AREA HANDBOOK
for
CAMBODIA

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. Extensive bibliographies are provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States Government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to—

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Cambodia, one of the smallest nations in Southeast Asia, has been forced into an increasing role in international politics because of the military conflict in North and South Vietnam. Cambodia shares approximately 1,000 miles of border with Laos and the Republic of South Vietnam, and although these borders have been delimited by international agreement, the jungle terrain makes them difficult to define, and this has resulted in occasional violations. The Cambodian Government has steadfastly maintained that it has a policy of nonalignment with either the Communist or the non-Communist bloc.

During the 14 years since the emergence of the country as an independent state, much progress has been achieved in education, agriculture, industry, health, and welfare. Perhaps the most noteworthy accomplishment has been the success of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Chief of State, in welding the entire population into a cohesive political force which overwhelmingly supports the government, despite difficulties resulting from the cessation of diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries of Thailand in 1961 and South Vietnam in 1963.

This volume is a revision of the *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Cambodia* which was published in 1963. At that time the United States was represented in Cambodia not only by the Ambassador and his staff but also by the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Service, and a sizable Military Assistance Advisory Group. These groups gave much material assistance to the authors; in addition, the Cambodian Ambassador in Washington provided publications, charts, and statistics. Since Prince Norodom Sihanouk severed diplomatic relations with the United States in 1965, comparable material about Cambodia has not been available.

The authors have attempted to analyze the dominant social, political and economic aspects of the society, to present its strengths and weaknesses and to identify the characteristic patterns of behavior of the individuals in the society. The authors are indebted to Professor John J. Hooker of Catholic University, who prepared some of the economics chapters, and to the
United States Department of Labor for an unpublished study on Cambodian labor law and practice prepared by Morris Polack. A glossary is included for the reader's convenience, and wherever possible, place names are those established by the United States Board on Geographic Names.
1. COUNTRY: Kingdom of Cambodia. One of the smaller nations in Southeast Asia. Bordered on the east, north and west by South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, and on the south by the Gulf of Siam. Its present boundaries represent all that remains of the former much larger Khmer Empire.

2. GOVERNMENT: For centuries it has been a monarchy, with the king at the apex of power. The actual power of the sovereign was interrupted for almost 100 years during the French occupation (1863–1953), but even during this period the king was considered by the people to be the temporal and spiritual leader of the nation. In 1946 a constitution was promulgated which was approved in 1947 and, with some major changes, remains in effect. The constitution requires a two-house legislature elected every 4 years. In 1967 the ruler was Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a former king who abdicated in 1955 and organized a political party known as the Sangkum, through which he firmly guides the domestic and foreign policies of the nation as its “Chief of State.”

3. SIZE AND CLIMATE: Area, 66,000 square miles, approximately the size of Washington State. The seasonal alteration of winds (called monsoons) determines both the rainfall and temperature throughout the year. The southwest or rainy monsoon, reaching Cambodia in May and lasting until October, brings heavy rainfall throughout the country. The northwest or dry monsoon blows from October to April and brings the dry season. The mean temperature is 81.5° F.

4. TOPOGRAPHY: About half of the area is forested and, of the 24,000 square miles of arable land, only one-third is under cultivation. Near the center of the country is the Tonle Sap, the largest fresh-water lake in Southeast Asia, and the Mekong River traverses the country from north to south. The central portion is a plain where most of the population lives near the rivers and their tributaries. Mountain ranges exist in the east, northeast and southwest.

5. POPULATION: About 6 million. The numerically dominant ethnic group is the Khmer with 85 percent of the total popula-
tion. Chinese and Vietnamese each represent 7 percent, and the remaining 1 percent includes the Khmer Loeu tribal groups, Cham-Malays, Thai, Laotians and small colonies of Europeans, Japanese, Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos.

6. LANGUAGE: Khmer is the national language, spoken by over 90 percent of the population, but French is the accepted language in intellectual and professional circles. Most secondary and post-secondary education is conducted in French. Members of the various minority groups speak their own language and often can speak Khmer as well. The Khmer Loeu tribal groups speak a number of languages, some of them distantly related to Khmer, although they are not mutually intelligible.

7. RELIGION: Theravada Buddhism is the official state religion and is practiced by at least 85 percent of the population. The remainder of the population are Moslems, Mahayana Buddhists or Roman Catholics. The Khmer Loeu practice a variety of animist beliefs.

8. ECONOMY: The economy is agrarian, with rice the most important product. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and employs four-fifths of the male population. The soils are fertile and the climate is well suited to intensive growing of a wide range of crops, vegetables and fruits. The harvest is used mainly for rural household subsistence. Rice and corn surpluses are exported, and rubber is grown on large foreign-owned plantations, also for export. Industry is small in scale with considerable state participation. Its contribution to the gross national product during the period 1957–64 remained stable at about 12.5 percent. Industry is confined largely to the processing of agricultural products (particularly rice, fish and rubber), and making a few consumer items.

9. IMPORTS AND EXPORTS: Imports are primarily textiles, automotive equipment, chemicals, machinery, iron and steel products, petroleum products and pharmaceuticals. The major suppliers of these are France, Japan, Communist China, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Singapore, Indonesia and India. Exports are largely primary products such as rubber and rice which together comprise four-fifths of the total. The principal markets are France and the franc area, Singapore, Hong Kong, Communist China, the Philippines and Japan.

10. FINANCE: The monetary unit is the riel, and the currency is stable. It is solidly backed by gold and foreign exchange. Private commercial banks were nationalized in 1964, and their functions absorbed by two new State Commercial Banks. The Cambodian National Bank has a firm control over currency, foreign exchange reserves and credit distribution. The money supply re-
mained steady during the period 1962–65, despite previous and continued government deficit financing.

11. JUSTICE: There is a four-level court system which functions under a Minister of Justice. The legal system is a combination of French and Cambodian judicial practice. In crimes affecting the security of the state the accused may be tried by a specially constituted military tribunal.

12. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: Cambodia belongs to the United Nations and also to some of its specialized agencies. It also belongs to the International Red Cross and applies the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, although not a contracting party. The country receives economic assistance under the Colombo Plan and from Communist countries, but it does not participate in regional organizations such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which it considers Western-dominated.

13. HEALTH: When the country became independent in 1953 the government was faced with the problem of providing hospital facilities and training medical personnel to replace the French who had operated the medical services. A vigorous government-sponsored health program was inaugurated, and in 1967 more than 6,000 hospital beds were available and there were 337 practicing physicians. The infant mortality rate is high. Diseases include malaria, dengue fever, filariasis, leprosy, trachoma and smallpox. A country-wide anti-malaria campaign has been in progress for several years and has had much success.

14. EDUCATION: Post-independence governmental measures to increase educational facilities and impress the importance of education were enthusiastically endorsed by the population. In 1967, 942,000 students were enrolled in primary schools; 98,000 in secondary schools; 7,000 in vocational schools and 7,400 in junior colleges and the universities. Education is based on the French classical system. Government policy has drastically reduced the previously rather large proportion of students attending universities abroad. The benefits of foreign education were fully appreciated, but the reduction was deemed necessary because the ideological and political views of some of the returned students were inimical to governmental policy. In 1967 the student population was increasing, enthusiasm for education was unabated, and the basic problem was a shortage of qualified teachers.

15. COMMUNICATIONS: There is one radio station and one television station, both of which are operated by the Ministry of Information. The government issues eight periodicals, three of which are dailies. One of these is the official journal and the others are in the form of press releases. All are in French and
the journal and one of the releases is also in Khmer. Other governmental publications are two weeklies, one in French and one in Khmer, and three monthlies, one of which is in Khmer, one in French and one in both French and English. Thirteen daily newspapers are published in Phnom Penh, all of which must be licensed by the Ministry of Information. Five of these are in Khmer, five in Chinese, two in French and one in Vietnamese.

16. AIRLINES AND AIRFIELDS: Royal Air Cambodge, a national airline, is the only domestic airline, and it also connects with Singapore, Canton and Hong Kong. A number of United States, European and Asian airlines serve Cambodia. There are three international airports and about 20 smaller airfields. The largest is the international airport of Pochentong, which is just a few miles from the capital city of Phnom Penh.

17. RAILROADS: About 240 miles of meter gauge track connect Phnom Penh with Poipet on the Thailand border. Another line of about 170 miles from the capital to the Gulf of Siam port of Sihanoukville was scheduled for completion in 1968.

18. NAVIGABLE RIVERS: Inland waterways play an important role in domestic commerce. The Mekong River is navigable for 900 miles during the rainy season and 370 miles during the dry season. Tidal range and seasonal variations in the level of the Mekong hinder the movement of traffic. Tributary rivers and streams emptying into the Tonle Sap or the Gulf of Siam provide an additional 1,000 miles of rainy season traffic.

19. HIGHWAYS: In 1967 there were 1,600 miles of asphalt roads and an additional 350 miles of roads suitable for dry-season motor transport. Other roads in the national system are suitable only for animal-drawn vehicles. The principal element in the system is a net of trunk highways connecting Phnom Penh with most of the provincial capitals and with South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.

20. PORTS: Phnom Penh, which accommodates vessels of 8,000 tons at any time of the year, was formerly the only port for ocean vessels. The port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam, which was opened in 1960, can accommodate vessels up to 10,000 tons. Between 1961 and 1965, the volume of traffic handled at Phnom Penh decreased from 741,000 to 595,000 tons, while the traffic at Sihanoukville increased from 95,000 to 754,000 tons.

