

# Penser les défis de la reconstruction urbaine

Actes de la conférence  
du 3 décembre 2019  
à Phnom Penh

# La ville résiliente

## Resilient cities

Rethinking  
the challenges  
of urban  
reconstruction

Proceedings of the  
Phnom Penh conference  
of December 3, 2019

នគរបាល  
ការពិន្ំ  
គិតគុណភាព  
សម្រាប់រៀបចំ  
កសាងនឹងក្រុងទេសជាក្រុង

39<sup>e</sup> congrès de l'AIMF  
2-4 Décembre 2019  
Phnom Penh

នគរបាលដោយ គិតគុណភាពរៀបចំ  
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Resilient / Rethinking  
the challenges  
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La ville  
résiliente

Penser les défis  
de la  
reconstruction  
urbaine

Association Internationale des Maires Francophones  
ការរៀបចំរាជការជាតិអាស៊ានីរួមនឹងរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលការណ៍

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39th AIMF Congress  
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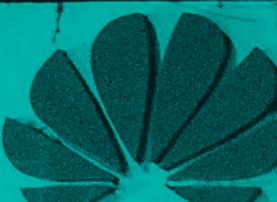
Association Internationale des Maires Francophones

មហាផ្ទៃនគរបាលក្នុងទេសជាក្រុង  
ស.អ.អ.ប ថ្ងៃទី២-៤ ខែធ្នូ  
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HUAWEI

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**NATHAROUN NGO**

**LIONEL PRIGENT**

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**Association Internationale des Maires Francophones** សមាគមអនុវត្តន៍ទៅអភិតាលប្រជានិយាយភាសាតាំង

# D'une ville fantôme à une ville intelligente

**PAR S. E. KHUONG SRENG,**  
*Gouverneur de Phnom Penh*

Phnom Penh est une ville riche d'une culture ancienne et d'une population très diverse, d'origines et de religions multiples. Elle est connue comme une ville accueillante et ouverte. Ses monuments et son patrimoine architectural, dans le site exceptionnel des quatre bras du Mékong en font aujourd'hui une des métropoles les plus attractives de l'Asie du Sud Est.

Pourtant, Phnom Penh sort de l'enfer. Dans les années 70, durant les années de guerre, elle a été massivement bombardée, puis elle a été en proie à une terrible guerre civile qui a donné lieu à un génocide estimé à 2 millions de morts. Durant le régime Khmer rouge, d'Avril 1975 à Janvier 1979. Phnom Penh est devenue une ville fantôme, vidée de sa population déportée et décimée.

Après la libération de 1979, Phnom Penh s'est progressivement repeuplée, elle a été réhabilitée et s'est développée. Aujourd'hui, grâce au leadership avec bienveillance de Samdech Techo Hun Sen, Premier Ministre du Royaume du Cambodge, la ville connaît un nouvel essor de son développement. Sa politique « gagnant-gagnant » a permis d'en finir avec la guerre civile endémique, de conclure la réconciliation nationale et de ramener une paix durable, de consolider un système de

# From ghost city to smart city

**BY H.E. KHUONG SRENG,**  
*Governor of Phnom Penh*

Phnom Penh is a city with a rich and ancient culture and a very diverse population, with multiple origins and religions.

It is known as a welcoming and open city.

Its monuments and architectural heritage and its exceptional location within the four arms of the Mekong River today make it one of the most attractive cities

in Southeast Asia. Yet Phnom Penh has emerged out of hell. In the 1970s, in the war years, it was heavily bombed, and then fell prey to a

terrible civil war which led to a genocide that is estimated to have killed 2 million people, under the Khmer Rouge regime, from April 1975 to January 1979.

From April 1975 to January 1979, Phnom Penh became a ghost city, deserted, its population deported and decimated.

After the liberation of 1979, Phnom Penh was gradually repopulated and rehabilitated, and embarked upon a process of development.

Today, thanks to the benevolent leadership of Samdech Techo Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the city is enjoying a new upsurge in development.

With its "win-win" policy, it has been able

to turn its back on endemic civil war, achieve national reconciliation and restore lasting peace, to consolidate a stable system of government, all

conditions that have been critical to achieving the development that Cambodia is currently experiencing.

The well-being we now enjoy has also been won through the implementation of a policy of decentralisation and devolution, combined with a strategy of

encouraging foreign direct investment. However, new challenges lie before us. We have entered the era of the fourth industrial revolution, with the emergence of artificial intelligence, the digital economy and smart cities.

We need to adapt the day-to-day management of our cities to these new technologies, which are changing our lives and the ways we work.

We have also entered a period marked by climate change, which is affecting the courses of our rivers and the rhythms of our agriculture, and driving massive population movements into our cities. Our day-to-day actions are now guided by the need to adjust our public policies to these big challenges.

That is why it is more necessary than ever to share our experiences so that we can move forward together.



Le jardin du Wat Phnom, 2012.  
Wat Phnom Garden, 2012.

# ពីនិក្រុងខ្មែចទៅជានិក្រុងឆ្លាត់នឹង

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ក្នុងពេញជាដាច់និមួយដែលមានបៀវធីមិយចំណាស់និងសម្បូរ  
បែប មានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋចម្លោះជាតិសាសន៍។ ក្នុងពេញទូលាងនាក់តិចត្រូវ  
ក្រុងដែលប្រកបដោយភាពសុខជុមឃន្ត ការទាក់ទងមានការអនុញ្ញាតៗ  
ខ្លួន។ ត្រូវអារម្មណនៃហេតុកតណ្ហាលូបក្បរូនីត្រូវក្នុងសារព្យូទ័រដែល  
ទទួលបានមុខ ដើម្បីក្នុងពេញចុងក្រោះនៃ ភាពជាទិក្រុងដំណឹងប្រកបដោយភាព  
ទាក់ទងការខ្លះនៅក្នុងក្រុងក្រោះ។

ដោយជំនួយនិងរូបលកាតាប់ជាប្រចាំដែលយើងទទួលបានសញ្ញា។  
នេះគឺជាដែលដែលបានមកពីការអនុវត្តន៍យោបាយឱម្ភ្រការ និងផែលហម្ភ្រការ  
ដោយជំនួយភាគប់ជាមយនឹងនៃយោបាយលើកទីចិត្តវិធម៌យោគជាតាល់ពីបរទេស។

ບັນດາ ເກີດເຕະມະຊາຍີ້ນ ເຊື່ອທານບຕ່າງປະເມລັດຈາກເງິນເຖິງຕາ ໝຶກ  
ຫຼຸດສະກັບລໍ່ສົມໍພົມຂັງກາມມູນຄົວນີ້ໃຫ້ ດ້ວຍກຳລົງຮັບແລ້ວເຖິງທີ່  
ບຕ່າງສົມໍປູກໂຄສົມ ເສັ້ນກິດຕູຂີ້ວິຊີ່ບລັດ ອີ້ນທີ່ກຽນຫຼາກນີ້ໆ ໝຶກ  
ຕົກປະກົດໄດ້ກຽນບະລຸບເພີ້ນປະຕູ້ໄດ້ ເຊື່ອຕາມບະເຫຼົກທີ່ກຽນຫຼັງທຳນະເລີຍ : ແລະເຖິງ  
ຂີ້ວິຊີ່ກີ່ ອີ້ນເປັນປູກເຫຼົກບະລຸບເພີ້ນທີ່ກຽນຫຼັງທຳນະເລີຍ : ແລະເຖິງ  
ສົມໍພົມຍັງໄຟລ່ອທານບຕ່າງບໍ່ເປັນປະລຸບຫາກາສົດຖຸ ມອບຕະກິດຕົມໃຫ້ເດີ  
ຫາຊຸດທີ່ກິດຕູລົງນັບລ່ວມຍັງ ແບບກາເງິດກິດຕູມ ອີ້ນເນີ້ນບໍ່ມີລົງທຶນບໍ່ມີຕາດລະບົບ  
ຍັງໃຫ້ເງິນສົມໍເພີ້ນກິດຕູມ ກາສົມໍປະລຸບຫາດາຍສາດາດະກະບະລຸບ  
ເພີ້ນທີ່ກິດຕູລົງນັບລ່ວມຍັງ ຕີດຕັ້ງກິດຕູມ ອີ້ນເນີ້ນບໍ່ມີລົງທຶນບໍ່ມີຕາດລະບົບ

ເກົ່າຜູ້ເຊື່ອເທິງພາກກົດກວດທີ່ເສັດຮັບສ່ວນ  
ພາຍໃຕ້ ອີ່ມີຜູ້ໄຟ້ຕຳຫັດໜ້າເລີດແກ່ກາງທຳນົດ  
ເພື່ອຢືນຢັນວ່າມີຜູ້ໃຫຍ່ເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ໄດ້ກົດ  
ເຂົ້າມາໃນລະບົບ



# Reconstruire après les catastrophes : quelles leçons pouvons-nous tirer ?

PAR PIERRE BAILLET,  
secrétaire permanent de l'AIMF

En 2019, Phnom Penh a célébré le 40<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la fin du régime Khmer Rouge qui avait provoqué la mort de plus de deux millions de cambodgiens. Cet anniversaire, qui coïncidait avec le 40<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'Association internationale des maires francophones, a donné l'occasion d'entendre les voix des témoins d'alors, de ceux qui ont mené des reconstructions à Phnom Penh, Kigali ou Port au Prince, ainsi que les analyses des historiens, des sociologues et des urbanistes, autour d'une question essentielle: Comment gérer, piloter, construire la résilience des territoires après les catastrophes? Alors que nous vivons plus que jamais dans un mode de l'incertain où les situations de crise peuvent affecter tous les territoires, il semblait indispensable de revenir sur les capacités à les surmonter et à imaginer un avenir.

Dans son allocution introductory, Pierre Baillet, Secrétaire permanent de l'AIMF, rappelle à la fois l'importance de la préoccupation et l'urgence d'en retenir les enseignements.

Messieurs les Ministres,  
Monsieur le Gouverneur,  
Mesdames et Messieurs les Représentants du corps diplomatique,  
Mesdames et Messieurs les Maires,  
Mesdames et Messieurs,  
Chers Amis de Phnom Penh,

Notre rencontre est une rencontre qui aura plusieurs angles d'intervention dans la reconstruction de la ville et, notamment, sur la mémoire dans ce qu'elle a de positif dans la construction d'une société humaine.

La mémoire comme force au service de la résilience et du développement durable.

Ce n'est pas la première fois que nous nous réunissons pour travailler, ensemble, sur ce sujet.

Comme l'a fortement souhaité notre Présidente,

Madame Anne Hidalgo, retenue à Paris par des Obsèques Nationales, nous avons eu la belle rencontre en Louisiane, à Lafayette et à la Nouvelle Orléans, sur ce thème associant mémoire et développement durable. Comme elle l'a voulu personnellement, avec l'appui du Bureau, nous avons poursuivi cette réflexion en juin dernier, à Kigali, pour mieux nous retrouver ici, à Phnom Penh.

Nous avons mis en œuvre des partenariats qui vont dans ce sens à Ouidah au Bénin, à Kananga en RDC, à Yopougon en Côte d'Ivoire et dans bien d'autres villes d'Afrique.

La mémoire et la résilience vont de pair, tout comme la résilience et le développement durable. Et ce triptyque mémoire, résilience, développement durable, prend tout son sens, ici, à Phnom Penh.

Parce que les catastrophes ont été et sont de grande ampleur. Catastrophes humaines, politiques, naturelles. Dans ce contexte, ensemble, vous avez pris le parti d'une stratégie de réduction de ces risques d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, en mettant en œuvre une démarche qui associe le national et le local, la réflexion et l'action.

Et au cœur du dispositif, nous avons la lutte contre la pauvreté, ce que nous faisons ensemble avec le soutien de l'Union européenne. Que l'UE en soit remerciée.

L'histoire d'un peuple et de sa ville capitale se comprend en référence à son passé. Mais son passé s'éclaire à la lumière de son actualité.

