



**United States Congress  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific**

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**Hearing of 21 August 2015  
“Property Rights and Development in Southeast Asia”**

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**Testimony of Richard J Rogers  
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**Introduction:**

Thank you for inviting me to testify today. I know that Cambodian communities, both at home and abroad, appreciate the attention that this Committee has shown to the human rights situation in Cambodia.

The Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific has already raised concerns about Cambodia's human rights record on several occasions. In July 2013, Chairman Steve CHABOT, rightly observed that:

"Hun Sen and the ruling Cambodian People's Party do not foster democratic discourse or respect the fundamental freedoms that will allow the Cambodian people to live more prosperous and fulfilling lives".<sup>1</sup>

We are now two years on and nothing has changed for the better. On 14 January 2015, Prime Minister Hun Sen celebrated 30 years in power. To mark this occasion, Human Rights Watch reminded us that:

"Hun Sen [...] joins an exclusive club of men now in power who, through politically motivated violence, control of the security forces, manipulated elections, massive corruption, and the tacit support of foreign powers, have been able to remain in power well beyond the time any leader in a genuinely democratic political system has ever served. [...] Hun Sen has been linked to a wide range of serious human rights violations: extrajudicial killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, summary trials, censorship, bans on assembly and association, and a national network of spies and informers intended to frighten and intimidate the public into submission."<sup>2</sup>

Of all the human rights concerns that plague Cambodia, land grabbing is the most prevalent and destructive. The victims of land grabbing – who now number in the

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<sup>1</sup> Chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Steve CHABOT, *Cambodia's Looming Political and Social Crisis*, United-States Congress Hearing, July 9, 2013, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Human Rights Watch report "30 Years of Hun Sen: Violence, Repression, and Corruption in Cambodia", 12 January 2015, pp. 1-2.

hundreds of thousands - have no chance of obtaining justice in Cambodia because the same 'ruling elite' who perpetrate the land crimes, also control the Cambodian courts. So they look to foreign courts for remedies and foreign political bodies - like this Subcommittee - for support.

In June 2014, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Cambodia ("UN Special Rapporteur") highlighted the generational impact of the forced evictions, stating that:

"The trauma and epic struggle for justice of ordinary people affected by land-grabbing has already been told and retold. The sense of injustice may be passed on to new generations for a long time to come unless urgently remedied, not only in new cases but also for those who suffered forced evictions long ago."<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, all the criticisms and condemnations over the years have had little or no effect. The land rush continues unabated and the number of people adversely affected may soon reach one million. The justice system is part of the problem, rather than the solution.

Today, I would like to outline the scale of the land grabbing problem; the main human rights concerns; the ability of the Cambodian courts to address the violations; and the international criminal law that applies to this situation.

### **The Scale of the Problem:**

As a global phenomenon, land grabbing has become one of the greatest human rights challenges of our age. The world's population explosion and higher consumption levels have created enormous pressure on natural resources. In States that lack good governance, land occupied by the poor and powerless makes rich pickings for local political, military and business leaders.

Cambodia is one of the most shocking examples. According to Global Witness, by the end of 2012, 2.6 million hectares of land had been grabbed and leased to private companies in the form of Economic Land Concessions ("ELCs"), equivalent to 73

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<sup>3</sup> Surya P. Subedi, "*Statement by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia*", 24 June 2014

percent of Cambodia's arable land.<sup>4</sup> In urban areas, valuable plots have been grabbed through vehicles such as Social Land Concessions or 'land swaps.' Almost all of this land has been seized in violation of Cambodian and international law.

Although Cambodian Government officials claim that ELCs bring social and economic benefits to the local communities, in reality they have the opposite effect. The 'development' within the agribusiness sector most often leaves ordinary Cambodians with the loss of traditional livelihoods, a lack of clean water and sanitation, food shortages and malnutrition, difficulties finding employment, sub-standard labour conditions, and restricted access to basic services.<sup>5</sup> According to the UN Special Rapporteur:

"Economic land concessions have not proven to be an effective way of promoting development that benefits the majority of Cambodia's population. Instead, they are **compromising the livelihoods of rural communities in favour of the enrichment of the few**, as well as foreign business interests."<sup>6</sup>

In fact, those who profit are a tiny minority composed of senior members of the Cambodian People's Party ("CPP"), higher-ups in the State security forces, and government-connected business leaders - namely, the "Ruling Elite".<sup>7</sup> So the evictions that accompany the land grabs cannot be justified as 'carried out for the general welfare of society.'