21. THE ARMED FORCES: The Royal Khmer Armed Forces (Forces Armées Royales Khmeres) had a total strength of 36,000 in late 1967. Army strength was approximately 32,000, the navy 1,400 and the air force 2,000. The navy and air force were subordinate to the army. There was a sizable paramilitary
element designated the Surface Defense Force, composed of a Provincial Guard of 11,000 men, and a volunteer reserve called Chivapols which numbered 50,000. The Surface Defense Force was normally under jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense in times of emergency or outright hostilities. The equipment has been provided primarily by France, the United States and Communist-bloc countries.
# CAMBODIA

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>General Character of the Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Physical Environment</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECTION</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Historical Setting</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Population and Labor Force</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ethnic Groups and Languages</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Social Structure</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Living Conditions</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Artistic and Intellectual Expression</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTRY SUMMARY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geographical Features—Resources—Climate—Boundaries—Political Subdivisions—Settlement Patterns—Transportation—Irrigation and Power Potential

Early Periods—Wars for Survival (1482–1864)—French Protectorate (1864–1949)—Emergence of the Modern State


The Peoples of Cambodia-Language and Communication
## SECTION I. SOCIAL (Continued)

### Chapter 11. Religion
- Theravada Buddhism—The Monks—Religious Ceremony—Role of Buddhism in Cambodian Life—Spirit Worship and Sorcery

### Chapter 12. Social Values
- Traditional Values—Social Relationships—The Individual—Influences for Changes

## SECTION II. POLITICAL

### Chapter 18. The Governmental System
- Constitutional Precedents—The Constitution—The King—Executive Power—The Legislative Bodies—The Judiciary

### Chapter 14. Political Dynamics
- Political Stability—Historical Background—The Sangkum—The Royal Khmer Socialist Youth—Political Competition (1955-67)

### Chapter 15. Foreign Relations
- The Conduct of Foreign Relations—Southeast Asia—Other Asian Countries—The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—The United States—Australia—France—Other Nations—Multinational Organizations

### Chapter 16. Public Information
- Communications Patterns—Government Information—Newspapers—Radio—Television—Films—Foreign Information—Communist Propaganda

### Chapter 17. Political Values and Attitudes

## SECTION III. ECONOMIC

### Chapter 18. Character and Structure of the Economy
- Structure of the Economy—Mekong River Basin Development

### Chapter 19. Agriculture
- Land Use and Development—Land Tenure—Organization and Operation of Farms—Agricultural Regions—Agricultural Production—Role of Government

### Chapter 20. Industry
- Processing—Mining—Fuel and Power—Other Industries—Ownership and Control—Role of Government

### Chapter 21. Labor Relations and Organization
Section III. ECONOMIC (Continued)

Chapter 22. Domestic Trade
- Direction and Composition of Domestic Trade
- The Trading Community
- Trade Structure
- Trade Promotion
- Transportation

23. Foreign Economic Relations
- Historical Trade Patterns
- Balance of Trade
- Trade Channels
- Foreign Economic Aid
- Role of Government

24. Financial and Monetary System
- Budget and Fiscal Policy
- Currency System and the National Bank
- The National Development Bank
- The Royal Office of Cooperation
- State Commercial Banks
- Money Supply

Section IV. NATIONAL SECURITY

Chapter 25. Public Order and Safety
- Social Controls
- The Judicial System
- National Police Service
- Training
- Prisons

26. The Armed Forces
- The Military Tradition in National Life
- Foreign Influence
- The Armed Forces and the Government
- The Military Establishment and the National Economy
- Manpower
- Mission and Organization of the Armed Forces
- Conditions of Service
- Uniforms, Insignia and Decorations
- Logistics

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GLOSSARY

INDEX

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure
1 Cambodia's Position in Southeast Asia
2 Topography of Cambodia
3 Provinces of Cambodia
4 Indochinese Civilizations, First Century, A.D.
5 Executive Structure of the Cambodian Government, 1967
6 Command Structure of the Cambodian Armed Forces

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

GLOSSARY

INDEX

LIST OF TABLES

Table
1 Cambodian Cities with Populations of Over 10,000 Inhabitants, 1966
2 Population of Cambodia by Age and Sex, 1962
3 Structure of the Economically Active Population of Cambodia, 1962
4 Health Facilities and Personnel in Cambodia, 1955, 1963 and 1967
5 Education in Cambodia, 1955, 1968 and 1967
7 Daily Newspapers in Cambodia, 1967
8 Composition of National Produce of Cambodia—Industry Groups as Percentages of Annual Totals at Current Prices, 1959–68
9 Agricultural Production in Cambodia by Acreage and Output, 1956 and 1966
10 Traffic at the Ports of Phnom Penh and Sihanoukville, 1961–65
11 Vehicle Registration in Cambodia, 1955 and 1966
12 Cambodia’s Balance of Payments, 1964 and 1965
13 Cambodian Trade With Communist Countries, 1968–65
14 Cambodian Exports, 1964 and 1965
15 Destinations of Cambodian Exports, 1964 and 1965
16 Imports of Cambodia by Commodity Group, 1964 and 1965
17 Country Sources of Cambodian Imports, 1964 and 1965
18 Revenues and Expenditures of the Cambodian Government, 1968–65
19 Ranks and Insignia of the Cambodian Armed Forces
Figure 1. Cambodia's Position in Southeast Asia
SECTION I. SOCIAL

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The kingdom of Cambodia covers an area of approximately 66,000 square miles, and the one-eighth of this area that is farmed amply supports the relatively sparse population, estimated in 1967 at some 6.25 million people. The country has been a monarchy for centuries, with power vested in a king who traditionally is regarded as the head of both church and state, a pattern of respect and authority firmly continued in recent years by Prince Norodom Sihanouk who, with wide popular support, rules as constitutional Chief of State.

The present area is a remnant of the extensive Khmer empire (800–1430) that controlled areas now in South Vietnam, Thailand and Laos. Ideally gifted ecologically among the rice societies of the Indochinese Peninsula, and with large areas of uncultivated arable land, it has been a natural target for aggressive neighbors whose encroachment was checked in 1963 by King Norodom who, making an alliance with France, agreed to accept the protection of that country. The French hold over Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam gradually ended after World War II, and Cambodia became independent in November 1953.

King Sihanouk, hero of the independence movement, abdicated in favor of his father in 1955 and, upon his father’s death in 1960, was granted the title of Chief of State. The government’s authority rested with him, and his policies were carried out through the political organization he had created 5 years before, the People’s Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum), which has shown no signs of instability.

Prince Sihanouk informs the public of his government’s policies and objectives in two ways. The National Congress convenes semiannually in the capital, Phnom Penh; any citizen may attend, listen to the discussions and submit questions. The Prince is an ardent speechmaker and often travels throughout the country, missing no opportunity to tell the population about the policies of the government.

Eighty-five percent of the population are Khmer, descendants
of tribes that migrated to the area from the north in the early decades of the Christian era and, during the Angkor period, built vast palaces, temples and irrigation systems. The Khmer regard themselves as the true “Cambodians” and dominate the country politically and economically. The most important minorities are the Chinese (7 percent of the population), descendants of early merchants and traders; and the Vietnamese (about 6 percent), many of whom were imported to fill administrative posts in the French administration. Although they are considered foreigners, these two ethnic groups exert an influence in commerce and industry out of proportion to their numbers.

Other minority groups include the Chams, who live in the southern part of the country after their expulsion from the ancient kingdom of Champa; and the hill peoples (Khmer Loeu), who inhabit the forested plateaus and mountain valleys in the northeast and southwest. Socially, economically and politically the Khmer Loeu remain somewhat apart from Cambodian life and culture. The government was endeavoring to introduce modern methods of farming to these tribal communities in order to “Cambodianize” them and cause them to take a greater interest in social, economic and political problems confronting the country and thereby hopefully to prevent subversion from external sources.

The official language is Khmer, which is not intelligible to neighboring Vietnamese or Thai. Khmer is spoken by almost all of the people, including the Chinese, Vietnamese, Chams, hill tribes and members of ethnic minority groups serving in government positions and in the armed forces. French, a holdover from the 90 years of French administration, is used in many business transactions and by information media personnel and government officials. About 1 percent of the total population, mostly urban, is literate in French.

The state religion is Theravada Buddhism, which spread to the country in the sixth century and finally replaced Hinduism in the fifteenth century. Although the Constitution defines Buddhism as the state religion, in practice the religious leaders are nonpolitical. Monks may not vote nor may they hold elective office. Symbolically, religion and state merge in the person of the king, who is the guardian of the religion and is looked upon as the divine leader of the nation. Prince Sihanouk, a former king, receives manifestations of deep reverence on each of his many public appearances.

The Chinese number 400,000, but only 8.3 percent of them are Buddhist, mostly Mahayana. The remainder retain a mixture of Confucian social ethics, ancestor worship and Taoist supernaturalism, frequently found among Overseas Chinese in South-
east Asia. The Vietnamese are Mahayana Buddhists or Catholics; the Chams are Moslem; and the hill tribes are largely animist.

Agriculture is the basis of the society, the primary sources of food being rice and fish. Of these, rice is of major importance since the abundant surpluses provide (with rubber) the principal items of export. During the planting and harvesting seasons the majority of the adult rural population is engaged in rice farming. The landlord-tenant system is non-existent.

Each family is responsible for the cultivation of its own fields, and relatives as well as neighbors provide assistance when required. This has created a society with the individual family at the base and groups of families forming a village community, each with an elected headman. There is very little mobility in the rural society, but the increased production resulting from improved agricultural methods and implements has also released members of the farming community for employment in the urban areas.