Quarante ans après les violences, les menaces, la séparation, la torture, la malnutrition, la suppression de la religion, la mortalité élevée, les familles ont été meurtries.

Face à ces récits traumatisques, les citoyens d'une ville capitale ont donné un sens à la reconstruction d'un espace de vie. La force de la pulsion de vie. L'importance de la résilience issue de la famille élargie rassemblée.

L'incontournable construction d'une mémoire, cette trace transmissible et structurante de la société locale.

Avec l'université, avec l'art, avec le discours des médias, avec la photographie. Et à cet égard, il y a la belle exposition organisée par la ville, le long de la promenade sur le quai du Mékong. Il y a le centre Bophana, initié par Rithy Panh, qui rassemble toute la documentation audiovisuelle sur le Cambodge. Il y a aussi le musée du génocide de Tuol Sleng. Un hymne à la mémoire et à la paix, servi par des archives numérisées. Car la modernité est à présent une aide précieuse pour diffuser et faire connaître ces moments qui font la cohésion d'un peuple, qui font la réconciliation et le vivre ensemble en harmonie. Car c'est dans ce lycée que près de 20000 prisonniers ont été interrogés, torturés, et assassinés dans ce qui était le camp S21 de Phnom Penh.

Et l'Unesco a inscrit ces archives dans son registre de mémoire du monde pour promouvoir la résilience, la paix, le dialogue interculturel, la réconciliation.

Nous avons pris la mesure de cette démarche, de sa force et de ses résultats, à Kigali, en juin dernier. Là aussi, il s'agit du long apprentissage du vivre ensemble en harmonie, entre les enfants des génocidaires et les enfants des victimes.



De gauche à droite:

ពីរិ៍អង់គ្លេសណាំ  
Kigali, le mémorial.  
សូមអនុស្សារីយ៉ែ Kigali

Phnom Penh, le  
musée du génocide  
Tuol Sleng.

Tuol Sleng Genocide  
Museum Archives,  
Phnom Penh.  
ទីក្រុងតីច្ចាប់ សាមឱ្យីខេ  
ក្រឹងកម្មប្រជុំយុត្តិការ  
សាន្តុលំស្បែក

Port-au-Prince,  
le Palais national  
après le  
tremblement de  
terre.  
The National Palace  
after the earthquake

ទីក្រុង ពីរិ៍អង់គ្លេស  
វិការជាតិ  
បន្ទាប់ពីរិ៍អង់គ្លេស

les Khmers rouges pour se réapproprier le territoire. Les institutions politiques et la mobilisation des cultures professionnelles ont participé à la résilience du système qui, à lui seul, était l'expression de la résilience d'un territoire et de son peuple. Très symboliquement, l'eau, qui chaque année est fêtée, restera une entrée et une composante de la résilience.

Autre symbole: alors que nous nous retrouvons, se tient la COP25, à Madrid, sur le climat. L'objectif est d'accomplir plusieurs tâches pour la réalisation des accords de Paris sur le changement climatique. Je forme le vœu que les villes de notre réseau, notamment les villes du Sud-Est asiatique puissent, ensemble, représenter un modèle de développement, notamment par la gestion de son espace public, par ses services.

Excellences,  
Nous sommes ici pour bien comprendre, pour que Phnom Penh nous inspire.  
Et pour cela, pour votre accueil, pour votre attention au réseau des maires francophones, soyez-en remerciés.

Un apprentissage qui a permis de porter haut cette société et la vôtre dans le développement durable.

Excellences,

La résilience est un dialogue constant et renouvelé. D'abord entre les habitants d'un territoire et nous venons d'en parler, mais aussi entre les citoyens et l'espace qui les entourent.

Or, là aussi, Phnom Penh porte une belle leçon d'expérience historique. Une expérience qui doit inspirer tous les continents.

Phnom Penh, comme d'autres civilisations, est un système hydraulique, ceinturé de digues, subdivisé en bassins versants et parcouru d'un réseau d'égouts pour évacuer les eaux usées et les eaux de pluie hors la ville.

La ville fait corps avec cet environnement. Elle est l'expression sophistiquée d'une culture. Et, quand le 17 avril 1975 la ville a été vidée de sa population, ce système sophistiqué de vannes n'a plus été en état de fonctionner. Tout était envasé.

Mais la ville a été en mesure de renaitre. A la libération, en janvier 1979, avec le retour de la population, il a fallu reconstruire les savoirs détruits par

## Reconstruction after disasters: what lessons can we learn?

BY PIERRE BAILLET,  
Permanent Secretary to the AIMF

In 2019, Phnom Penh celebrated the 40th anniversary of the end of the Khmer Rouge regime, which had caused the death of more than two million Cambodians. This anniversary, which coincided with the 40th anniversary of the Association Internationale des Maires Francophones (AIMF), was an opportunity to hear the voices of people who witnessed the events, of those who headed the rebuilding programmes in Phnom Penh, Kigali or Port au Prince, as well as

analyses by historians, sociologists and urbanists, around an essential question: How to manage, guide and develop the resilience of cities in the wake of disasters? At a time when, more than ever, we are living in conditions of uncertainty, when crises can affect any part of the world, it seemed of paramount importance to examine how such crises can be overcome and how to plan for a future.

In his introductory talk, Pierre Baillet, Permanent Secretary of AIMF, emphasises both the importance of the subject and the urgency of the lessons to be learned.

Honourable Ministers,  
Honourable Governor,  
Honourable Representatives of the  
Diplomatic Corps,  
Honourable Mayors,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends of Phnom Penh,  
In this gathering, we will analyse the  
reconstruction of the city through several  
lenses, notably regarding the memory  
of what it stands for positively in the  
construction of human society.  
Memory is a force on which resilience  
and sustainable development can thrive.  
It is not the first time we have met to  
work together on this theme.  
As our chairperson, Ms. Anne Hidalgo,  
who had to stay in Paris for a state  
funeral, strongly wished, we had  
a wonderful meeting in Louisiana,  
Lafayette, and New Orleans, on the



# La ville résiliente : penser les défis de la reconstruction urbaine

Ce 39<sup>e</sup> congrès de l'AIMF fut une importante occasion de revenir, 40 ans après, sur le processus de reconstruction de Phnom Penh après la chute du régime khmer rouge et sa tentative d'urbicide. Au-delà de la capitale cambodgienne proprement dite, d'importants témoignages de Kigali ou de Port-au-Prince sont venus enrichir les débats.

**PAR GABRIEL FAUVEAUD**  
Professeur adjoint, université de Montréal

## SE RECONSTRUIRE

Lorsque nous avons été invités à organiser une conférence portant sur le thème de la reconstruction, le terme de résilience nous est rapidement apparu comme étant le plus adéquat pour décrire la manière dont certaines villes, comme Phnom Penh, ont su trouver les moyens de se reconstruire après une destruction de grande ampleur. La notion de résilience urbaine désigne la capacité des villes et de ses habitants à se relever d'un événement traumatique, à faire face à un choc causé par une catastrophe, un événement exceptionnel et souvent violent, pouvant entraîner des destructions et des morts, des déplacements de populations, une délinquance des structures politiques et sociales existantes, ainsi que des traumatismes importants et sur le long terme de la population et de la société.

40 ans après l'expulsion de l'ensemble de la population urbaine et la destruction d'une partie importante de Phnom Penh sous le régime des Khmers rouges, la reconstruction de la capitale cambodgienne est un exemple particulièrement édifiant de la capacité de résilience des villes et sociétés urbaines<sup>1</sup>. Cependant, si Phnom Penh représente un cas exceptionnel par la violence de la politique anti-urbaine des Khmers rouges, les catastrophes et les enjeux de reconstruction concernent un nombre toujours plus important de villes dans le monde, au point que la reconstruction urbaine devient peu à peu une norme. En effet, l'augmentation du rythme et de la force des aléas naturels, tout comme le réchauffement climatique, entraînent une accélération des événements catastrophiques. Comme un récent rapport de l'ONU l'a montré, 1,4 milliard de personnes



dans le monde vivant dans des villes de plus de 500 000 habitants sont aujourd'hui exposées à au moins un type de risque naturel. En Asie plus particulièrement, comme l'a montré une autre récente étude, la montée des eaux menace de nombreuses villes de la région, comme Jakarta, Bangkok, ou encore Hô Chi Minh-Ville. En plus de ces risques, l'accélération de la croissance urbaine (notamment sur les continents africains et asiatiques) augmente les impacts des aléas, et donc la vulnérabilité des territoires et des populations.

En d'autres termes, la ville est devenue un « territoire du risque », et la reconstruction urbaine une probabilité de plus en plus prégnante. Dans ce contexte, la gestion du risque d'une part, des vulnérabilités urbaines d'autre part, sont devenues des priorités absolues pour les villes et devraient être au cœur des politiques de développement urbain.

## PENSER LA RECONSTRUCTION, C'EST PENSER LE RISQUE ET LES VULNÉRABILITÉS

Le risque d'une catastrophe ou d'un événement traumatique est très difficile à appréhender, car tout risque reste théorique et incertain. Notre rapport au risque se construit donc en fonction de ce qui est arrivé dans le passé, de ce qui pourrait

arriver dans le futur, et de la manière dont nous considérons cette incertitude au moment présent. Si les catastrophes de grande ampleur semblent bien souvent inévitables, il est aujourd'hui acquis que les conséquences de celles-ci ne sont jamais des fatalités « exogènes », mais plutôt le produit de nos structures économiques, techniques, politiques et sociales. Nous avons en effet aujourd'hui les capacités de nous protéger des catastrophes et des aléas climatiques, ou du moins d'en atténuer largement les effets. C'est bien pour cela que les politiques urbaines ne peuvent se passer d'une politique de gestion des risques.

Qu'est-ce qu'une politique de gestion des risques urbains ? En amont, la gestion du risque passe par l'identification des risques potentiels d'une part, et des vulnérabilités face à ces risques d'autre part. Par exemple, à quel point les infrastructures de drainage existantes peuvent-elles supporter des épisodes pluviométriques exceptionnels ? Quels sont les populations et espaces les plus exposés à des risques potentiels ? Les vulnérabilités urbaines sont complexes à appréhender, car elles sont généralement interdépendantes et se nourrissent les unes des autres. Réduire les vulnérabilités, c'est non seulement amoindrir ou prévenir les effets des catastrophes, mais aussi protéger les populations les plus vulnérables.

Lorsque le risque se réalise, il faut avoir développé en amont les moyens techniques et institutionnels pour gérer les conséquences des catastrophes, comme les mouvements de populations, ou les destructions physiques. Prévoir le risque, c'est éla-

borer des scénarios et des plans d'action permettant une réponse organisée en cas d'urgence. Enfin, une politique de gestion des risques doit anticiper la résilience. Car celle-ci n'est pas innée : elle se construit et s'accompagne par l'intermédiaire de politiques publiques, de programmes de développement sociaux et économiques, d'actions citoyennes et de pratiques participatives. Cela est d'autant plus nécessaire que nous ne sommes pas tous et toutes égaux face aux changements urbains brusques provoqués par des catastrophes. Les populations les plus modestes étant les plus vulnérables face aux catastrophes, ce sont elles qui doivent le plus faire « œuvre de résilience ». Si une catastrophe est toujours soudaine, la gestion du risque s'appréhende selon des temporalités multiples, à la fois avant, pendant et après l'événement traumatique. Vulnérabilité, risque et reconstruction désignent donc des processus complexes appelant des approches systémiques et globales, autant que des interventions plus localisées et ciblées.

## AGIR AVEC LE RISQUE

Comment agir avec le risque ? Trois éléments centraux doivent ici être mentionnés. Premièrement, la gestion du risque est politique. Elle demande la mise en œuvre de politiques publiques permettant de réduire les vulnérabilités, de développer des cadres réglementaires adaptés et de sensibi-

liser les acteurs urbains (privés, habitants, publics) à la gestion du risque, notamment car celui-ci se nourrit des perceptions et comportements individuels et collectifs face à l'incertitude.