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<sup>4</sup> See Global Witness report, *"Rubber Barrons"* May 2013, page 1 and 7.

<sup>5</sup> See Licahdo report *"The Myth of Development"* May 2009: "There is little doubt that the appropriation of land in Cambodia has been a very positive development for the powerful individuals and private companies who have acquired prime real estate at little or no cost - as well as government officials who profited from the transactions. There is little evidence, however, that ordinary Cambodians are benefiting from the mass confiscation of their land. On the contrary, those who are displaced are explicitly excluded from any benefits, and instead find themselves facing loss of income, poor health, lack of education and other dire consequences that are directly opposed to the government's public commitment to development, expressed through targets such as the "Millennium Development Goals."

<sup>6</sup> See report by United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *"Economic Land Concessions in Cambodia,"* p. 22. See also Surya P. Subedi, *"Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia,"* 11 October 2012, para. 130: "The overwhelming conclusion drawn from petitions, letters, studies, peaceful protests, violent demonstrations, legal complaints, land dispute statistics and my own direct observations, is that land concessions are only benefiting a minority."

<sup>7</sup> Global Witness reports that according to the government's own statistics five CPP-affiliated tycoons "hold 20% of total land allocated through concessions, amounting to more than half a million hectares". See *"Rubber Barons"* p. 9

Credible civil society organisations estimated that, from year 2000 to the end of 2013, land grabbing had adversely affected over 770,000 people.<sup>8</sup> And the situation is getting worse. In 2014 we saw a significant increase in the number of victims compared to previous years. One of the main monitoring groups - LICADHO - registered 10,625 families newly affected by land grabbing in 2014. That equals about 49,519 people.<sup>9</sup> (This figure was from the 13 provinces where LICADHO has field offices, which is about half the country). Another Cambodian organisation - ADHOC - received 140 complaints in 2014 affecting 9,958 families and involving 24,708 hectares of land; of these, 2,642 families had been forcibly evicted from their land.

And we can expect similar levels in 2015. In the first quarter of this year, LICADHO documented 48 new land-conflict cases, affecting an estimated 12,963 individuals. ADHOC provided similar figures. If the current rate were to continue, we can expect around 50,000 newly affected people in the course of 2015 alone.<sup>10</sup>

We can now estimate the total number of people adversely affected by land conflicts over the last 15 years to be around 830,000. And that figure will be increasing by about 1000 people per week. That is 5.5% of the entire Cambodian population.<sup>11</sup> To give you a sense of scale, if 5.5% of the US population had been adversely affected, it would amount to the entire populations of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont - plus Utah - all put together.

If the land rush continues at this pace, the number victims will reach over 1 million within the next three years.

### **The Main Human Rights Concerns**

What are the main human concerns associated with the land grabbing frenzy?

First and foremost, the forcible evictions of Cambodians from their homes and land:

Huge numbers of people – generally the most vulnerable - have been illegally and

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<sup>8</sup> See ADHOC report, “*Land Situation in Cambodia*” April 2014, at p.2 and 26

<sup>9</sup> These figures are based on a multiplier of 4.7 individuals per family provided by the General Population Census of 2008.

<sup>10</sup> LICADHO lacks the necessary resources to monitor the entire country. Accordingly, the actual number of individuals affected may, in fact, be much higher than reported.

<sup>11</sup> ADHOC report, “*Land Situation in Cambodia*”, April 2014, at p.2 and 26

forcibly evicted in the name of development. Of the 830,000 people affected by land conflicts, a significant proportion has already been forcibly displaced. Those who have not yet been evicted, live in constant fear that they will be next.

Whilst we do not have an exact nation-wide figure for population displacement, we do have some indication of the scale. For example, in Phnom Penh alone, around 145,000 residents were evicted between 2000 and the end of 2012. That was about 10% of the city's population.<sup>12</sup> So the total figure for displacement throughout Cambodia is certainly in the hundreds of thousands.

