



Main Statement

by Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo
HUN SEN, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia,
on

«Demarcation of Land Boundary and Maritime Delimitation between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam»

The Plenary Session of the National Assembly
9 August 2012



Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo **Hun Sen**:
“The key principle here is to absolutely ensure that Cambodia will not lose or give away a single square metre of her territory.”

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Royal Government of Cambodia

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Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN SEN
Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia
on**

**«Demarcation of Land Boundary and Maritime
Delimitation between the Kingdom of Cambodia
and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam»**

***at the Plenary Session of the National Assembly
Phnom Penh, National Assembly Building,
9 August 2012***

- *Samdech Akka Maha Ponhea Chakrey Heng Samrin, President of the National Assembly;*
- *Excellencies Members of the National Assembly;*
- *Excellencies Members of the Royal Government;*
- *Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Today I have the great honour to report to our august National Assembly concerning issues related to the demarcation of the land boundary and the maritime delimitation between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

At the outset, I would like to thank H.E. **Son Chhay**, Member of Parliament of the Sam Rainsy Party for Phnom Penh, and other MPs from the Sam Rainsy Party for submitting questions to the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) concerning the Cambodia – Vietnam border, which is a life and death issue for our nation. These questions are designed by them to level accusations against the RGC, and are aimed at instigating confusion in public opinion inside and outside of Cambodia in order to serve their own political gains. Nevertheless, I am of the view that the political game played by H.E. **Son Chhay**, using the democratic process of the National Assembly, is much better than the action of his party's President, H.E. **Sam Rainsy**, who illegally removed border pillars. This is one important reason for me to come today myself to provide clarification on these issues to the National Assembly, although it is not the only reason or the most important one for me to come here.

In fact, the questions submitted by H.E. **Son Chhay**, Member of Parliament for Phnom Penh, are nothing new. We have heard on many occasions the views raised by H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues in the Sam Rainsy Party. Although sometimes the questions and accusations leveled against the RGC have taken slightly different forms, their original ideas remain the same. There is no longer any point in giving explanations because H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues have their own foregone conclusions or presumptions set in stone, which no one can

change. Overall, what H.E. **Son Chhay** has repeatedly raised revolves around his group's version of patriotism, accusing the RGC of:

- Not being transparent in dealing with border issues by excluding NGOs, opposition parties and international observers from the National Border Commission;
- Being under Vietnam's pressure, and following only Vietnam's instructions;
- Hiding information from the public by preventing the opposition party from visiting the sites where the border pillars are located, and resorting to the use of all kinds of force including arrests and imprisonments;
- Undertaking the work of demarcation on an unequal footing, by allowing neighbouring countries to plant border pillars arbitrarily in the rice fields and farms belonging to Cambodian people, on the grounds of lack of personnel and equipment. This has allegedly resulted in substantial loss of land in 10 provinces, from Ratanakiri Province to Kampot Province, equivalent to thousands of square kilometres and the loss of extensive maritime zones to the neighbouring countries. They consider this as an unpardonable act of treason, prompting the Sam Rainsy Party to pledge to revise border agreements and reclaim the land that has been lost, if this party would come to power, and so on and so forth.

All members of the National Assembly should be aware that this is not the first time that the Royal Government has either provided clarifications in writing or assigned representatives to come to provide clarification to the National Assembly on this "life and death" issue for our nation. This time, I have compiled documents to provide written clarifications as well. Nevertheless, this kind of propaganda and accusations continue to surface and

have become even more and more serious, as those who ask questions pretend not to understand these clarifications and turn a blind eye to the efforts made by the RGC in resolving this important problem.

I clearly understand, without any doubt, that H.E **Son Chhay** and his colleagues want to use the border issue, which is the most sensitive problem for the country, for the purpose of making political gain by attacking the Cambodian People's Party, and particularly me personally, for their own political benefit. This is nothing strange and is not new for Cambodia. This strategy was used in the past throughout Cambodia's political history. We all can remember that, at the beginning of the 1970s, the Republican political movement led by Marshall **Lon Nol** resorted to that ploy with His Majesty Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, who was then the Head of State, accusing him of "*Selling Land to Vietnam*" as the main pretext for staging a coup to overthrow His Majesty. They even composed songs based on that tactic for broadcasting to the public.

Now, H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues might be wanting to employ the same strategy of political propaganda to overthrow the CPP and especially myself, who is a key leader of the CPP. Therefore, even though I come here as Prime Minister to provide clarification on the issues raised in his questions, perhaps H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues will pretend not to understand. Moreover, H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues may not want to listen to this explanation and may want to walk out of the session. I appeal to H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues to be patient and to listen to the explanation made by the RGC on questions raised by them until the end, even though listening to the truth might not be pleasant for H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues or because they do not want to listen to me or do not want to accept the truth.

Nevertheless, I would like to reaffirm that the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our nation is the most important task and obligation and the top priority for the Royal

Government, and is also the right and duty of every Cambodian citizen. Patriotism and nationalism are not the prerogative or exclusive right of anyone person or political party. Furthermore, irresponsibly using border issues for political purposes to serve the interests of an individual, group or political party by resorting to populist tactics, incitement, exaggeration and creating confusion among the public inside and outside the country, can bring our country and our people to the brink of serious danger. Cambodia and other countries have learned that such irresponsible acts can bring about racial animosity, undermine the bonds of friendship, cooperation and good relations between neighbouring countries, and can even lead to conflicts between states, internal instability and the loss of many other social-economic benefits that would accrue to our people and nation.

The above are the main and most important reasons for me to come myself to the plenary session of the National Assembly to provide clarifications on the questions raised by H.E **Son Chhay**, even though that I know beforehand that he does not want to listen to my explanation. My primary intention here is to provide the National Assembly and Cambodians from all walks of life, living both in or outside Cambodia, with a comprehensive overview of the policies, the concerted efforts and the strong commitments made by the RGC to bring about final settlement of the border problem between Cambodia and Vietnam, so that they do not have any lack of clarity on this very important matter, while highlighting the main objectives and political motivations behind the accusations and continuous incitements over border issues.

- *Samdech Chakrey, President of the National Assembly;*
- *Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Next, to inform all members of the National Assembly and all our compatriots of the truth about the border issues, I would like to make a presentation on the demarcation of the land boundary and maritime delimitation between Cambodia and Vietnam as follows:

I. Land Boundary

(1) General Overview

We all know by heart that Cambodia covers a total area of 181,035 square kilometres and is bordered by three neighbouring countries: Laos, Vietnam and Thailand. If we conduct exhaustive research, we are unable to establish how this figure was calculated. Our assumption is that the figure was the total sum of the areas of all provinces, which gave a figure we all still remember by heart. The original calculation might have been based on the border lines left by the French protectorate, using outdated technologies for producing border maps. And the maps are now very old, and do not accord with the constantly changing topography of border areas. All this has created a discrepancy between the maps and the actual land areas on the ground.

Indeed, advanced technologies in computerised calculation of the area of the Kingdom of Cambodia based on existing maps return a figure greater than the long-established 181,035 km². I will elaborate more on the issue of calculation of the figure in the section below.

(2) Legal and Historical Considerations

In general, the 90-year period of the French protectorate (1863-1953) left Cambodia with a legacy of imprecise land and maritime boundaries. During that period, the Cambodia – Thailand boundary was internationally recognised, with 73 border pillars installed by the Joint Indochina-Siamese Commission on Border Demarcation, while the Cambodia-Laos border was a purely administrative boundary established by decision of the French Governor-General who was based in Hanoi.

Cochin-China was a French colony and the French administration in Cambodia was under the French Governor of Cochin-China. The Cambodia – Cochin-China border line was delimited based on the 1870 Decision on Border Delimitation and

the 1873 Border Convention, concluded by His Majesty Preah Bat **Norodom** and the Governor of Cochin-China, as a result of which 124 land border pillars were installed (please refer to the maps in Annex 1). Therefore, we can conclude that the boundary between Cambodia and Cochin-China can be considered as an international boundary. However, the border between Cambodia and Annam was established by unilateral decision, without Cambodia's consent. Moreover, no border pillars were installed on the ground. Therefore, we can only consider the border between Cambodia and Annam as an administrative boundary.

Therefore, Cambodia inherited from the French administration, which ended in 1953, an imprecise boundary line without border pillars in conformity with legal procedures and technical norms, except for the 124 border pillars installed by the French administration along the boundary between Cambodia and Cochin-China in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In addition, the French administration on many occasions relocated border pillars and adjusted the boundary line without consultation or consent of the protected state. This lack of knowledge about the country's boundary became a major cause of continuous border disputes between the local authorities of the two countries, as well as between the peoples of Cambodia and Vietnam, who were not aware of the changes of boundary lines and who continued to occupy their respective lands according to their existing customs.

This matter is part of the a historical heritage left to Cambodia by the French protectorate, and Cambodia has been responsible for finding a solution to this issue following the departure of France from Indochina. Given such a historical heritage, where should we start in the demarcation and protection of Cambodia's territorial sovereignty? Should we accept the boundary lines left to us by the French protectorate or should we wage war to change the boundary?

Soon after Cambodia gained independence, His Majesty Preah Bat Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** led a strong

national movement appealing to the international community to recognise Cambodia's boundaries based on the principle of *Uti Possidetis*. Although some objected to its use, the principle of *Uti Possidetis* was indeed very crucial for the harmonious settlement of border disputes between the countries in the former Indochina, preventing wars over border disputes. Many former colonies faced with such border problems accepted this important principle of *Uti Possidetis* to solve their border disputes in order to maintain peace and good neighbourly relations.

As a result of accepting the *Uti Possidetis* principle, the dispute between Cambodia and Vietnam over the border ended in 1964, when Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, the then Head of State, deposited with the United Nations the 1:100,000 *Carte de l'Indochine* published by the French *Service Géographique de l'Indochine* (SGI). Through this action, Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** appealed to the world's major powers to guarantee and respect Cambodia's territorial integrity in accordance with international law and to ensure the recognition and respect for Cambodia's independence, neutrality and territorial integrity within its current boundaries, which were declared as stable and unchanging. In response to this appeal, many countries, especially the concerned states, announced their recognition of the map and pledged to respect Cambodia's territorial integrity according to the existing boundaries (please refer to the maps in Annex 2).

At the same time, due to Cambodia's acceptance of the *Uti Possidetis* principle when Cambodia gained independence in 1953, Cambodia's deposit of the maps with the United Nations, and the call for international recognition, Cambodia's rights to reclaim our ancestors' territory in Kampuchea Krom was also relinquished, as Cochinchina (Kampuchea Krom) was determined to be part of Viet Nam's territory according to the 1870 Decision on Border Delimitation and the 1873 Border Convention, and as mentioned earlier, 124 border pillars were installed. Therefore, we must never ever place the blame on His Majesty Preah Bat Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** for

relinquishing the rights to reclaim the territory of Cochin-China since Cambodia under such circumstances had no option but to recognise the inherited boundary left by the French protectorate.

Later on, all governments of Cambodia's successive regimes continued to recognise "*the principle of the intangibility of the borders that existed at the time of its national independence*" to govern the settlement of border disputes with its three neighbouring countries, with the exception of the Khmer Republic led by Marshall **Lon Nol**. The Lon Nol government continued to apply the *Uti Possidetis* principle to the land boundary, but with regard to the maritime boundary, the Khmer Republic drew a new line, called the "**1972 Line**", that included Koh Tral (Phu Quoc) and Pulau Panjang (Koh Tho Chu) and related maritime areas within Cambodia's territory. As we have seen, irresponsible incitement masterminded by a group of republicans led by Marshall **Lon Nol** aimed at stirring up ultra-nationalism and revising the historical heritage boundary did not yield any good outcome to Cambodia and the Cambodian people, but led only to wars and catastrophes. This is an important historical lesson for politicians of later generations, including H.E. **Son Chhay**, his colleagues and some circles who have never given up this idea despite experience, if they really want to participate responsibly and constructively in the political process in the spirit of genuine patriotism.

After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge genocidal regime in January 1979 and based on the experiences of many political regimes during the recent period of our history, Cambodia has no choice but to accept the legacy of His Majesty Preah Bat Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, that is to fully apply "*the principle of the intangibility of the borders that existed at the time of its national independence*". Only this principle will help Cambodia maintain her territorial integrity, which has been shattered by many years of civil war.

Based on this complex historical legacy, the government of

the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) signed three agreements and treaties related to the land boundary with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which I would like to clarify as follows:

- The Treaty on the Principles of Land Boundary Settlement and the Convention on the Status of the Boundary, both dated 20 July 1983:

According to these two documents, both Parties consider the existing boundary drawn on the 1:100,000 *Carte de l'Indochine* published by the French *Service Géographique de l'Indochine* (SGI), used before 1954 or at the nearest date to 1954, as defining the state boundary between the two countries. This is consistent with the principles of international law, notably "*Uti Possidetis*", and with the map that Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** deposited with the United Nations in 1964. Moreover, at this point I would like to note that adopting the map used before 1954 or at the nearest date to 1954 is instrumental in reducing the danger in relation to the gap in the 1993 Constitution, which refers to maps drawn during 1933-1953. The determination of the period as "*before 1954*" or "*at the nearest date to 1954*" allows us to justify the review of a number of border points that were changed before 1933. I will provide further clarification on the gap in the 1993 Constitution below.

- The 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Border:

The 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Border adopted the principles stipulated in the above 1983 Treaty by using the 1:100,000 *Service Géographique de l'Indochine* (SGI) map and the UTM 1:50,000 scale map, in which border lines were drawn from the 1:100,000 scale SGI Map, as the basis for the delimitation of the land boundary between the two countries. This treaty is the manifestation of the strict implementation, according to the principles of international law, of the "*Uti Possidetis*" principle and is consistent with the maps used by Samdech Preah

Norodom Sihanouk after Cambodia achieved independence from the French protectorate.

However, the above-mentioned agreements and treaties have remained the subject of accusations leveled by some politicians, who have proclaimed themselves as genuine “patriots”, on the grounds that as a result of these treaties, Cambodia lost both land territory and maritime zones. Based on these motives, they have requested the current Royal Government to annul these boundary agreements and treaties. On first impression, it appears that those who have made this proposal want to launch a political attack against the former government of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, which signed these boundary agreements and treaties. But, in-depth analysis shows that their real intention is to attack King Father Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** because His Majesty is Cambodia’s supreme and heroic patriot, who accepted the “*Uti Possidetis*” principle from the beginning, and deposited the above-mentioned map with the United Nations. This trick is called “*attack Hun Sen to hurt Sihanouk*” or “*Kill two birds with one stone*”.

(3) *Continued Efforts for Settlement of Border Disputes with Viet Nam by the Royal Government of Cambodia:*

After the establishment of the Royal Government of national reconciliation in 1993, government boundary experts, with international technical assistance, conducted in-depth research on documents related to Cambodian borders with the three neighbouring countries, covering both land and maritime boundaries. At this time, I would like to touch upon only Cambodia’s boundary with Vietnam. Based on this in-depth study, Cambodia considers that it is necessary to propose to the government of Vietnam amendments and supplements to a number of provisions in the existing agreements and treaties in conformity with the principles of national and international law, as well as international practice.

Overall, the in-depth study came to the conclusion that the maps deposited at the United Nations in 1964 are old maps, and that much of the topography related to those maps has changed due to physical and demographic developments on both sides of the border. That is why there are discrepancies between the map and the real topography. It is, therefore, necessary to make amendments to ensure consistency between what exists on the maps and the geographic locations on the ground. Furthermore, the map alone does not allow us to know where exactly border lines are located on the ground. Although we have maps, it is still necessary for us to proceed to border delimitation and demarcation by planting border pillars along the boundary lines on the physical land, so that the boundary lines become the internationally recognised borders in accordance with technical and legal standards to make it easier for the purpose of defence and to allow the people to exercise peaceful occupation of land and exploitation and cultivation of crops.

I am confident that the overwhelming majority of Cambodians understand the real intention of some politicians who *“are afraid of losing territory, but act against border demarcation”* or *“accuse neighbouring countries of encroaching into Cambodian territory, but act against planting pillars to protect the borders”*.

Based on the above reasons, the governments of both Cambodia and Vietnam worked together in a spirit of mutual understanding and highest responsibility until the Supplementary Treaty to the 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of the State Border between Cambodia and Vietnam was concluded between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on 10 October 2005. The objective of this Supplementary Treaty was to make adjustments to the boundary lines along rivers or waterways in order to ensure that the delimitation of the border lines is in conformity with the principles of international law and state practice such as:

- The boundary between two states following non-navigable rivers or streams shall be established on the median line of that watercourse.
- The boundary between two states following navigable rivers or streams shall be established on the thalweg of that watercourse.

At this point, we should take note that the boundary following watercourses on the maps inherited from the French protectorate did not provide for the sharing of water between the peoples living on both sides of the watercourse, such as rivers or streams. In some sectors, one side got the riverbank, but had no right to use the water. In fact, this happened more often on the Cambodian side. I would like to underline that of the boundaries following the watercourse between Cambodia and Vietnam totalling approximately 383.5 km, for some 191 km the French administration allocated the watercourse to Cambodia, giving Cambodians the right to use the water, in the north-eastern parts of the country, in provinces with low population density such as Ratanakiri, Mondulkiri and Kratie. On the contrary, for some 192.5 km of the boundary the French authorities allocated the watercourse to Vietnam, thus denying Cambodians the right to use the water, in provinces with high population density such as Kampong Cham, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Kandal and Takeo. However, in the Supplementary Treaty both sides have reached agreement to share the water equally. This is very important for the people in both countries because in the future the Cambodian citizens living along the watercourse boundary will have the right to use the water in those rivers, creeks and streams without having to request permission from the other Party.

Moreover, under the 2005 Supplementary Treaty both Parties have agreed to adjust the boundaries at six locations by applying the following four principles:

First, the legal framework used by the French colonial administration;

Second, the effective management and occupation by the people living there for many generations;

Third, the geographic situation and the topographic locations in accordance with the law; and

Fourth, international practice in establishing boundaries in accordance with topography, such as the watershed line, mountain ridges or crests, contour lines etc.

However, we still have not yet reached agreement on a number of locations, such as the border sector adjacent to Dak Dang Commune, O Rang District, Mondolkiri Province (on the Cambodian side) and Quang Tri Commune, Dak R'Lap District, Dak Nong Province (on the Vietnamese side) with an area of about 50 km², and both Parties have agreed to continue discussions. This is because Cambodia demands that the boundary in this sector should be established in accordance with the Decision of the French Governor-General dated 31 July 1914, which states that: “*The boundary in this area follows the Dar-Hoyt Creek until reaching its source*”. As for the Vietnamese side, it demands that the boundary in this area should follow the Dak Dang Creek in accordance with the the 1:100,000 *Carte de l’Indochine* (SGI), and based on the effective occupation by the people living there since a long time ago.