Deuxièmement, la gestion du risque est sociale. Elle doit être appréhendée comme un enjeu collectif, et requiert une étroite collaboration entre tous les acteurs urbains. La participation citoyenne est essentielle, car elle facilite les prises de conscience et la mise en œuvre de solutions adaptées aux différentes formes de vulnérabilités que peuvent rencontrer les citadins. Les statuts économiques, l'éducation, le milieu de vie, ou encore les réseaux sociaux et familiaux vont largement déterminer l'effet des catastrophes sur les populations, ainsi que la capacité des individus à y faire face. Par ailleurs, la sécurité des uns peut accroître la vulnérabilité des autres. L'équité face aux vulnérabilités est un enjeu déterminant dans la construction de sociétés urbaines stables, pérennes et plus égalitaires. Ainsi, la mise en place de politiques publiques ciblant les populations les plus vulnérables apparaît indispensable.

Troisièmement, la gestion du risque est économique. Elle demande tout d'abord d'allouer du financement à l'identification des risques et des vulnérabilités, à leurs réductions et à leur gestion si jamais le risque se réalise. Les investissements publics et politiques économiques doivent aussi servir à réduire les vulnérabilités, particulièrement auprès des populations les plus précaires.

En conséquence, la gestion du risque requiert bien souvent un changement ou une adaptation de nos modèles économiques, qui ont encore du mal à intégrer le caractère « incertain » du risque. Ce changement de pratiques demande, par exemple, la mise en place de cadres légaux et réglementaires plus contraignants pour les acteurs privés, qui sont aussi des bénéficiaires des politiques publiques de réduction des risques. Enfin, la gestion du risque est économique, car les villes sont de plus en plus exposées aux récessions économiques, aux crises financières et à l'explosion de bulles spéculatives.

En d'autres termes, si la résilience doit être considérée comme une dynamique positive, elle n'est pas un choix, mais une nécessité face aux changements urbains soudains. C'est bien à cela que doivent servir une meilleure approche et une prise en considération du risque et des vulnérabilités face aux catastrophes : empêcher les destructions, pour ne pas avoir à reconstruire, et ne pas avoir à être résilient.

#### RÉCITS DE RÉSILIENCE

Au cours de cette conférence, de nombreux exposés nous ont permis de mieux saisir la trajectoire des villes en reconstruction. Des premières heures aux premières années de la reconstruction, les témoignages de S.E. Thong Khong et de S.E. Mok Mareth démontrent comment, à Phnom Penh, chaque petite initiative a compté dans la

remise en route des institutions et de la gouvernance. Leurs récits illustrent comment de nombreux défis ont dû être gérés de front, comme l'insécurité, les maladies, la remise en place d'une administration publique, le manque d'écoles et d'enseignants, le redémarrage du commerce, ou encore la production de nourriture et l'approvisionnement de la capitale. À ce titre, l'histoire de la Régie des eaux de Phnom Penh reconstituée par S.E. Ek Sonn Chan illustre particulièrement bien les défis du redémarrage des infrastructures et l'évolution des modes de gestion de l'approvisionnement des ressources.

Les interventions de Nak Moneang Men Chandevy et Fabienne Luco retracent, quant à elles, une histoire peu écrite de la reconstruction à Phnom Penh (comme ailleurs) : celle des habitants, qui ont dû s'adapter, développer des réseaux de solidarité et faire œuvre d'inventivité pour survivre et se réinventer. Dans ce contexte, l'informalité n'est pas une anomalie, mais la ressource première de la résilience. Ces récits font écho à celui de Jean Marie Théodat qui nous démontre, à partir de l'exemple de Port-au-Prince, comment l'absence d'une gouvernance publique efficace précarise un peu plus les habitants les plus fragiles. À Phnom Penh, comme l'explique S.E. Mann Choeun, la gestion des quartiers considérés comme « informels » fut une préoccupation importante des instances publiques depuis le début des années 1990. Les évictions et relocalisations en périphérie de la capitale des habitants vivant dans des zones de logements précaires dans le centre-ville se sont faites en coordination avec les pouvoirs publics et des associations locales. Pour ces habitants, de nombreuses questions demeurent cependant : est-ce que l'accès à la propriété foncière représente réellement la condition première du développement socio-économique ? La précarité des ménages n'est-elle pas aggravée par le déracinement forcé et la relocalisation au sein de territoires éloignés du cœur des activités économiques ?

S.E. Kep Chuktema, S.E. Pa Socheat Vong et Seng Vannak de la Municipalité de Phnom Penh, ainsi que Christiane Blancot de l'APUR, ont fourni d'importants témoignages sur l'évolution des enjeux de la reconstruction urbaine depuis les trente dernières années. Si le développement et l'entretien des infrastructures ont été une priorité au cours des années 1990, les années 2000 ont permis de faire évoluer les interventions sur différents sujets comme les tenures foncières, la gouvernance (avec la mise en place d'une politique de décentralisation), le transport, ou encore la planification urbaine. Aujourd'hui, les grands projets urbains (ville-satellite par exemple) et la forte croissance urbaine témoignent de la vitalité de la capitale cambodgienne. Comme le rappellent de nombreux intervenants, comme Ngo Natharoun, l'interaction entre un marché immobilier dynamique et l'adoption de modèles de développement internationalisés, comme la ville intelligente, représentent un moteur important des transformations urbaines actuelles. Comme en témoigne Hun Chansan à propos de l'architec-

ture, il ne s'agit cependant pas de faire table-rase du passé, mais plutôt d'inscrire ces innovations dans le temps long de la construction des villes. Le témoignage de Nadine Umutoni Gatsinzi, Vice-Maire de Kigali, nous montre comment ces politiques de développement urbain doivent s'articuler aux politiques sociales de lutte contre la pauvreté et la corruption, qui ont fait de la capitale du Rwanda un exemple à suivre en Afrique et dans le monde. Le développement social, l'inclusion et la participation citoyenne sont des ingrédients essentiels de la résilience. Ils peuvent porter, comme nous l'explique bien Hassan Hajam, une évolution indispensable des modèles économiques existants.

Mis bout à bout, les nombreux témoignages entendus lors de cette conférence et retranscrits dans cet ouvrage tissent une véritable « histoire orale » de la reconstruction urbaine, dont Lionel Prigent nous propose par ailleurs une synthèse à la fin de cet ouvrage. Ces récits sont d'autant plus importants qu'ils viennent combler le manque de connaissances de ces épisodes aussi soudains que mouvementés de l'histoire des villes et des individus. Une fois écrite, cette histoire orale peut devenir mémoire et ainsi servir à orienter les politiques contemporaines de gestion des risques urbains et de réduction des vulnérabilités.

# The resilient city: thinking about the challenges of urban rebuilding

This 39th Conference of the AIMF was a significant opportunity to return, 40 years on, to the process of rebuilding Phnom Penh after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime and its attempted urbicide. In addition to the Cambodian capital itself, the debates were enriched by interesting contributions concerning Kigali or Port-au-Prince.

## RECONSTRUCTION, AN EXCEPTION THAT IS BECOMING A NORM

When we were invited to hold a conference on the topic of urban reconstruction, we quickly came to the view that “resilience” is the term that best describes the way in which certain cities, like Phnom Penh, were able to find the means to rebuild after large-scale destruction.

The notion of urban resilience refers to the capacity of cities and their inhabitants to recover from a traumatic event, to face a shock caused by a disaster, an exceptional and often violent event, which may result in destruction and death, the displacement of populations, the collapse of existing political and social structures, as well as major and long term trauma to individuals and societies.

Forty years after the expulsion of the entire urban population and the destruction of a significant part of Phnom Penh under the Khmer Rouge regime, the reconstruction of the Cambodian capital is a particularly uplifting example of the capacity for resilience of cities and urban societies.<sup>1</sup> However, while Phnom Penh stands alone for the violence of the Khmer Rouge's anti-urban policy, disasters and rebuilding issues affect an ever-growing number of cities around the world, to the point that urban reconstruction is gradually becoming a norm.

Indeed, the increasing frequency and impact of natural hazards, along with global warming, are leading to an acceleration in natural disasters. As a recent UN report has shown, 1.4 billion people around the world living in cities with more than

500,000 inhabitants are now exposed to at least one type of natural risk. In Asia in particular, as a recent study has shown, rising sea levels threaten many cities in the region, such as Jakarta, Bangkok or Ho Chi Minh City. In addition to these risks, the acceleration in urban growth (particularly on the African and Asian continents) is increasing the impact of natural hazards, and therefore the vulnerability of territories and populations.

In other words, the city has become a “high risk area”, and the need for urban reconstruction an ever more present probability. Against this background, risk management and urban vulnerabilities have become absolute priorities for cities and should be central to urban development policies.

## Les politiques urbaines ne peuvent se passer d'une politique de gestion des risques.

### Construire des villes résilientes

#### Building resilient cities

កសាងទីក្រុង  
ទន្លេរាជធានី

#### Politique

- Identification et réduction des vulnérabilités
- Adoption de cadres réglementaires
- Politiques de sensibilisation
- Planification et coordination des actions publiques

សារណាម

- តើអ្នកស្ថាបាយក្នុង  
និងការស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍
- អនុវត្តក្របខណ្ឌចូលរួម
- គោរពយោបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍
- ផ្ទៃរករដ្ឋមូលដ្ឋាន
- និងសម្រាប់ស្ថាបាយសកម្មភាពសាធារណៈ

#### Social

- Un enjeu collectif
- Un enjeu d'équité sociale au cœur de la gestion du risque

សារណាម

- Améliorer la participation et privilégier les approches concrètes de réduction des risques
- A collective rather than individual stake
- Social equity and vulnerabilities at the center of risk management policies

#### Social

- Social equity and vulnerabilities at the center of risk management policies
- Improve participation and evidence-based approaches of risk reduction

សារណាម

- តារាងទាំងអស់ត្រូវ
- តារាងសម្រេចស្ថាបាយ ចំណែកលូលិយោះអ្នកនេះ
- ប្រុងប្រយោជន៍ស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍
- កំណត់ស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍

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- តារាងទាំងអស់ត្រូវ
- តារាងសម្រេចស្ថាបាយ ចំណែកលូលិយោះអ្នកនេះ
- ប្រុងប្រយោជន៍ស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍
- កំណត់ស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍
- កំណត់ស្ថាបាយដែលមានប្រយោជន៍

## **ANTICIPATING URBAN RECONSTRUCTION: RISKS AND VULNERABILITIES**

The risk of a disaster or a traumatic event is very difficult to assess, because all risks remain theoretical and uncertain. Our attitude to risk is therefore based on what has happened in the past, on what could happen in the future, and on how we think about this uncertainty in the present. While large-scale disasters often seem inevitable, it is now accepted that the consequences of such disasters are never "exogenous" fatalities, but rather the outcome of our economic, technical, political and social structures. In fact, today we have the capacity to protect ourselves against climate disasters and hazards, or at least to largely mitigate their effects. That is why a risk management strategy is a crucial component of urban policies.

What is an urban risk management strategy? Risk management entails on the one hand looking forward to identify potential risks, and on the other identifying vulnerabilities to those risks. For example, to what extent can the existing drainage infrastructures cope with exceptional rainfall events? Which populations and areas are most exposed to potential risks? Urban vulnerabilities are complex to assess, because they are generally interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Reducing vulnerabilities is not only about lessening or preventing the impact of disasters, but also protecting the most vulnerable populations.

When risk becomes reality, one must already have developed the technical and institutional resources to manage the consequences of disasters, such as population movements or material destruction. Anticipating risk is about developing scenarios and action plans so as to respond to an emergency in an organised way.

