me send the message to everyone everywhere that the youth volunteers will not withdraw as long as the work has yet to be completed. For today, we have saved a lot of time because earlier we thought of spending about 6 months before we can provide owners with the final land titles.

Now people in Kbal Traj and Sre Jar will receive the titles on 21 September. Please select one place in each province so that I can preside over the handing out ceremony and the event should gather those who are going to get the titles only. We need to talk with them to find out for what they are going to use this land. I must appeal to all of our people that they should keep their lands and inherit them to their children as even 50 or 60 years they will still be theirs...■

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build bridge in Kompong Thom province.

Please let me remind you all that when you visit the youth volunteers, you also visit the cadastral officials because they are in the same group. Without the cadastral officials, our youth volunteers would not have been able to do the job.

I advise that the youth volunteers consider the cadastral officials their instructors on the job in addition to what they have been briefly trained.

In other matter, I will be able to go to only 20 places to give out land titles to people. I have removed from my program the visit to participate in the General Assembly session of the United Nations on 25 September for I cannot leave my ailing father.

When I was in Iran and China lately, without his knowledge, my father wept like a kid. I first saw my father's tear in the 1960s when our rice field in Tuol Sambuor was flooded and damaged. I was about 15 years of age then ...■

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servatism is a dangerous plague for the society. Usually people compare conservatism to a piece of rock that sits on a bud of seed, whereby it could not become a grown up tree. In reality, it is should be everyone's note that some person, even after 30 or 40 years, have come to speak the same old thought.

### **200,000 Copies of Border Main Statement Printed**

I am so thankful that the Rector has mentioned about the border issue. I wish to dwell on that for a bit. On 9 August 2012, (I made some) 5 hours and twenty minutes presentation (on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border issue). I have learnt from various people that on that day, during that time, Phnom Penh went quiet and there were no report even of thefts or robberies. Maybe they all were busy listening to the presentation too. That being said, as it could be (the opposition's interpretation), it does not mean those thieves are Hun Sen's associates.

As far as the presentation is concerned, let me inform you that the main statement (on the *demarcation of land boundary and maritime delimitation between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*), 200,000 copies are being printed and we also have come up with a plan to disseminate them all. We also have printing order of 10,000 copies of the main statement with elaboration too. If any institutions wish to have more copies for their use, they may order more printing at their own expense.

### **Weight of Accusation and National Security Matter**

Yesterday, I took over four our flight from the part of China (Chendu) close to Russia, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan and Mongolia before I stopped in Hanoi. Let me have your attention that the presentation and

elaboration on the border issue between Cambodia and Vietnam brought about interest not only in Vietnam but also in countries that are bordering with us. It is on this note that, during the presentation, I asked for our people's understanding that some issue which is relating to national security matter had to be brought up as they (the opposition) left us no choice but to present it.

They keep talking every day about Vietnam invading Cambodia and about us cutting land and giving it to Vietnam. Take for instance the sea, if the opposition's claim that Cambodia has lost its sea up to ten of thousands square meters is true, there would not be anything left. I responded to them that not a single drop of water has lost. How could we lose when the sea territory has not yet been delimited?

There have been comments lately: "some of the national security matter should not be brought up in public." I should ask in return, have those people (in the opposition) asked me for special explanation? Were there any facts the Royal Government could not present? They ask nothing but rather scold us for giving land to the other party (Vietnam). I had no choice but to bring it all out. In the course of our discussion to get all documents together, also present were HE Var Kimhong, Aun Pommoniroth, Prak Sokhon, etc., but no one dare bring it up. They all advised my son, Hun Manet, to probe me: "Dad, some issue should not be said out." I told my son: "Son, how long are we going to endure their attack? We could no longer take this suffering. We must bring it all out, the Constitution issue, which I recommended for amendment, is included."

### **The Extra 300 Square Kilometers Land**

As I arrived in Hanoi, a Deputy Prime Minister (of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam) said to

me that according to his watch the presentation on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border issue is 5 hours and 21 minutes long. He said that what impressed him the most was the extra 300 square kilometers land as many people in Vietnam questioned if it is (Vietnamese land that was) cut away and given to Cambodia. I seek his help to explain to the Vietnamese people that the said 300 square kilometers of land (that are not in the Cambodian officially stated size) is not additional land (that Cambodia takes) from Vietnam, from Laos or from Thailand at all. Cambodia does not have the ability to take up to hundreds of square kilometer of land from Vietnam. I told him even Israel would not be able to do so.