Moreover, under the Supplementary Treaty both Parties have also agreed on a number of other important points as follows:

First, transposing the boundary line from the 1:100,000 *Carte de l’Indochine* published by the French *Service Géographique de l’Indochine* (SGI) annexed to the 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Borders to the UTM 1:50,000 series maps also annexed to the 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Borders. This point is very important. It means that both Parties have agreed to audit the 1985 boundary for all sectors of the border, so that the Joint Technical Teams of the two countries can proceed to delimitation

on the ground.

Second, for sectors on which both Parties do not reach agreement on the results of the audit, the two Parties will use the 1:100,000 *Carte de l'Indochine* (SGI) as a reference.

Third, as long as the boundary delimitation and demarcation have not yet been completed, boundary management shall continue to be implemented in accordance with the Joint Press Statement dated 17 January 1995 (please read the excerpts from this Joint Press Statement in Annex 3).

Fourth, both Parties will produce a Map of State Borders between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. This Border Map will replace the 26 sheets of the 1:100,000 *Carte de l'Indochine* (SGI) and the 40 sheets of the UTM 1:50,000 series maps annexed to the 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Borders and the 4 extracts from topographic maps annexed to the Supplementary Treaty. It is worth noting that this map will be based on new boundary topography drawn on a scale of 1:25,000 and will indicate the locations of the border pillars and boundaries between the two countries. It will be deposited with the United Nations and it will be considered as an official and permanent map.

This Supplementary Treaty is indeed of historical importance for Cambodia by establishing permanent boundaries with Viet Nam. This Supplementary Treaty improves and complements, in terms of both legal and technical principles, the 1985 Treaty on the Delimitation of State Borders. In this regard, this Supplementary Treaty will contribute to the strengthening of good neighbourliness, peace, socio-economic prosperity, trade, investment and tourism exchange between the two Parties.

More importantly, this treaty has once again reaffirmed Cambodia's commitment to the principles of international law regarding the "*Utī Possidetis* principle", applying the principle of

the respect of borders existing at the time of national independence in the settlement of the border disputes between neighbouring countries. Hence, this Supplementary Treaty continues the work that the Royal Government of Sangkum Reastr Niyum era carried out with the objective of achieving demarcation of precise boundaries both on the map and on the ground. This will maintain Cambodia's territorial integrity, and will ensure that the Cambodian people will no longer have any ambiguity and will know clearly the boundaries as marked by the border pillars on the ground. This will also facilitate the observance, management, protection and development of the border areas.

In short, since its establishment the Royal Government of Cambodia in its second mandate has made strict and consistent commitment to a number of strategic principles in its efforts to achieve the settlement of border disputes with the neighbouring countries. These principles are as follows:

First, ensure strict protection of Cambodia's sovereignty and territorial integrity on the basis of "*the principle of the intangibility of the borders that existed at the time of its national independence*", as stipulated in Article 2 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia and in paragraph II, article 1d of the Paris Agreements dated 23 October 1991, as well as according to the brilliant royal wisdom of His Majesty King Father **Norodom Sihanouk**, the Heroic Father of the Khmer people, who deposited maps related to both land and maritime boundaries with the United Nations in 1964.

Second, the application of the first principle described above provides Cambodia with precise boundaries by transforming the half administrative and half international borders into fully international boundaries, while at the same time turning boundaries existing only on maps into reality on the ground by planting border pillars. Moreover, once both Parties have completed the work of delimitation and demarcation, the resulting boundaries will be consistent with the effective occupation by the

people living along both sides of the border.

Third, implement the work identified in the second paragraph in a spirit of peace, friendship, cooperation and reconciliation, as sovereign states and equal partners, enjoying equal rights on the basis of national and international law.

Fourth, establish Cambodia's boundaries with neighbouring countries and transform them into instruments of peace, friendship, cooperation and development, which will truly benefit all countries and peoples concerned, particularly the peoples living on both sides of the borders.

It is regrettable that the tremendous efforts and undeterred willingness of the Royal Government to solve the border problem, acquired as a complex, historical inheritance, within the framework of the above-mentioned strategic principles, are not being recognised or are being intentionally ignored by some circles. To the contrary, such sensitive and important work, which represents a life and death issue for the nation, has been continuously and dangerously misinterpreted for political gain to serve the interests of some individuals or a small group of people.

As I mentioned earlier in my remarks, the Royal Government has been accused of conducting boundary negotiations or demarcation without transparency, accountability or accuracy by excluding the opposition parties, non-governmental organisations or foreign observers from participating in the process etc.

I strongly believe that those who raise these strange views are obviously well aware that boundary negotiations are the most sensitive of issues and are conducted between two sovereign states, for which the government of each country is responsible. Such negotiations cannot be made public before reaching an agreement. Otherwise, national interests will be undermined. By contrast, once the negotiations have resulted in a boundary agreement or demarcation, the government has never kept secret

the achievements, which constitute an important, life and death issue for our nation, as well as a matter of national pride. The government has provided progress reports to the National Assembly, the body that represents the will of the people, and has made wide dissemination to Cambodians from all walks of life on these important and proud achievements. To this end, we have publicised the border pillars as tourist destinations. Moreover, in our high-tech era border pillars have been embedded with microchips to enable them to be easily located by satellites.

Moreover, I believe that baseless accusations that Cambodia's neighbours have secretly removed the border pillars or encroached into Cambodian territory and seized up to hundreds or thousands of square kilometres are intended to dangerously and irresponsibly mislead public opinion. This could incite ultra-patriotic sentiments and national hatred, aimed at seriously damaging good neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples. Furthermore, this action could also create internal turmoil in our country. In this regard, inciting people with a low level of education and using them to make trouble, such as by removing border pillars, is not a commendable act. On the contrary, the offenders should be seriously punished according to the law.

As I mentioned earlier in my remarks, patriotism and the protection of territorial integrity are the right and obligation of each and every Cambodian citizen. In recent times, all categories of the Cambodian armed forces and Cambodians from all walks of life, in particular our compatriots living in the border areas, have actively participated in protecting our borders directly and indirectly. The Royal Government has also made considerable investments to build physical infrastructure and facilities in key border areas so that our armed forces and people can work, earn their livelihood and develop their villages. Establishing permanent settlements and developing villages in the border areas constitute very important protection of our territorial integrity. Therefore, the slanderous allegation that we allow our neighbours to encroach

into Cambodian territory and seize thousands of square kilometres is tantamount to looking down on our armed forces and on thousands of Cambodian families living along the borders, who have been entrusted with the protection of the boundaries.

As we all know, a country cannot on its own establish a boundary of peace, friendship, cooperation and development. It is necessary that both interested countries should make joint efforts to find common solutions in a spirit of mutual respect and goodwill in order to tackle the border problem honestly and without taking advantage of each other. In this regard, we should give due appreciation to the government of Viet Nam for its goodwill and respect for Cambodia's independence and sovereignty, and for conducting sincere negotiations with the Royal Government of Cambodia in order to solve this complex border problem for the mutual benefit of the two countries and peoples.

II. Maritime Boundary

In 1964, Cambodia deposited with the United Nations a 1:300,000 scale maritime boundary map published by the Cambodian Geographic Service, which used the 1939 Brévié Line as the maritime boundary between Cambodia and Viet Nam, and requested the concerned Party and the international community to recognise this line as the international maritime boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam. Cambodia at that time received support from the concerned Party and from certain members of the international community that recognized the Brévié Line as the maritime boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam (please refer to the Brévié Line Map in Annex 4).

However, the Thieu Ky Government in 1970 adopted the Petroleum Law, claiming the continental shelf for Vietnam, and started to delimit this continental shelf in 1971. Based on this law, in 1971 the Thieu Ky Government drew a new maritime boundary line including the Poulo Wai Islands of Cambodia in its own maritime zone (please refer to the 1971 Line Map in Annex 5). In

1972, the Khmer Republic drew another maritime boundary, different from the Brévié Line, based on the principle of equidistance from relevant coastlines or coastal islands, and considering Koh Kut as a boundary island on the western side, using the 1907 Treaty between France and Siam as its basis. But on the eastern side, this 1972 line considered Koh Tral and Tho Chu Island as Cambodian territory (please refer to the 1972 Line Map in Annex 6).

Later developments relate to the 1982 Treaty on Historical Waters. Therefore, allow me to provide a brief explanation of this treaty.

The 1982 Treaty on Historical Waters did not delimit the maritime boundary between the two countries, although in 1964 Cambodia had deposited the 1939 Brévié Line Map at the United Nations and sought international recognition. The 1982 Treaty left open the delimitation of the maritime boundary, leaving the two countries *“to negotiate the delimitation of the maritime boundary in the historical waters”*. At that time, Cambodia had three options for establishing the maritime boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam:

- First, follow the 1939 Brévié Line;
- Second, follow the 1972 Khmer Republic Line, i.e. the equidistance line; or
- Third, negotiate with Vietnam in order to establish an intersection Point 0 in the 1982 historical waters along the line between Tho Chu Island and the Poulo Wai Islands to establish the maritime boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam.

Both Cambodian and Vietnamese Parties officially recognise the attribution of sovereignty of the islands in the Gulf of Thailand under the 1939 Brévié Line, and have agreed to discuss how to determine the intersection Point 0, which would establish the maritime boundary between the two countries in the historical waters as well as on the continental shelf. However, the

negotiations to establish the intersection Point 0 have not yet reached any agreement because Cambodia has claimed that the 1939 Brévié Line should be used as the maritime boundary between the two countries, whereas Vietnam has claimed that the boundary should be based on an equidistance line and has regarded the Brévié Line only as the line to attribute sovereignty of the islands (please refer to Map in Annex 7).

Therefore, do you think that the Treaty on Historical Waters made us lose 10,000 km²? The answer is precise and simple: we did not lose anything. As already mentioned earlier, this agreement did not delimit the maritime boundary between the two countries. Both Parties should continue to negotiate to establish the intersection Point 0 between the Poulo Wai Islands and Tho Chu Island in order to delimit the maritime boundary in the historical waters.

In fact, the above accusation has its basis in the 1972 line established unilaterally by the Government of the Khmer Republic, which ignored the 1939 Brévié Line Map that Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** had deposited at the United Nations in 1964 and for which Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** had made tremendous effort to seek recognition by members of the international community and concerned Parties. Therefore, while at first glance, it appears that those who have attacked the Treaty on Historical Waters have the intention of launching a political attack on the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea led by the Cambodian People's Party, in which I was then the Minister of Foreign Affairs and signed the treaty. However, in-depth analysis shows that this accusation has a more far-reaching purpose beyond the attack on the CPP and myself. Their main objective could be to justify the coup d'État staged by the Republicans to overthrow Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** in 1970 and proclaim themselves as Statesmen who are much more patriotic than our King Father.

To provide more detailed clarification on the above remarks, I would like to elaborate a little bit more on Koh Tral and the Poulo Wai Islands:

First, about Koh Tral. When did Koh Tral no longer belong to Cambodia?

- 1) In 1939, Mr. Brévié put Koh Tral under the control of Vietnam (Cochin-China).
- 2) In 1949, Cochin-China was handed over by France to Emperor Bao Dai.
- 3) Afterwards, in 1964, Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, then Head of State, deposited the 1939 Brévié Line map at the United Nations and requested members of the international community and concerned Parties to recognise the line as the international maritime boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam.

The last point means that legally Cambodia ceased to claim back Koh Tral, as this island is located to the south of the Brévié Line. This position was confirmed on many occasions by Samdech Preah Head of State to the leaders of both North and South Vietnam: that he ceased making any claim for the return of Koh Tral. It is important to note that this was not a mistake made by Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, but was the legacy of the French protectorate as stated above. Successive Cambodian Governments have maintained this position out of respect for the highest wisdom of His Majesty Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, Cambodia's supreme patriot and statesman. Only the Government of the Khmer Republic rejected this position. Later on, His Majesty Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk** reaffirmed this position in his letter dated 27 September 1999 to Vietnamese Prime Minister **Pham Van Dong**.

Second, about the Poulo Wai Islands. By referring to the 1971 Line, in 1974 South Vietnam's Thieu Ky troops declared their control over the Poulo Wai Islands, occupied them and ordered the oil exploration ship belonging to France's ELF company to leave the area within 15 days. The French company stopped its oil exploration operations and left the area of the islands.

As mentioned earlier, so far there has been no agreement reached on maritime delimitation between the two countries, because Cambodia has claimed that the 1939 Brévié Line should be used as the maritime boundary between the two countries, whereas Vietnam has claimed that the boundary should be based on an equidistance line and regards the Brévié Line only as the line to allocate the sovereignty of the various islands. It is necessary to attribute clearly the sovereignty of those islands, especially the Poulo Wai Islands, according to the decision made by Mr. Brévié and in accordance with the principle of intangibility of borders, which Cambodia's has always recognised, in order to facilitate protection and management of the islands and to make it easier for people living in that area to eke out their livelihood.

Taking into account this necessity, the then Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea negotiated with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and reached agreement to draft a Treaty on Historical Waters in 1982 by establishing the limits of the historical waters from Cambodia's Poulo Wai Islands to Vietnam's Tho Chu Island. However, there is not yet an international maritime boundary delimited in these historical waters, and both Parties agree to continue discussions as mentioned earlier.

The 1982 Treaty on Historical Waters clearly assigned the sovereignty of the Poulo Wai Islands to Cambodia. Since then, Cambodian troops have occupied the Poulo Wai Islands. I would like to reaffirm that the main objective of the Treaty on Historical Waters was to assign sovereignty of the Poulo Wai Islands to Cambodia.

III. His Excellency Son Chhay's Questions

I believe that the above comments have already covered most of H.E **Son Chhay's** questions. And I recognise that *“It is very difficult to tell something to somebody who can hear but pretends to be deaf or show something to somebody who can see but pretends to be blind”*. Nevertheless, since H.E. **Son Chhay** has already raised certain questions, I would like to answer as follows:

Question Number 1 – regarding the protection of Cambodia's territorial integrity based on the boundaries established by the map as stipulated in Article 2 of the 1993 Constitution:

I believe that in the above comments I already addressed this question. Now, I would like just to add that, because of their narrow political view, some politicians consider that Cambodia is bordered only by Vietnam. Therefore, since 1993 they are only thinking only about building fences in the eastern parts of Cambodia. Article 2 of the Constitution stipulates that *“The territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia cannot be violated within its boundaries established by the 1:100,000 scale maps printed between 1933-1953 and internationally recognised during 1963-1969”*. I would like to make some remarks regarding this article.

It is well-known that following the elections organized by UNTAC in 1993, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) was not the leading party and did not win the majority of seats in the National Assembly. Moreover, the politicians who won the UNTAC-organised elections were suspicious of the CCP. They considered the CPP as Vietnam's puppet, accomplice, etc. Even until now there are people who share this view and use it as their strategy to reap political benefit. It is possibly for that reason that the drafters of the 1993 Constitution wrote this Article 2, thinking only of the eastern border and forgetting that Cambodia also shares a western border with Thailand and a northern border with

Laos. Therefore, they neglected completely the need to include the 1:200,000 scale map establishing the international boundaries between Cambodia and Thailand in Article 2 of the Constitution.

Moreover, adopting the maps printed between 1933-1953 does not correspond to the reality for the following reasons:

- The maps delimiting and demarcating the border between Cambodia, Cochin-China and Annam existed since the 1880s and were called *Cartes des Arrondissements* of Cochin-China.
- The 1:200,000 scale Cambodian-Thai Boundary Maps established by the 1904 and 1907 Franco-Siamese Treaties were published between 1907 and 1909.

At the same time, the adoption of only the 1:100,000 scale maps poses a dangerous pitfall for the country, because the maps establishing Cambodian boundaries with Siam are not limited to the scale of 1:100,000. The maps which were printed following the 1904 and the 1907 Franco-Siamese Treaties are based on 1:200,000 scale and comprised 7 sectors (7 sheets). Samdech Preah **Norodom Sihanouk**, Head of State, deposited these maps at the United Nations in 1964, and they have been used by Cambodia at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the request for interpretation of the Judgment of 15 June 1962 in the case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand). Thus, I am of the view that we should make efforts to close these loopholes. In this regard, I would like to seek understanding from our people that I have to make public this issue, because I have been forced to do so by the person who raised this question.

Nevertheless, the Royal Government, while discharging its responsibilities, has given due attention to building fences surrounding the house by adopting a comprehensive strategic framework for the settlement of border disputes with all neighbouring countries. Considerable efforts have been deployed

by the Royal Government to implement this strategic framework and it has achieved great results. However, concerned only about their own political interests, this time around as before, H.E. **Son Chhay** and his colleagues are not concerned about the fences of the Cambodian house that still face many more challenges in some other border sectors. It is for this reason that I have to provide clarification to the National Assembly and to the Cambodian people, so that they no longer have any doubts about the issue of the border with Vietnam.

Moreover, as I have mentioned at the beginning, I would like to provide further clarification on Cambodia's land area that we have all learned by heart consists of 181,035 square kilometres. In fact, there are different figures from different sources about the land area:

First, the area of 181,035 km² has been officially published in textbooks for a long time, and I have already tried to explain how this number was calculated.

Second, the area of 175,450 km² which the High Representative of France in Cambodia reported to the Governor-General of Indochina after the return of Battambang, Siem Reap and Sisophon provinces from Siam.

Third, the area of 179,000 km² which the cabinet of the French Governor-General determined.

Fourth, the area of 181,606 km² that the National Authority on Border Affairs established after making a computerised calculation based on the US 1:50,000 scale map. However, this number has been adjusted according to the new Geographical Information System – Arc-GIS, which yielded two figures: 181,436 km² based on the 1:200,000 scale map (Cambodian-Thai boundary maps) and 181,312 km² based on 1:50,000 scale DMA map (Cambodian-Thai boundary maps). It is worth noting that the calculated land areas do not include islands located in the

territorial sea of the Kingdom of Cambodia (please refer to the map in Annex 8).

Given such different figures, the Royal Government decided to keep using the figure of 181,035 km² on a temporary basis, until the completion of demarcation with the three countries, namely Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, because this number has been used for so long, and each and every Cambodian has also remembered it by heart.

I would like to say more about the production of the 1:25,000 scale map. As mentioned earlier, after the completion of the delimitation and demarcation of the boundaries, Cambodia and Viet Nam plan to jointly produce a 1:25,000 topographic boundary map, which features the positioning of border pillars and the demarcation line between the two countries. BlomInfo A/S, a company from Denmark was selected as the winning bidder for this work, and is charged with the responsibility to produce the map under the technical supervision of the Joint Technical Commission of the two countries.