The only exploitation of natural resources concerned agriculture and forestry products. Very little has been done in the search for mineral and petroleum resources, and industry has had to obtain them from external sources. Economic assistance from the United States, which had continued for 12 years, was terminated in 1963. In his decision to end United States aid, Prince Sihanouk stated that he believed the United States was supporting antigovernment broadcasts by the Khmer Serei (a small rebel group operating outside of Cambodia). Since 1963 the amount of aid which has been proffered has stemmed primarily from Communist-bloc nations.

The French found in Cambodia an established civilization with a recognized ruling class, at the apex of which was the king. They did nothing to upset or destroy the existing order and, in effect, ruled through the king rather than over him. The Cambodians quickly found out, however, that though the protectorate effectively stopped territorial inroads by their neighbors, it also reduced the country to a state of political and economic subordination to France. A desire for independence—which was supported by the royal family and represented the feeling of the Buddhist clergy and the mass of the population came about following World War II as a result of France's failure to defend the country from the Japanese and the secession of two western provinces to Thailand, as well as the growth of nationalism throughout Southeast Asia.

At the end of World War II the primary political objective was complete independence from France. This came about as a result of negotiations with the French in late 1954 and arrangements under the Geneva Conference. Cambodia joined the
Colombo Plan (see Glossary), but Prince Sihanouk's policy of nonalignment with the two power blocs caused it to reject the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

The country's foreign policy and resulting foreign relations were formulated entirely by Prince Sihanouk. Diplomatic relations with Thailand, broken off in 1961, have not been restored. The rupture of rail and road traffic between Battambang and Bangkok has forced greater reliance on the port of Sihanoukville.

Severance of diplomatic relations with South Vietnam in 1963 resulted from several causes. The Prince accused the South Vietnamese Government of mistreating the more than 200,000 ethnic Khmer who resided in southern South Vietnam. He asserted that there had been border penetrations by South Vietnamese military units, and he alleged that South Vietnamese Embassy personnel in Phnom Penh were providing financial assistance to antigovernment groups.

The Prince constantly reiterated his belief in his "policy of the future," which assumed the continued dominance of Communist China in Southeast Asian affairs and a Vietnam under eventual Communist control. He publicly supported the Communist National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam and opposed United States military support of South Vietnam.

Independence brought new incentives to the country; in 1967 this was particularly apparent in the field of education. To acquire as much education as possible was considered a patriotic duty and students crowded the schools, which of necessity were being expanded. In spite of criticism of the religious community for its lack of productive effort, Buddhism remained a stabilizing force, drawing its membership from the whole population and sustaining a common system of useful values that emphasized meritorious behavior.

The Cambodian has always taken pride in identifying himself with the nation. He considers himself, his family and his village community an integral component of the society. This attitude was even more prevalent in 1967 because of the unceasing efforts of Prince Sihanouk to make the entire population personally acquainted with the political, economic and social problems that faced the government.
CHAPTER 2
PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Cambodia is situated in the southwestern corner of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula (see fig. 1). Its land boundaries on the west and north with Thailand and Laos correspond generally to watersheds and streams, but extensive distances on the border with South Vietnam along its eastern flank are artificially drawn.

Its area of approximately 66,000 square miles makes the country one of the smallest states in Southeast Asia. Some 35,000 square miles are forested; 7,000 square miles are swampland or are covered with water. The remaining 24,000 square miles are arable, of which fewer than 8,000 square miles are under cultivation.

Sparsely settled hills and plateaus girdle the central plain, where most of the population lives. It has lived for centuries in farm villages along the banks of the broad Mekong River and its tributaries and near the shores of the Tonle Sap, Southeast Asia's largest lake. The natural waterborne communications facilities afforded by these bodies of water have militated against the development of highway and railroad systems, but numerous airfields provide some access to even the remote areas.

A coastline on the Gulf of Siam is separated from the central plain by heavily forested mountains. The coastal region is not well suited for agricultural exploitation, and little attempt was made to develop it until the mid-1950's. At that time the government began the construction of the port of Sihanoukville in order to free the country from exclusive dependence on the Mekong River as an avenue for international trade.

The fertile soil of the central plain, periodically replenished by the flooding of rivers and lakes, is favorably influenced by the tropical climate and abundant rainfall. More than two-thirds of all land under cultivation is devoted to rice; a wide variety of other vegetable crops is produced, and both salt and fresh water fish are abundant. The adaptability of the people to their environment is demonstrated by their success in using the annual flooding of much of the land in the central plain as a natural means of irrigating their rice paddies. Natural conditions have combined to permit the population to escape the occasional fam-
The dominant topographical feature is the Mekong River, which originates in Tsinghai Province of China in the high Tibetan plateau, a few miles from the place where the Salween and Yangtze Rivers first appear. About 2,620 miles in length, it is the tenth largest river in volume in the world. Its lower basin is 1,900 miles long. It has a total drainage area of over 300,000 square miles, approximately 77 percent of which is in the lower basin in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Upon reaching Cambodia the Mekong courses through many rapids as far south as Kratie. Gradually becoming wider and less turbulent, it flows in a generally southerly direction through the eastern part of the Cambodian plain. South of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, it splits into two branches; the eastern branch continues to be called the Mekong, whereas the western branch is called the Bassac River (in South Vietnam, the Song Hau Giang). Both branches are progressively increased in flow by a network of tributaries and flow through the Mekong Delta into the South China Sea by way of South Vietnam.

Associated with the Mekong River is a natural reservoir, the Tonle Sap (lit., Great Lake), which profoundly affects Cambodia’s life and economy. Once an arm of the sea, it was made an inland lake by the gradual silting-up of the Mekong Delta. By raising the shore level, clogging channels and extending the river’s course, this prevented the movement of the tidal waters back into what is now the lake. The Tonle Sap is connected with the Mekong River by a 40- to 50-mile channel called the Tonle Sap River.

During the dry season the Tonle Sap occupies an area of approximately 100 square miles, has a maximum depth of about 5 feet and empties through the Tonle Sap River into the Mekong. During the annual summer monsoon, which lasts from May to October, the silted-up channels of the lower Mekong are unable to carry the river’s floodwater. The Mekong then rises 40 to 45 feet above its banks, and the overflowing water reverses its direction and empties into the lake, increasing its depth to a maximum of 45 to 48 feet and causing it to spread over an area 770 square miles, inundating the marshes, forests and cultivated fields.

Perhaps one-fifth of the entire country is flooded or affected by the backwater from the river because land under 40 feet of elevation is common as far as 310 miles upstream. By about November the flow of the mainstream returns to normal and
again begins to flow from the lake into the Mekong. The receding waters leave behind rich alluvial soil and shallow waters teeming with fish.

Between 1950 and 1954 the total load of sediment that moved from the Mekong to the Tonle Sap was considerably greater than that which moved downstream from the Tonle Sap to the Mekong Delta. It can be assumed, therefore, that the lake is being slowly filled with silt.

These two important geographical features, the Mekong River and the Tonle Sap, have dominated the Cambodian economy and regulated the lives of the people for many years. Having had centuries of experience, the people understand the river and lake as major factors in their survival and have learned to worship them rather than to attempt their mastery. Each year, when the Tonle Sap returns to a normal flow at the end of the rainy season in late October or early November, the Water Festival is held at the point where the waters from the lake and the Mekong meet. It is a 3-day celebration for harvest, fertility, thanksgiving and carnival in which the king, the monks and the people participate.

Regions

The central part of the country, bordering on the Mekong River, the Tonle Sap and the Tonle Sap River, is the Cambodian plain, a level area that includes over three-fourths of the land area of the country. This gently rolling plain, which has been built up by the impervious sediment deposits carried by the Mekong River, ranges in elevation from 26 feet above sea level near the Mekong and Tonle Sap to about 500 feet at the perimeter. South of Phnom Penh the plain is flat and constitutes the approach to the Mekong River Delta in South Vietnam.

The plain is ringed with hills to the north, west and southwest. In the north the sandstone Dangrek Range along the Thai frontier falls abruptly to the plain. On the southwestern side of these lowlands are the granite Cardamomes Range, which rises in some places to 5,000 feet. The Elephant Range runs south and southeastward from the Cardamomes and separates the central lowlands from the narrow coastal plains bordering the Gulf of Siam. To the north and east are the Darlac Plateau hills, which rise toward the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. These uplands, the home of the hill tribes, reach as high as 3,000 feet (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Thus, the mountain ranges and plateaus almost encircle the central plain, leaving an unhindered path along the Mekong River southward to the Mekong Delta area in South Vietnam (see fig. 2).

The Cardamomes and Elephant Ranges separate the central plain from the narrow coastal plain, making it difficult to reach
Figure 2. Topography of Cambodia
the coastal areas or build ports in the region. Cambodia has, therefore, tended historically to orient itself to the Mekong River rather than to the coast and to conduct its foreign trade by way of the Mekong, even though this has meant transit through South Vietnam. The port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam represents an effort in reorientation.

Soils

The soils are of two types: alluvial, found along the rivers and around the lakes; and latosols, found on the plains and hills. The alluvial soils, resulting from flooding of the low-lying areas, are by far the more common. The latosols are the residual products of rock decay; they are predominantly red, are deeply weathered and have a high content of iron oxide and aluminum hydroxide.