It was been said in the past that Cambodia gave hundreds of square kilometers of land to Vietnam. However, when we presented the figure of our land, Vietnam has doubted. In this case, would one assume the Vietnamese Government cut and gave its land to Cambodia? It is not so. The land is not ours as a result from taking land that belong to any of the neighboring countries. The new land size figure is the result of new measurement technique. I may explain that in the old days, once instructed by the French General Governor to Indochina in Hanoi, the French High Representative to Cambodia had to provide his report as to how big was the Cambodian land size. What did he do then? He did not have modern equipment to measure the land size as we do now.

He asked to the provincial governors in the country. If the provincial governors could not provide the figure, they would call up the district governors and/or the commune heads. In case that the latter could not verify, they would even depend on the village heads. In those days, some of the places in our country were inaccessible because of the freedom fighters' movements and more so when

it came to mountainous areas. As I imagine, they might bring figures of measured land from villages to make a unified figure in the communal, the district and the provincial levels, and then to Phnom Penh before it went to Hanoi. It is in this reason that the Cambodian land size has not been properly accounted.

The report of the French High Representative to Cambodia to the Governor-General of France for Indochina after the return of Battambang, Siem Reap and Sisophon provinces from Siam for instance stated that Cambodia had an area of 179,450 square kilometers only. Another area determined by the French Governor-General's cabinet was 179,000 square kilometers. However, the land area of 181,035 square kilometers has always been used and students have learnt that in school too. When we properly measure it now, the size is indeed larger.

It is lucky that the land area of Cambodia has been determined to be 181,035 square kilometers. If it were stated to be 200,000 square kilometers by the French, we would have a hard time finding the unaccounted land. The accusation that hundreds of square kilometers of land are lost would be a correct statement. It is lucky that the measured size is larger. However, I wish to reaffirm to Vietnam, Laos and Thailand that we take no land from them. The extra is in fact accounted for by proper measurement within own territory only.

### **"Equal Basis" Exchange Principle**

Let me clarify one more fact. I already covered in the presentation about the land areas for exchange between Cambodia and Vietnam in Kompong Cham, Kompot and Takeo provinces, where measurements have been agreed upon and accepted (by

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the Joint Technical Teams) and awaiting the approval of the Chairmen of the Joint Border Commission of the two countries only. In Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces, we have measured the land areas for exchange unilaterally. In general, Cambodia has stretched into Vietnam's territory a total size of over 900 hectares and from Vietnam, they stretched into Cambodian territory over 2,000 hectares. One may ask if Cambodians or Vietnamese wanted to encroach upon one another. The answer is no. That is the consequence from the way the French was mapping the border.

I have thoroughly explained this in the main statement and elaboration already. If there is any points that are not to your understanding, they may replay the presentation on TVs. As long as there is a question concerning the Cambodian-Vietnamese border issue, more than ten TV stations may replay the recorded tape.

The "Equal Basis" Principle for land exchange has been adopted as we agreed to continue working together according to the spirit of the Memorandum of Understanding dated 23 April 2011 by maintaining the status quo of existing possession of land by the people on both sides of the boundary. The option of returning occupied land either from Vietnam to Cambodia or vice versa would be inapplicable. The best option is to run a new borderline according to the people's occupation. In what is called Hello VOA, a person in Svay Rieng was asked: "Have you lost your land?" and he replied: "No, not yet. But when they plant border pillar, my land is certain to be lost."

In relation to this concern let me clarify that we have the Memorandum of Understanding dated 23 April 2011, which guarantees that

there will be no loss of land. Wherever people settle and occupy we must leave the land for them. The communique on 1995 also states that people's actual occupation would be guaranteed and no further intrusion should be carried out from either side. Status quo must be observed.