Finally, a risk management policy must anticipate resilience. Because resilience is not innate: it is something that is built up and fed by public policies, by social and economic development programmes, by citizen action and participatory practices. This is particularly necessary as not everyone is equal when it comes to sudden urban changes caused by disasters. Since the poorest populations are those most vulnerable to disasters, they are the ones most called upon to "show resilience". While a disaster is always sudden, risk management operates in multiple timeframes, both before, during and after the traumatic event. So vulnerability, risk and urban reconstruction refer to complex processes that demand systemic and global approaches, as much as more situated and targeted interventions.

## **APPROACHES TO RISK**

How should one approach risk? There are three central factors that need to be mentioned here. First, risk management is political. It requires the implementation of public policies that can reduce

vulnerabilities, develop appropriate regulatory frameworks and educate urban stakeholders (private, inhabitants, public) about risk management, in particular as risk is fed by individual and collective perceptions and behaviours in response to uncertainty.

Second, risk management is social. It must be understood as a community issue, and requires close collaboration between all urban stakeholders. Citizen participation is essential, because it facilitates awareness and implementation of appropriate solutions to the different forms of vulnerability that city dwellers may encounter. Economic status, education, living environment, along with social and family networks, will significantly determine the effect of disasters on populations, as well as the capacity of individuals to cope with them. Moreover, safety for one group may mean greater vulnerability for another. Equality in relation to vulnerabilities is a crucial factor in the construction of stable, durable and more egalitarian societies. For this reason, it is essential to implement public policies that target the most vulnerable groups in society.

Third, risk management is economic. Above all, it requires allocating funds to the identification of risks and vulnerabilities, to their reduction, and to their management if risk turns into reality. Economic investment, both public and political, needs to go into reducing vulnerabilities, particularly in the most disadvantaged populations. In consequence, risk management often requires us to change or adapt our models, which are still ill-suited to handling the "uncertain" nature of risk. Such changes include, for example, the introduction of legal and regulatory frameworks that place greater constraints on private actors, who also benefit from public risk reduction policies. Finally, risk management is economic because cities are increasingly exposed to recessions, to financial crises and to the bursting of speculative bubbles.

In other words, while resilience should be seen as a positive dynamic, it is not a choice, but a necessity in the face of sudden urban change. This is precisely why we need to improve our approach to and recognition of risk and vulnerabilities to natural disasters: to prevent destruction so that there is no need to rebuild, and therefore no need to be resilient.

# RESILIENCE NARRATIVES

In the course of this conference, there have been many papers that have helped us to understand the pathways of urban reconstruction. From the first hours to the first years of the reconstruction process, the accounts given by H.E. Thong Khong and H.E. Mok Mareth demonstrate how, in Phnom Penh, every minor initiative counted in the restoration of institutions

and governance. Their accounts illustrate how many challenges had to be tackled simultaneously, such as insecurity, disease, the re-establishment of a public administration, the shortage of schools and teachers, the reactivation of commerce, and food production and supplies to the city. In this regard, the story of the Phnom Penh Water Board reconstructed by L.E. Ek Sonn Chan perfectly illustrates the challenges of reactivating infrastructures and developing methods of managing and applying resources.

or their part, the papers given by Nakoneang Men Chandevy and Fabienne Lucco retrace a largely neglected aspect of urban reconstruction in Phnom Penh (as elsewhere): the story of the inhabitants, who had to adapt, develop community networks and exercise ingenuity in order to survive and rebuild their lives. In these circumstances, informality is not an anomaly, but the primary raw material of resilience. These narratives are in counterpoint with the story told by Jean-Marie Théodat who, through the example of Port-au-Prince, showed how the absence of effective public governance has the effect of further increasing the fragility

the most vulnerable population groups. Phnom Penh, as H.E. Mann Choeun explained, managing neighbourhoods that were considered "informal" became a major preoccupation of the public authorities from the early 1990s. The removal of populations living in informal housing areas in the city centre, and their settlement in the outskirts, took place through coordination between the public authorities and local associations. Regarding these groups, however, questions remain: does the possibility of owning property really represent the primary condition for socio-economic development? Is not household

vulnerability exacerbated by forced uprooting and relocation to areas remote from centres of economic activity? I.E. Kep Chuktema, H.E. Pa Socheat Vong and Vannak Seng from Phnom Penh municipality, and Christiane Blancot from PUR, gave important accounts about how the issues of urban reconstruction have changed over the last 30 years. While the development and maintenance of infrastructures were a priority in the 1990s, the 2000s have seen a shift in emphasis towards different questions such as landownership, governance (with the introduction of decentralisation policies), transport or urban planning. Today, big urban projects (e.g. satellite

The vitality of the Cambodian capital. As many speakers, for example Natharoun go, have pointed out, the interaction between a dynamic real estate market and the adoption of internationalised models of development, such as the smart city, are significant drivers of current urban transformations. However, as Chan Hun recalled, in relation to



Phnom Penh, habitat précaire sur un site inondable.

## Precarious housing in a flood zone.

ទីក្រុងក្នុងពេញ លំនៅជានមិនមានចាំនោក្នុង  
ទីតាំងអាមេរិក

# ទីក្រុងមានភាពជន់៖ គិតអំពើបញ្ហាប្រឈម នៃការកែសាន្តទីក្រុងឡើងវិញ

អង្គមហាសន្តិចាតល់ក្រុងពាណិជ្ជកម្ម AIMF នេះ គឺជាជាមីសម្បួយដើរសំខាន់ ដែលអនុញ្ញាតឡើយដោយត្រូវបែងចិត្តរបាយការឡើដំណឹកការនៃការកសាងទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញឡើងវិញ ៤០ឆ្នាំក្រោមពីរប់បង្ក្រាបមានជូលលំទៅ និងបន្ទាប់ពីបេតនាបេស់ពួកខ្លួនក្រោមក្នុងការលុបបំបាត់ទីក្រុង។ ក្រោមពីការនិយាយអំពីទីក្រុងខ្លួន សក្ខីកម្មអំពីទីក្រុងគិតប្រាប់លើ ប្រុទីក្រុងពារអូប្រាប់សំរាប់បានធ្វើឡើងដែរ ដើម្បីធ្វើឡើការពិភាក្សាការនៃតែមានភាពជូលជូលសនិងសម្បួយបែងចិត្តឡើត។

ເຕັມແວດົກ GABRIEL FAUVEAUD ຮາເຊີກາຍິນ້ແພັນດູກເກົ່າໂຄດີ່ເພື່ອເຮັດວຽກ

ការកេសានីខ្លួនដែលបានរាយការណ៍ដោយតាមច្បាស់ទៅនឹងការបង្កើតរាយការណ៍ជាបន្ទាន់មួយ  
នៅពេលដែលយើងខ្សោត្រូវបានអាណាព្យាបាយដោយតាមច្បាស់ទៅនឹងការបង្កើតរាយការណ៍អំពី  
ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនៃការកេសានីខ្លួនដែលបានរាយការណ៍ដោយតាមច្បាស់ទៅនឹងការបង្កើតរាយការណ៍  
ដែលសម្រាប់ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនៃការកេសានីខ្លួនដែលបានរាយការណ៍ដោយតាមច្បាស់ទៅនឹងការបង្កើតរាយការណ៍  
ទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ចេះស្ថិករាយកេសានីខ្លួនដែលបានរាយការណ៍ដោយតាមច្បាស់ទៅនឹងការបង្កើតរាយការណ៍

សង្គមណ៍នៃភាពជនទីក្រុង គឺសំដែរទៅសមត្ថភាពនៃទីក្រុង និង  
សមត្ថភាពបេសប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ដើម្បីសំនេរទីក្រុងទីក្រុង ចោរដឹងល្អជានូវ  
បន្ទាប់ពីទាននូវការព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ដើម្បីក្រាំក្រមួយ ចោរប្រឈមខុមទេនីការ  
ប៉ះទីផ្សារ ដែលបង្ហាញឡើងដោយក្រោះមហាផ្លូវយ បុណ្យាយព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ដើម្បី  
ណាមួយ ហើយព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ទាំងនេះ ជាតុល់ទៅ មានវិសាលភាពជា អារបង្កើត  
មានការខ្ចោមខាងក្រោមផ្លូវ និងសម្រាប់ដើរកម្មនុស្សប្រើននក ធ្វើឲ្យប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ  
បន្ទាល់ទិន្នន័យ ធ្វើឲ្យប្រជាសម្ព័ន្ធដែនិះយោបាយនិងសង្គមដែលមានស្រាប់បុះទេនីក្រុង  
ក្រោមផ្លូវ ដែលបង្ហាញឡើងដោយក្រោះមហាផ្លូវយ បុណ្យាយព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ដើម្បី

**1.** See in particular: Carrier A., 2007, *Les "lois de la possession" à Phnom Penh: conversion des droits d'usage résidentiel issus du contexte socialiste de réappropriation urbaine (1979-1989) en droits de propriété*, thèse de doctorat, Architecture, Université Paris 8, 599 p.; Pierdet C., 2008, *Les temporalités de la relation ville-fleuve à Phnom Penh: la fixation d'une capitale fluviale par la construction d'un système hydraulique (1865-2005)*, thèse de doctorat, Géographie, Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 589 p.; Fauveaud G., 2015, *La production des espaces urbains à Phnom Penh. Pour une géographie sociale de l'immobilier*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 368 p.

រយៈពេល៨០ឆ្នាំ ក្រោមពិនាទនាករដ្ឋស្ថិសប្បជនទាំងអស់  
ខេត្តពិភព្វុក្រុង និងការបំផ្តើលបំផ្តាល់រួមមួយដើម្បីក្នុងជំនួយទីក្រុងក្នុងពេញ គោរពពុក  
ខ្សោយក្រហម ការកសាងទីក្រុងខ្សោយក្នុងវិញ គឺជាបាទាបាយណីដូចតិស់សម្រួល  
បង្ហាញពីសមត្ថភាព ភាពជននៃទីក្រុង និងសង្គមសៀវភៅក្នុងទីក្រុង។ បើនែ  
ចិត្តភូមិថា ទីក្រុងក្នុងពេញជាបាយណីពិស់សម្រួល ដោយសារកិឡាភុនវេតេល  
នយោបាយបានដំឡើងទីក្រុងបស់ពួកខ្សោយក្រហម ក៏បើនែគ្មានៗមានរួមរាល់  
បញ្ជាផ្លូវការកសាងទីក្រុងខ្សោយក្នុងវិញពេលក្នុងដែរក្នុងក្នុង គឺជាបាទាបាយណី  
ការតែបើនេះទីក្រុងនៅក្នុងពិភព្វុក្រុង ហើយតាមដល់យើងការបន្ទិយាយបានថា  
ការកសាងទីក្រុងខ្សោយក្នុងវិញបានការបាយខ្លួនចំនួនរបៀបជាបន្ទានមួយ។

ពិតមេងហើយ ការកែវនៅឯធនូសហ្មាត់និងកម្បោងនៃភាពមិន  
ប្រាកដប្រជាមុនដាតី កើតុចជាការកែវនៅឯធនូសហ្មាត់ បណ្តាលល្អមាន  
ការពេញនិន្ទោះព្រឹកិករណ៍ឱ្យគ្រោះមហនុរាយ ឬចុចដែលបាយការណ៍ឯធនូស  
សេសអង្គការសហប្រជាតិបានបញ្ច្រាវើយចា និងសុវត្ថិភាពទាំង១,៩៨៣នាទាំង  
នាក់នៅក្នុងពិភពលោក កំពុងសេវាឌុំដឹងទីក្រុងដែលមានប្រជាដុំនៃលើស  
ពីមួយមិន្ទាក់ បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ពួកគេកំពុងប្រឈមមុខយ៉ាងហេរបាលាស់ទៅ  
និងហានិកយ៉ាងនៃគ្រោះមួនដាតិមួយប្រហែល ជាពិសេស នៅក្នុង ឬចុចដែល  
ការសិក្សាប្រាក់ប្រាក់ ឬឯធនូសហ្មាត់នៃពាណិជ្ជកម្ម ការកែវនៅឯធនូសហ្មាត់  
ទីក្រុងប្រជាតិបានបញ្ច្រាវើយចា និងសុវត្ថិភាពទាំង១,៩៨៣នាទាំង ឬចុចដែលបាយការណ៍  
ទីក្រុងបានកក បួចឲ្យក្រុងហើដិច្ចាបានដើម្បី បួនិមួយនិងកិត្តិយោបំនេះទៀត កំណើនប្រជាតិលើរដ្ឋបាលនិងក្រុងការកែវនៅឯធនូសហ្មាត់ និងអាសី ការនៅក្នុងប្រជាតិបានបញ្ច្រាវើយចា និងសុវត្ថិភាពទាំង១,៩៨៣នាទាំង ឬចុចដែលបាយការណ៍