Furthermore, I would like to highlight one more point related to the Memorandum of Understanding on adjustment of land boundaries in the remaining areas signed on 23 April 2011. This MOU aimed to resolve a number of deadlocks, in order to guarantee the existing settlements of the people living along the border, with the objective of promoting development, poverty reduction and improving the livelihood of the people. This MOU was necessary, because this work had been blocked and put on hold for many years. Initially both Parties were planning to complete the settlement of border issues by 2008. Later on, this was postponed to 2012. There are only 5 months left until the end of 2012. However, there are still outstanding problems that require solution, including:

First, conduct the audit of the boundaries on the remaining five maps. This work commenced more than two years ago, but no

map has been produced, because the two Parties disagree on the redrawing of the boundaries.

Second, both Parties have not yet reached agreement on the locations of a number of border pillars on the ground, and disagree on many sectors of the delimitation line.

These deadlocks show that the seven teams of Cambodian experts do not follow anyone's instructions, as claimed by certain circles. If they did, all these remaining tasks would have been completed a long time ago. If we are puppets, then there is no need for us to negotiate with Vietnam on both land and maritime boundaries.

Question Number 2 – regarding the technical measuring work to identify the positions for the border pillars

This is the third time that H.E **Son Chhay** has raised the same question to the government. Either he does not understand or pretends not to understand what the Royal Government has done. Maybe His Excellency **Son Chhay** shares the same view as the President of the Sam Rainsy Party that the measuring equipment used by the Boundary Technical Teams are toys on sale in the street.

I reaffirm that to discharge their responsibilities, the working groups of both Parties use modern and high-tech equipment as shown in this picture (please refer to the name list of the equipment and the pictures of the equipment in Annex 9) in order to identify the reference points on the ground. While using this equipment, we also use the 1:100,000 scale *Carte de l'Indochine* published by the French *Service Géographique de l'Indochine* (SGI) as a reference for measuring in conformity to Article 2 of the 1993 Constitution. At the same time, we use the UTM 1:50,000 scale map as a complementary tool in measuring the real positioning of the border pillars on the ground, as specified in the 2005 Supplementary Treaty, which was ratified by the National

Assembly and the Senate, and promulgated by His Majesty the King by signing a Royal Kram in November 2005. Moreover, we also use the Bonne map, the product from auditing of the 1985 boundaries, by transposing the 1:100,000 scale SGI map to the UTM 1:50,000 scale map, which the 2005 Supplementary Treaty allows us to do.

In summary, it is not true to say that Cambodia does not have measuring equipment, technology, nor personnel to carry out this important work. As mentioned earlier, we have adequate human resources, modern equipment and means of transportation to effectively discharge the boundary missions with the three neighbouring countries.

Indeed, our team leaders and technical experts have gone through countless difficulties in discharging this historical mission for our motherland. Two heroes have lost their lives in discharging the boundary mission and others were wounded or permanently disabled for this important cause. To do their work, our technical teams must travel in the forests and through minefields left over by the civil war, infested with malaria, wild animals, and areas with no road access. They must rest in remote areas with no proper place for camping, with no clean water for daily use and no hygiene facilities (please refer to pictures in Annex 10).

These heroic acts should have been recognised and commended. By contrast, some of the work that has been achieved under very difficult circumstances has been insulted by a small group of politicians with political ambitions. For that reason, I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, to express sincere gratitude and appreciation to the technical teams and to the officials of the National Boundaries Authority at all levels, who have worked under the leadership of His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister **Sok An** and His Excellency Senior Minister **Var Kim Hong**, sacrificing their physical strength, and readily making available their intellect and wisdom for the cause of this important border

issue and for our nation.

Question Number 3 – regarding the loss of the Cambodian villages along the border, especially Thlok Trach Village and Anlong Chrey Village

According to the 1:100,000 scale map, deposited at the United Nations and published by the Indochina Geographic Service (SGI), large parts of Anlong Chrey Village (also called Anlong Kreh Village) are located in Cambodian territory, and only a small part of this village is located in Vietnam's territory (please refer to the map in Annex 11).

This is the real situation in Cambodia and it is the legacy from the French protectorate, when France ruled over Cambodia. As mentioned earlier, it was the French administration who made decisions at that time to draw the delimitation line, without asking or consulting with Cambodian rulers. The cartographers ignored the real situation about who owned what land on the ground. Moreover, boundary lines were changed many times without the consent or knowledge of the local authorities or the people living on the ground etc.

As a result, in many sectors, the boundary lines existed only on maps, without physical border pillars, while there are discrepancies between the maps and the population settlements on the ground. Some Vietnamese villages are located in Cambodian territory, while some Cambodian villages are located in Vietnamese territory. How do you solve this problem? In general, we have three options:

First, we could give back to Vietnam the Cambodian villages located in Vietnamese territory with the Cambodian people who are living in these villages, so that we can maintain the status quo on the maps. At the same time, Vietnam could return the villages and the Vietnamese villagers living in the Cambodian territory to Cambodia.

Second, we could relocate the population from their respective villages and allocate the territory to its respective owners to ensure consistency between the maps and the real population settlements, without taking into account economic and social aspects or historical land possession by the people who have lived in these areas for a long time.

Third, we could maintain the status quo of existing physical possession of land by the people on both sides of the boundary, while we continue working together to exchange land according to the spirit of the Memorandum of Understanding dated 23 April 2011.

This third option is the best one for the people who live on both sides of the border who have been affected by this demarcation. As mentioned earlier, the Memorandum of Understanding was adopted with the objective of maintaining the status quo regarding the ownership of village and farm lands by the villagers, who have settled and tilled the land in these areas for a long time, so that they can continue to live and own their lands in the future. Within this framework, a Joint Technical Team will carry out detailed studies before proceeding to the exchange on an “equal basis”, according to geographic and topographic conditions, by using the boundary lines on the 1:100,000 scale SGI map, that were transposed into the 1:50,000 UTM map as reference in accordance with the Supplementary Treaty. The key principle here is to absolutely ensure that Cambodia will not lose or give away a single square metre of her territory.

Even though we plan to exchange land, we will maintain the total land area of Cambodia at the same level, since it is an “exchange on an equal basis”, meaning that one hectare of land should be exchanged for one hectare of land in the same province. If there is no land available for exchange in that province, then we will allow the land to be swapped with land in another province, so that both sides will get back the same area of land that they will give away. This practice is not inconsistent with either national or

international law, as some people have claimed. This stems from the historical heritage left behind by the colonial authorities and it does not constitute an invasion by one Party into another's territory. Moreover, such practice is consistent with principles of conciliation that have been adopted as an international practice and encouraged by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

I would like to emphasise that up to now not a single Cambodian village that has been lost. Moreover, as already pointed out, the practice of territorial exchange is not limited to the border between Cambodia and Vietnam. Vietnam and Laos, and Vietnam and China have also used this territorial exchange method. There also many similar cases in other regions and continents of the world, including France and Belgium, which continue to exchange territory, while both countries have reached an agreement on boundary recognition since 1830. Belgium and the Netherlands have also practised this exchange of territory in order to make adjustment to the real possession of land on the ground, to facilitate property management and to improve the livelihood of their own people. The Czech Republic and Slovakia have exchanged villages and lands with each other after the breakup of Czechoslovakia.

In Cambodia, the exchange of land is not new, but has taken place since 1942. According to the sub-decree dated 26 July 1942, the Governor-General of Indochina decided to exchange Koh Koki located in Prek Chrey Commune, Koh Thom District, Kandal Province (Cambodia) for a 200m×2500m area of land along the Prek-Benghi, Chau Doc Province (Cochin-China). This exchange was accepted by His Majesty King **Norodom Sihanouk** by a Royal Decree dated 29 October 1942, which integrated the land along the Prek-Benghi into the Sampov Poon Commune, Koh Thom District, Kandal Province (Cambodia).

Now, let me turn to Thlok Trach and Anlung Chrey villages. Both Parties have agreed to dispatch Joint Technical Teams to

survey the two villages in order to calculate the land areas so that the same size of land can be identified for exchange in the future according to the above principles. Moreover, I would like to underline that the Anlung Chrey village cannot be found in the 1873 Cochinchina *Carte de l'Arrondissement*, as asserted by some overseas experts (please refer to the 1873 Cochinchina *Carte de l'Arrondissement de Tay Ninh* in Annex 12).

Concerning the progress of measuring land areas for exchange, I would like to inform that the Technical Teams have completed the measurement of land areas for exchange in all ten provinces. In many provinces, the Cambodian team has carried out the work on a unilateral basis but has not yet sought the agreement of the Vietnamese side, while in Kampong Cham, Kampot and Takeo provinces the Joint Technical Teams have signed their acceptance of the measurements but the Chairmen of the Joint Border Commission of the two countries have not yet adopted the agreed minutes. In summary, while measuring the land for exchange along the total boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam, we have arrived at some figures that have been agreed upon, while some are not yet agreed upon. These figures allow us to make a preliminary conclusion that Cambodia has occupied some 916.7 hectares of land that should belong to Vietnam. At the same time, Vietnam has occupied some 2,160.6 hectares of land that should belong to Cambodia. In the future, if these figures have been officially recognised by both Parties, then Vietnam will be required to return to Cambodia some 1,243.9 hectares. This is the solution proposed by the 2011 MOU (please refer to the maps of 4 provinces in Annex 13). It should be noted that this issue of overlapping occupation of land was not caused by encroachment by Cambodian people into Vietnamese territory or vice versa. It is rather the result of the delimitation line drawn by the French authorities on the existing maps and bequeathed to both countries. Therefore, both Cambodia and Vietnam will be required to find solutions in order to maintain the status quo in the possession of village and farm lands, as well as the property of the people living on both sides of the border.

Question Number 4 - regarding Border Marker No. 314 and the Guarantee of Cambodia's Territorial Integrity

To date, we have installed border pillars in 236 locations out of the total number of 314 locations. In terms of the number of border pillars, some 285 pillars have been planted out of 375 pillars (single, double or triple pillars), representing 76% of the total number of border pillars. And 208 locations have already been constructed out of 314 to cater for 252 out of 375 pillars. Some 700 km of boundary have been demarcated out of the total border length of around 1,270 km, representing 58% of the total length of the boundary.

I would like to highlight that border pillar No. 314 is the last border marker to be installed on the land boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam. In the future, Cambodia has the intention to proceed to maritime delimitation in the Gulf of Thailand. This delimitation will start from pillar No. 314. The location of this border pillar is therefore very important, regardless of which option both Parties agree on, either by adopting the 1939 Brévié Line or the equidistance line, because both Parties will need to negotiate and start maritime delimitation from this land border point in order to establish the maritime boundary between the two countries.

I would like to take this opportunity to mention the correct and wise position of His Majesty Preah Samdech **Norodom Sihanouk**, who stated in his letter dated on 27 September 1999: *“In Cambodian history, the entire territory of Kampuchea Krom was lost already. Afterwards, Koh Tral, that Vietnamese call Phu Quoc, and a number of other islands located south of the Brévié Line were also lost, due to the Circular of the French Governor-General dated 31 January 1939. Moreover, in 1964, the Royal Government of Cambodia at that time deposited with the United Nations a 1:300,000 map published by the Cambodian Geographic Service, based on maps of the French Hydrographic Service, together with land boundary maps, in order to seek*

international recognition. In this map we drew the Brévié Line as the maritime boundary with Vietnam. All those maps and documents have been recognised by my former government, the former government of People's Republic of Kampuchea, the government of the State of Cambodia and the current Royal Government of Cambodia as determining the current boundaries of Cambodia. In this regard, I am of the view that under the present circumstances, when the whole world strives to find solution to border problems, we should approve this Brévié Line as the international maritime boundary between our countries so that we can leave a heritage of precise border delimitation to our future generations so that they can manage and develop our respective countries” (please refer to the whole text of His Majesty's letter in Annex 14).

Border demarcation operations carried out jointly by Cambodia and Vietnam constitute not only a joint undertaking to mark the international boundary between the Kingdom of Cambodia and Socialist Republic of Vietnam, but will make an important and invaluable contribution to the protection and strengthening of the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the maintenance of peace, promotion of economic growth, social development and improvement in the livelihood as well as poverty reduction of our people (please refer to the picture of the border pillar in the Annex 15).

- *Samdech Chakrey, President of the National Assembly*
- *Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen*

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise once again the strong commitment of the Royal Government to overcome all obstacles in order to achieve our strategic objectives of establishing precise and correct borders for Cambodia, to serve as instruments of peace, friendship, cooperation and development for the supreme benefit of the Cambodian nation and people from all walks of life.

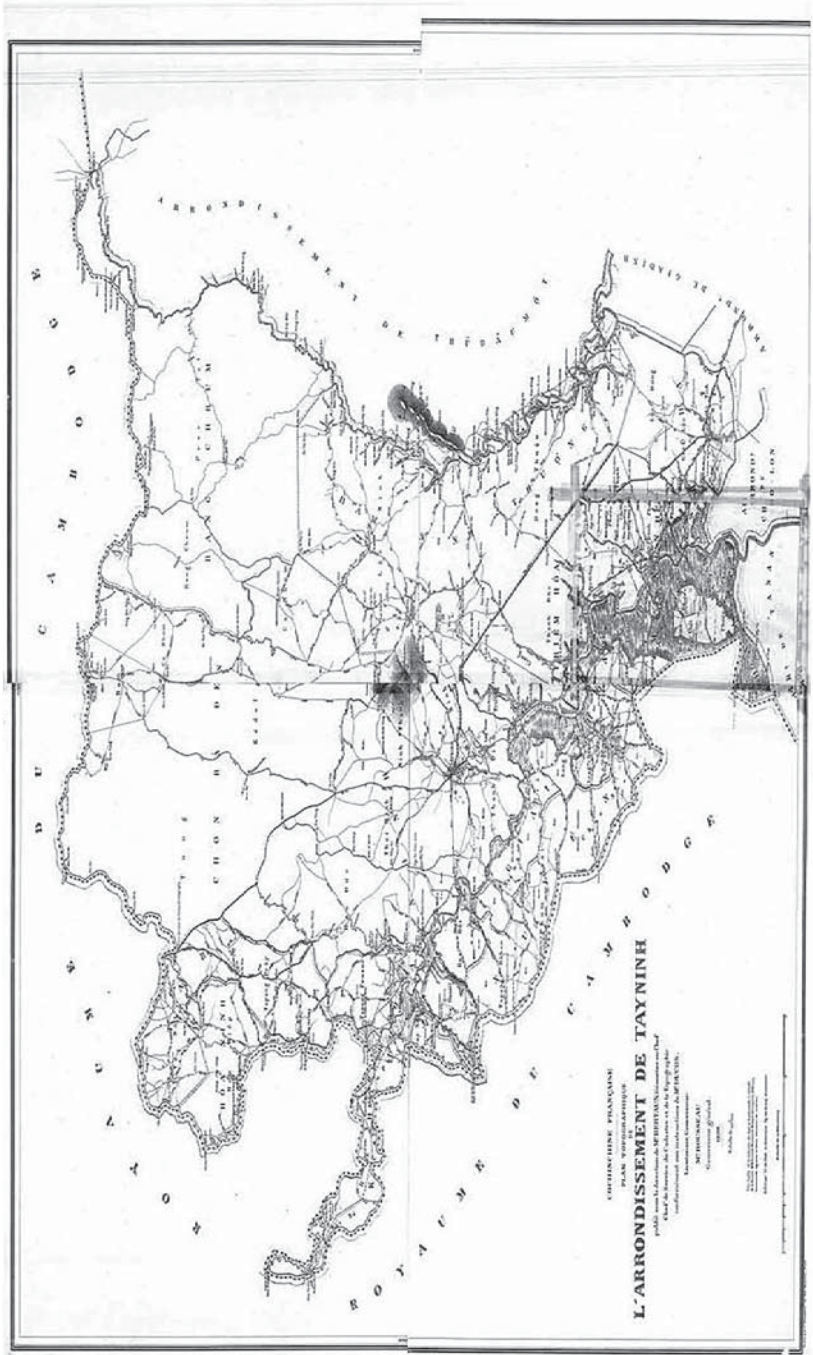
At the same time, on behalf of the Royal Government, I also

would like to express my profound gratitude to our distinguished parliamentarians for their valuable support for the policy and activities undertaken by the Royal Government. Special thanks to Samdech Akka Maha Ponhea Chakrey **Heng Samrin**, President of the National Assembly, and all members of the National Assembly for allowing me to bring my colleagues here and present some clarifications to the National Assembly and, through our distinguished National Assembly, to inform the whole Cambodian people concerning this important issue of border demarcation between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

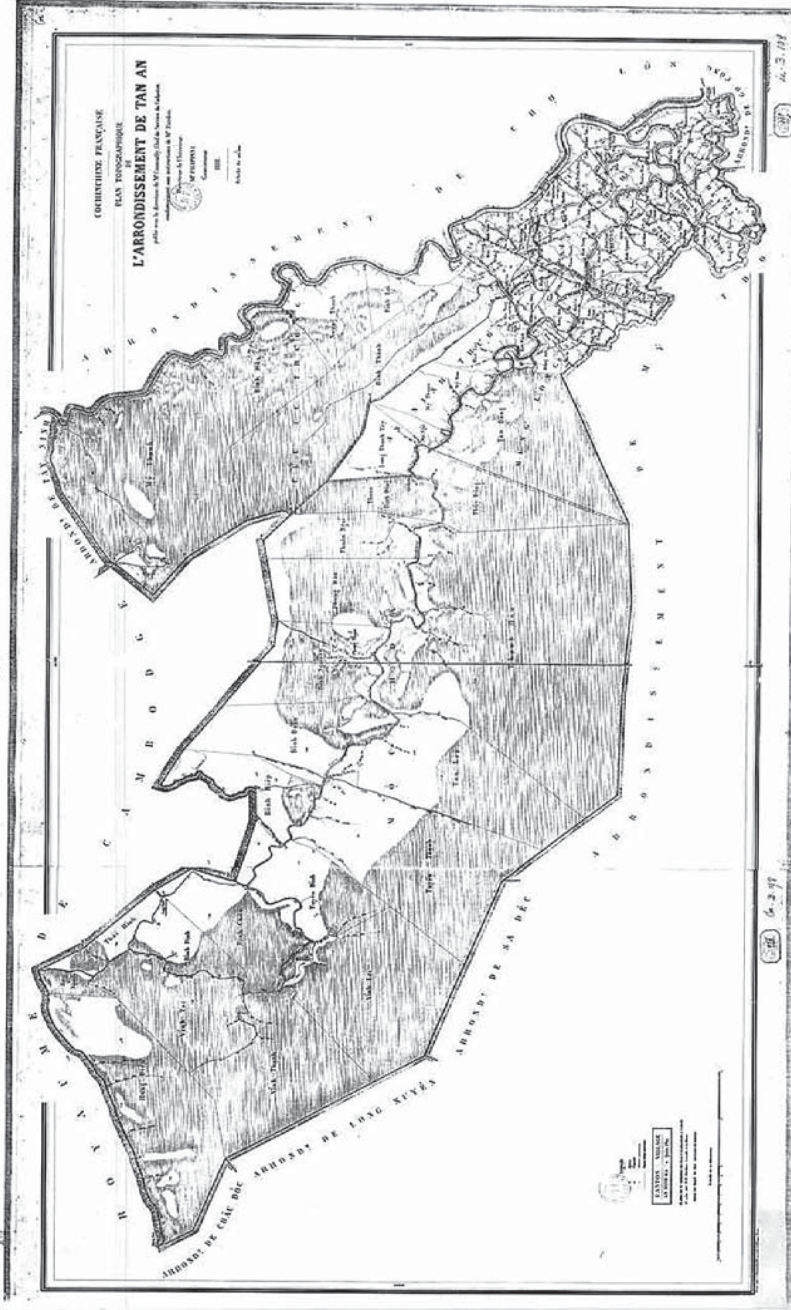
I would like to wish Samdech Akka Maha Ponhea Chakrey **Heng Samrin**, President of the National Assembly, and all members good health and success in all their endeavours for the cause of our nation and people.