The alluvial soil may be subjected to shallow or deep flooding, ranging from a few inches to 10 feet. It is the principal soil used for floating rice cultivation. It is found largely in the area south of Phnom Penh and in Battambang Province, which produces the highest yield of rice of any province. In some parts of Battambang seeds are sowed broadcast and left without cultivation until harvesttime. The alluvial soil which is subjected to deep flooding during the rainy season occurs principally in the regions bordering the Tonle Sap and the Tonle Sap and Mekong Rivers. These areas are used mainly for growing floating rice. The most fertile of the rich alluvial soils are found on the natural levees of the Tonle Sap and Mekong Rivers. Corn, tobacco and truck crops are planted before the rainy season.

The latosol soils are more extensively distributed throughout the country. They include the latosols on the plains, which usually contain concretionary laterite; the latosols on the hills and mountains; and the reddish-brown latosols, dark wet clay and lithosols, which appear in some areas in Mondolkiri, Ratanakiri and Kompong Cham Provinces.

The latosols of the plains, which developed from weathered sandstone, are extensively distributed throughout Kompong Thom, Kratie, Ratanakiri and Koh Kong Provinces. Most of these areas are either forested or covered with savanna growth. Because of the low moisture-holding capacity, the low content of plant nutrients and the presence of concretionary laterite, their use for food crop production is limited. Nevertheless, in some areas where moisture conditions are good and the laterite content is low, such soil does produce some rice, corn and other food crops.

In the hills and mountains latosol depth to bedrock is reported to be over 95 feet in some areas. For the most part all these soils
are forested. Here and there, however, upland rice, corn, manioc and sweet potatoes are grown by the hill peoples under shifting cultivation.

The reddish-brown latosols, which developed from basalt, have the best potential for large-scale agriculture, if the soil is carefully managed. Rubber, bananas, cotton, sugarcane, palms and fruit trees grow well in this type of soil if the moisture is conserved and soil erosion is prevented. The shallow and stony soils in the outer fringe of hilly areas are unsuited for agricultural use, however.

**Vegetation**

The varied soils and climate produce a corresponding diversity of vegetation. Rice, lotus grain, vegetables and tobacco are cultivated; sugar palm, coconut, mango, banana and orange trees are found in profusion, as well as mangrove and mulberry trees, indigo plants, betel nut vines and sharp savanna grasses.

Over half the country—approximately 35,000 square miles—is covered with forests, an important factor in the economy. The forests yield wood for fuel and building materials for local consumption and commercial timber for export.

The value of the forest reserves is unevenly distributed, not only because of the varied characteristics of the forested areas, but also because most have been subjected to the cutting of valuable woods over a long period of time. In addition, the constant clearing of woods by the hill tribes who practice shifting cultivation has resulted in making many regions of dense forest into secondary timberland. The best sources of timber, therefore, lie in the remote areas which have not been exploited because they are not easily accessible.

Approximately 12,000 square miles of dense forest land are located in regions where water is abundant and soil conditions are especially favorable to tree growth. The richest of the dense forests are those of the equatorial type, which are mostly situated in the regions bordering the Gulf of Siam and on the western slope of the Cardamomes Mountains, where they are exposed to the southwest monsoon. In this area, the hot, humid climate promotes fast regeneration. Other dense forests are found in the drier mountainous regions of Battambang, Kompong Speu and Kratie Provinces and in the wet regions along the Mekong River.

In the remaining 23,000 square miles of forest land are the so-called open forests, which are far less densely wooded, and the swamp forests of mangrove trees. The open forests are found mostly in the hilly regions of Kompong Thom, Stung Treng, Kratie, Oddar Meanchey, Preah Vihear, and Siem Reap Pro-
vinces. The mangrove forests are located on the coast of the Gulf of Siam.

Some of the major species of timber are pine, Podocarpus, red mahogany, rosewood and dark mahogany. The sugar palm is indigenous and has assumed economic importance. It grows throughout the country but now occurs most frequently in heavily populated regions. Teak is not native, although soil and climate are favorable to its growth in many areas. It is believed that teak was introduced at the end of the seventeenth century, and after 1906 several experiments in its growth were made. There is now a small teak forest in Kompong Chhnang Province, and in 1955 the forest service began to develop large-scale teak plantations in forests neighboring the Mekong River in Kompong Cham, Stung Treng and Kratie Provinces.

Most forests are publicly owned, and about 15,000 square miles of the total forest land is classified or reserved for commercial exploitation under concessions granted by the government. Only about 25 percent of this reserved forest land is being exploited, however, because the remaining area is not easily accessible.

RESOURCES

Mineral Resources

There has been no extensive or adequate geological survey of Cambodia's mineral resources, and the known deposits are negligible. Iron ore is known to exist, and traces of gold, coal, copper and manganese have been reported in Kompong Thom Province. The occurrence of petroleum in the Tonle Sap area and in Kampot Province is also a possibility. Potter's clay is common, and deposits of jets, phosphates and corundums are found. There has been some commercial production of jades, rubies, sapphires, garnets, zircons and jets.

Fishing

Fishing is one of the major indigenous industries. During the dry season, from October to April, when the Tonle Sap shrinks to an area of 100 square miles, it becomes an extensive fresh water fishing center. On the Gulf of Siam coast there is a small fishing population, composed largely of Chinese, which produces some 80,000 tons of salt water fish annually. The salt water fish include a wide variety of species, including mackerel, jack, drum, snapper, grouper and mullet (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

Wildlife

Animals are numerous, but they are not of particular importance to the life of the people. Predators and pests do not represent serious health hazards (see ch. 8, Living Conditions).
Among the many kinds of big game are elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, tigers, panthers and leopards. Wild oxen, boars, deer, hares and various forms of reptile life are also found. Exotic tropical birds, such as egrets and herons, and game species, including wild duck, grouse and pheasant, are plentiful in most parts of the country.

The number of trophy animals roaming the forests is not great, and hunting for them for food by villagers has decimated the edible game population. Since 1961 the government has followed a general policy of wild animal conservation and has prohibited the destruction of some of the larger species.

**CLIMATE**

The seasonal alternation of monsoons determines both the rainfall and the temperature throughout the year. The southwest or rainy monsoon, reaching Cambodia in May and lasting until October, brings heavy rainfall throughout the country. The northwest or dry monsoon blows from mid-October to mid-April and brings the dry season. The rainy monsoon does not burst with violence, but the dry monsoon sets in with great suddenness.

The temperature at Phnom Penh averages about 82°F. and varies from about 75°F. to 90°F. The range in daily temperature during the rainy season is 10.8°F.; during the dry season it is 18°F.; and the mean temperature of the country is 81.5°F. The coolest month is January, and the warmest is April.

Variation in total annual precipitation is small, and there is no cyclical pattern of drought and excess rainfall. Over 85 percent of precipitation occurs during the rainy season. The humidity is also highest during this period; the average daily relative humidity varying between a peak of 85 percent in September and a low of 70 percent in January. The maximum monthly rainfall for the entire country occurs during the month of July when the average is 14.18 inches. The minimum average of 0.51 inches falls during the month of January. Even during the dry season Cambodia is not without rainfall; rainy days are considerably fewer then; but the maximum rainfall in a 24-hour period is sometimes as great as in a similar period during the rainy season.

Precipitation is uneven. The Cardamomes and the Elephant Range lie in the path of the rainy monsoon, which causes the heaviest rainfall to occur along the coast between the mountains and the Gulf of Siam and gives the rest of the country drier and clearer weather than is enjoyed by most other lands at the same latitude. The average yearly rainfall in the coastal region of Kampot and Koh Kong Provinces is between 150 and 200 inches; the average for the whole country is 85 inches; and the average for Phnom Penh is about 55 inches.
BOUNDARIES

The country's mangrove-studded coastline faces southwest for some 300 miles along the Gulf of Siam. On its eastern flank the land border with South Vietnam extends northeast and north in an irregular arc of 763 miles to the Laotian tripoint. At that point it veers westward for 336 miles along the border with Laos to the Thai tripoint; thence it continues west and finally turns south in a 449-mile arc to the coast.

The South Vietnam segment of the boundary was fixed by colonial and precolonial determinations and includes about 50 miles of disputed land border. In addition, sovereignty over a few islands in the Gulf of Siam was still under dispute in 1967. This border otherwise has been fully delineated. Much of this South Vietnam frontier, however, has been drawn on the basis of artificial administrative lines rather than natural topographic features. As a consequence, there is often no easy way of determining precisely where the border exists. Accusations of moving of boundary markers have been made, and the Cambodian Government has frequently charged that villages within its territory have been attacked from South Vietnam (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations).

The full length of the boundary with Laos and with Thailand has been delineated, and both segments coincide almost entirely with lines drawn along natural watersheds and watercourses which were agreed upon before or during the colonial period. There are no known active disputes with respect to the location of the frontier with Laos. Thailand, however, maintains an important reservation regarding the status of the ruined temple of Preah Vihear, which straddles the border and which was awarded to Cambodia by a 1962 International Court of Justice decision. Border unrest between the two countries, however, comes from political considerations rather than from Irredentist movements or counter-claims regarding specific border locations (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations).

Because of the broken terrain and the scanty population along the borders, titles to lands in these regions are of importance for symbolic rather than for practical reasons. The border regions are inhabited largely by racial minority groups which tend to spill over from both sides, although Khmer who live outside of Cambodia are more numerous than people in Cambodia ethnically associated with elements indigenous to neighboring countries (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

The country is divided into 19 provinces (khet) and 4 administratively autonomous municipalities (see fig. 3). Ethnically,
these provinces correspond to population groups in that those in the highlands are made up principally of minority elements, whereas those of the lowlands are primarily Khmer. Topographically, mountain divides and streams frequently serve as provincial boundaries, but political and administrative considerations seem more often to have served as determinants as to where provincial borders should be drawn. Within provinces themselves the same considerations have been used in determining the district (srok) borders.