Land grabbing and the associated deforestation has disproportionately affected the indigenous minority population. Of the 190,000 indigenous minorities in Cambodia, it is estimated that half may have already been forcibly excluded from their communal and ancestral land. Due to their particular dependence on and cultural attachment to land, the land grabbing has devastated their livelihood and threatened their ethnic identity. Cambodia is reported to have the fifth highest deforestation rate in the world.<sup>13</sup>

The second category of violations, is the crimes committed during the evictions: Those communities who resist eviction are driven out by State security forces, often acting in concert with privately hired security firms. The state actors are not limited to the police, but include also the gendarmes and the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces armed with tear gas, batons, and live ammunition. In the 100 new examples of evictions in 2014, the Military were involved in 14 cases.<sup>14</sup> Residents have been shot and killed, raped, brutally beaten, and imprisoned on trumped-up charges. Entire villages have been burnt to the ground. By way of example, during the Broma Village in Chhlong District eviction in Kratie, a 14 year-old girl was shot dead by Government security forces. Nobody was prosecuted.

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<sup>12</sup> Joint Statement – ADHOC, CHRAC, HRTF and the NGO Forum, “*Situation of Land/Housing Rights and Activists in 2012 and the Way Forward*”, 23 January 2013.

<sup>13</sup> According to Global Witness, in 1970, forests covered approximately 70 percent of the country's territory but by 2013 total tree cover (including plantations) was estimated at only 43 percent. Between 2000 and 2012 the country lost 7.1 percent of its forest. Illegal logging, combined with the conversion of forests for commercial agricultural purposes (many of which are illegal themselves) has been blamed for much of Cambodia's forest loss. See Global Witness report “*The Cost of Luxury*” 2015, at page 1

<sup>14</sup> LICADHO, List of newly affected families in land conflicts documented in 2014.

The third category is the consequential human rights violations that flow from the loss of land: Once displaced, evictees are often sent to live in squalid conditions, miles away from their former homes and work. Landless families are forced to give up traditional livelihoods that have sustained them for generations. Unemployment amongst evictees is around 35.7%, which is almost double the national average.<sup>15</sup> Because the authorities fail to provide adequate housing, healthcare, or sanitation, the evictees suffer from food insecurity and life-threatening illnesses. The lucky ones find work for a couple of dollars a day in the factories, or on the plantations, often owned by those same elite who stole their land. But families have become increasingly desperate as they try to survive: According to the International Labour Organisation, 429,000 children fell victim to child labour in 2012. Parents have been known to sell their own children who are trafficked and forced into prostitution. As LICADHO's Director lamented: "Without land, they no longer have the means to provide themselves with the basic requirements for a decent life."

The fourth category is the persecution of land activists: Community activists and environmentalists who challenge the illegal grabs have been intimidated, prosecuted and detained on trumped-up charges, and even murdered. For example, Chhut Vuthy, a well-known environmental activist who tried to expose illegal logging, was shot dead by the military in April 2012. The subsequent investigation was seen as a complete farce.

In addition to the human rights concerns, there is a growing problem of instability: The scale and ferocity of the land grabbing has undermined social cohesion and economic stability. The UN Special Rapporteur warned that:

"[P]erhaps the greatest impact that the irregular granting and mismanagement of economic and other land concessions has on the country is to its stability. [...] **violent land disputes indicate an increasingly desperate and unhappy population...**"<sup>16</sup>

Violent conflicts in rural areas are increasingly common with villagers literally using sticks and stones to protect their homes and livelihoods. In the last two years we

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<sup>15</sup> ADHOC "Report on Land and Housing Rights in 2011", March 2012, pp. 8-10. Increase in the rate of unemployment from 18.4% (before eviction) to 35.7% (after relocation).

<sup>16</sup> Surya P. Subedi, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Cambodia – Addendum – A human rights analysis of economic and other land concessions in Cambodia," [A/HRC/21/63/Add.1/Rev.1], 11 October 2012, para. 132

have also seen more and more civil action, as hundreds of victims are bussed into Phnom Penh to demonstrate in front of the National Assembly or the Prime Minister's house.