Thank you.

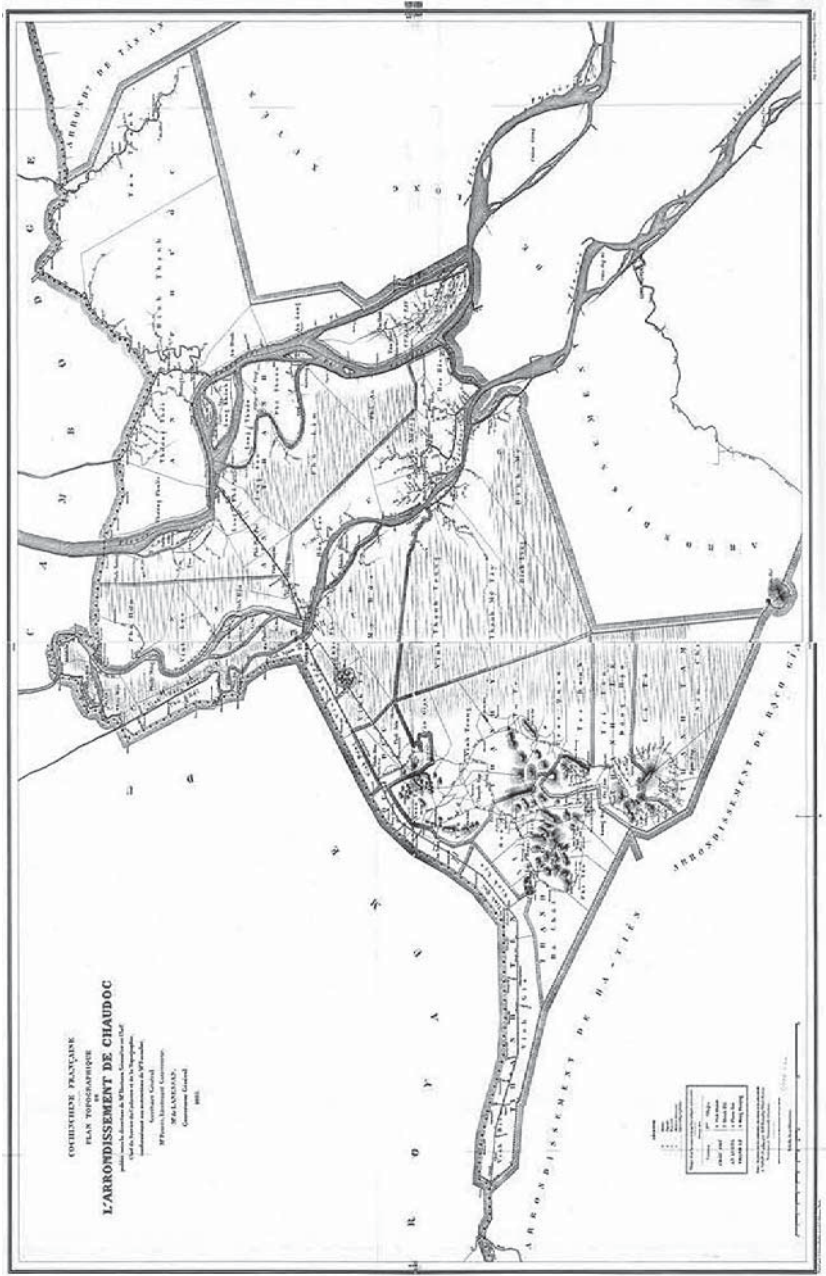
Map of Tay Ninh Administrative Zone, featuring the positions of the border pillars from Pillar 01 - 33 between Cambodia and Cochin-China



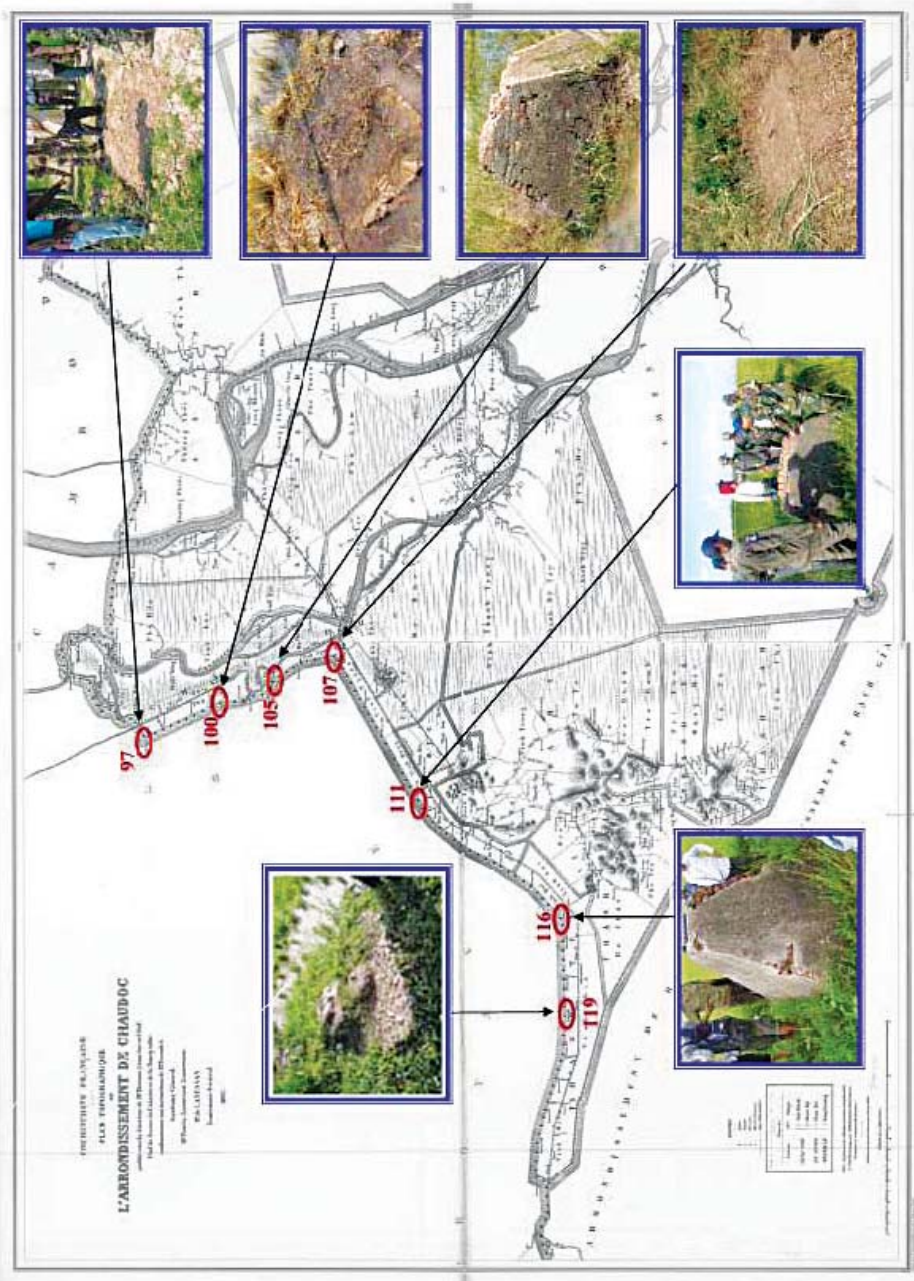
Map of Tan An Administrative Zone, featuring the positions of the border pillar from Pillar 34 – 60 between Cambodia and Cochinchina



Map of Chau Doc Administrative Zone, featuring the positions of the border pillars from Pillar 60 – 124 between Cambodia and Cochin-China



Map featuring the remaining foundations of border pillars in Chau Doc Administrative Zone



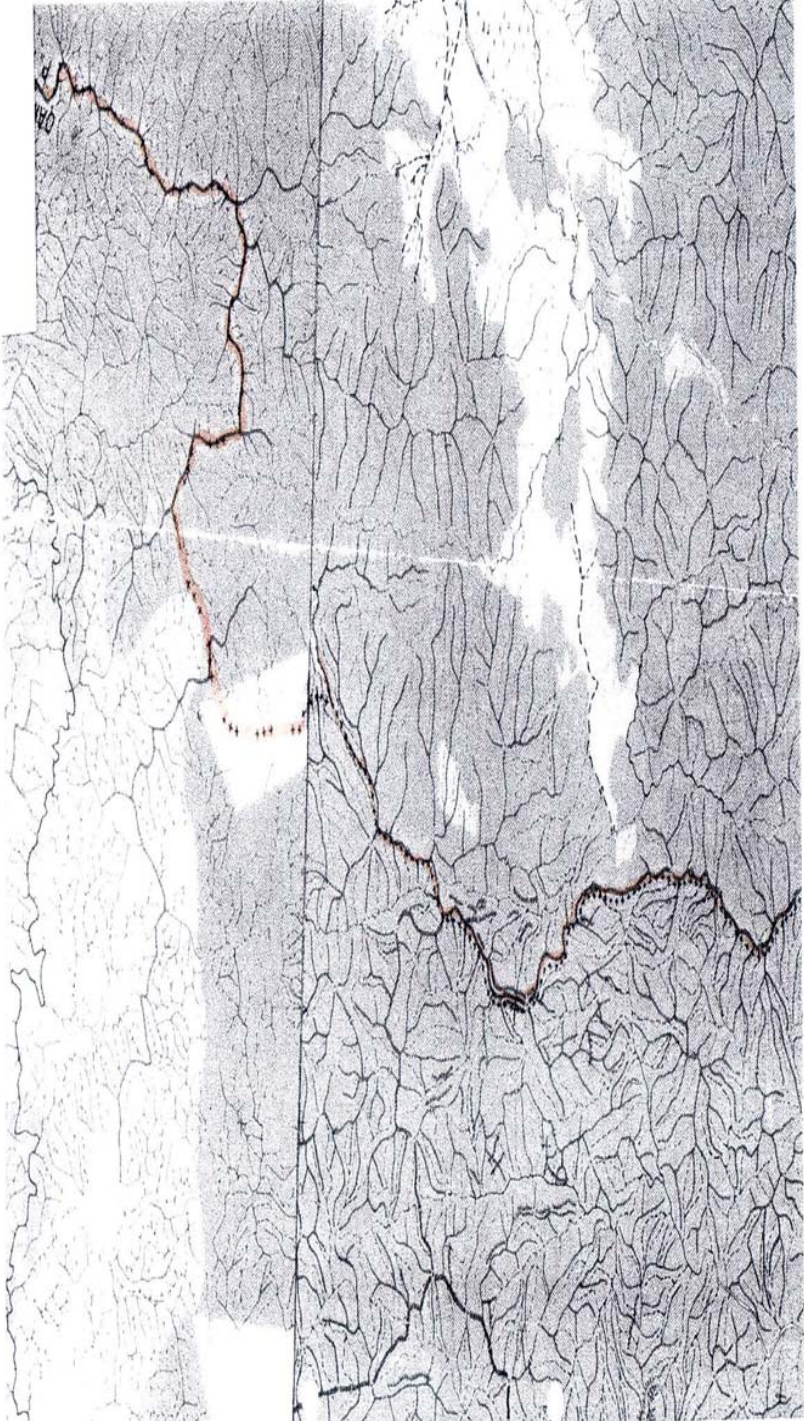
Border pillars between Cambodia and Cochin-China, planted in between 1860-1870



A border pillar between Cambodia and Cochin-China, planted in between 1860-1870

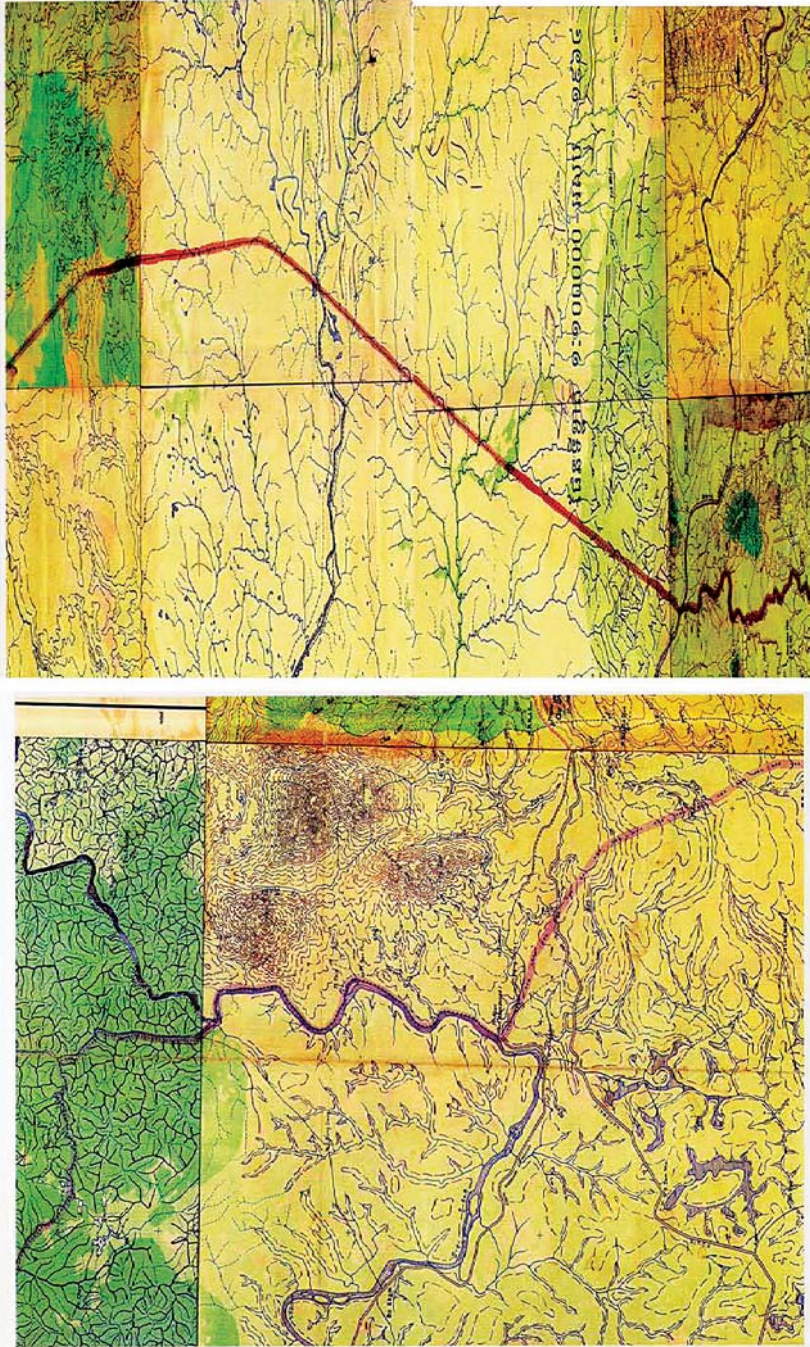


Land Boundary Map, deposited at the United Nations in 1964



১৯৬৪-৬৫

Land Boundary Maps, deposited at the United Nations in 1964



Joint Press Statement dated 17th January 1995
between the Prime Ministers of Vietnam and Cambodia

(មកពីប្រក្រតីផ្លូវការ)