Under the French protectorate, provinces were sometimes consolidated, and districts were often reassigned between provinces as acts of administrative convenience. During recent years this trend has been reversed by the creation of several new provincial entities. Between 1957 and 1967 four new provinces, all located adjacent to the frontier, were brought into being. These frequent changes of provincial boundaries appear to have had little effect on the people.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In lowland rural areas of the Mekong basin the predominantly Khmer population lives in village settlements of between 100 and 300 people. In each farm village there are one or two temples, which are the center of religious and social life. Such villages are found in all accessible parts of the Cambodian plain where the water supply and drainage conditions are suitable to rice cultivation. They form an almost continuous line along both banks of the Mekong and Bassac Rivers, as well as along the banks of many other streams and canals.

In the Tonle Sap region there are two distinct settlement types. One is the village built on rising ground above the high-water level. Although most of these population centers remain farm villages, some—such as Pursat, Kompong Thom and Siem Reap—have become provincial capitals of substantial size. The other type is built on the banks of the lake at its low-water level. The houses are constructed on piles, and when the lake overflows they are entirely surrounded by water. Frequently, the rise in the lake level is such that the entire village is waterborne during the height of the rainy season, the floating houses moored to the lake bottom. These are the fishing villages of the lake, one of the largest of which is Kompong Luong.

A small number of fishermen, largely Chinese, live along the coast and on adjacent islands that dot the southern shoreline near the towns of Ream and Kep. In the forested high plateaus and throughout the valleys between the mountains, particularly along the northeastern and eastern frontiers, live the comparatively primitive Khmer Loeu. These people subsist on a slash-and-burn
Figure 3. Provinces of Cambodia
type of agricultural economy and move their settlements from time to time. Their village groupings are small, usually consisting of no more than 20 to 30 persons, and are so widely scattered that each group is largely independent of the others.

The capital city of Phnom Penh, with a resident population of more than half a million and a large daytime population residing in adjacent portions of Kandal Province, is the country's only truly urban area. Founded in the fourteenth century and made capital of the Khmer kingdom a century later, it was abandoned shortly thereafter. It was resettled later and again became the capital during the period of the French protectorate.

The site of Phnom Penh as the capital and principal city seems inevitable as a consequence of its location at the meeting point of the Mekong with the Bassac and Tonle Sap Rivers. Its port facilities have been enlarged to accommodate ships of about 8,000 tons during the rainy season and 5,000 tons during the dry season. It formerly provided the only access to the sea via the Mekong River through the delta region of South Vietnam.

The limited river port facilities of Phnom Penh have recently been supplemented by construction of the ocean port and town of Sihanoukville on what had been mudflats and swamps on the western extremity of Kampot Province. The port, which is ultimately to accommodate up to 20 ships of 10,000 tons, was opened to limited traffic in 1960. By 1966 the town had reached a population of about 14,000 and had hospitals, schools and parks and a well-laid-out network of almost 50 miles of streets.

Most of the major provincial towns are located in the lowlands surrounding the Tonle Sap, the majority on or close to the lake or a watercourse. All are centers of substantial agricultural regions and, as such, attract trade and visitors from the rural areas. Most own some of their size and importance to their status as provincial capitals and as local centers of the Buddhist religion. Even these, however, are agricultural villages with a few provincial administrative buildings.

TRANSPORTATION

Natural inland waterways provide means of transportation for mechanized craft or considerable draft along many of the lakes, secondary streams and flooded areas. The Mekong River has a total navigable length of about 900 miles within the country during the wet season and 370 miles during the dry season. In addition, 7 rivers which flow into the Mekong, 10 streams which feed into the Tonle Sap and 8 streams which empty directly into the Gulf of Siam provide nearly 1,000 miles of wet season navigable riverbed.

The natural and improved facilities for water transportation
are so numerous that, until recent years, there has been only a limited need for development of highways and railroads. Roads are concentrated largely in the more populous areas along rivers and lakes. Large areas of bush, marsh, forest and highland are roadless because the terrain offers formidable obstacles to roadbuilding and because the number of people is too small to need them.

A trunk highway system of asphalt roads, however, connects Phnom Penh both with major provincial towns and with South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The basic features of this trunk network, an inheritance from the French colonial period, are three major routes which originate in or connect with Saigon. The former French Route 1 passes south of the Tonle Sap through Phnom Penh and northwest into Thailand; Route 6 curves north of the lake through Kompong Thom and Siem Reap to join Route 1 near the Thai border; and Route 13 connects with Laos through Kratie and Stung Treng. A fourth colonial road, Route 17, moves southwest across the delta to the coast at Kampot. The portion of this network crossing the country from east to west is to be improved as a portion of the internationally sponsored Asian Highway, which is intended eventually to link Iran and South Vietnam and to pass through 13 Asian countries. The other major asphalt road, which connects the capital city with Sihanoukville, was completed in 1959 with United States assistance. It usefulness, as well as that of Route 1, was increased in 1964 by the opening of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum bridge at Phnom Penh across the Tonle Sap River, which had previously been crossed by ferry. On January 1, 1967, the Cambodian Government reported a total of about 1,600 miles of asphalt roads and 350 miles of other roads suitable for dry season motor transport. These figures showed a 50-percent increase in asphalt and a more than 100 percent increase in other roads since 1955.

The only completed railroad is a 240-mile one-meter-gauge track which connects Phnom Penh with Bangkok via Sisophon. A second line, from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville via Takeo and Kampot also of one-meter gauge, is to extend for 168 miles and was originally scheduled for completion in 1966. Early in 1967, however, only the 100 miles of track to Kampot had been laid, and the anticipated completion of the line had been deferred until 1968.

The country’s principal air facility, the Pochentong airport as Phnom Penh, had an all-weather surfaced airstrip of about 9,000 feet in length at the beginning of 1967. The Siem Reap airport’s 4,500-foot surfaced landing strip (for Angkor Wat tourist traffic) was in the process of enlargement to 7,500 feet and the airports at Kompong Cham and Sihanoukville had surfaced strips
of 6,000 feet. Shorter packed dirt of laterite strips for local traffic at other localities combined to give the country a total of some 30 landing fields, a considerable increase over the 15 in service during 1955. Because of the shortage of roads and railroads and the absence of navigable streams in the highland areas, air transport facilities are of particular importance along the frontiers.

**IRRIGATION AND POWER POTENTIAL**

Reconstruction of ancient irrigation and flood control systems, some dating from the period of Angkor Wat, was first undertaken by the French early in the twentieth century and has been continued since independence. By the mid-1960's over 200,000 acres had been brought under some system of irrigation or systematic flood control (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

Hydroelectric power development has been limited, but the country's potential is considerable. Completion of a dam at Kirirom in Koh Kong Province is expected by the end of 1967, and plans have been drawn for a larger dam at Kamchay in Kampot Province. Eventually, the country's largest hydroelectric power and flood control complex may be constructed on the Mekong River and its tributaries in connection with the internationally sponsored Mekong River Basin project which is to benefit the riparian countries. In 1967 this ambitious undertaking was still in a planning stage, and its future was subject to political disagreements among the beneficiary nations.
CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL SETTING

Throughout the early centuries of the Christian era there were many contenders for the rich, fertile lands that form the Mekong River valley and the central plain of present-day Cambodia. From legends, inscriptions on ancient monuments and fragmentary references in Chinese records, it appears that the Khmer, who have emerged as the dominant group in the area, fought fiercely to gain control of their lands. Then they defend them against the encroachments of invaders from the neighboring Thai kingdom of Siam to the north and the Cham kingdom of Champa that once dominated large parts of what are now Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. The Cambodian royal chronicles, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, continue the tale of strife in which periods of triumph and conquest alternated with eras of defeat and vassalage.

Although the connection between the Khmer kings of the chronicles and the ancient Khmer dynasties celebrated in legend has never been established, the people regard Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the direct descendant of an ancient lineage in whose accomplishments they take great pride. The vicissitudes of their past have welded them into a cohesive political force which continues to stress independence and the integrity of the country’s borders as paramount goals. They acknowledge the contributions of foreign cultures to their own, but they remain deeply devoted to their Buddhist religion, their arts and their distinctive traditions and customs.

EARLY PERIODS

Fu-Nan and Chen-La (A.D. 200–802)

The first inhabitants of the area were said to have lived in the delta of the Mekong, an area now part of South Vietnam. Three distinct, politically independent people—the Funanese, the Chams and the Khmer—were present during the first century, A.D. The area of Funanese control extended as far north as the Tonle Sap River and eastward to the coast, possibly as far as Camranh Bay. The Chams were farther north, perhaps as far as the Se San River, and the Khmer were north of the Chams in the Mekong valley (see fig. 4).
Figure 4. Indochinese Civilizations, First Century, A.D.

Source: Adapted from Lawrence Palmer Briggs, "Ancient Khmer Empire," American Philosophical Society, XLI, 1951, p. 15.
These people were Hinduized gradually. Indian and Chinese influences were felt early in the Indochinese Peninsula—Indian to the west of a range of mountains (the Annamite Chain) running from north to south and dividing the Peninsula; Chinese to the east. This division of predominant influence was noticeable in 1967 between the Cambodians west of the mountains and the Vietnamese to the east.

By the third century the Funanese had overcome the neighboring tribes, and the area became known as Fu-Nan (Chinese terminology). According to Chinese documents an Indian Brahman ruled the country and in the fourth century Indianized the customs of Fu-Nan. During that time the Laws of Manu, the Indian legal code, were put into effect, and the use of the Indian alphabet was introduced. Modified forms of the alphabet and parts of the legal code are still used.