ເບີນຍາຍເປັບມູກົງໄງ້ຕູ້ເຈົ້າ ຕີ່ຄຽງດາວລູ້ຍາເສົາ “ຜົນຜິໄອ  
ບາຣີກີ່ຍ” ເທິຍາກາກສະໜີໄງ້ຕູ້ເຈົ້າໄງ້ຕົກລົງໃດໆມາລະຫຼຸດວ່າກ່ຽວຢາດ  
ຊຳເນົາເຈົ້າງ່າ ເຊິ່ງບົກລະເຮົາ ມູກົງ ດາຽດບໍ່ໂຄນທາຮີກີ່ຍ ສີ່ນິ້ນມູກົງເຈົ້າ  
ເທິ່ງລືພາດໃດໆຄຽງດາວລູ້ຍາເສົາຜົນກົດຕາຜົນບໍ່ຂາດສ່າງບໍ່ຈີ່ຄຽງ ເທິຍ  
ຄູ່ກີ່ຜົນບໍ່ບັດຫຼາຍເຊີ້ງແບບຜົນໄດ້ເຄີຍແນວຕາຍກີ່ໄສ້ໄງ້ຮັບກົງໆ

គិតគូរពីការកែងការដៃខ្លួនឱ្យព្រមទាំងការបង្កើតរឹងចាំបាច់

ហានិភ័យនៃការកែតមានគ្រោះមហាផ្ទរ បូត្រិតិការណ៍ហង្វេ  
ភាពគ្រោះគ្រាល់មួយនៅ គីឡូវិថីការនឹងដឹងខ្ចាំងណាស់ ពីក្រោះថា វាល់  
ហានិភ័យ គីឡូវិថីកែតែស្ថិតនៅក្នុងវិស័យនៃទ្រីស្តុ និងមិនប្រាកដប្រជាបុរីយៈ  
។ ដូច្នេះ ទំនាក់ទំនងរបស់យើងជាមួយហានិភ័យ គីឡូវិថីដោយយោងទៅលើ  
អ្នកដែលឆ្លាប់បានកែតេឡើងក្នុងនូវចោរទៅហើយក្នុងអតិថតាល ទៅហើយអ្នកដែល  
អាចនឹងកែតេឡើងនៅក្នុងថ្ងៃអារាគត ប្រមាំងទៅបើរីប្បៀប្រឈមឱ្យកិត្តិស្ស  
ពីភាពមិនប្រាកដប្រជាតាទាំងនេះនៅក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នកាល។ ឱ្យកិត្តិស្ស ដាក្រើកញ្ញា  
គ្រោះមហាផ្ទរ ដែលមានវិសាលភាពដែល គេហាក់ដូចជានិមិនអារក្រោមតុត  
កំបុង ឬបុង បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ទៅទូលាស្តាល់ថា ធមុនិតាកន្លែងគ្រោះមហាផ្ទរយំទាំងនេះ  
មិនមែនអក្សាគិតកម្មប្រព័ន្ធឌានបាបុរីយើងដោយក្នុងខាងក្រោមនេះទេ ដូចយោទេរីញ្ញា  
កាបូចិនតែជាមិតិផលនៃបច្ចនាសម្ព័ន្ធសេដ្ឋកិច្ច បច្ចកទេស នយោបាយ និង  
សង្គមបស់យើងទេរីញ្ញទេ ពីតមិនហើយ បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ យើងមានសមត្ថភាព  
ការពារខ្លួនយើង ទៅទំនើនគ្រោះមហាផ្ទរ និងភាពមិនប្រាកដប្រជាតា  
នៃអាកាសតុ ប្រុកយ៉ាងហេចណាស់ អាចកាត់បន្ទូយយ៉ាងហើននូវដែល  
បែបណាប់បណ្តាលមកពីគ្រោះមហាផ្ទរយំទាំងនេះដោយ។ ហេតុដូច្នេះហើយបាន  
ជាគេលនយោបាយក្រោង មិនអាចខ្លះគេលនយោបាយគ្រប់គ្រងហានិភ័យ  
បានទេ

ເຕີເຄາລະເຍາຕາຍເກ្រບ່ງເກຣທານິກໍພໍາງກູດຝັ້ງຕັ້ງ? ບຸນເສບໜຸ້ນສໍ  
ຕື່ອົາ ຢ່າງ ລາງເກ្រບ່ງເກຣທານິກໍພໍາງກູດຝັ້ງກາຕົກຕາມກາຕົກຕົງຢູ່ເມືອງເຫຼືອ  
ຜົວມາບເກີດມານເຊື່ອງຕັ້ງຍ້າເທິງ ອີ້ນຢ່າງເຊື່ອດ ກະຕູງຢູ່ເມືອງເຫຼືອ  
ຕາມເຮົ່າເຕະ: ມຸຂທານິກໍພໍາງກູດຝັ້ງເນັ້ນ: ຂ່າຍເທິນ ເຕີເທິງກູດຝັ້ງມັນໃຈ  
ລູບຮູ້ເຖິກສັງເປົ້າເຮັດວຽກຕົ້ນໂດຍກຳນົ້າໆ ຖຸ່ນຜູ້ໃຈລາຍນັ້ນແກ່ງໝາກ  
ເບື້ອງຂຳໜັງທຸກສະບັບສິນ ດັ່ງກ່າວ? ເຕີເປົ້າຕະລາມແກ້ວມາ ອີ້ນໃຈຕົ້ນໄດ້ມາ  
ຂຶ້ນໃຈແບບເພຍພຸ່ນຂຶ້ນໃຈຕະນິກ ເຊີ້ນໃຈທານິກໍພໍາງຕັ້ງຍ້າເທິງ ທີ່  
ເກຮົ່າເຕີຍກາຕົກຕົງຢູ່ເກຣທານິກໍພໍາງກູດຝັ້ງ ຕິດກັນຢູ່ເມືອງເຫຼືອ  
ເກຮົ່າເຕີຍກາຕົກຕົງເນັ້ນ: ດັ່ງເຊົ້າ ເຕີໃຈໆເກີດຕະເຫຼືອເຕີເຕີມ

នៅពេលដែលហានិភ័យកើតឡើងជាតុកវិស្វី មុននឹងហានិភ័យ  
កសិល់ទៅតេរ្ងបារោះ គេត្រូវមែនមេរោចបាយបច្ចកទេស និងស្ថូប់ន ដើម្បី  
គ្រប់គ្រងជូលិបាកបង្កើងឡើងដោយព្រោះមហនុវយ ដូចជា គ្រប់គ្រងបញ្ញា  
ន្លាស់ខិះបស់ប្រាកាណិល ដូចការខ្ចោះបោនាសម្ព័ន្ធដានដើម្បី បង្ការ  
ការណិភ័យ គឺមាននំបាន ដូចចំបំផើតសេណាឌីយោ និងដែនការសកម្មភាព  
ដល់អនុញ្ញាតឡើយដើម្បីយកតាមបែបម្មយ ដែលមានការរៀបចំក្រីម្រួវ  
ការជាមុននៃក្រុងករណីបញ្ជាន់។

ពីកម្មេងហើយ គ្រោះបានរាយតែនៅទីក្រុងខេត្តឡើងគំបុកភ្លាមវ  
ក្នុងការប្រើប្រាស់ហានិភ័យ គឺជាផ្លូវការណ៍កែតាមឡើង និងដំណាក់កាល  
ឡើង ពេលគីមនុសពីក្រុងការណ៍កែតាមឡើង នូវពេលរីក្សាការណ៍កែតាមឡើង  
និងបន្ទាប់ពីមហាឌុក្សាយកែតាមឡើង។ ដូច្នេះ ទេរីនីយភាព ហានិភ័យ និងការ  
សាងសង្គម គឺសំដែរដោយការរាយដើម្បីសួគស្ថាប្រឈម ដែលត្រូវ  
ការពិធីសាលសំយោគី និងជាមួយក្នុងចំណែកអនុកម្មនៃទីក្រុងខេត្តឡើង

## ធនាគត់ការចំពោះហានិភ័យ

ເຖິງກູງເງື່ອບໍ່ຄຳດັກຕ່າງໃບບະນາ ຄຸນເຕັມມາຮກລິຄົ້ນຢ່າງ ? ບານ  
ທີ່ ດັບຕົກ ສໍາຂ່າຍໆ ເພີ້ມຄູນໄດ້ບັນຍົກມາກບັນຫາງຸ່ມເຊົາເຕັມເວລະຍະ: ບໍ່ ດັບຕົກ  
ກາງເກົບປ່ຽນທານີກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນເຫັນເຫັນຍາຍ ບໍ່ ດັບຕົກ: ຕ່າງໆຢ່າງມານກາ  
ມາຊີ່ ອຸ່ນເຄີຍແນວໃຈທີ່ ພົມມະນຸຍາກົດບໍລິບຸນຍຸເກໂ  
ເພີ້ມຄູນ ບໍ່ເກົບປ່ຽນຂອງບັນຍົກບໍ່ສໍາຜູນບ ວິທີ່ ດັບຕົກໃຫ້ຄູກົງທຳມັກສ່ ທຳ  
ກາກຜົນ ໝັ້ນຕົດຕະຫຼອງ ສີ່ ຂີ້ງແນ້ງ ຂີ້ງແນ້ງ ຂີ້ງແນ້ງ ກາງເກົບປ່ຽນທານີກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນ  
ກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນເຫັນຍາຍ ເພີ້ມຄູນບໍ່ ຖໍ່ ເກົບປ່ຽນທານີກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນ  
ກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນເຫັນຍາຍ ເພີ້ມຄູນບໍ່ ຖໍ່ ເກົບປ່ຽນທານີກົດຍື່ນຕົ້ນຢືນ

ចំណុចទី៣ ការគ្រប់ក្រសងហានិភ័យដើរីជូនសងកិច្ច។  
ការបងបែម ចំណុចទី៤ តម្លៃខ្សោយនកពុំបែងការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រាក់ក្នុងពិភពលោក។

ចំណុចចងក្រាយ ការគ្រប់គ្រងហានិភ័យដើម្បីនេសជ្ជកិច្ច ពីព្រះ  
ទា ទីក្រោងប្រយោមុខការតែក្នុងខេត្តនៃទេរីនការឆ្លាតកំចុះនៃសេដ្ឋកិច្ច ទេរីន  
ឲ្យបាតិកិច្ចក្នុងវត្ថុ និងការកែវត្រួចដើរឃើងយ៉ាងខ្សោះនៃការទិញទូកសម្រាប់លក់ ឬ  
និយាយតាមលេខរៀងវត្ថុ តើក្នុងបាន ភាពធន់ត្រូវបានចាត់ទុកដូចជាបាយការ  
វិដ្ឋាមាន បុន្ណែភាពធន់មិនមែនជាមិនមែនឡាត់ទេ មាននឹមួយបាន ភាពធន់តើក្នុង  
ចំណាប់ ត្រូវធ្វើទិន្នន័យឱ្យមានភាពធន់ នៅថ្ងៃពេលមុខហើយបញ្ហាបានកិច្ច  
និងបន្ទាន់។ ដូចខ្លះ គឺជីសាថ្មុមួយណានៅមុន និងការគិតគុអំពីហានិភ័យ  
និងកេទវិយភាពនៃថ្ងៃពេលមុខគ្រោះមហនុវត្តយកចំណាប់នៅបើយ ដើម្បី  
នូវប្រយោជន៍នៃថ្ងៃពេលការគ្រប់គ្រងហានិភ័យ ពេលគឺការបានចូលរួមការ  
ខ្លួនខ្លួន មិនចំណាប់កសាងដើរឃើងវត្ថុ ដូចខ្លះមាននឹមួយបាន មិនចំណាប់មានភាព  
ជន។