សេចក្តីប្រកាសព័ត៌មាន

ចុះថ្ងៃទី ១៧ ខែមករា ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៥

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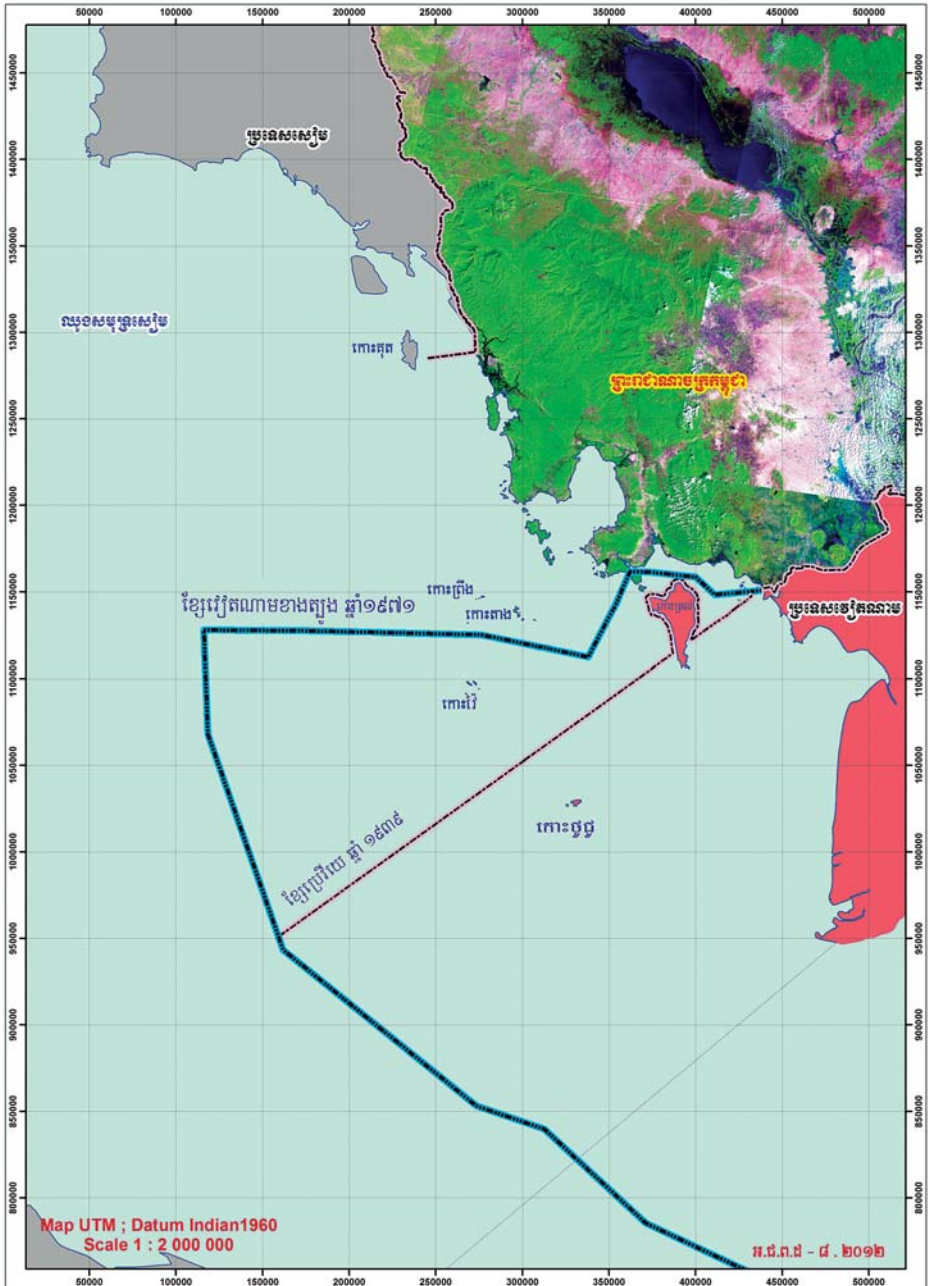
និង

នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីកម្ពុជា

៨. ភាគីទាំងពីរចេញកែសម្រួលជាថ្មីពីឆន្ទៈរបស់ខ្លួនក្នុងការកសាងព្រំដែនរវាងប្រទេសទាំងពីរឲ្យក្លាយទៅជាព្រំដែនសន្តិភាព មិត្តភាព និងស្ថេរភាព ដើម្បីចូលរួមក្នុងការអភិវឌ្ឍ និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការ និងភាពអ្នកជិតខាងល្អ រវាងប្រទេសទាំងពីរ ។ ដោយរង់ចាំដំណោះស្រាយលើបញ្ហាព្រំដែនដ៏សំខាន់នេះ ភាគីទាំងពីរឯកភាពរក្សាស្ថានភាពការគ្រប់គ្រងបច្ចុប្បន្ន ដោយមិនឲ្យមានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរឬកិលបង្គោលព្រំដែន និងអប់រំប្រយោជន៍ ដោយហាមប្រាមពួកគាត់មិនឲ្យធ្វើស្រែចំការ ឬកាំងទីសំនៅឆ្លងកាត់ព្រំដែន និងសហការគ្នារក្សាបាននូវព្រំដែនសុវត្ថិភាព និងសណ្តាប់ធ្នាប់ ។

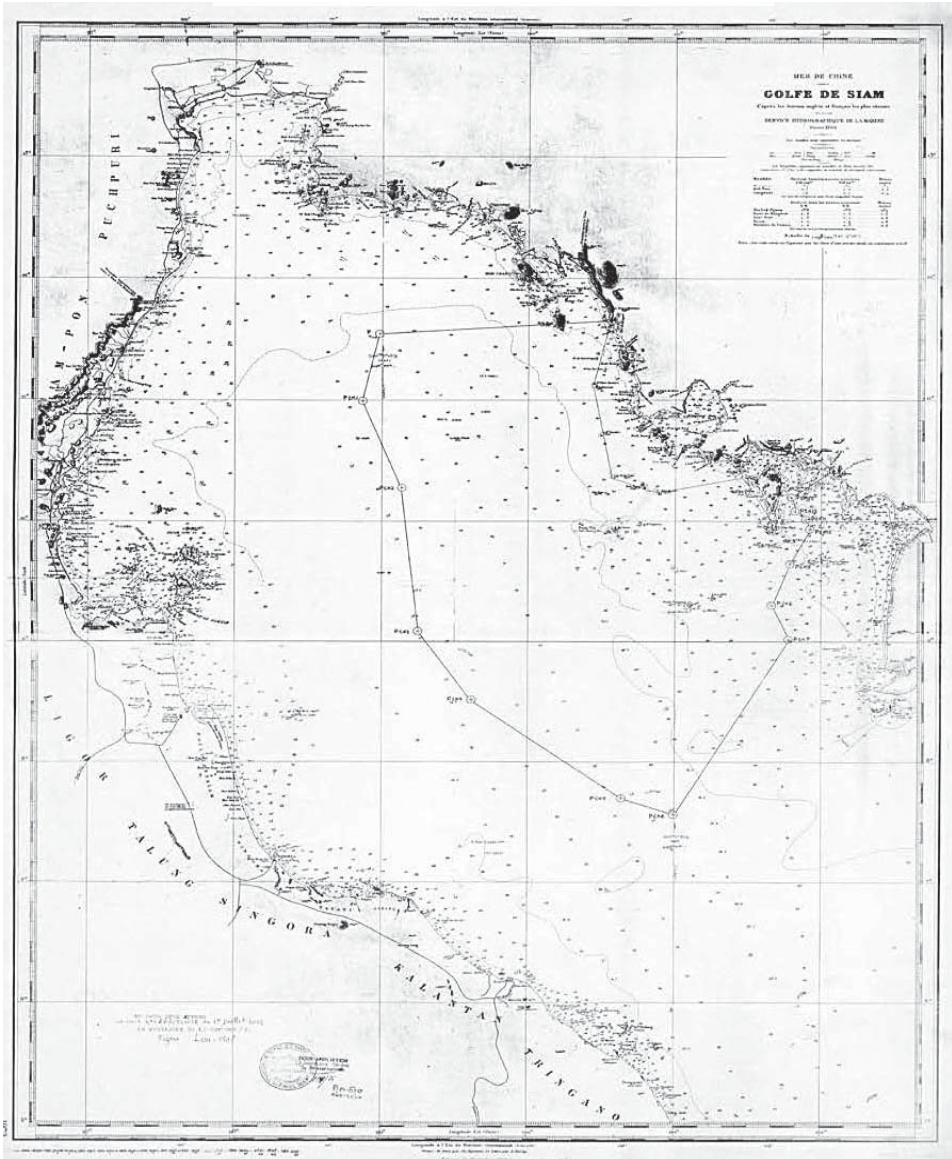
Annex 5

Line drawn by South Vietnam in 1971



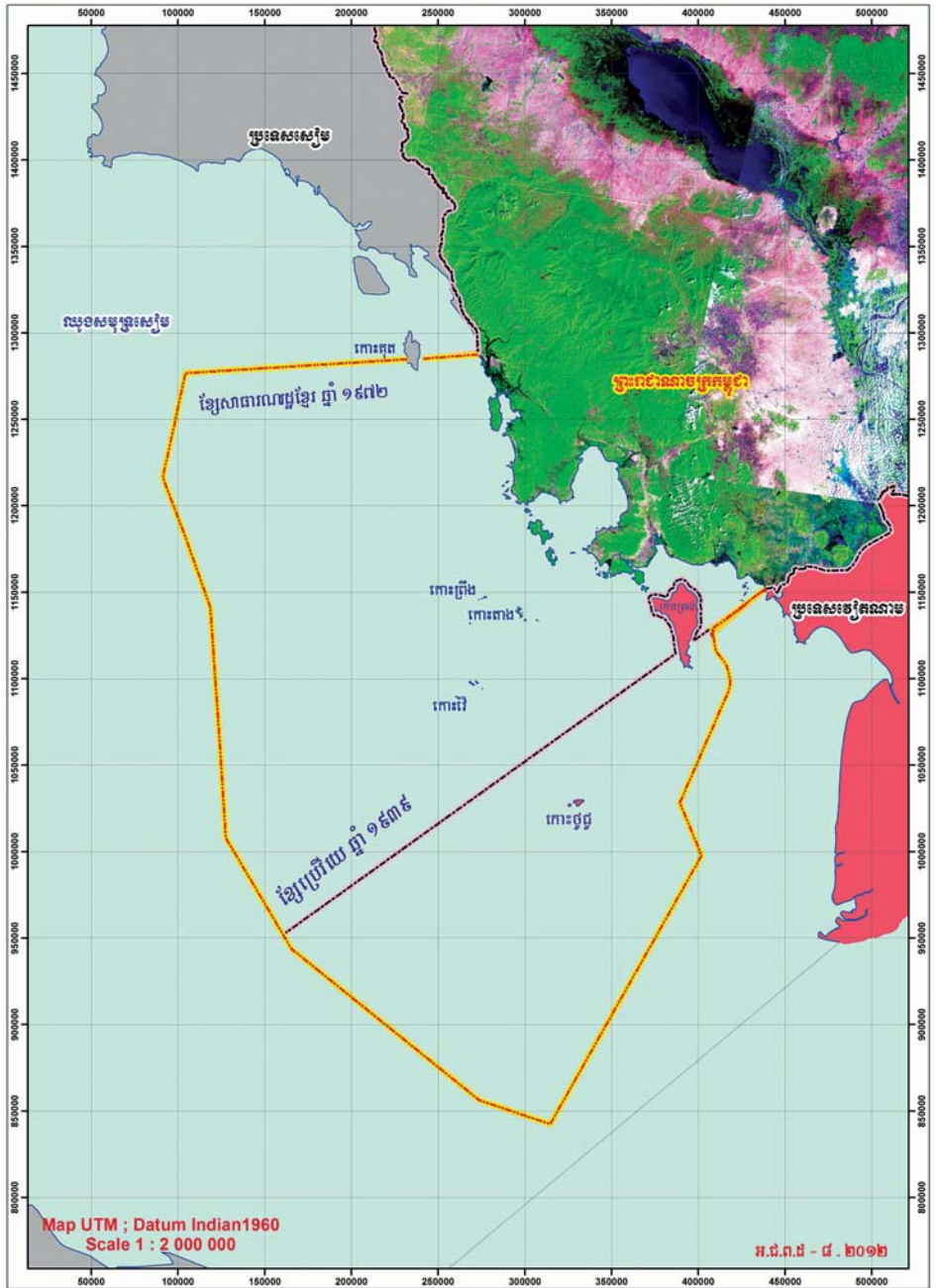
Annex 6/1

Map decreed in 1972 by the Khmer Republic



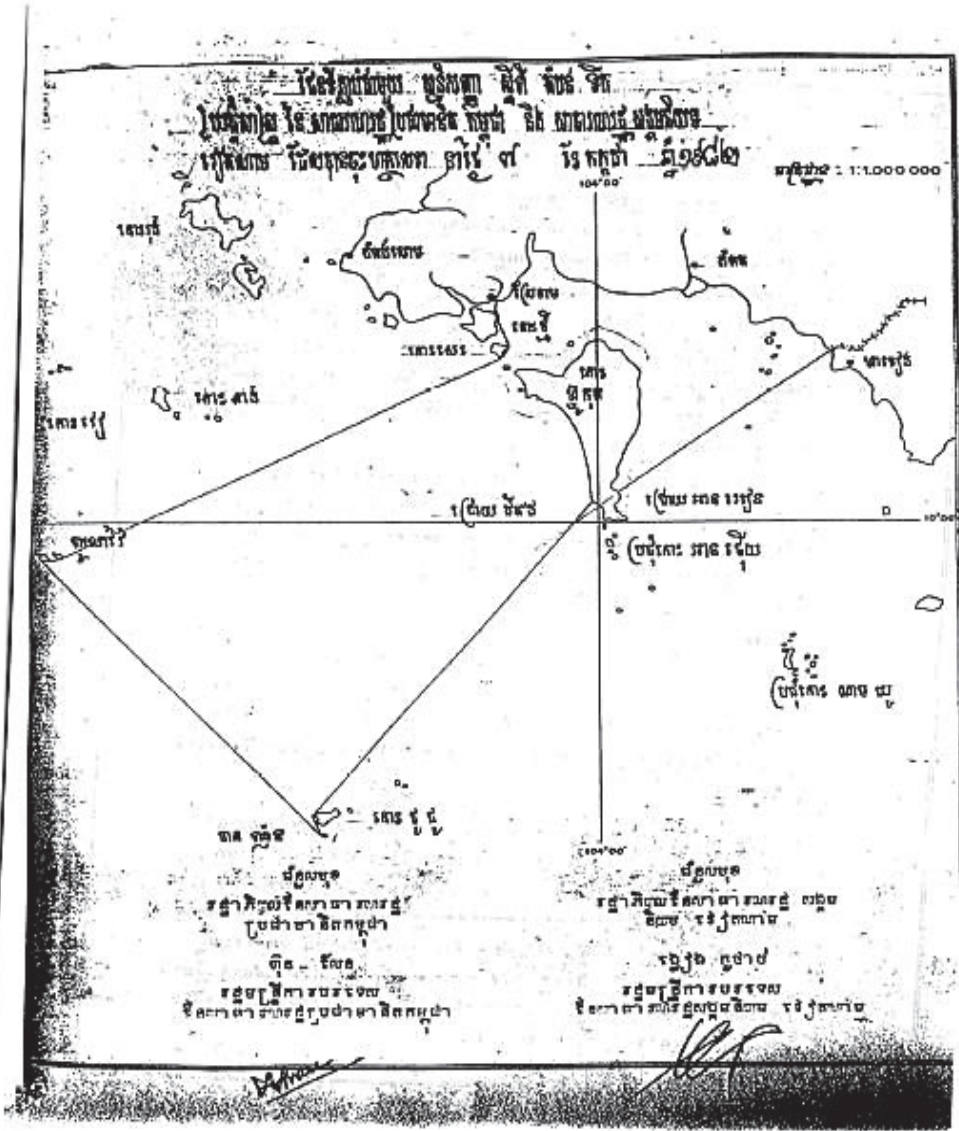
Annex 6/2

Line drawn by the Khmer Republic in 1972

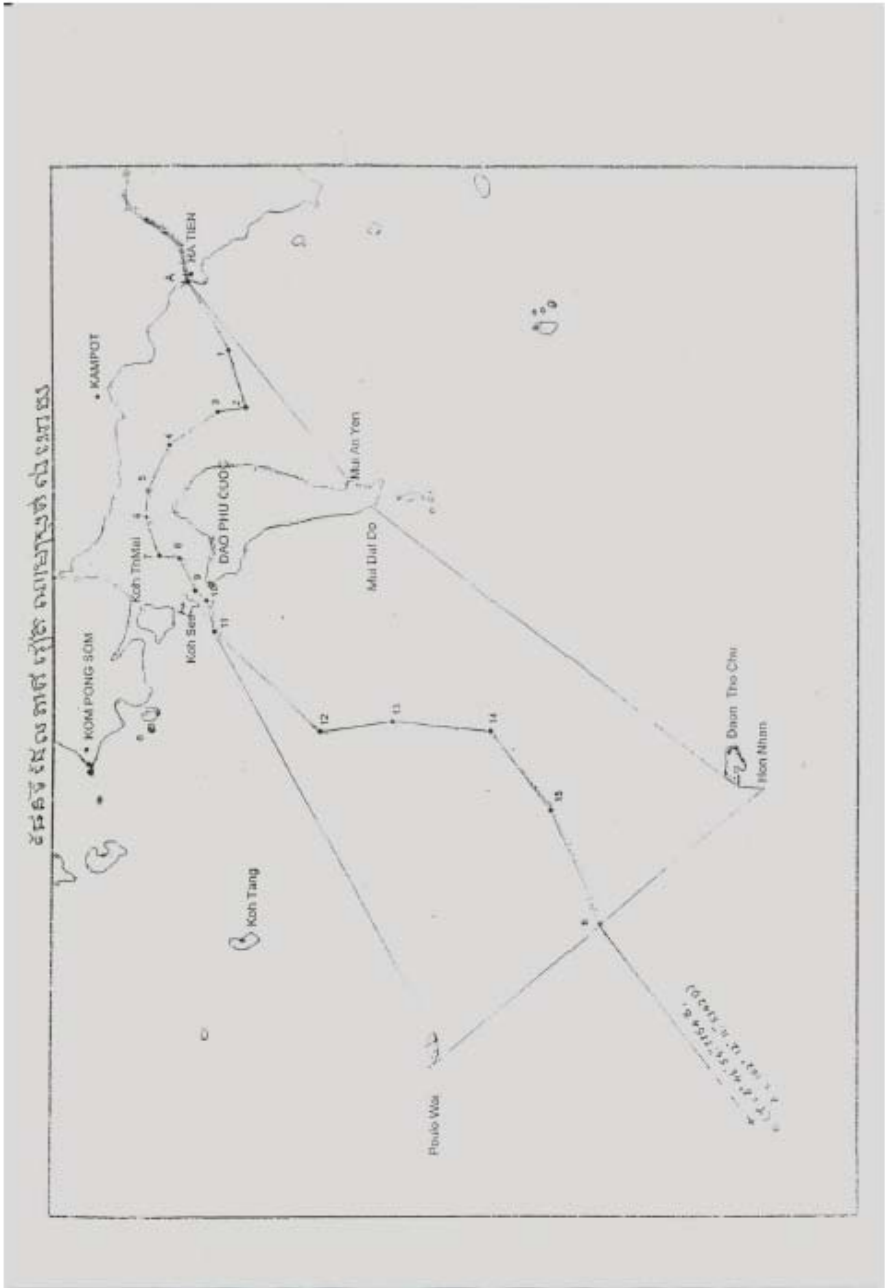


Annex 7/1

Map featuring the Historical Waters in 1982

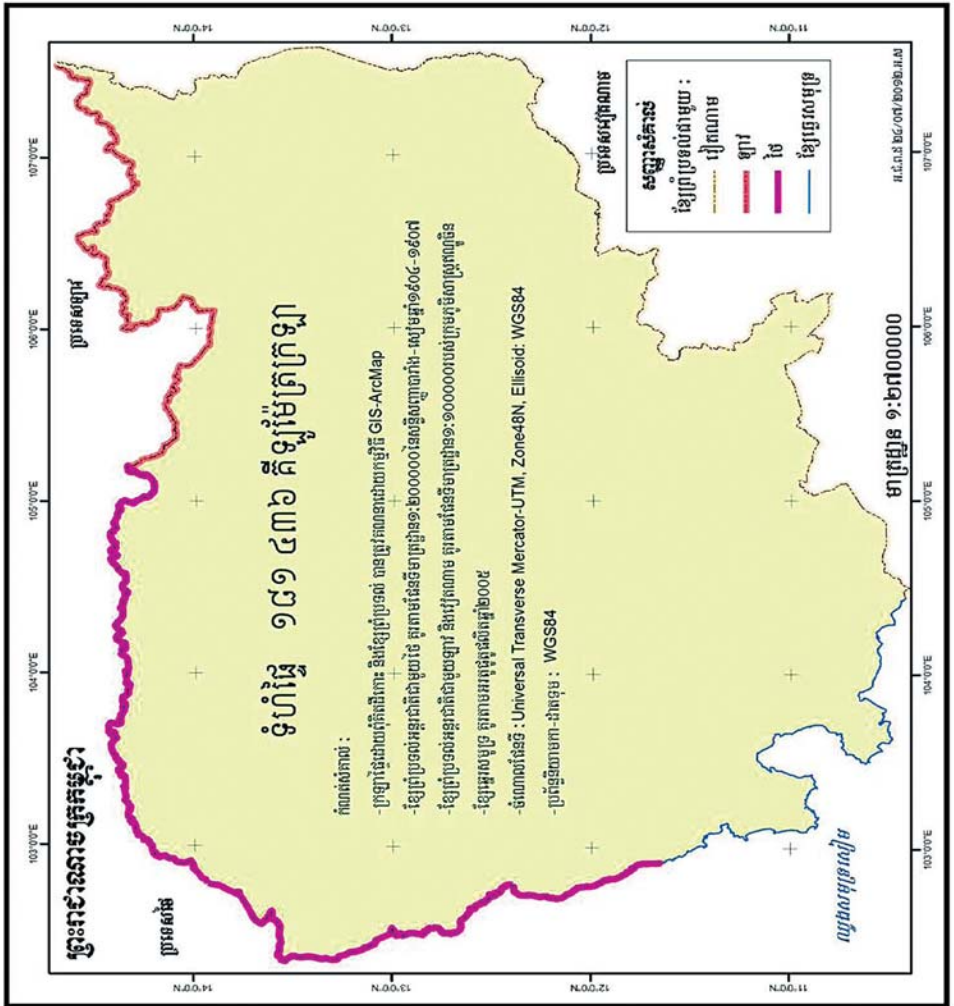


Equidistance line claimed by Vietnam



Annex 8

Cambodia map in area of 181.436 square kilometers



List of equipments used in measuring the borderline

ឧបករណ៍ប្រើប្រាស់ក្នុងការវាស់វែងព្រំដែន :