To give you a sense of this desperation, one victim of land grabbing stated:

"The government talks about poverty reduction, but what they are really trying to do is to get rid of the poor. They destroy us by taking our forested land, 70% of the population has to disappear, so that 30% can live on. Under Pol Pot we died quickly, but we kept our forests. Under the democratic system it is a slow, protracted death. There will be violence, because we do not want to die."

Comparing the current situation to the Pol Pot regime may seem exaggerated. But the mere fact that victims who have lived through both regimes are making such comparisons, demonstrates the scale of their suffering.

Anyone who doubts the brutal intentions of the Cambodian security forces who participate in the evictions should listen to its commanders. Earlier this year, when speaking about the crackdown on demonstrators which left several civilians dead, General Sokha, the National Military Police Commander, stated:

**"Speaking frankly, I learned from Hitler.** Germany, after World War I, was not allowed by the international community to have more than 100,000 soldiers, but the Nazis and Hitler did whatever so they could to wage World War II." <sup>17</sup>

These are the types of characters who are implementing the forced evictions and benefitting from the land grabs.

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<sup>17</sup> Charlie Campbell, "Cambodia's Internal-Security Chief: 'I Learned From Hitler'", *Time*, 16 January 2015. See also Mech Dara, "Military Police Commander 'Learned From Hitler'", *Cambodia Daily*, 16 January 2015 ("National Military Police Commander Sao Sokha told an annual meeting of Phnom Penh's military police Thursday that he learned how to maintain social order by studying Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler, and that he draws inspiration from the rise of Germany under the leader's authoritarian rule in the 1930s.")



## **The Inability of the Cambodian Courts to Address the Problem:**

After seizing power in the 1980s, the Ruling Elite have sought to construct a kleptocratic system, subjugating the apparatus of a nominally democratic State through patronage and violence for the twin objectives of self-enrichment and maintaining power at all costs. It has gained effective control over all the vital national and regional state institutions, the civil service, State security forces, as well as the judiciary - a system sometimes referred to as a 'Shadow State.'

The subjugation of the Cambodian judiciary is well documented.<sup>18</sup> Positions within this sector provide good opportunities for corruption and are therefore sold or awarded in exchange for loyalty.<sup>19</sup> In 2014, Cambodia was ranked 156 out of 175 countries on Transparency International's scale for corruption. In rare cases where courts go against the Government's position, the authorities decline to enforce court orders,<sup>20</sup> or attack members of the judiciary.<sup>21</sup> In 2015, the UN Special Rapporteur reported:

**"The Government and the judiciary are often unwilling or unable to regulate the conduct of private enterprises involved in the agribusiness and fail to provide redress for violations committed by private enterprises. [...] The continued **nexus between powerful business elites, political figures and the military, combined with the absence of an independent judicial system and ineffective dispute resolution mechanisms, continues to deny many ordinary Cambodians redress****

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<sup>18</sup> "The Judiciary lacks independence since it faces regular and significant interference from the Executive level of the Government...[B]ecoming a judge is considered to be not only linked to one's ability to pay but also to one's loyalty to the ruling political party. As a result, a majority of judges and prosecutors are members of the ruling Cambodian People's Party and have little option but to execute party instructions." Transparency International, *"Corruption and Cambodia's Governance System: the Need for Reform"*, National Integrity System Assessment 2014, pages 55-56.

<sup>19</sup> "Judges buy their jobs and solicit significant bribes by selling judgments when the state is indifferent to a result. However, it is generally accepted that when the regime perceives a threat or opportunity, judicial decisions are dictated by senior regime leaders," USAID/Cambodia, *"Cambodia Corruption Assessment,"* Michael M. Calavan, Sergio Diaz Briquets and Jerald O'Brien, May - June 2004, p.6

<sup>20</sup> In response to an announcement that tycoon Mong Reththy was going to be subject to an arrest warrant, Hun Sen announced that anyone coming after him would have to "wear a steel helmet," in Washington Post, *"Drug Suspects Bankroll Cambodian Coup Leader; Narcotics Traffic Booms as Loans, Gifts Flow"*, Nate Thayer, 22 July 1997.