## ការង្រៀបរបៀបអំពីភាពជន

ទីផ្សារនូវកម្មសិទ្ធិដឹង គឺជាលក្ខខណ្ឌតិចប្រាកដនៃការអភិវឌ្ឍសម្រាប់  
សេរីភីប្រុទ ? អចាចវាការបែបសំក្តុមត្រួសរបាយការដែលធ្វើឡើង  
ឡើតឡើ ? ដោយសារព័ត៌មានផ្ទាល់ប្រុសគល់បែបសំត្តុកគេដោយបង្កើ និងការទទួល  
ព័ត៌មានលើសេរីភីដូចនេះដើម្បីដែលនៅត្រាយពីហេដ្ឋុងនៃសកម្មភាពសេរីភី ?  
ឯកខត្តម កែប អុទិម ឯកខត្តម ថា សុជាតិអើយ និងលោក សេន នូវណា; មក  
ពីសាលាការជានីតិវិញ្ញុ ព្រមទាំងលោកស្រី គ្រិស្សវាន ឬអ្នក មកពីអង្គភាព  
APUR ទីក្រុងបានឱស កំពានផ្តល់នូវសកម្មសំខាន់ងារដើម្បី ស្ថិតិការអើយនៃ  
ការកសាងនីក្រោងឡើងនៅក្នុងរឿង រួចរាល់យោបាយពាងចានដូចបុងប្រាយនេះ។ ចិត្តបើ  
ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ការបែងប្រែចាប់បើការសារមន្ទីរដើម្បីការទិន្នន័យក្នុងទិន្នន័យសកម្ម  
ឆ្នាំ១៩៤០ កំពុងឡើង គឺនេតែទស្សន៍ត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើង ដើម្បីបានអនុវត្តមន្ត្រី  
ឡើលើសិស្សយោងឡើត ដូចជា កម្មសិទ្ធិដឹង អភិតាមកិច្ច ( ការដោកបែងប្រាយ )  
គោលនយោបាយឈើមិញការ ) ការដឹងជាង្លូវ ប្រការដើម្បីដែលការក្រោង ជាផើម។

សត្វិកម្មបែស់លោកដាទាន ណាតខី អុបុន្តិក ហុត់សុនហូវ  
អភិបាលលងក្រោង គិតុលិ បង្ហាញរួមចាប់ឡើងថា តើគោលនយោបាយអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ក្រោង  
ទាំងនេះត្រូវផ្តល់បានម្មយនឹងគោលនយោបាយសង្គម ប្រយុទ្ធប្រជាឌនីនៃ  
ភាពក្រឹក និងអំពីកុរិយដោយរបៀបណាគ ដែលធ្វើឲ្យជូនការិយ្យឱស ភ្លាញ់  
ជាម្មយោះ ភ្លាយជាទាមហរណីម្មយក្សយកក្នុងតាមក្រុងក្រឹក ដើម្បីបង្កើត  
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បែសប្រជាមួយ សូមតែជាផ្នែកសំខាន់ៗនៃភាពផ្លូវ។ ដូចដែលលោក  
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ទាំងនេះ អាចជាដំឡើងការការិយាល័យបានទៀត ក្នុងការបង្ហាញនា

# Retour sur les enjeux de la reconstruction à Phnom Penh

១. ត្រួវប់ទេពិនិត្យមិលបញ្ជានៃការកសាងនឹងក្រដាស  
ភ្នំពេញទេវិនិត្យនូវក្រុង

# A look back at the challenges of the reconstruction of Phnom Penh



Après une brève chronologie des grandes étapes qui ont jalonné la reconstruction de Phnom Penh par S.E. Pa Socheat Vong, Christiane Blancot revient sur les actions clés de cette reconstruction et Fabienne Luco sur la résilience de la population et son rôle dans le renouveau de la ville.

After a short chronology of the main steps that punctuated the reconstruction of Phnom Penh by H.E. Pa Socheat Vong, Christiane Blancot describes the key measures in that reconstruction process and Fabienne Luco the resilience of the population and its role in the revival of the city.

Gare de Phnom Penh, 9 février 1980:  
réouverture du chemin de fer. Le transport  
ferroviaire est important et les  
Cambodgiens doivent le réhabiliter.

Phnom Penh railway station, 9 February 1980:  
reopening of the railway. Rail transport is  
important and Cambodia needs to revive it.

សានិយោទ្ធផីនុវត្តក្នុងទីក្រុងក្នុងពេលវេលា ថ្មីទី៦  
ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ១៩៨០ ការប៊ូកម្បែរដើរដែកជីវិក  
ការក្រុងឯធម៌ព្រៃនា ការដឹកជញ្ជូនចាមួយដើរដែក  
គឺជាបញ្ហាប្រចាំឆ្នាំនេះដែលបានបញ្ចប់ជាទាំង  
ពាណិជ្ជកម្មសំខាន់ដែលបានបញ្ចប់ជាទាំង

# "Leadership, processus de reconstruction et de développement de la Ville de Phnom Penh"

Ancien Gouverneur de Phnom Penh de 2013 à 2017, Pa Socheat Vong partage son expérience et les défis que la municipalité de Phnom Penh a rencontrés pendant son mandat. **PAR S. E. PA SOCHEAT VONG**

## SE RECONSTRUIRE

Phnom Penh, qui a traversé les tragédies et les épreuves les plus amères et les plus indescriptibles lorsqu'elle a été transformée en ville fantôme entre 1975 et 1979, est aujourd'hui une ville prospère et peuplée de près de 3 millions d'habitants bénéficiant désormais d'un mode de vie décent.

Phnom Penh est l'une des vieilles villes de la Francophonie. Après la libération du 7 janvier 1979 du régime génocidaire des Khmers rouges, la ville commence sa renaissance et sa reconstruction. Depuis la signature de l'Accord de paix de Paris en 1991, une plus grande attention a été accordée à la restauration de la ville. La propriété foncière privée est rétablie en 1989, entraînant une forte croissance dans les secteurs de la construction et de l'immobilier au cours de la décennie suivante. À partir des années 2000, les *borey*, ou communautés fermées, parsèment peu à peu le paysage et les immeubles de grande hauteur commencent à germer. La transformation de la ville entraîne également de multiples défis concernant l'environnement. Les déchets solides et liquides augmentent en volume, mais les infrastructures de traitement restent très médiocres. Par ailleurs, du début des années 1980 à l'an 2000, la ville compte environ 2 000 établissements communautaires pauvres s'étendant au bord des lacs, des canaux, de la voie ferrée, sur les toits des bâtiments existants et dans certains espaces publics.

Pour faire face à ces défis, des mesures ont été prises pour définir une vision à long terme de la ville.

Pour faire face à ces défis, des mesures ont été prises pour définir une vision à long terme de la ville. Entre 2003 et 2015, dans le cadre d'un projet financé par le FSP (Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire français), la Ville de Phnom Penh et des experts cambodgiens, en étroite collaboration avec des experts français, entreprirent une étude pour concevoir et développer le Plan directeur stratégique de Phnom Penh à l'horizon 2035. Approuvé par le Conseil des ministres le 15 dé-

cembre 2015, le schéma directeur à l'horizon 2035 définit de grandes orientations du développement urbain de la capitale cambodgienne, comme la durabilité, son caractère multifonctionnel, la réalisation d'infrastructures et de nouvelles zones d'urbanisation, ainsi que le développement d'une ville inclusive pour tous, riches et pauvres.

De plus, grâce à une coopération avec l'Agence japonaise de coopération internationale (JICA), la ville développe un plan directeur des transports ainsi qu'un plan directeur pour gérer les inondations. Un plan stratégique de gestion environnementale de la ville est également conclu grâce à une coopération avec l'organisation Green International Science.

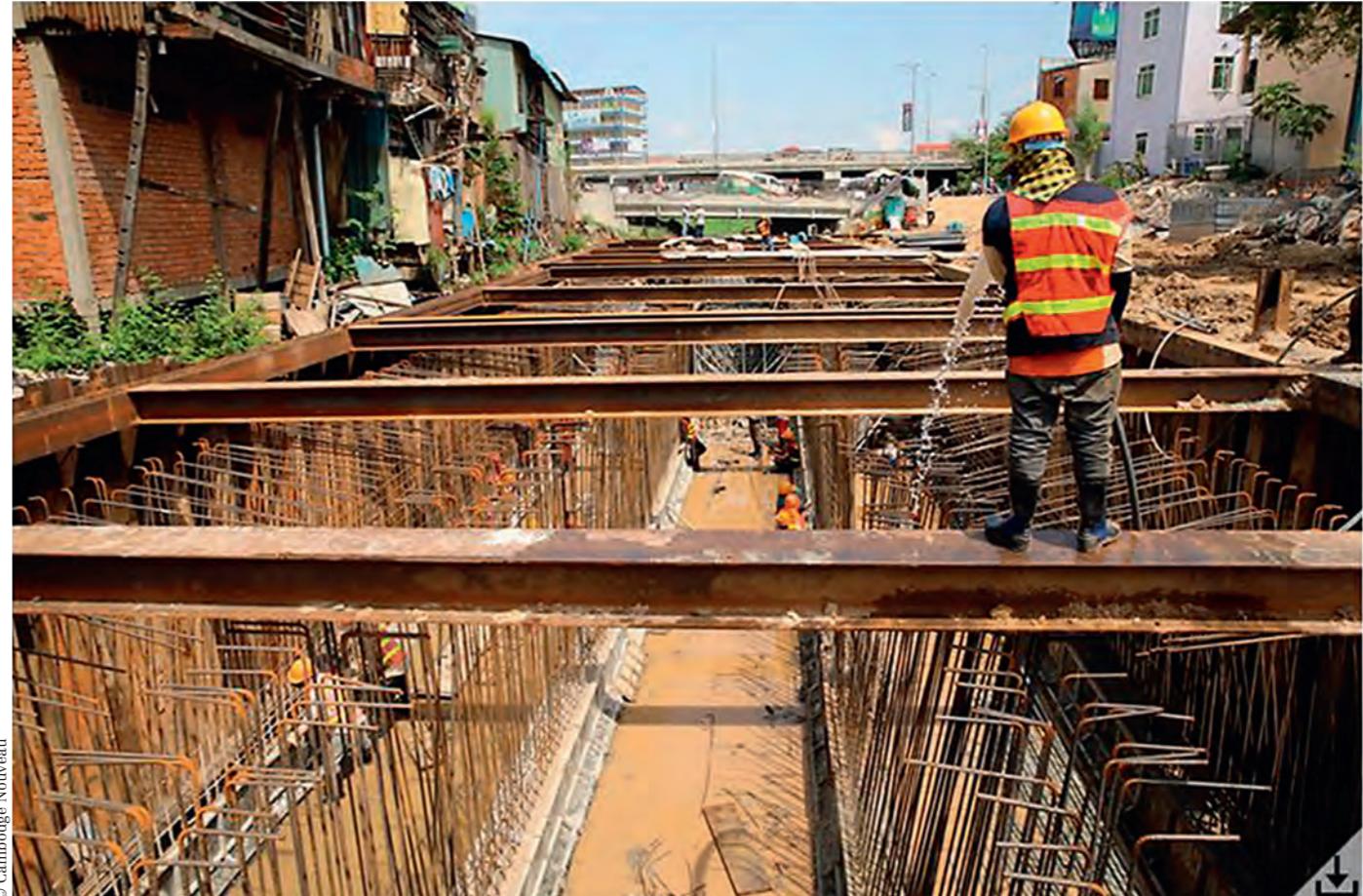
Avec le plan directeur 2015-2035 à notre disposition, l'administration municipale de Phnom Penh a lancé, pendant mon mandat, un certain nombre de plans d'actions prioritaires pour relever plusieurs défis clés au cours de la période 2013-2017 en utilisant la combinaison de 3 priorités clés nommées «3.2.1» 3 pour 3 défis, 2 pour 2 services et 1 pour une politique de décentralisation/déconcentration.