- *GPS Garmin 76Csx*
- *Total Station Leica-TPS1200*
- *Total Station Topcon GTS-N100*
- *Total Station Sokia*
- *GPS Dual Frequency Leica-1200*

GPS Dual Frequency Leica-1200 Equipment



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GPS Dual Frequency Equipment

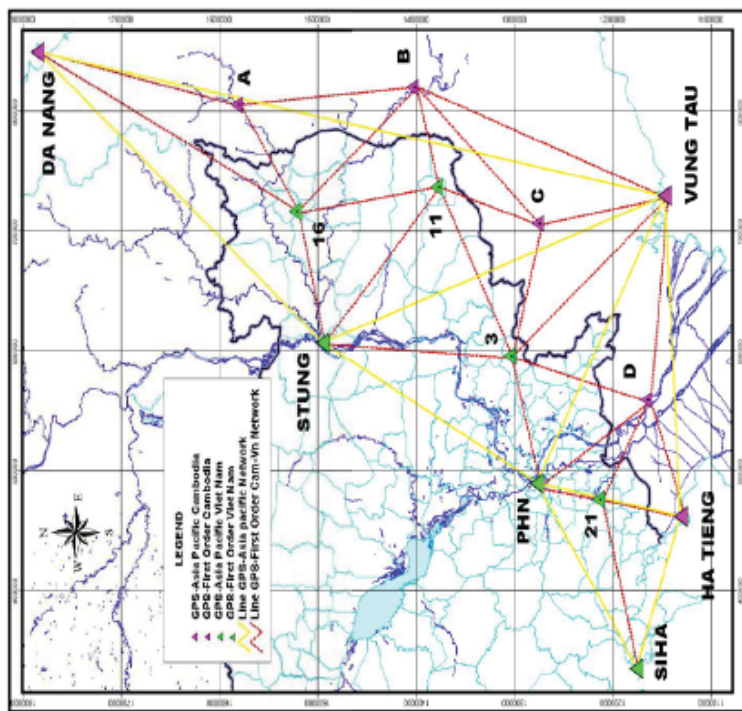


Installing measuring markers using Total Station Equipment



Geodesy measuring network to define common basic data between Cambodia and Vietnam linked to other countries in Asia-Pacific using GPS Dual Frequency Equipment

Plain Observation GPS Network for Border CAMBODIA-VIET NAM



Network Adjustment Report

Project : Cambodia
 User name : Mr. SIN SOTHEANY Date & Time : 10/28/2009
 Coordinate System : UTM Zone : 48 North
 Vertical Datum : ETRF2000
 Horizontal Datum : Goidd Model
 Coordinate Units : Meters
 Distance Units : Meters
 Height Units : Meters

Adjustment I

Adjusted Coordinates

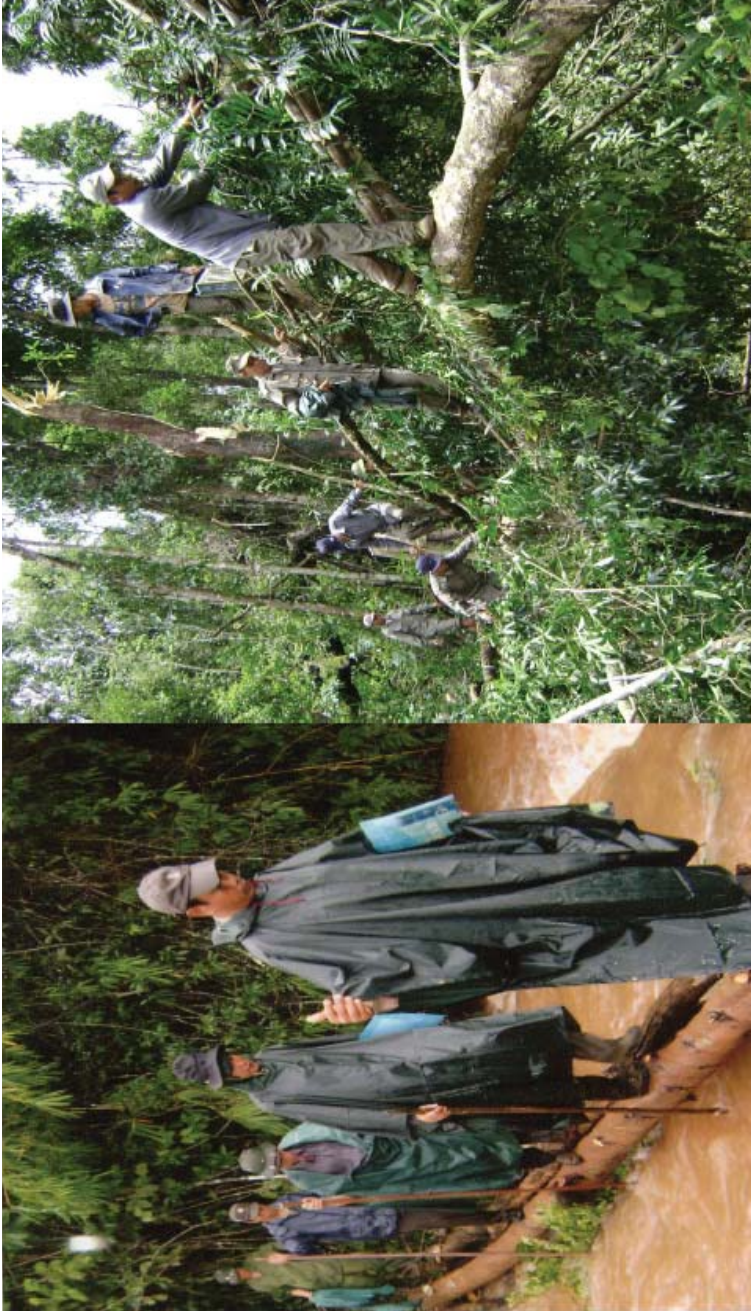
Adjustment performed in ITRF2000

Number of Points : 14
 Number of Constrained Points : 3
 Horizontal and Height Only : 3

Adjusted Grid Coordinates Errors are reported using 1 Sds.

Point Name	Northing	Easting	Height	E error	N error	H error
N-11	1378929.941m	750839.997m	0.028m	0.001m	0.001m	700.378 N/A
N-16	1319708.935m	714625.888m	0.007m	0.007m	0.007m	315.040 N/A
N-21	1214406.925m	477047.778m	0.003m	0.003m	0.003m	6.530 N/A
PHNH	1279428.548m	491033.771m	0.005m	0.005m	0.005m	N/A N/A
101	1306372.906m	629903.321m	0.005m	0.005m	0.005m	87.942 N/A
STUE	1496914.088m	605070.839m	0.006m	0.006m	0.006m	N/A N/A
NT04	1137764.332m	449997.651m	0.004m	0.004m	0.004m	N/A N/A
Siha	1173119.945m	338477.631m	0.006m	0.006m	0.006m	N/A N/A
NT-A	1589132.186m	823575.570m	0.012m	0.012m	0.012m	542.839 N/A
QT08	1799873.376m	844578.897m	0.016m	0.016m	0.016m	N/A N/A
Dh-B	1409926.291m	829318.023m	0.013m	0.013m	0.013m	451.090 N/A
BP-C	1275911.504m	701707.318m	0.007m	0.007m	0.007m	93.453 N/A
QT04	1145179.178m	728490.999m	0.010m	0.010m	0.010m	N/A N/A
LA-D	1189481.928m	602242.146m	0.005m	0.005m	0.005m	3.9380 N/A

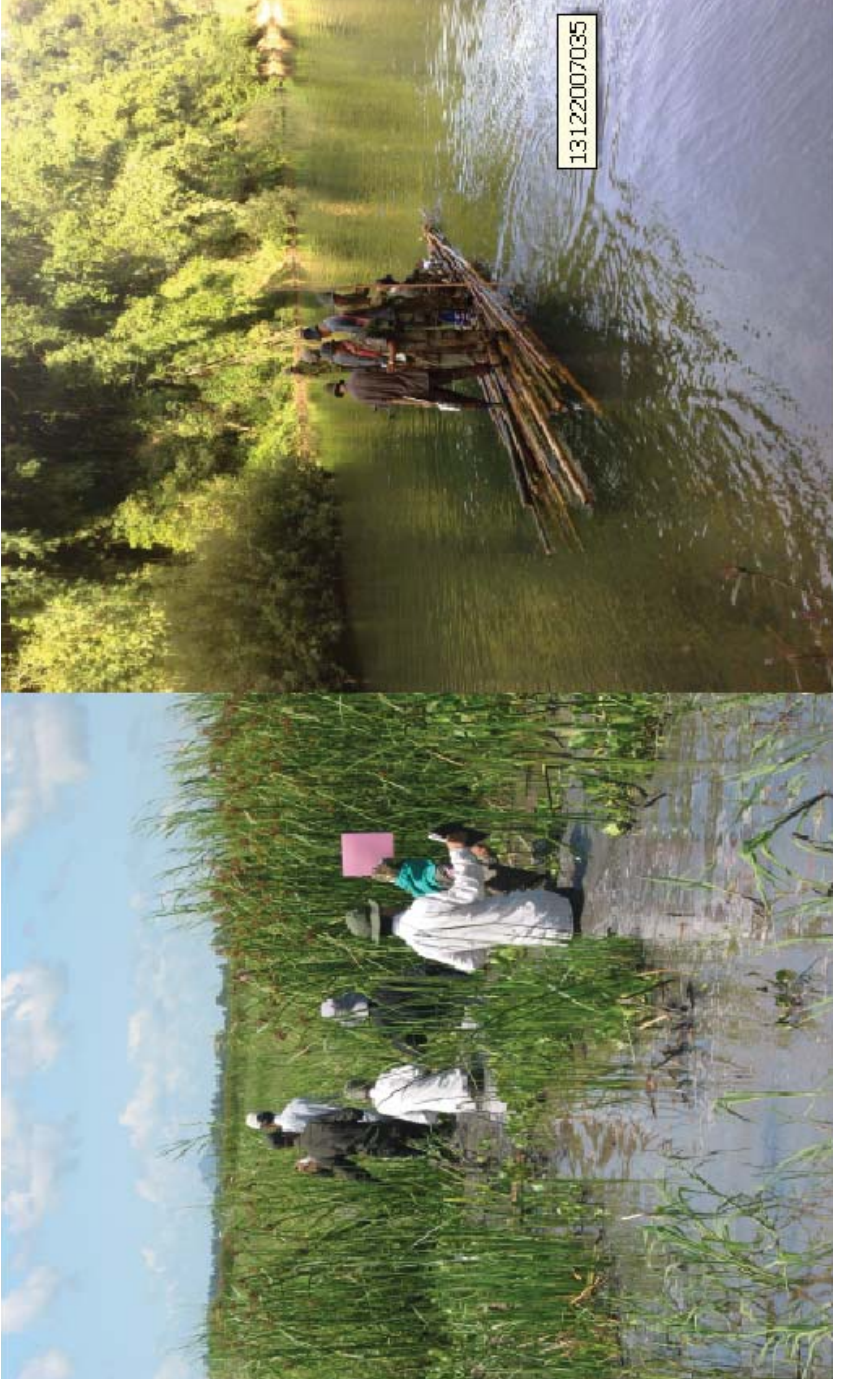
In search of references: marking or referential objects on the ground
such as pagodas, schools, tributaries, creeks, markings ...



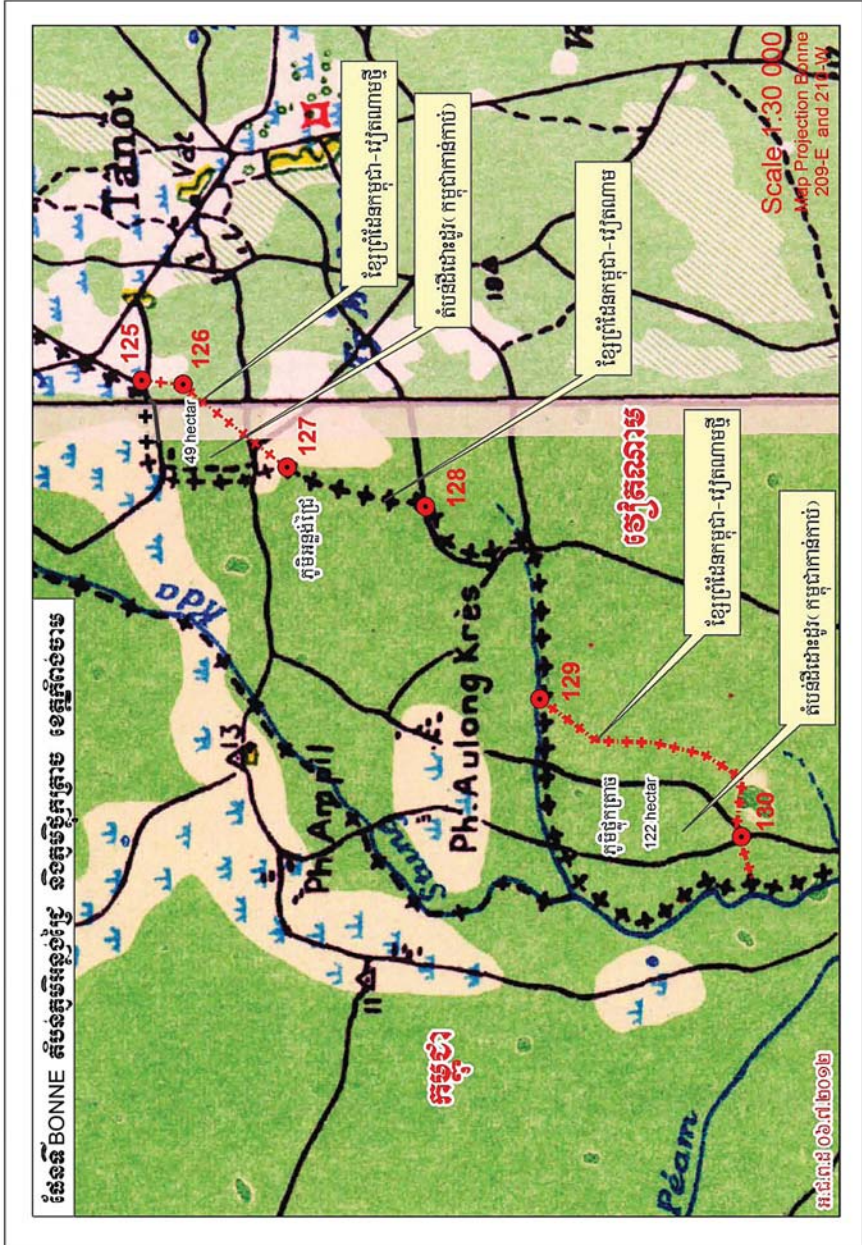
In search of references: marking or referential objects on the ground
such as pagodas, schools, tributaries, creeks, markings...