<sup>21</sup> In 2005, the UN Special Rapporteur identified 18 attacks on the judiciary in the last decade. In the majority of cases police or military involvement had been recorded: See United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *"Continuing patterns of impunity in Cambodia,"* October 2005, p.20

for violations of their fundamental rights or judicious settlement of disputes.”<sup>22</sup>

According to the Cambodia Center for Human Rights:

“Judges and prosecutors are currently appointed by the Ministry of Justice, **political influence pervades the courts, and corruption is endemic.** [...] **This combination of politicized prosecutions and impunity for the well-connected not only undermines the independence of the judiciary,** but also poses a serious threat to the values of a liberal democracy.”<sup>23</sup>

The Ruling Elite have relied heavily on the pliant justice system to implement their land grabs and forcible evictions. Corrupt courts and cadastral tribunals have been instrumental in the illegal transfer of land titles.<sup>24</sup> Courts have been widely used to suppress opponents of land grabbing.<sup>25</sup> Cases involving dissidents are marked by a lack of due process.<sup>26</sup> And crimes committed by the Ruling Elite or their subordinates during forced evictions are left deliberately un-investigated.

In 2014, a group of 25 independent Cambodian civil society organisations submitted a report to the UN Human Rights Council stating:

“In the 21 years that have passed since the adoption of the 1993 Constitution, **not a single person holding a high position in the government, or even the bureaucracy or police and military, has been called before a court** as an accused or even as a witness.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Surya P. Subedi, *Special Rapporteur Report of 2014*, para. 49.

<sup>23</sup> Cambodian Center for Human Rights Briefing Note: February 2013: Judicial Reform.

<sup>24</sup> “Equality before the courts is a key human right and the court system is a crucial element in ensuring redress to human rights violations. For the poor and marginalized Cambodians, including indigenous peoples, who do not have powerful contacts, this is far from reality,” see Amnesty International, *“Rights Razed: Forced Evictions in Cambodia,”* 11 February 2008, p.45

<sup>25</sup> “In many cases, legal proceedings have been used to suppress opponents. In 2011, there were 427 cases in which the courts brought action against the representatives of the communities. This is a sharp increase from 2010, when there were only 319 cases.” ADHOC, *“Report on Land and Housing Rights in 2011,”* March 2012, p.2

<sup>26</sup> Due process violations in such cases include: “convictions made solely on the basis of confessions which reportedly had been made under duress; or trials in which the defence was not permitted to call witnesses, or cross-examine police and other prosecution witnesses; where judges had shown evident bias in their conduct of proceedings; and where civilians had been tried in military courts,” in United Nations Cambodia Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights *“Continuing patterns of impunity in Cambodia,”* October 2005, p.17

<sup>27</sup> The Asian Legal Resource Centre, Danish Institute Against Torture, The Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation Cambodia & The Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee, *“Joint Submission of UPR on Cambodia,”* 2014, p.4

In other words, the Ruling Elite operate with absolute impunity. No one expects the Cambodian courts to deal fairly with the massive illegal displacements that have occurred over the past 15 years. That is why victims have turned to foreign courts in the hope that they can bring some measure of justice.

### **The Applicable International Criminal Law**

It is widely accepted that the mass land grabs and forced evictions breach Cambodian national laws<sup>28</sup> and international human rights conventions that Cambodia has ratified.<sup>29</sup> But do they also violate international criminal law?

As legal representatives of Cambodian victims, we were asked to advise whether or not the land crimes have become so serious that a case could be brought before the International Criminal Court in The Hague (“ICC”). We collated and analysed thousands of pages of reports and evidence from independent sources - including UN Special Rapporteurs, the UN Human Rights Office in Cambodia, local civil society organisations, as well as international human rights groups - and met numerous victim’s representatives. What we found is that **when the most serious human rights violations over the last 15 years are considered together, the cumulative effect pushes this situation beyond the boundaries of human rights law, and into the realm of international criminal law.**

Land grabbing is not an international crime *per se*, but forcible transfer of population can be. A crime against humanity - which can occur in war *or* peacetime - is

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<sup>28</sup> For example, the 2001 Land Law and sub-decree 146 require all ELCs to comply with strict procedural safeguards, including a prohibition on involuntary re-settlement of those with possessory or ownership rights. With respect to almost all ELCs, the Government has breached several of these safeguards as well as provisions within environmental legislation and laws protecting indigenous minorities. Thus the ELCs have been granted illegally. The safeguards include: ELCs can only be granted on state private land; ELCs may not exceed 10,000ha per person or entity; ELCs must be granted by legal agreement and cannot be acquired through *de facto* occupation; a land use plan must be adopted by the Provincial or Municipal State Land Management Committee; economic and social impact assessments; public consultations must be held with territorial authorities and residents of the locality; concessionaires must begin operations within 12 months of a concession being granted; the prohibition on all involuntary resettlement by lawful land-holders and an obligation to secure solutions to all resettlement issues *prior to* granting.