The chief vassal state of Fu-Nan was Chen-La to the north. The Khmer, in their expansion southward, had defeated the Chams and established the kingdom of Chen-La and its first capital on the Mekong River near the present-day Laotian town of Pakse. In the middle of the sixth century Chen-La gained control over Fu-Nan, first making it a vassal state and then annexing it. Fu-Nan may have been weakened by Malay incursions along its coastal regions. Chen-La's conquest of Fu-Nan has been cited as an example of the recurrent drive to the south in the history of the Indochinese Peninsula.

During the next 250 years, in which Chen-La was dominant over Fu-Nan, the empire was extended northward to the border of present-day China. Then, divided by civil strife, it fell under Malayan rule for a while and once more became independent.

The name "Cambodia" derives from this time. The founder of the Khmer dynasty, according to legends, was Kambu Svayambhuva. Kambuja, hence the French Cambodge and the English Cambodia, is traceable to his name. Kambujadesa (Sons of Kambuja) was the name sometimes given the country in later years, but the Chinese documents of the time used the name "Chen-La."

The legendary importance of the river and the mountain was given historical substance by a series of eighth-century civil wars, which split Chen-La into two parts: Land Chen-La, the upland area to the north, and Water Chen-La, the maritime area which formed the nucleus of the Khmer empire.

Kambuja, or Angkor (802-1432)

At its peak the empire extended from the Annamite Chain (in present-day South Vietnam) to the Gulf of Siam. The buildings at Angkor that were erected at that time have become a national symbol; a representation of the Towers of Ankor is the central
design on the national flag. The kings of that period are still hailed; outstanding among them are Jayavarman II and Jayavarman VII.

Jayavarman II, who was placed upon the Khmer throne in 802 as vassal to the Malays, asserted his independence. He reunited the old Chen-La empire, including the northernmost part, which bordered on China’s Yunnan Province. All of present-day Laos and much of present-day Thailand were added to his kingdom. The sacred royal sword, treasured as a symbol of authority today, is said to be that of Jayavarman II.

Jayavarman VII (1181-1215) was reported to have found over a hundred hospitals, built resthouses for travelers on the pilgrim routes and distributed tons of rice to the needy. The arts flourished. Angkor Wat and the Bayon of Angkor Thom, two of the most famous temples, were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively. Many of the kings excelled as scholars, and Sanskrit literature was raised to new heights by royal patronage. Jayavarman VII was an accomplished warrior and was considered the greatest of the Khmer emperors, as the empire reached its greatest extent during his reign. He conquered the kingdom of Champa, which occupied the eastern portion of present-day South Vietnam, in 1190 and had some form of hegemony over a part of the Malay Peninsula.

The empire began to disintegrate after the death of Jayavarman VII. One reason for this was the complete exhaustion of the people because of the continuous wars of conquest and the frenzied building program. Every important Khmer king built his own capital, which had a temple that usually was larger and more ornate than his predecessor’s and served as the center of religion during his reign and later as his mausoleum.

Champa regained its independence in 1220. Mongol pressure on the Thai kingdom in Yunnan in the thirteenth century gave greater impetus to Thai penetration. By the end of the thirteenth century independent Thai kingdoms had been created in former Khmer territory. In 1353 a Thai army captured Angkor; the Kambujans recaptured it later, but wars with the Thai continued. Angkor was looted a number of times, and thousands of artists and scholars were carried away to slavery in Siam (now Thailand), including the entire Cambodian ballet. At this time, too, Khmer territory north of the present Laotian border was lost to the Lao kingdom of Lan Xang.

In 1430–31 the Thai again captured Angkor, this time aided by treachery within the Khmer capital. The Khmer recaptured their city but abandoned it as a capital, probably because it was too close to the Thai capital. Moreover, the steady infiltration of Theravada Buddhism made the vast temples no longer vital to
their life. In the course of centuries the jungle was allowed to encroach upon and almost conceal Angkor Wat, Angkor Thom and many other beautiful temples, which for centuries remained as hidden chronicles of the once-great Khmer empire.

WARS FOR SURVIVAL (1432–1864)

During the next four centuries Cambodia expanded its energies in resisting aggression on the part of Siam (Thailand) and Annam (parts of present-day North and South Vietnam). Siam claimed suzerainty over Cambodia and for years tried to validate its claim by forceful means as well as through a puppet king.

In 1593 the Thai again captured the Cambodian capital—then Lovek (now Longvek) on the Tonlè Sap River. The Khmer recovered their capital, and 10 years of internal strife resulted during which time the Thai attempted to place a submissive monarch on the throne. At some time during the sixteenth century the monarch moved his capital to the Angkor area, and an attempt was made to restore Angkor Wat.

The Khmer king, fearing another attack by the Thai, sent two emissaries to the Spanish governor general in Manila to request assistance. They were two adventurers, one Spanish and one Portuguese. They convinced the governor general of the desirability of dispatching a military expedition to explore the possibility of establishing Spanish domination over the kingdom. Two small military expeditions were sent from Manila, one in 1596 and the other in 1598. During the summer of 1599, while the leaders of the Spanish expedition were attempting to negotiate with King Barom Reachea, an armed altercation occurred between Spanish soldiers and some Malays camped nearby. Khmer went to the assistance of the Malays, and the Spaniards, including the leaders who had rushed from the palace to help their men, were all killed.

Siam and Annam struggled for control of Cambodia for the next 260 years, each encroaching upon its territory. Land won in the north by Siam and in the south by Annam is the basis of present-day disputes between Cambodia and its neighbors (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations). Cambodian kings sometimes tried to set Siam and Annam against each other, but in 1846 they joined in crowning Ang Duong as the Cambodian king. Subject to dual vassalage, Ang Duong looked to a stronger power for protection. He believed that British policy was more aggressive in Burma and Malaya, so he turned to France, and Cambodia became an ally of France, which was them fighting Annam.

Ang Duong died during the course of the war, and the coronation of his eldest son, Norodom, who had become a Thai protege, was a point of conflict with the French. After Norodom had ceded two western provinces to Siam as a price for its acquies-
cence to his acceptance of French protection, a treaty was made with the French in 1863, and a French protectorate was proclaimed in April 1864. Two months later Norodom was crowned in his own capital by representatives of France and Siam.

**FRENCH PROTECTORATE (1864-1949)**

Despite implied joint suzerainty, France increasingly ignored Thai claims. France exploited Cambodia commercially, and profited thereby, but the protectorate was never a vital element of the French Empire.

The Franco-Cambodian Treaty of 1868 gave France exclusive control of foreign affairs and the right to defend Cambodia against external and internal enemies. A French resident general was installed in the capital as executive officer. Widespread political, economic and social powers were granted the French, but even more were demanded. King Norodom was forced to sign a new treaty in 1884. An unsuccessful rebellion expressed the popular reaction.

Cambodia was placed under direct French control through a parallel administration. The resident general was the actual ruler; the king was merely the symbol of the country and the religion. Cambodian social and political structures were left largely intact, but sweeping reforms were instituted. After 1887 Cambodia became part of the Indochinese Union, which also included Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China (parts of present-day North and South Vietnam), Laos and Kwangchow Wan, a French coastal leasehold in South China.

When King Norodom died in 1904, after a 40-year reign, his kingdom was peaceful, prosperous and powerless. His brother Sisowath was king until 1927, and his son Sisowath Monivong reigned until 1941. After his death his sons were excluded from the royal succession, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the son of his eldest daughter and a great-grandson of Norodom through the paternal line, became king.

The French administration considered Sisowath Monivong’s son Monireth too independence-minded at a time when the French had suffered defeat in Europe and the Japanese had received permission from the Vichy government to send troops to Hanoi and Saigon and were demonstrating a growing importance to Southeast Asia. King Sihanouk was descended from both the Norodom and Sisowath families, and the French saw in him a young, malleable person who would be subservient to their directives, but they were wrong.

After the defeat of the French armed forces and the establishment of the Vichy government, Japanese military units entered Hanoi and Saigon, where they moved into the French bar-
racks, forcing the French units to set up tent camps in public parks. The Thai Government, enjoying the friendship of the Japanese, sent a message to the Vichy government, stating in part:

The Thai Government would appreciate it if the French Government would give its assurance that in the event of an interruption of French sovereignty, France would return to Thailand the Cambodian and Laotian territories.

The request was rejected by the Vichy government. After a series of Mekong River border incidents a Thai force invaded Cambodia in January 1941. The land fighting was indecisive, but the Vichy French defeated Thai forces in a naval engagement off the Thai island of Ko Chang in the Gulf of Siam.

The Japanese intervened and compelled the Vichy French authorities to agree to a treaty which surrendered the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap to Thailand. Until the spring of 1945 the Japanese allowed the Vichy French to maintain nominal control of Indochina, but they forced the French to give the governor general in Saigon the power to sign agreements in the name of Vichy France.

In the spring of 1945 the Japanese removed the whole Vichy French colonial administration and authorized Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to declare their independence within the Japanese-sponsored Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Japanese also appointed Son Ngoc Thanh, a nationalist leader, as foreign minister of Cambodia; on his advice King Sihanouk declared the independence of Cambodia on March 12, 1945.