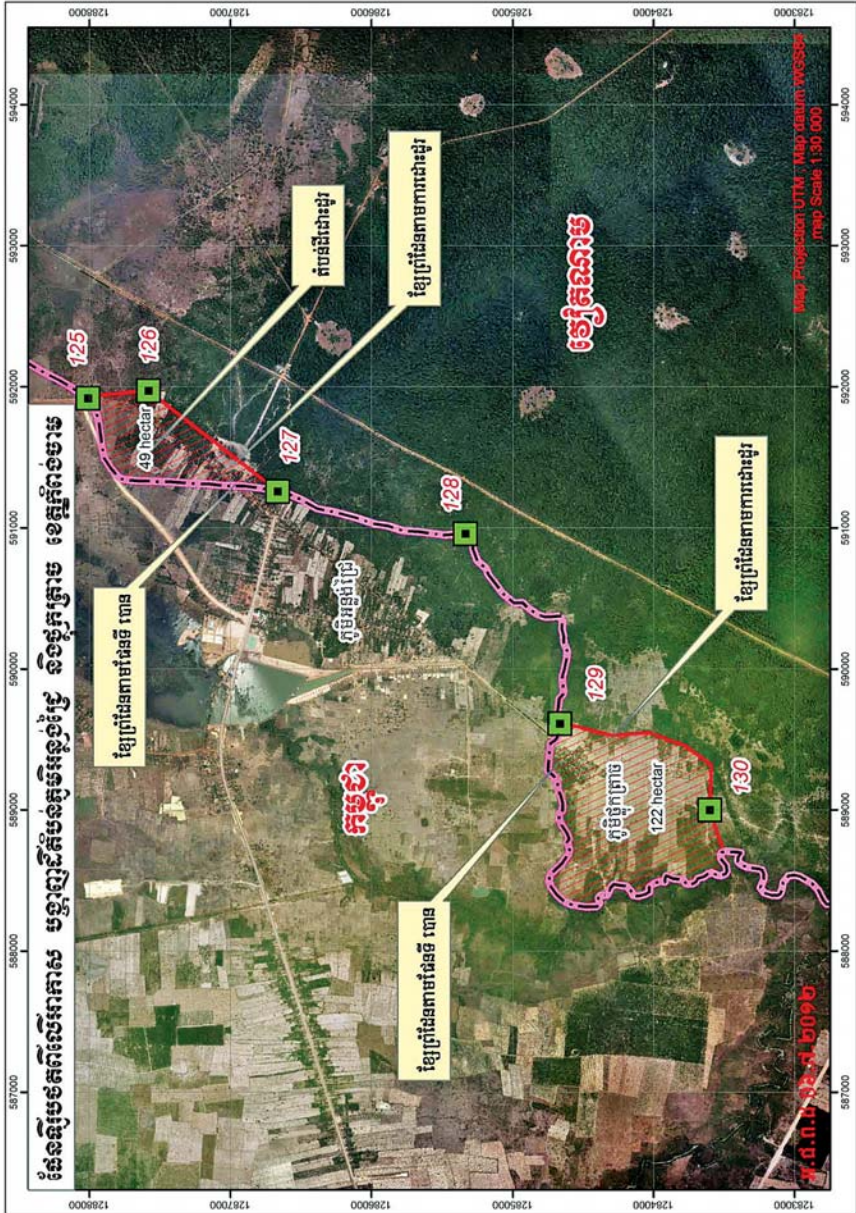
In search of references: marking or referential objects on the ground
such as pagodas, schools, tributaries, creeks, markings...



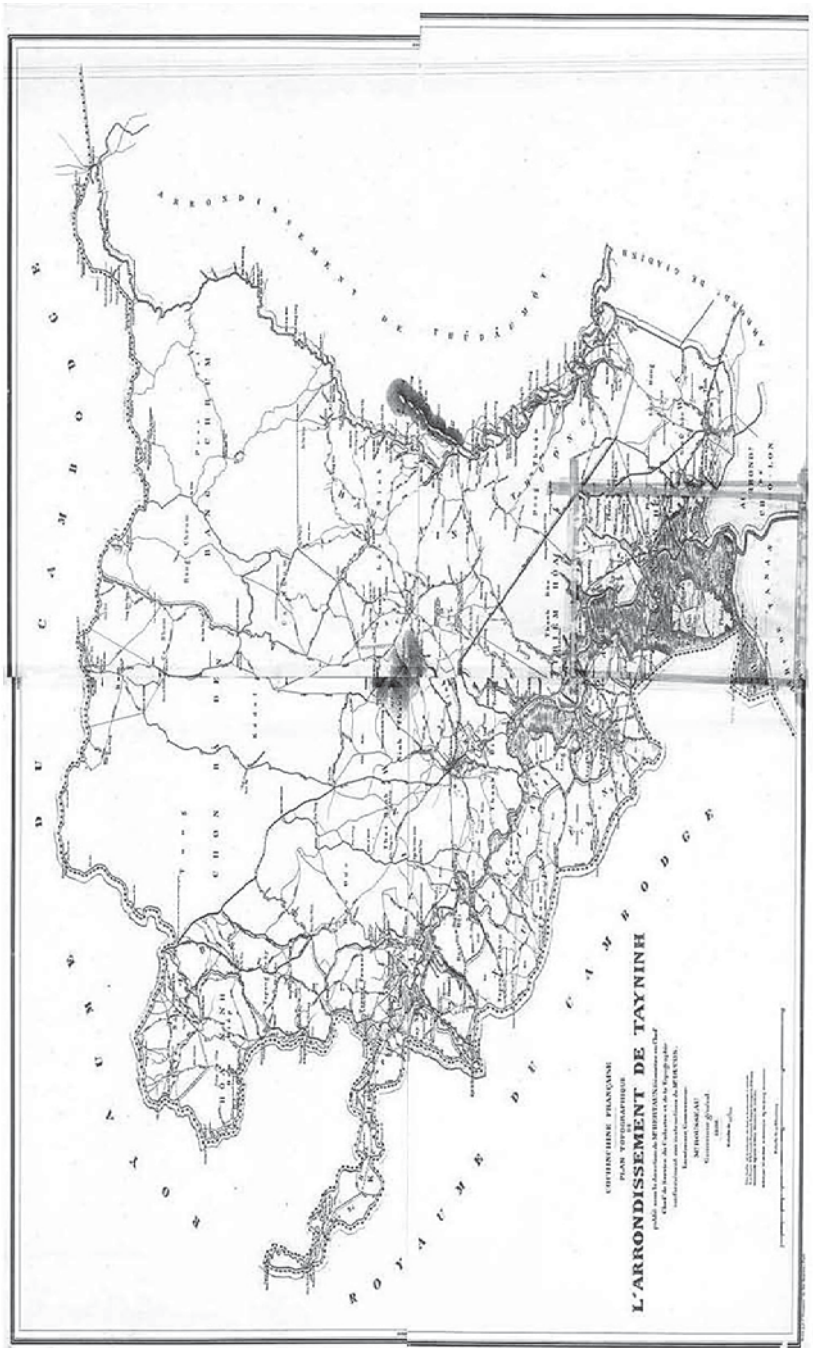
Anlong Chrey Village and Thlok Trach Village of Kampong Cham Province on the Bonne Map (the 1:100,000 Carte de l'Indochine published by the French Service Géographique de l'Indochine)



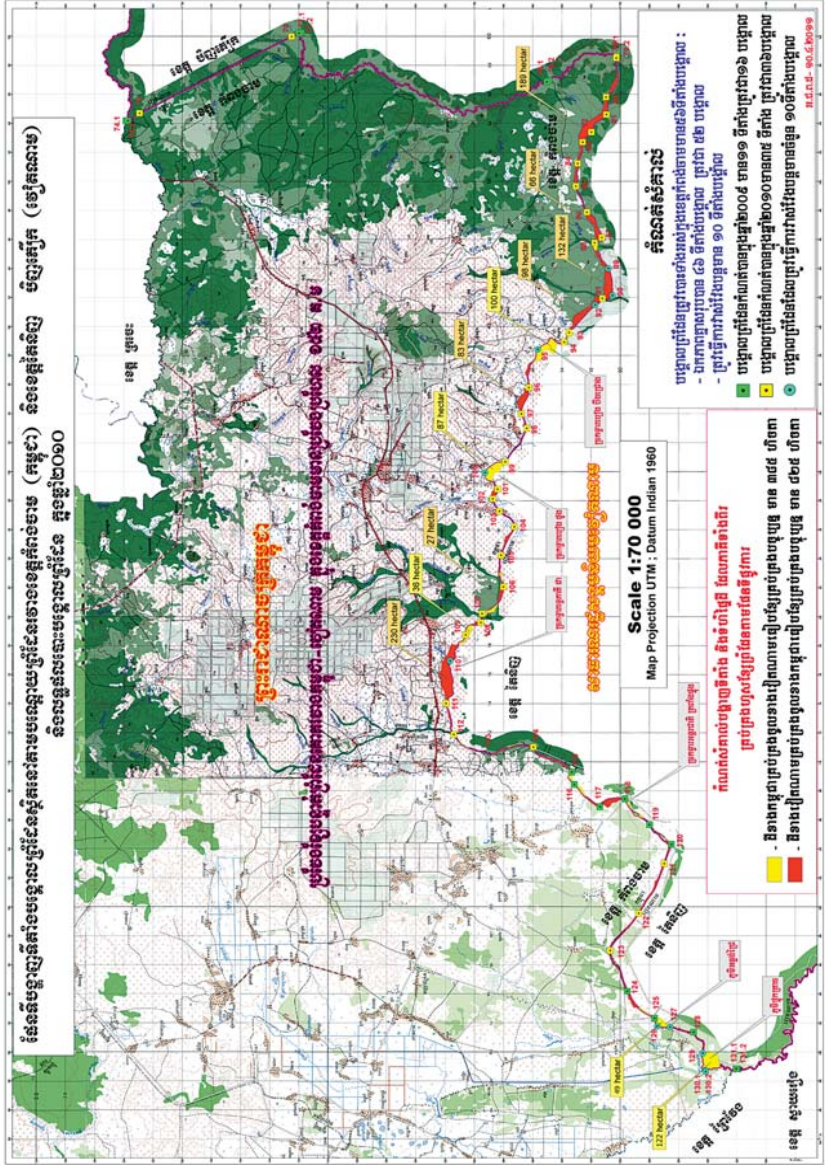
Satellite map featuring the area where Anlong Chrey Village and Thlok Trach, Kampong Cham Province locate



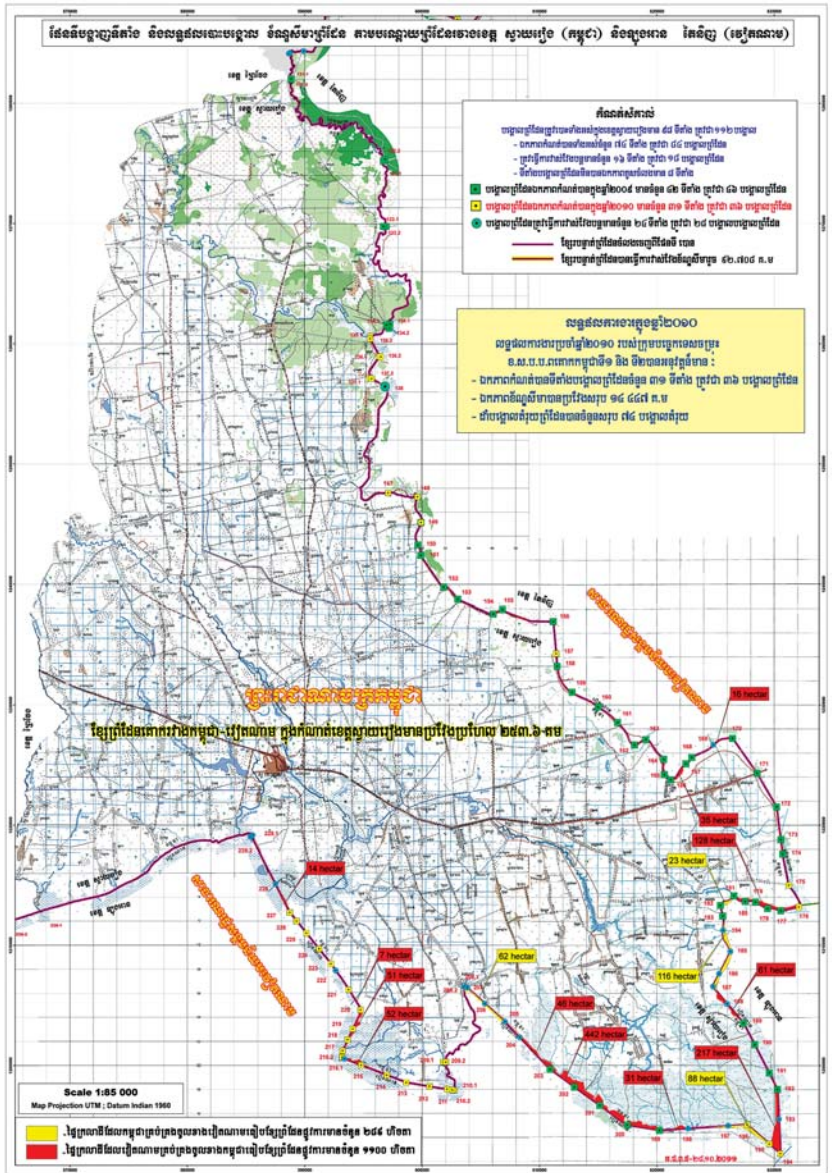
Map of Tay Ninh Administrative Zone, featuring the positions of the border pillars from Pillar 01 - 33 between Cambodia and Cochin-China



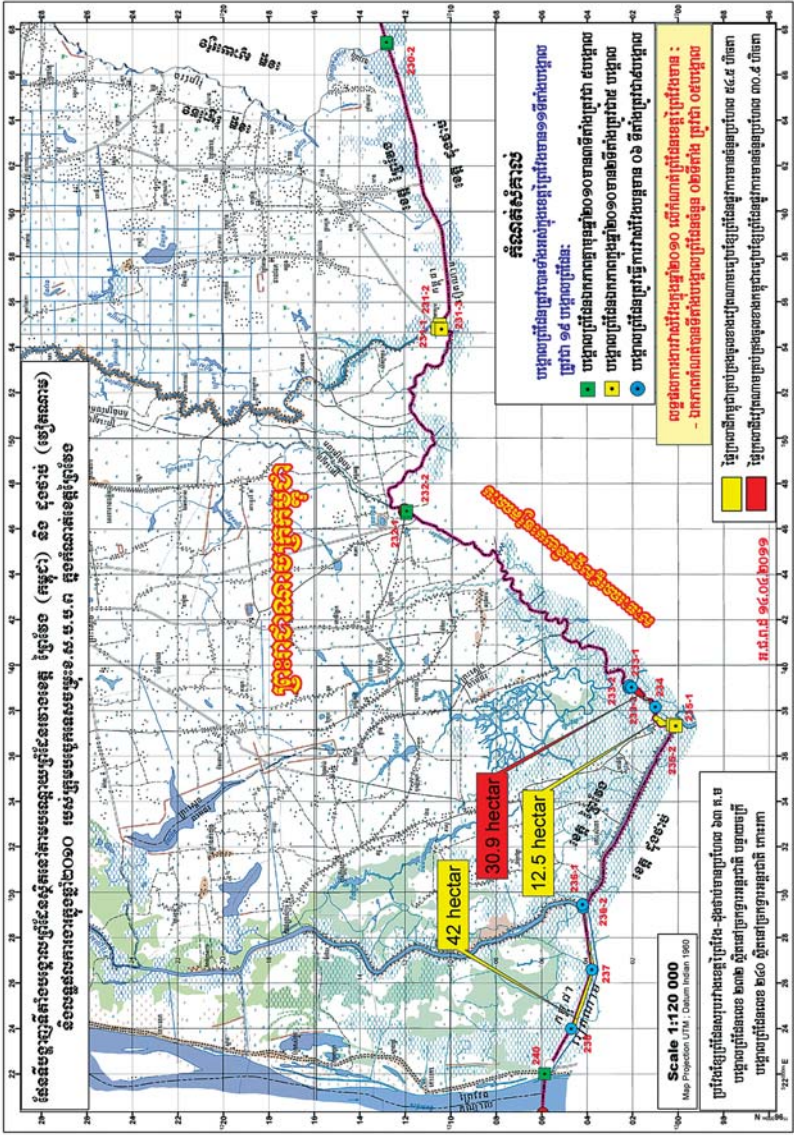
Map featuring the positions of the border pillars along the borderline between Kampong Cham Province (Cambodia) and Tay Ninh Province, Binh Phuoc (Vietnam), and the achievement of the planting of the border pillars in 2010



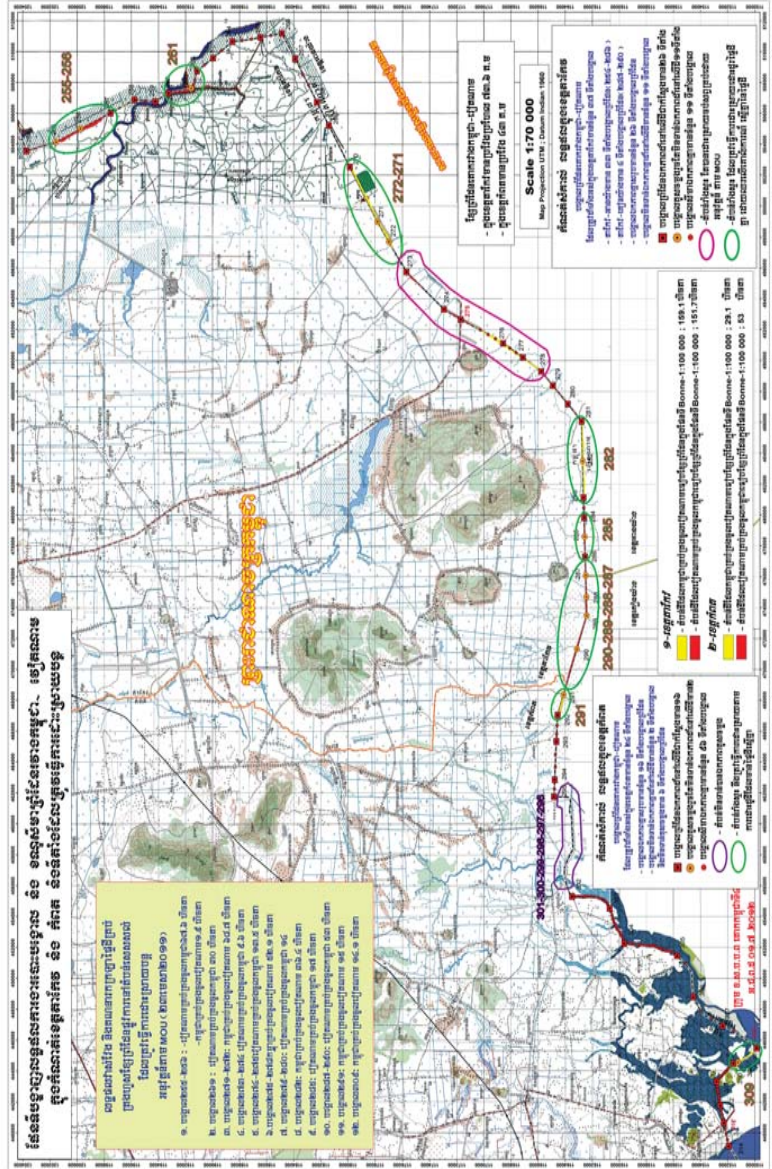
Map featuring the positions and the achievement of the planting of the border pillars along the borderline between Svay Rieng Province (Cambodia) and Long An, Tay Ninh (Vietnam)