## RELEVER TROIS DÉFIS PRIORITAIRES :

1. L'ordre public relatif à la circulation, aux parkings, aux transports, aux marchands ambulants, à la construction et à la gestion de l'aménagement du territoire ;
2. Les problèmes environnementaux liés à la gestion des déchets liquides et solides ;
3. Les problèmes d'infrastructure, y compris les routes, le système de drainage et les réseaux de distribution d'eau potable et d'électricité, qui doivent être améliorés dans le cadre du plan de relocalisation des usines et autres établissements d'entreprise sur des sites le long des routes de la ceinture de la ville.

## FOURNIR DEUX SERVICES PRINCIPAUX AUX HABITANTS DE LA VILLE :

1. Un service de sécurité : la sécurité et la stabilité politique doivent être assurées à tout moment. Cela a été mis en œuvre à diverses reprises lors de manifestations, parfois violentes, de la population.



2. Fournir des services publics, y compris des services de santé et d'éducation, aux citoyens avec transparence, responsabilité et efficacité.

## POLITIQUE DE DÉCENTRALISATION ET DE DÉCONCENTRATION :

1. Poursuite de la mise en œuvre de la politique de décentralisation et de déconcentration, de manière plus large et approfondie, dans le cadre du développement démocratique infranational afin de rapprocher les services publics de la population. Cela se fait grâce à une coopération renforcée entre la ville et les organisations de la société civile, les partenaires du développement et par la consultation publique, ainsi que par le renforcement du mécanisme du service à guichet unique à tous les niveaux administratifs et avec un degré élevé de confiance.

Avec les plans directeurs et des stratégies ciblées comme principaux outils à notre disposition, appuyés par la sagesse de la «ville nourricière de la ville» mise en place par Samdech Techo Hun Sen, Premier ministre du Royaume du Cambodge, Phnom Penh a réussi certaines réalisations majeures. Pour n'en nommer que quelques-unes : la construction des routes de ceinture de la ville, des autoponts et des routes du centre-ville pour éviter la congestion du trafic, un autopont piétonnier érigé pour minimiser les accidents de la route, des châteaux d'eau publics construits dans des zones excentrées pour répondre aux besoins du public,

Chantier de construction du réseau de drainage, Phnom Penh, 2007.

Phnom Penh, drainage system construction site, 2007.

ការបង្កើតរចនាសង្គម នៃទីក្រុងក្នុងពេញ ឆ្នាំ២០០៧

un système de transport public par bus, la rénovation des parcs publics, l'amélioration de l'éclairage public et l'installation de caméras de sécurité, la pavement d'une voie piétonne le long de la rivière Tonlé Bassac, ainsi que l'amélioration du système de drainage (la capacité des 12 stations de pompage a été multipliée par trois).

Ces réalisations ont également été accompagnées par la forte croissance du nombre d'immeubles de grande hauteur, des *borey* et des villes satellites. Des conflits fonciers chroniques dans des communautés non organisées ont également été résolus. Sur ce front, la politique visant à relever le niveau de vie des communautés défavorisées a été appliquée avec vigueur. Un comité interministériel a été formé pour mener une étude et une évaluation afin de déterminer la compensation et les droits de propriété pour les résidents ou les communautés qui sont affectés par l'objectif du plan directeur. Entre 2001 et 2014, le nombre de communautés pauvres est passé de 1 369 à 252 grâce à une campagne de concession de terres octroyées à ceux qui résident dans les zones touchées et grâce à leur intégration dans les structures formelles de village et de sangkat.

Malgré ces progrès, la ville de Phnom Penh fait toujours face à de nombreux défis et face à une importante concurrence économique, qui dépasse ce que le plan directeur de la ville prévoyait. Le développement inégal entre les différentes zones de la ville et les modes d'utilisation du sol et de la géographie de la ville se traduisent par

des pertes économiques. Celles-ci s'accompagnent d'un déséquilibre entre les besoins d'ouvrir plus d'espace foncier pour les activités de construction axées sur les services, et les infrastructures publiques. Ces dernières restent insuffisantes face à la croissance démographique et au boom de la construction, comme en témoigne l'aggravation des embouteillages année après année dans le centre-ville. Pendant ce temps, alors que la ville se transforme de plus en plus en une métropole pouvant accueillir jusqu'à 6 millions d'habitants, alors qu'elle ne compte maintenant que 2 millions d'habitants, elle créera alors également un précédent pour d'autres grandes provinces, qui doivent être régies par la même loi.

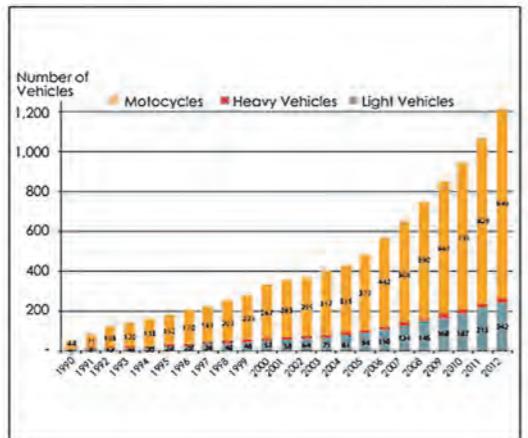
Au cours des décennies suivantes, les villes et les municipalités de l'ANASE sont impatientes d'adopter le concept de réseau de villes intelligentes défendu par les dirigeants de l'organisation. À la lumière des défis que je viens de mentionner, je souhaiterais insister sur deux enjeux importants auxquels la ville devra faire face dans un futur proche.

Tout d'abord, avec son évolution et son développement, Phnom Penh a maintenant dépassé son statut de capitale et est en passe de devenir une métropole qui aura des fonctions plus spécifiques et nécessitera plus de ressources, de capacités et de responsabilités en matière juridique, technique, financière et de gestion.

Ensuite, avec la forte augmentation de la population, des moyens de transport et de la construction, le moment est venu pour les dirigeants de la ville de reconstruire la révision du plan directeur de la ville de manière à répondre à la concurrence économique et afin d'assurer un développement plus durable. En tant que membre du réseau Smart City, la ville de Phnom Penh doit se préparer à pouvoir rattraper la tendance régionale.

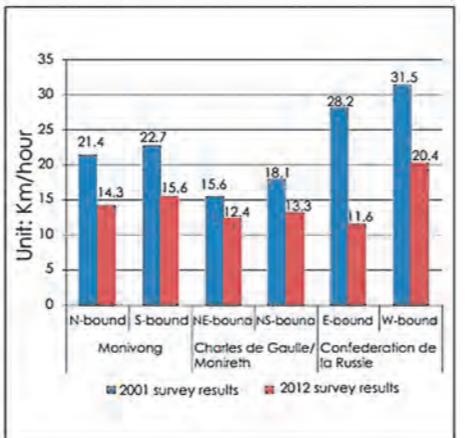
Pour conclure, je souhaiterais dire que si les défis rencontrés par toutes nos villes respectives peuvent être similaires ou différents, j'espère que nous, en tant que partenaires de la Francophonie, continuerons de partager les bonnes leçons apprises avec la ville de Phnom Penh. J'espère aussi que nous travaillerons ensemble pour relever ces défis, pour garantir un développement urbain plus durable et une croissance économique dans un environnement sain, exempt de congestion routière, de détritus et d'inondations, afin de prendre soin du bien-être des résidents pour continuer à garantir l'équilibre de leur niveau de vie.

**Figure 1.14: Increase in Vehicles in Phnom Penh Between 1990 and 2012**



Source: JICA, 2014. The Project for Comprehensive Urban Transport Plan in Phnom Penh Capital City

**Figure 1.15: Change in Travel Speed Between 2001 and 2012**



Graphique 1.14:  
Augmentation du  
nombre de véhicules  
à Phnom Penh de 1990  
à 2012.

Graph 1.14: Increase in the  
number of vehicles in  
Phnom Penh from 1990 to  
2012.

ក្រសួងទេសចរណ៍  
បច្ចនកម្មយន្តទេសទំនាក់ទំនង  
ពីឆ្នាំ១៩៩០ ដល់ឆ្នាំ២០១២

Graphique 1.15:  
Evolution du trafic de  
2001 à 2012.

Graph 1.15: Traffic growth  
from 2001 to 2012.

ក្រសួងទេសចរណ៍  
ចកចែណី ពីឆ្នាំ២០០១ ដល់  
ឆ្នាំ២០១២

## “Leadership, Reconstruction Process and Development in the City of Phnom Penh”

Former Governor of Phnom Penh from 2013 to 2017, Pa Socheat Vong looks back on his experience and on the challenges that Phnom Penh municipality faced during his mandate.

BY H. E. PA SOCHEAT VONG

### REBUILDING

Phnom Penh, which suffered the most bitter and indescribable trials and tragedies when it was turned into a ghost city between 1975 and 1979, is today a prosperous and populous city of almost 3 million people who now enjoy a decent way of life.

Phnom Penh is one of the world's old Francophone cities. After it was liberated on January 7, 1979 from the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, the city embarked upon its renaissance and reconstruction. Since the signature of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991, greater attention has been paid to the restoration of the city. Private land ownership was re-established in 1989, leading to strong growth in the construction and real estate sectors over the decade that followed. From the 2000s onwards, the landscape gradually became peppered with borey, or gated communities, and high-rise buildings began to spring up. The transformation of the city also

generated many environmental challenges. Volumes of solid and liquid waste increased, but the infrastructures for treating them remained very modest. Moreover, from the early 1980s to the year 2000, the city was home to some 2000 poor community settlements, located along lakes, canals, the railway, on the roofs of existing buildings and in certain public spaces.

To tackle these challenges, measures were taken to establish a long-term vision for the city. Between 2003 and 2015, as part of a project funded by the FSP (France's Priority Solidarity Fund), Phnom Penh Municipality and Cambodian experts, in close collaboration with French experts, undertook a study to design and develop the strategic masterplan for Phnom Penh up to the time horizon of 2035. Approved by the Council of Ministers on December 15, 2015, the 2035 Masterplan sets out the main orientations for the urban development of the Cambodian capital, such as sustainability, multi-functionality, the construction of infrastructures and new urban areas, as well as the development of a city that is inclusive for everyone, rich and poor alike.

Moreover, thanks to a cooperation with JICA (Japanese International Cooperation Agency), the city developed a transport masterplan as well as a flood control plan. A strategic plan for the environmental management of the city was also completed, in cooperation with the Green International Science organisation.

Once we had the 2015-2035 masterplan available, Phnom Penh's municipal administration – during my mandate – launched a number of priority action plans to tackle several key challenges over the period 2013-2017, using the combination of 3 key priorities named “3.2.1”: 3 for three challenges, 2 for two services and 1 for a policy of decentralisation/devolution.

### THREE PRIORITY CHALLENGES

1. Public order problems relating to traffic, parking, transport, street vendors, construction and spatial planning;
2. Environmental problems linked with the management of liquid and solid waste;
3. Infrastructure problems, including roads, the drainage system and the drinking water and power networks, which have to be improved under the plan to relocate factories and other enterprises to sites along the orbital roads around the city.