<sup>29</sup> For example, For example, the right to adequate housing laid out in Article 11(1) of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights; and the right to choose one’s residence in Article 12(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

committed when one or more of the listed underlying acts are committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack, directed against a civilian population, with knowledge of the attack. Forcible transfer of population is *explicitly* listed in the ICC Statute as one of those underlying act of crimes against humanity.<sup>30</sup> It is defined as the: “Forced displacement of the persons concerned by expulsion or other coercive acts from the area in which they are lawfully present, without grounds permitted under international law.”

In other words, when mass forcible displacements of civilian populations are committed as part of a much broader ‘attack’, then they may amount to a crime against humanity.

In the Cambodian situation, the vast majority of evictions were not ‘permissible under international law’, as they were not carried out for the general welfare of society, or were not provided for under national law, or were arbitrary or unreasonable. They were illegal forced evictions.

It is clear from the evidence that the mass illegal evictions cannot be qualified as isolated or spontaneous acts of violence. They are part of an identifiable pattern of perpetration, implemented through the Cambodian State apparatus, directed by and for the benefit of the Ruling Elite. The huge number of victims and the geographical reach of the crimes prove the widespread element of the attack. The organised nature and recurring pattern of criminal conduct demonstrate that the attack was also systematic. And the evidence shows that the attack was committed pursuant to a State policy. Therefore, the mass population displacements meet all the legal elements of crimes against humanity.

Following our analysis, in October 2014 we filed a ‘Communication’ to the Prosecutor of the ICC, asking her to open an investigation into the situation in Cambodia. The Communication and its annexes - amounting to 450 pages - listed

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<sup>30</sup> Article 7(1)(d) of the ICC Statute: “For the purpose of this Statute, “crime against humanity” means any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack [...] (d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population.”

over 60 events of illegal forced evictions where between 3 to 4000 families had been displaced, often violently.

This initiative has gained considerable support, not only from the International Federation of Human Rights, Global Witness, and 40 other civil society organizations that sent a letter to the ICC. But also from **over 7600 Cambodians who signed onto a petition** urging the ICC Prosecutor to act.

The filing of the Communication is the first stage of the process. The Prosecutor must now decide whether to accept this case and move to open a formal investigation. Whilst there is no time limit for the Prosecutor to respond, we are informed that the case is being considered and hope to have some positive news within the next 6 months. In this regard, it is worth remembering that 1000 or so additional Cambodians are adversely affected by land grabbing each week.

#### **Recommendations:**

1. Introduce a Rule of Law Accountability Act for Cambodia. In 2012, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs initiated the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act. It imposed sanctions on those identified as responsible for human rights abuses relating to the detention, abuse and death of Sergei Magnitsky, including travel bans and freezing assets. A similar act could be introduced to address the mass land-related violations in Cambodia, sanctioning those identified as most responsible for the illegal forced population displacements.
2. Direct USAID to increase funding to the Cambodian civil society organizations that monitor land grabbing and assist victims. These organizations have been key to collecting accurate information about the scale and intensity of the land conflicts. Greater support now is particularly crucial in light of the recently introduced Cambodian Law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations which - according to the US Deputy Assistant Secretary in Phnom Penh - would “impose restrictions or burdens on NGOs that will make it difficult or even impossible to do their crucial work”.<sup>31</sup>
3. Block US financial aid or training to Cambodian state security forces that have been engaged in land grabbing and/or forced evictions, including the Royal Cambodian Army Forces and the Gendarmes.

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<sup>31</sup> Deputy Assistant Secretary Scott Busby, “Remarks at a Press Conference at the U.S. Embassy Phnom Penh”, 2 June 2015.

Thank you for listening.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping letters that appear to be 'RJR'.

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Richard J Rogers  
Done in Paris,  
13 August 2015