Map featuring the positions of the border pillars along the borderline between Prey Veng Province (Cambodia) and Dong Thap (Vietnam); and the 2010 achievement of the Joint Technical Teams in Prey Veng Province



Map featuring the achievement of the installation of the border pillars and the borderline between Cambodia and Vietnam in Takeo and Kompot provinces; and locations where further discussions continue



HM King Norodom Sihanouk's 27-September-1999 letter to
HE Pham Van Dong

ព្រះករុណាព្រះនាងសម្តេច

ព្រះនរោត្តម សីហនុ

ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ នៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា

ឯកឧត្តម វ៉ាន់ វ៉ាន់ដុច ជាទីស្រឡាញ់រាប់អានដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់បំផុត

ខ្ញុំមានបីតិសោមនស្សរីករាយ និងមហាកិត្តិយសប្រកបដោយមនោសញ្ចេតនានឹក
រឭក និងធ្វើព្រះរាជសារលិខិតមួយនេះ ដើម្បីជម្រាបសួរសុខទុក្ខឯកឧត្តមដែលជាមហាមិត្ត
ដ៏ឧត្តុង្គឧត្តមរបស់ខ្ញុំ ក៏ដូចជារបស់ប្រជាជនកម្ពុជាគ្រប់រូប ។

ក្នុងឱកាសដ៏កម្រនេះ ខ្ញុំសូមសម្តែងនូវមហាករុណាទិគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅ ចំពោះ
មនោសញ្ចេតនាមិត្តភាពដ៏ស្មោះស្ម័គ្រ និងសាមគ្គីភាព ដែលឯកឧត្តមតែងបានផ្តល់ចំពោះរូប
ខ្ញុំក៏ ដូចជាចំពោះប្រជាជនកម្ពុជាក្នុងរយៈកាលកន្លងមក ដែលយើងនិងប្រជាជនយើងទាំងពីរ
តែងតែរួបរួមគ្នាជួយគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក ប្រកៀកស្មារតីស្និទ្ធស្នាលដោះស្រាយប្រទេសជាតិពីសង្គ្រាម
រួម រហូតបានជោគជ័យរៀងៗខ្លួនដល់សព្វថ្ងៃនេះ ។ សន្តិសីទកំពូលប្រជាជនឥណ្ឌូចិននៅ
ទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ថ្ងៃទី ០១ ខែ មីនា ឆ្នាំ១៩៦៥ និងទីក្រុងកងតុង ថ្ងៃទី ២៥ ខែ មេសា
ឆ្នាំ១៩៧០ ការចរចារវាងខ្ញុំ និងឯកឧត្តមផ្ទាល់នៅទីក្រុងប៉េកាំងឆ្នាំ ១៩៦៤ និងការជួប
គ្នាជាបន្តបន្ទាប់មកទៀត ក៏ដូចជាសេចក្តីថ្លែងការណ៍របស់រណសិរ្សជាតិដោះរៀតណាម
ខាងត្បូង និងសេចក្តីថ្លែងការណ៍របស់រដ្ឋាភិបាលសាធារណរដ្ឋប្រជាធិបតេយ្យរៀតណាម
ដែលឯកឧត្តមជាប្រមុខ ឆ្នាំ១៩៦៧ សុទ្ធតែបានបញ្ជាក់ពីចំណងមិត្តភាព យុទ្ធសាមគ្គីភាព
ព្រមទាំងការទទួលស្គាល់ព្រំដែនបច្ចុប្បន្នរបស់កម្ពុជា និងគោរពអធិបតេយ្យ បូរណភាពទឹកដី

គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក ។ រាល់ប្រសាសន៍ប្រកបដោយខ្លឹមសាររបស់ឯកឧត្តម ក្នុងឱកាសជួប
ប្រាស្រ័យជាមួយខ្ញុំកន្លងមកតែងតែធ្វើឱ្យខ្ញុំមានទំនុកចិត្ត និងការកក់ក្តៅជានិច្ចចំពោះ
ដំណោះស្រាយនានា ដែលទាក់ទងទៅនឹងផលប្រយោជន៍របស់ប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរ ដែលជា
អ្នកភូមិផងរបងជាមួយគ្នាដ៏ល្អ និងស្មោះត្រង់ ។

ឯកឧត្តមជាអ្នកធ្លាប់សិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវយ៉ាងច្បាស់លាស់ ពីប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រដូចតំរបស់
ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាយើងខ្ញុំ ហើយឯកឧត្តមបានក្លាយទៅជាវិវជនមួយរូប ដែលបានខិតខំ
ពង្រីកពង្រឹង មិត្តភាព យុទ្ធសាមគ្គីភាពជាមួយប្រទេសទាំងបី នៅក្នុងជ្រោយឥណ្ឌូចិនយើង
នេះ តស៊ូដោះប្រទេសជាតិបានជោគជ័យជាស្ថាពរ ហើយកំពុងកសាងប្រទេសតាម
វិទ្យាសាស្ត្របច្ចេកទេសទំនើបថ្មីដើម្បីឈានទៅរកវឌ្ឍនភាព និងសុភមង្គល ឯកឧត្តមគង់
យល់ច្បាស់ អំពីភាពចាំបាច់ដែលប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរត្រូវមានខ្សែព្រំដែនមួយសមភាព
យុត្តិធម៌ និងមានផលប្រយោជន៍ទាំងសងខាង ។ ជំហរនេះហើយដែលខ្ញុំសង្កេតឃើញថា
អ្នកដឹកនាំរដ្ឋាភិបាលយើងទាំងពីរកំពុងយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ចរចរកដំណោះស្រាយបញ្ហាព្រំដែន
ដើម្បីកសាងខ្សែព្រំដែនមួយឱ្យក្លាយទៅជាខ្សែព្រំដែនសន្តិភាព សន្តិសុខ-ស្ថិរភាព-មិត្តភាព
និងសហប្រតិបត្តិការ ។ ឆ្លៀតឱកាសនេះដែរ ខ្ញុំក៏សូមកោតសរសើរ និងគាំទ្រដោយស្មោះ
ចំពោះជំហរដ៏ម៉ឺងម៉ាត់ ប្រកបដោយសុឆន្ទៈរបស់ឯកឧត្តមអគ្គលេខាធិការគណបក្សកុម្មុយ-
នីស្តវៀតណាម ឡេ ខា កៀវ ក្នុងឱកាសទស្សនកិច្ចនៅកម្ពុជាថ្មីៗនេះ ដែលចង់ឱ្យបញ្ហា
ព្រំដែននៃប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរត្រូវបានដោះស្រាយចប់មុនដំណាច់ឆ្នាំ ២០០០ នេះ ។

ក៏ប៉ុន្តែក្នុងដំណើរការចរចានានា ដើម្បីកំណត់ព្រំដែនសមុទ្រនៃប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរ
នោះ ខ្ញុំបានទទួលរបាយការណ៍ថា នៅមានការខ្វែងគំនិតគ្នានៅឡើយដែលចាំបាច់ខ្ញុំយល់ថា
មានតែឯកឧត្តមដែលជាមហាមិត្តរបស់ខ្ញុំទេ ដែលលោកមានការយោគយល់បញ្ហា ហើយ
អាចជួយតម្រង់ទិសឱ្យគណៈកម្មការចម្រុះកិច្ចការព្រំដែនប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរ មានពន្លឺក្នុង

ការស្វែងរកដំណោះស្រាយមួយសមហេតុសមផល ស្របតាមផលប្រយោជន៍របស់ប្រជាជន
យើងទាំងពីរ ។

ឯកឧត្តម ជាទីរាប់អានដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់បំផុត

ក្នុងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជា ទឹកដីកម្ពុជាក្រោមទាំងមូលបានបាត់បង់រួចទៅហើយ
បន្ទាប់មកកោះត្រល់ដែលវៀតណាមឱ្យឈ្មោះថា ហ្ន៊ូ កុក និងកោះមួយចំនួនដែលស្ថិតនៅ
ខាងត្បូងខ្សែបន្ទាត់ ប្រើវិធី ក៏បន្តបាត់ទៀតដោយសារសារាចររបស់លោកអគ្គលោកវិបល
បារាំងថ្ងៃទី ៣១ ខែ មករា ឆ្នាំ ១៩៣៩ ។ ម្យ៉ាងវិញទៀត កាលពីឆ្នាំ ១៩៦៤ រាជរដ្ឋាភិបាល
កម្ពុជាពេលនោះ បានយកផែនទីមួយដែលបោះពុម្ពដោយក្រុមភូមិសាស្ត្រកម្ពុជា ផ្អែកតាម
ផែនទីបារាំងរបស់ Service Hydrographique ខ្នាត ១/៣០០.០០០ ភ្ជាប់ជាមួយផែនទីដី
គោកទៅឱ្យអន្តរជាតិទទួលស្គាល់ និងបានតម្កល់ទុកនៅអង្គការសហប្រជាជាតិនោះ គឺយើង
បានគូសខ្សែប្រើវិធី ជាព្រំដែនសមុទ្រជាមួយវៀតណាមផងដែរ ។ ផែនទី និងឯកសារទាំង
អស់នោះហើយ ដែលអតីតរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលរបស់ខ្ញុំ អតីតរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលសាធារណរដ្ឋ
ប្រជាមានិតកម្ពុជា រដ្ឋកម្ពុជា និងរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជាបច្ចុប្បន្ន កំណត់ថាជាព្រំដែនបច្ចុប្បន្ន
របស់កម្ពុជា។ ដូច្នេះហើយ ខ្ញុំយល់ឃើញថា សម័យកាលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ដែលសកលលោក
ទាំងមូលកំពុង ស្វែងរកការសម្របសម្រួលអំពីព្រំដែន យើងគួរយកខ្សែប្រើវិធីនេះ ដើម្បី
ខ័ណ្ឌព្រំសីមា ដែនសមុទ្ររបស់ប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរ ដើម្បីទុកឱ្យកូនចៅយើងជំនាន់
ក្រោយទទួលបាននូវមរតកមួយដ៏ច្បាស់លាស់សម្រាប់ការគ្រប់គ្រង និងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ប្រទេស
រៀងៗខ្លួន ។

ជាទីបញ្ចប់ ខ្ញុំសូមសម្តែងនូវក្តីសង្ឃឹមជឿជាក់ថា ប្រទេសយើងទាំងពីរនឹងបន្ត
អនុវត្តគំរូវិវភាពរបស់យុទ្ធជន យុទ្ធនារីយើង ដើម្បីរក្សាមិត្តភាព សាមគ្គីភាព សហប្រតិ-
បត្តិការដ៏យូរលង់រវាងប្រជាជន និងប្រជាជាតិយើងទាំងពីរ ខិតខំសាងខ្សែព្រំដែនគោក

និងសមុទ្រឱ្យបានទៅជាខ្សែត្រីដៃនមួយសន្តិភាព សន្តិសុខ ស្ថិរភាព មិត្តភាព និងសហប្រតិបត្តិការឱ្យបានមុនឆ្នាំ ២០០០ ស្របតាមបំណងប្រាថ្នារបស់ប្រជាជនយើងទាំងពីរ ។

សូមឯកឧត្តមទទួលនូវការនឹករលឹក និងការរាប់អានប្រកបដោយមនោសញ្ចេតនា ជាភាគរដ្ឋឯកសំបុត្រពីខ្ញុំ ។

ធ្វើនៅព្រះបរមរាជវាំង រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ថ្ងៃទី ២៧ ខែ កញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ ១៩៩៩

ព្រះហស្តលេខា
នរោត្តម សីហនុ

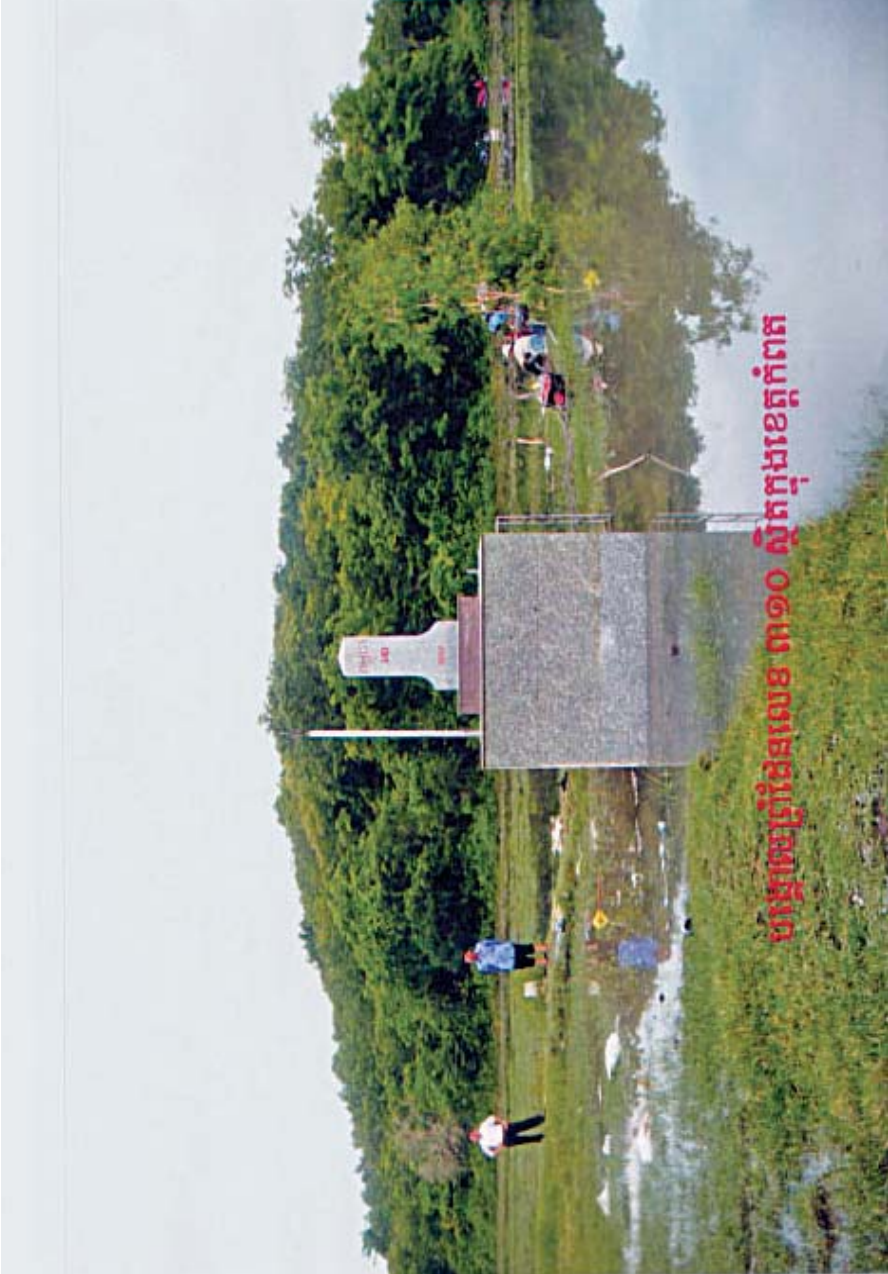
The border pillar type A, installed at the international border crossing (Lork-Kompot)



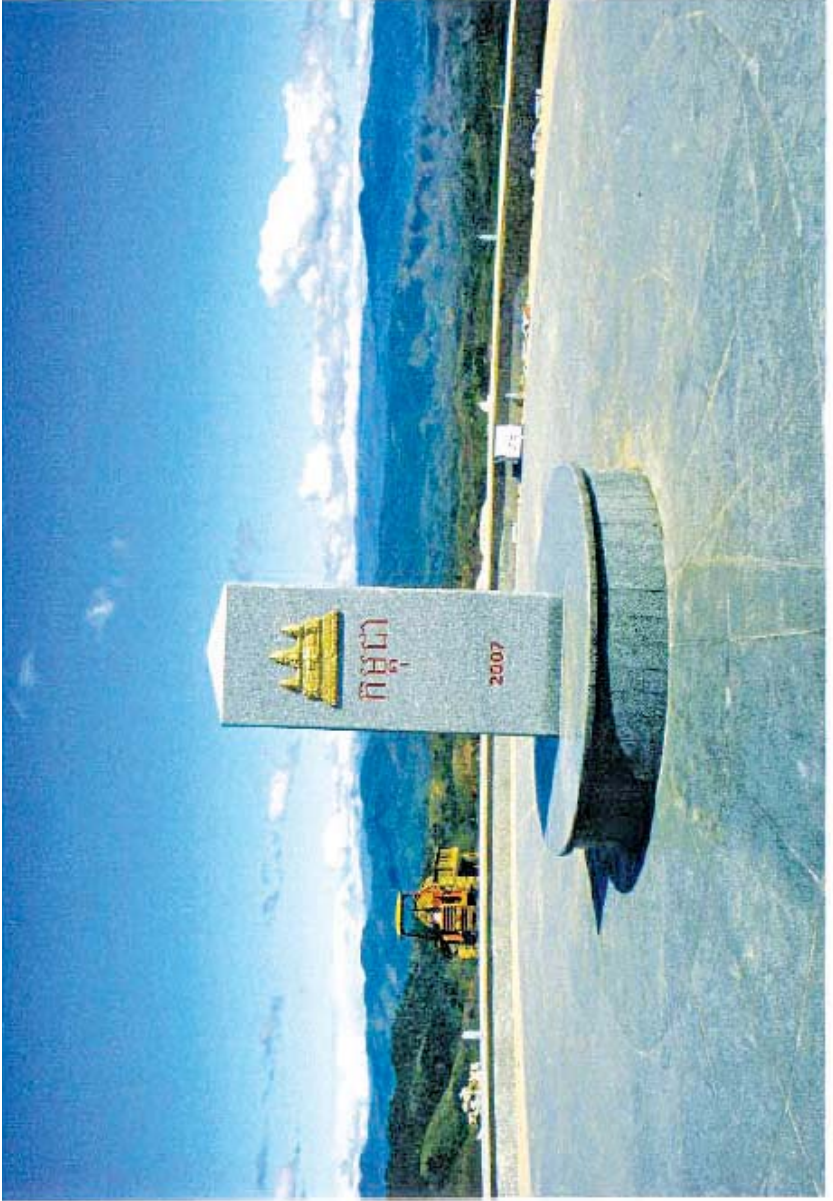
The border pillar type B, installed at the bilateral border crossing (Kampong Cham)



The border pillar type C, installed at regional passage and flooded area



The border pillar No. 0 at the point where the 3 countries' (Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam) borderlines meet



Compiled by
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in Charge of Border Affairs

9 August 2012