### **The Exchange of Prek-Benghi and Koh Koki**

As far as land exchange is concerned, I missed out a point the other day when I mentioned the case of Vietnam and Laos, Vietnam and China, France and Belgium, and Czech and Slovakia. However, the issue has already been included in the main statement already. The exchange of land is not new in Cambodia. The Governor-General of Indochina on 26 July 1942 issued a sub-decree to exchange Koh Koki located in Cambodia's Prek Chrey commune, Koh Thom district, Kandal province for a 200m x 2500m area of land along the Prek-Benghi, Chau Doc province of then Cochinchina. The Royal Decree by HM King Norodom Sihanouk dated 29 October 1942 integrated the land into the Sampov Poon Commune, Koh Thom District, Kandal Province (Cambodia). The idea of such exchange is for guaranteeing people's undisturbed livelihood. The objective of what we are trying to do now is also to achieve that.

### **Border Issue - Common Affairs**

I think they should no longer talk about losing land. The talk went on since 1979 but people are still living at the borders. They should learn that saying all that is tantamount to directly underestimating the Cambodian citizens. Let me clarify too that the presentation on the border issue on 09 August was not for explaining to just a few people - who may never change their minds even after thousand more explanations - but millions of

people who need to understand about the border issue. This is not an affair to be carried out solely by the Royal Government.

As some people said that some national security matters should not have been brought up, I wish to respond to them that they are quite right. However, a chance was never left for me to do so or a proposal has never been brought to me for an undisclosed discussion. They never care if there were any mysteries involved. All they care about is to scold us "a Cambodian body with a Vietnamese head." They now should have distinguished between black and white. Drawing a map to define the border is not a whole work to do like some people ran off to France taking with him the map. He then claimed to have demanded for land from France. Let's ask if France is Cambodian capital? How could he do that if he does not even know about the Nguen Van Thieu/Nguyen Cao Ky 1971 maritime boundary line.

### **Recommendations of Losers**

I doubted how he could become Minister in those days. Or was it because he was this type that (the regime) failed? It is kind of difficult that as winners we have to sit listening to recommendations from losers. I still have respect for senior citizens like Sosthène Fernandez and Loek Sam Ourn. However, in every meeting I had with them, none of them gave me recommendations. There is one other person, though, and I do not mention his name, used to be a commander-in-chief of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). He arrived in Phnom Penh in 1990 and came to see me in the former building of the Council of Ministers.

The person then proposed to me that in order to defeat the Khmer Rouge, all former Lon Nol soldiers must be gathered

and formed for fighting again. I said to him "why not defeating the Khmer Rouge in 1975?" because then you had all weapons you need, tanks, aircraft and the soldiers were young too. How could he recommend such thing while he was one of the losers? Sometimes it is hard to accept recommendations as such, though we do not neglect or defy the elderly people at all.

### **Border of Peace and Cooperation**

Those who posed the question might have thought that I was not going to (the National Assembly) to respond. But I did. This time not only did I respond to their questions but also made the answer known to the Cambodian people throughout the country so that they all understand whether they have lost any territory as has been claimed to be of thousands of square kilometers or not. Let me clarify here that if they wish to know or understand other elements involved without making it known to the outsiders, they may ask for a meeting. Take for instance, this issue of why we allowed Casino buildings at the border. I already told you that border marker or pillar could be pulled off but the casino buildings of five or six stories could not be removed.

I am sure that the clarification I have made this time has brought everyone to a good understanding. The whole idea of developing areas along the border over these years have been to transform the borderline with neighboring countries to be one of peace and cooperation. As far as this matter is concerned, I have written in one of my books "Ten Years of Cambodia's March" over twenty years ago on the redistribution of social labor aimed at socio-economic development and national defense. Places along the border where in the old days were fighting places, now we

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make them market places and factory areas.

### Scholarships for Resource Lacking Students

I have the need to express my sincere thanks for CUS for providing me up to now 646 scholarships, and 100 for 2012/13 alone. I will give the scholarships to students who have difficulty in going to universities due to their family incomes. Some politicians comment that if they were to be elected they would allow students to borrow money for education purpose. If it is purely their intention, why should they wait? They should give it out now. And why borrowing? If you are doing that would not mean that the students are in debt while entering the university. So once they finished their study they would have to save money to pay such debts. Would this sort of policy be applicable when it comes to seeking help from the bank?