After the surrender of Japan, British troops and some French units arrived in Saigon and later in September an Allied unit occupied the capital city, Phnom Penh, and arrested Son Ngoc Thanh for collaboration with the Japanese. King Sihanouk agreed to send delegates to Saigon to negotiate a new set of rules to govern France's relations with Cambodia, provided they would be considered delegates from an independent country. The French made some concessions, and in January 1946 Cambodia was recognized as an autonomous kingdom within the French Union.

EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE

The Royal Mandate

A Constituent Assembly was elected in September 1946, and a Constitution was promulgated on May 6, 1947. The lower and upper houses of the legislature were convened in January and February 1948, and parliamentary government began. Political factionalism emerged almost immediately and threatened the
government, which up to that time had been dominated by King Sihanouk and the members of his family.

In the first full representative elections, opposition to French rule was the basic issue. Many Cambodians were opposed to collaboration with France. They either organized themselves as dissident groups, which collectively were called Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia), or joined the Communist Viet Minh who had crossed the borders from Laos to Vietnam. A new party, known as the Democrat Party, emerged; it was opposed to the government of King Sihanouk and was also the legal front for the Khmer Issarak (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics). This party won an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and began systematically to block all legislation sponsored by the King or his followers.

King Sihanouk dissolved the National Assembly in September 1949 and ruled for 2 years without it, aided by ministers of his own choice. New elections were held in September 1951, and a new National Assembly was seated in October. The Democrat Party, again the winner, failed to produce a firm program and replaced many able civil servants with persons whose primary qualification was loyalty to the Party.

In June 1952 the King announced that he was assuming control again until he could restore order in the national administration and security throughout the country. This measure was not based on any constitutional provision but was an autocratic action outside the Constitution. The King, on his own initiative, dissolved the two houses of the National Assembly in January 1953.

The period during which the King ruled directly (June 1952 to February 1955) was known as the Royal Mandate. The King created a temporary advisory council to serve in place of the national legislature. The number of governmental crises was greatly reduced but not entirely eliminated, since members of the advisory council were still free to resign even though they were selected by the King. The King devoted his energies to obtaining major concessions from the French.

A treaty had been signed in 1949 which gave Cambodia the first prerogatives of internal sovereignty. There were limitations on the country’s sovereignty in defense and economic policy, and non-Cambodians residing in the country were outside of Cambodian jurisdiction, as in the time of the protectorate. Negotiations continued, and by 1958 the greatest problem faced by the French was their military involvement with the Viet Minh.

In March 1958 King Sihanouk departed for what he called a pleasure trip to Europe, Canada and the United States, but he made statements highly critical of the French refusal to grant
full independence to his country. After his return in June, he left Phnom Penh and went to Bangkok; he stated he would not return to Cambodia until the French gave assurances that all the prerogatives of full independence would be granted. He did, however, return to Siem Reap, which was then controlled by the Khmer armed forces, and prepared plans, with other leaders, for resistance to be carried out if the French were not ready to negotiate on Cambodian terms.

Faced with a difficult military situation in Vietnam and Laos, on July 4, 1953, the French Government declared itself ready to grant complete independence to the three Associated States. The Cambodians, however, insisted on their own terms, which included sovereignty over their defense establishment, their tribunals and their currency. The French yielded. Both the police and the judiciary had been transferred to Cambodian control at the end of August, and on September 1, 1953, all of Cambodia was placed under its own military command. By virtue of an additional agreement in October, the French army retained only operational control east of the Mekong River and tactical command of the Khmer battalions operating in the area. King Sihanouk, a hero in the eyes of his people, returned to Phnom Penh, and on November 9, 1953, Independence Day was celebrated.

**Independence**

The French still retained extensive powers in the economic field, but by a quiet exchange of letters Cambodia obtained in February 1954 the transfer of all residual economic and technical services still in French hands. Cambodia became a truly independent nation before Vietnam and Laos. It was represented at the conference in Geneva in July 1954 which reached an agreement, signed by both the French and Viet Minh delegations, calling for a cessation of hostilities in Indochina and stipulating that all Viet Minh military forces be withdrawn above the 17th parallel. In a separate agreement, signed by the Cambodian representative, the French and Viet Minh agreed to withdraw all forces from Cambodia by October 20, 1954.

The Communist representatives in Geneva, headed by Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet Union and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of Communist China, wanted the agreement to include a provision which would prevent Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam from permitting the basing of United States troops on their territories. Cambodia would not agree.

The Cambodian Government instructed its delegation in Geneva not to sign any agreement that would preclude asking any country for assistance. Chou En-lai said that the Viet Minh troops which had entered Cambodia were there to free the Khmer
peoples from French domination and should be allowed to re-settle and remain in the country. The Cambodian delegation stated that whether or not there were Cambodians among the Viet Minh troops, such troops were considered foreign invaders and no agreement would be signed until the Communist representatives could ensure the withdrawal of all Viet Minh troops from Cambodian territory.

French Premier Mendès France subsequently informed the Cambodian delegation that the agreement must be signed by midnight July 20 because of his promise to the French National Assembly. The Cambodian delegation was sympathetic but replied that his problems with the French Government were of no concern to Cambodia.

As the final hour drew near another meeting was held with the Cambodian delegation at which both Foreign Minister Molotov and Premier Mendès France were present. The Cambodian delegation would not change its original position, and Foreign Minister Molotov finally agreed to the Cambodian terms. The four-power (France, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam) ties were severed in December 1954; the quadripartite system was dissolved, and each of the three Associated States was given full sovereignty over services which previously had been subject to joint administration. In September 1955 Cambodia had withdrawn from the French Union.

The Sangkum

On February 7, 1955, a nationwide referendum was held to decide whether or not the King had fulfilled his mandate of attaining independence and security for his country. As a special privilege, members of the armed forces and monks were given permission to vote. King Sihanouk obtained 925,000, or 99.8 percent, of the approximately 927,000 votes cast. Soon afterward he abdicated in favor of his father Norodom Suramarit, in order to enter politics.

Prince Sihanouk immediately began building an organization known as the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum). Although he was no longer king, he was still a prince of the royal family, and he had gained considerable prestige during the years leading up to independence. He had applied himself to the dual task of suppressing armed rebels and achieving freedom from the French. Doubt as to his patriotism, a key point in some Cambodians' justification of their seeming disloyalty to him, had been removed. Many rebel chiefs, convinced that he was working sincerely for Cambodian independence, came over to his side and were commissioned in the Royal Cambodian Army.
New national elections were held in September 1955, and the Sangkum won all the seats of the 91-member assembly. Aware that its opposition stems mainly from the discontented younger generation, the Sangkum has made special efforts to secure its active support through a youth auxiliary called the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK).

The government began an ambitious program of economic, financial and educational reforms—improvements in transportation and industry; civic action; preparedness for national defense; and consolidation of political power. It also entered the arena of international politics as a member of the United Nations.
CHAPTER 4
POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE

The population’s annual rate of increase and its density are low in comparison with those of other Southeast Asian countries. In 1967 the country was almost alone among the states of that area in that it was still underpopulated. It enjoyed large and fertile land resources coupled with a population too small and too unevenly distributed geographically to work the land resources to maximum advantage and possibly to defend them adequately in the event of invasion.

Nearly half of the population was under the age of 15. Proportionally, a slightly higher percentage of people in their economically active years lived in cities and towns than in the countryside. There was no significant difference between numbers of men and of women in any age group, but men slightly outnumbered women in urban areas. Women made up a large part of the labor force, the majority occupying themselves as unpaid family workers on farms and in small family shops.

Most of the urban population was concentrated in Phnom Penh. Although more than 20 other population centers were classified by the government as urban, only one housed as many as 40,000 people, and the majority were in reality overgrown farm villages which performed commercial functions and served as centers for provincial administration.

During the time of the French protectorate many Vietnamese and Chinese entered the country. Far fewer in number than the indigenous population, their generally better education, coupled with their aggressiveness and willingness to accept manual labor, enabled them to play a disproportionately important economic role. Although most of the people continued to reside in villages as subsistence farmers, the Vietnamese and Chinese flocked to urban centers as merchants, as workers in the few small industries, as officeworkers and as lower level government employees. As recently as the early 1910’s they made up over half of the population of Phnom Penh.

Since independence, immigration and nationalization legislation has been restrictive. Labor legislation has been enacted which favors Cambodians over foreigners in all forms of employment.
and prohibits foreign participation in some of them. Concurrently, an intensive program has been initiated to improve the quality of the workers through vocational training and to instill in the minds of the people a recognition that manual labor is worthwhile and can be performed with dignity. In the mid-1960's there was much unemployment despite the many positions available, and a law was enacted making it an offense punishable by imprisonment for an unemployed person to refuse any suitable work offered him by the government's placement office.

**POPULATION DISTRIBUTION**

The unevenly distributed population was shown in the 1962 census to average about 87 persons per square mile. On the basis of an annual population growth rate of 2.2 percent, the average density in 1967 would have become slightly in excess of 96 per square mile. Demographic data reported by government statisticians since 1962 have usually been extrapolated from the census data, employing a 2.2 percent annual growth factor.

The 1962 census showed the population to have been 5,740,100. About 55 percent was located in the capital city and the five delta provinces; 40 percent, in the provinces bordering the Tonle Sap; and 5 percent, in the frontier provinces. Densities by province ranged from a little more than 1 per square mile in Mondolkiri to 484 in the delta province of Kandal; the other four delta provinces of Takco, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng and Kompong Cham all had densities in excess of 200 per square mile. The three provinces of Kandal (not including the autonomous capital city of Phnom Penh), Kompong Cham and Battambang contained well over one-third of the country's total population, nearly all of it in farm villages.