### Pol Pot's Economic Model and the Term "Dictator"

The other day I have watched a program in which some has suggested that "the bank interest must be low." After thinking through I would propose that the way to say is "the banks should charge lower interest rates" as this sentence would be more appropriate and applicable with the market economy standard. One could not order the banks to lower their interest rates. If they say such thing, who would dare to come make business? Over these years some politicians (from the opposition) have even proposed that how many families should grow rice, how many families should be employed in industry, how many families should be in service sector ... followed by his exclamation that "that is how to be a leader." I may have to remind everyone that this way of thinking was what Pol Pot had done – how many people

worked in the salt field, in the rubber plant, in the rice field, etc.

For what is a market economy I think this is not the way to do things. The state could only orientate either training so as to serve the business purpose or production to serve the market's demand. The state could oblige neither so and so to produce such and such nor limit how many persons could become monks. It is not possible also to limit the number of graduates from tertiary education while keeping other number for growing tapioca, etc. Doing like that is totally the Pol Pot's model, and how on earth these people are naming us the communists?

It is true that it is their political rights, but when they are complaining and calling so and so dictators on internet and radios, etc., are they themselves not being ones? The fact every time they call so and so a dictator, it clearly shows that they have got freedom of expression and they have said it for so many years already too. If the people they accused of being dictators were truly ones, they would have disappeared long ago.

### "Youth Volunteers" – RGC's and People's Trust

Today I have a new work to inform national and sub-national level authorities as well as our people and the youth volunteers for the task of measuring land for people. I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation for the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction as well as the Cambodian armed forces for leading and implementing a very good job of what we call "new action in existing land policy." I thank all youth volunteers and coordinators, especially every person who have fulfilled this very important mission. I am thinking of it as a tremendous

task full of heroism.

As of last Sunday, 91 youth groups who are fulfilling mission in 12 provinces have returned to Phnom Penh for break taking. This time, it is also coinciding with the registration and/or reviewing phase of the voter lists. Like the previous groups, they also have one extra day for either registering or reviewing their names in the voter lists. What they have done is nobly tremendous task helping our nation to alleviate people from poverty and they are becoming the most trustworthy agents of the Royal Government in this land measuring and ownership title giving mission.

The job they are doing is not simple. As this is the rainy season, some have run out of uniforms we provided as they have to work in rain almost every day. It is with this note that I have said earlier that the youth volunteers' heroism has become the most beloved, trustworthy and respected thing. I must reassure that the same thought and appreciation has been reserved for parents, supervisors as well as family members, either as spouses and/or children for allowing those youths to take up this chance to serve our people.

### For the People and Political Popularity

Some people have said that Mr. Hun Sen is doing all this only to gain votes and for political popularity. As I said on 1 August (at the graduation and diploma presentation ceremony for the graduates of Royal University of Laws and Economics) already, if everything we are doing are only for loss, why should we do it? Or if we are doing it only for people's discontent, why should we do it? However, if what we are doing is to the people's satisfaction and interest, and people support it, that means the task that we are doing is correct. In this thought, if anyone does not want any

popular gain, they may do whatever to discontent the people. While seeing that the works have been fulfilled for the people's interest, they are complaining our action would be for political gain.

The Royal Government led by the Cambodian People's Party has already given out fishing lots to the people, except that they have to fish using legally permitted tools and refrain from entering areas conserved for fish species and recuperation. While this policy has been implemented, there is no more conflict between fishermen and fishing lots contractors. It is very simple that once the people are happy with the policy, they shall support the political party that is leading the Royal Government. Why on earth that these people could have said such a thing? Let me assure them that we would not do things that would result in our losses.

### Handing Out Final Ownership Titles

It has been planned that while measuring the land, we would give out to people their primary titles before the final ones could be administered. In between the time when the primary title is issued and when the final one is handed out, land owners who have their land properties registered could not either transfer their names from one to another. As of now we have noticed that the task has been properly fulfilled, today we are making it known to everyone that we will hand out the final ownership titles to the people right after measuring their lands.

Why do we skip the primary land ownership title handing out stage? We have the following reasons:

*Firstly*, in the process of implementation, it has been noted that the technical people have implemented correctly according to the spirit of the

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