Although the years since independence have seen a greater relative population increase in urban areas than in the countryside, in 1966 only about 11 percent of the population was urban. The definition of urban on which this figure was based, however, was arbitrary. It included the autonomous municipalities and all other localities with administrations and budgets distinct from the provinces of which they were the capitals. Thus, the autonomous municipality of Bokor, with a 1962 population of 468, was considered an urban center.

Urban population was heavily concentrated in Phnom Penh, which in 1967 was estimated to house almost 10 percent of the population. No other city could claim as much as 1 percent of the total, and the combined populations of the 11 other cities with populations of 10,000 or more represented only about 3 percent (see table 1). In addition, approximately half a million people lived in villages clustered tightly about the capital city. Many
worked in it; most traded with it; and all were to some extent dependent on it for services, such as hospitalization.

**Table 1. Cambodian Cities With Populations of Over 10,000 Inhabitants, 1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>Sihanoukville</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battambang</td>
<td>42,500</td>
<td>Kratie</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kompong Cham</td>
<td>30,500</td>
<td>Svay Rieng</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursat</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>Siem Reap</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kompong Chhnang</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>Kompong Thom</td>
<td>10,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampot</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>Prey Veng</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Rounded figures are based on 1962 census data increased by the general estimated demographic annual growth rate of 2.2 percent. No upward adjustment has been made for the presumed 1962-66 movement of rural population toward cities.

2 Estimated by the Cambodian Government to be in excess of 600,000 on January 1, 1967.

3 An average of estimates for 1966. The population of Sihanoukville was negligible in 1962 but has increased rapidly.

Source: Adapted from Cambodia, *Basic Statistics as of 1st January 1967*, p. 3.

**POLITICAL STRUCTURE**

The outstanding structural feature of the population by age group is its extreme youth. Data from the 1962 census show that about 44 percent of the population was under the age of 15 at that time (see table 2). According to a 1969 survey of 345 farm villages, the average life expectancy at birth was 44.2 years for males and 43.3 years for women. In 1962 the male and female population was almost evenly divided. At birth and through the age of 19, males slightly outnumbered females. Thereafter, the numerical balance between the sexes oscillated without apparent pattern. Females slightly outnumbered males until the age of 50; males were more numerous to the age of 70; and for advanced ages females again predominated. The 1959 survey found that during the principal childbearing years—between the ages of 15 and 44—deaths of females outnumbered those of males by a 10 to 7 ratio.

The census showed a slight urban-rural variation by sex. In the country as a whole, males outnumbered females by less than 2,000. In the urban sector of the population, however, the ratio between males and females was 1,000 to 948.9. In Phnom Penh it was 1,000 to 948.2. One reason for this male preponderance was the tendency of young, single men to go to cities and towns to seek their livelihood, find wives of urban origin and settle in the urban localities. There was no offsetting trend of urban young men migrating to villages and marrying farm women. Another reason of importance was the presence in towns of numerous male seasonal or temporary workers, particularly in such localities as Sihanoukville, where port facilities and industrial installations were under construction.
The greatest imbalance in 1962 was reported in the resort town of Bokor, where tourist facilities were under construction and the male-female ratio was almost 3 to 1. In addition, a relatively high percentage of the armed forces was quartered in urban areas; some frontier towns were considered too insecure because of their proximity to the South Vietnamese border; and the incidence of malaria was considered too high to be suitable places for women to live.

Males did not, however, outnumber females in all urban centers. In the more prosperous and faster growing provincial capitals, the large number of jobs available to women—such as those in service occupations and textile manufacturing—resulted in a preponderance of females. In Kompong Cham, for example, the male-female ratio was 1,000 to 1,059.

In the mid-1960's a relatively greater number of people in their economically active years lived in cities and towns, whereas children and elderly people were comparatively more numerous in the countryside. The principal cause of this imbalance was the migratory movement of young people to urban areas, either to settle permanently or to seek seasonal employment. Some farm-bred persons who had spent all or part of their economically active life in urban areas, however, had returned to their villages of origin to spend their retirement years among relatives.

In 1967 about 85 percent of the population was Khmer. Other indigenous peoples were the Cham-Malays and the tribal peoples, the Khmer Loeu (literally, the upper Cambodians). These minor-

### Table 2. Population of Cambodia by Age and Sex, 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 10 years</td>
<td>1,746,900</td>
<td>876,400</td>
<td>869,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 years</td>
<td>767,400</td>
<td>392,900</td>
<td>374,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>536,300</td>
<td>272,900</td>
<td>263,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 years</td>
<td>472,300</td>
<td>229,800</td>
<td>242,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29 years</td>
<td>412,600</td>
<td>202,900</td>
<td>209,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>378,000</td>
<td>185,900</td>
<td>192,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39 years</td>
<td>322,600</td>
<td>159,400</td>
<td>163,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44 years</td>
<td>259,400</td>
<td>129,300</td>
<td>130,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49 years</td>
<td>229,500</td>
<td>114,100</td>
<td>115,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54 years</td>
<td>192,100</td>
<td>96,800</td>
<td>95,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59 years</td>
<td>145,500</td>
<td>73,000</td>
<td>72,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64 years</td>
<td>118,700</td>
<td>58,700</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69 years</td>
<td>74,300</td>
<td>37,200</td>
<td>37,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74 years</td>
<td>47,600</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>24,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 years and over</td>
<td>40,900</td>
<td>17,900</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age unknown</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,740,100</td>
<td>2,870,900</td>
<td>2,869,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ity indigenous peoples were few in number. In addition, a small European colony was located principally in Phnom Penh and a small scattering of other East Asian minorities was found primarily in the northwest. The only numerically important ethnic minority groups, however, were the Chinese and the Vietnamese (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Most of the Chinese were urban dwellers. Their principal non-urban concentrations were in fishing colonies along the coast and in the country's pepper plantations, where about 1,000 were employed. In addition, the Chinese were widely dispersed in the countryside as rice millers and brokers and as village merchants.

Like the Chinese, the Vietnamese were primarily urban people, but most of the approximately 25,000 workers on the rubber plantations were Vietnamese. Unlike the Chinese, they were not widely scattered in rural areas. They had maintained their social and cultural isolation, and those who moved into the countryside had been unable or unwilling to integrate themselves into Khmer villages. Rural Vietnamese had tends to congregate in a few rural areas where they had gradually displaced the indigenous population. For example, the Vietnamese who had begun to move into Peamchor District of Prey Veng Province during the nineteenth century made up about 80 percent of its population by 1961.

POPULATION DYNAMICS

In 1967 the most recent birth and death rate estimates available were those based on the 1959 survey. At that time it was determined that the two rates were 41.4 and 19.7 per thousand, respectively, indicating a 2.17 percent annual population growth rate. Government statisticians during the 1960's used the rounded figure of 2.2 percent for the yearly growth rate. A high rate of infant mortality, 127 per thousand in 1959, coupled with a high rate of mortality in childbirth have undoubtedly had a substantially limiting influence on the modest rate of population increase. The care of mothers and infants was given precedence in the government's expanding public health program during the 1960's, which undoubtedly accelerated the rate of growth (see ch. 8, Living Conditions).

As indicated in the 1959 survey, women did not begin to bear their children at an early age. Of about 200,000 births to women between the ages of 15 and 49, almost half were to mothers in the 20- to 29-year age group. Of the mothers not in this group, those over 29 far outnumbered those under 20.

The growth of Phnom Penh has been spectacular during recent years. Between 1936 and 1962 its population increased by some 400 percent, whereas that of the second largest city, Bat-
tambang, was registering a 100-percent increase. A 1967 study of the progress of urbanization saw this growth continuing through the absorption of the peripheral villages; Takhmau, the neighboring capital of Kandal Province, was already virtually a suburb of Phnom Penh. The predicted growth was based on the city's strategic location and on the multiplicity of economic and social activities centered in it.

The same study foresaw substantial continued growth for the provincial capital cities of Battambang, Kompong Cham and, to a lesser extent, Kampot. Growth of the new port city of Sihanoukville was expected to accelerate with the completion of the railroad linking it to Phnom Penh coupled with the expansion of its dock and warehouse facilities. Growth in population of the remainder of the urban centers was seen as decreasing or ceasing altogether because of the limited potentials for economic growth and diversification.

In recent years there has been a striking alteration in the ethnic composition of Phnom Penh, as reported by an estimate. In 1950 the city was made up principally of foreigners, and Chinese and Vietnamese constituted 80 and 28 percent of the population, respectively. By the mid-1960's more than two-thirds of its population was Khmer; the balance was Vietnamese and Chinese, except for less than 1 percent of Europeans and other foreigners.

This sharp decline in the percentage of foreign population probably indicates fundamental changes in the policies regarding ethnic minorities rather than actual population shifts. The term "Khmer" by the mid-1960's had become a designation of nationality rather than of an ethnic group. Those who so identified themselves were Cambodian citizens and spoke the Khmer language as their mother tongue, but they were not necessarily Khmer in ethnic origin. Those who identified themselves as Chinese or Vietnamese were foreigners upon whom citizenship had not been conferred.

Since independence immigration has been made increasingly difficult, and legislation relating to naturalization has been so restrictive that it has become nearly impossible for even the second, third or subsequent generations of Vietnamese and Chinese to obtain citizenship. During the mid-1960's these people could leave the country for only short periods of time without forfeiting reentry rights. In addition, it was possible by order of the Ministry of the Interior to expel persons of non-Khmer ancestry who had been born in the country.

In 1968 it was reported that, as a result of governmental discrimination against them, about 10,000 Vietnamese had left...