### PROVIDING THE CITY'S INHABITANTS WITH TWO MAIN SERVICES

1. A security service: safety and political stability must be maintained at all times. This was implemented on several occasions in the context of sometimes violent demonstrations by the population.

2. Providing citizens with public services, including health and education services, with transparency, with accountability and with efficiency.

### DECENTRALISATION AND DEVOLUTION POLICY

1. Broadening and intensification of the decentralisation and devolution policy, within the framework of infranational democratic development, in order to bring public services closer to the population. This is achieved through greater cooperation between the city and civil society organisations and development partners, and by public consultation, as well as by a reinforced and highly trusted one-stop shop mechanism for services at all administrative levels.

With the master plans and targeted strategies as the main tools available to us, underpinned by the wisdom of the “city nurturing the city” principle established by Samdech Techo Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Phnom Penh has achieved some major accomplishments. To name but a few: the building of orbital roads around the city, elevated roads in the city centre to avoid traffic congestion, a pedestrian overpass to minimise road accidents, public water towers in peripheral areas to meet public needs, a public bus transport service, the renovation of public parks,

improvements to public lighting and the installation of CCTV cameras, the creation of a pedestrian walkway along the Tonlé Bassac River, and improvements to the drainage system (with a tripling of the capacity of the 12 pumping stations).

These accomplishments were paralleled by significant growth in the numbers of high-rise buildings, boreys and satellite towns. Chronic land conflicts in the non-organised communities were also resolved. On this front, the policy to improve the living standards of disadvantaged communities was vigorously applied. An interministerial committee was set up to conduct a study and assessment to determine the compensation and property rights to be awarded to the residents or communities affected by the goals of the masterplan. Between 2001 and 2014, the number of poor communities fell from 1369 to 252 thanks to a land grant concession programme for people living in the affected areas and their integration into the formal village and sangkat structures. Despite these advances, the city of Phnom Penh still faces many challenges, in particular significant economic competition, which exceeds the levels anticipated in the city's masterplan.

Unequal development between the city's different zones and changes in the land use and geography of the city have led to economic losses. Alongside these, there is an imbalance between the quantities of

land provided for service-oriented construction activities, and the need to build public infrastructures. The latter are inadequate to handle the level of demographic growth and the construction boom, as evidenced by the year-on-year increase in city centre congestion. During this time, as the city increasingly develops into a metropolis with the capacity to accommodate up to 6 million inhabitants, as compared with the current 2 million, it will also create a precedent for other big provinces, which must be governed by the same principles. Over the coming decades, cities and municipalities in ASEAN are impatient to adopt the concept of the smart cities network advocated by the organisation's leaders. In the light of the challenges I have just mentioned, I would like to emphasise two important issues that the city will need to deal with in the near future.

First, as it has changed and developed, Phnom Penh has now become more than a capital and is in the process of becoming a metropolis, which will have more specific functions and require more resources, capacities and responsibilities in the legal, technical, financial and management domains.

Then, with the rapid increase in population, transport systems and construction, the time has come for the municipal leaders to consider revising the city masterplan in response to economic competition and to ensure more sustainable development. As a member of the Smart City network, the city of Phnom Penh needs to prepare in order to keep pace with regional trends. To conclude, I would like to say that while the challenges our respective cities face may be similar or different, I hope that we – as partners in Francophonie – will continue to share the important lessons learned with the city of Phnom Penh. I also hope that we will work together to tackle these challenges, to guarantee more sustainable urban development and economic growth in a healthy environment, free of road congestion, detritus and flooding, where we can continue to advance the well-being of citizens and to guarantee them stable living standards.

**“ការធើកនា ដំណើរកសង និងអភិខ្ពស់រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ”**

ក្នុងនាមអភិតអភិបាលនៃគណៈអភិបាលរដ្ឋបាដីក្នុងពេញ ក្នុងចន្ទនោះឆ្នា ២០១៣-២០១៧ ខ្ញុំមានកិត្តិយោស និង  
សេចក្តីកកិយចំកកវិលកនូវប្រទួល បទពិសាចន៍ បញ្ហាប្រយោម កំដូចជាធស្សនីសំយមួយចំនួនសម្រាប់ការគ្រប់គ្រង  
និងការអភិវឌ្ឍរដ្ឋបាដីក្នុងពេញក្នុងអាណាពិបស់ខ្ញុំ។

ជោយ ឯកឧត្តម ពី សុជាតិរៀង

ກະຕາລີຄໍ້າເຕັມ ແລະ ດັກຕິໂກນໍ້າຍດູ້ເປັນກາດໜ້າໃສກາຕ່າງໆ ເພື່ອ  
ພັ້ນຜູ້ອັນ ດາບດັກກົບມີຄວາມສ່ວນຮຸ້ນທີ່ຕາມ ອີ່ນດູ້ຍັນຕັ້ງໃຫ້ໂກນໍ້າເຫຼົາຮຸ້ນ  
ບໍ່ເຖິງ; ປັ້ນໆ ດັກຕິໂກນໍ້າຍດູ້ເປັນກາດໜ້າໃສກາຕ່າງໆ ເພື່ອ  
ເປັນເວັບໄຟຕົວຕາມຕະຫຼາດ ປົກບັດເພົາແກ້ໄຂໆ ສົມບູ້ລະບູ້ຍ ອີ່ນປັດຈຸນ  
ມາຮັນຜົນກາຕະສຍາເຫັນບຸດບຸກຊາ

ដើម្បីធ្វោះស្រាយបញ្ហាប្រលម្មទាំងនេះ វិតានការព្រៃនានាតាត់ខ្លួន សំដែរកំណត់ច្បាស់យុរូប៊ីឡូសម្រាប់ការប្រើប្រាស់ កិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការក្រោមគោលក្រោមដំឡើងមួលនិធីសាមគ្គភាពអភិវឌ្ឍនភាព (FSP) នៃសំណើរាយ សាលាការជានីតិថ្នូរ អ្នកបច្ចេកទេសកម្មឈាត់ នានសហការយ៉ាងដឹតសិទ្ធិ ជាមួយដំនាឞការបារាំង នានបាប់ផ្ទើសក្នុងប្រជុំសាស្ត្រអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ការជានីតិថ្នូរ ឆ្នាំ២០១៨ ដោយនានដើម្បីបច្ច្ទាំណើរឿងឆ្នាំ២០១៣ និង នានបញ្ហាបានសាងសង់ ដោយនានទទួលបានអនុម័តជាយកចិប្បាធម៌ពេញនូវបស

## Nouvelle infrastructure routière, Phnom Penh, 2018. New road infrastructure, Phnom Penh 2018.



Doublement du pont entre Phnom Penh et la presqu'île de Chrui Changvar.  
Doubling of the bridge between Phnom Penh and the Chrui Changvar peninsula.  
ផ្លូវកែចាន់ពីភ្នំពេញទៅក្រុងពេជ្យល់ខ្លួន



ទី២: ជាការផ្តល់នូវសេវាកម្មខាងក្រោមនេះនៅពេលដែលបង្ហាញពីរដ្ឋបាល និងស្ថិតិភាព និងស្ថិតិភាព យោបាយក្នុងទីក្រុង នៅពេលដែលមានបាតក្នុងជាប់ចិនដង ហើយពេលខ្លះ បាតក្នុងដែលបង្ហាញពីរដ្ឋបាលហើយ។  
ទី៣: គឺជាការផ្តល់សេវាដាចេសាតារណ៍ រួមទាំងសេវាអប់រំ សុខភិបាល និងជាការផ្តល់សេវាទម្រូវការ និងសេវាសំណួលមធ្យាប់ ប្រកបដោយតម្លៃភាព គណនេយ្យ និងប្រសិទ្ធភាព។

- ▶ ផ្នែមទី៣ សំដើរិលការផ្នែមអនុគត់គោលនយោបាយកំណត់ច្បង

ໄມ້ຢູ່ກາງ ໄສທະຍຸກາງຊຸລ໌ຊຸລ໌ແດນ ອີ້ນຜູ້ເປົ້າເປົ້າ ດັ່ງກຽບຂຄູ ຕີ່ໄຫວ້ຕາມເບີບຕັດຕິບເຕັມເຢົາຊຸ້າກໍເກົາມຕັດຕິ ເພື່ອຢູ່ບົດສິ່ງສາດາເວັບ: ເຖິງກේກົກຄົກປົດຕາລະເຊື້ອ ຕາຍເພ: ກາບເຫຼືອ ອີ້ນຕັນເກົ່າກົດຮູ້ສະບາກຕ່າມຍຸງ ດຽວນັ້ນເມື່ອຮູ້ຕາດ ສັ່ນໆເບີໂລ ອີ້ນໃສ່ຜູ້ຄູກີໄສ້ວົງຕາກກໍຕ່າງໆ ດາວໂຫຼາກ: ເພີ່ມເປົາບລ່າ ທຳມະນຸຍາມທາງ ກໍ່ຜູ້ອົງຕາກເຕັມເປົ້າແລ້ວກົດເປົ້າ-ຕຸລ໌ເຄື່ອຍ ຂູ້ຕານຄູບກໍາສູດຕາລະທຳໜ່າຍ ປົກບະແນຍກາຍເກີດບົດຖຸກຜູ້ກໍຂໍສົ່ງ

ជោយបានបើច្បាស់ល្អដែល និងយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ “ផ្ទា ផ្លូវ  
ខ្លួន” ខាងពីរដោយការណ៍តម្រងទិសដីសម្រាប់ខាង នៃការគ្រប់គ្រោះអភិវឌ្ឍន៍  
បង្កើតប្រិតិត្តុលំ តាមយោងន្តរការ “យកទីក្រុង ចិត្តីមទីក្រុង”  
និងសម្រាប់គេដោយប្រុងប្រាក់បាន ដូចជាបាបដែលនឹងក្នុងពេញនូវ  
ការតួនាទីនៃប្រជាធិបតេយ្យសម្រាប់ប្រើប្រាស់ដូចជាបាបបីន ឬប្រជាការសាងសង់  
ដូចជាបនាសម្ព័ន្ធមេ ផ្លូវក្រោកតែក្រុង និងប្រកបចូលក្រុងធ្វើឱ្យបេក្ខណ៍ជំងារបីន  
និងហាហាបាននាគល់ការដឹកជញ្ជូនចូរទៅ ហើយសការកកស្នោះ ការលាងសង់  
នានាការសត្វានេះដើរឯង ដើរបានជំងារដោយប្រាយុគ្រោះថ្មាក់ការ  
ដាក់សង្គមនៃអនាម័យនៅតាមទិសាធារណៈនានា ការដាក់ត្រូវដើរឯងជីវិកា  
ដើម្បីធ្វើបានដឹកជញ្ជូនសាធារណៈបែងយកទីក្រុង ការរៀបចំប៊ិកកម្ពស់  
ការកំណត់ស្នូលិខិតិយត្តិនៃប្រភិត្តិសាស្ត្រក្នុង ការកំណត់អប្បប័នបំភី  
ការណាយកៈ និងប្រព័ន្ធការមេក្តុក្តារ ការសាងសង់ផ្លូវក្រុងដើរឯងនាមបណ្តាយ  
នូវបានការណាយដោយប្រព័ន្ធឌុល្លារ ដោយទីក្រុងនៃការបណ្តាយ  
ការិយៗបុរីទិន្នន័យទៅទីក្រុង ដើរឯងនាមបណ្តាយការពិនិត្យការងារ

សិទ្ធិផលទាំងនេះគឺបាននាំដល់ការឃុំដែលត្រូវបានសំណង់អគារ  
សំង និងបុរីជាប្រើបន្ថែម ទីក្រុងរណុប និងការដោះស្រាយបញ្ចប់ទូរដែលម្នាក់ដឹងដឹង  
និងដែលកៅតិមាននៅពាណិជ្ជកម្មមិនមែនប្រើបាយ។ ពីសេសជាតិនេះ គោល  
យោបាយនៃភាគកំពូលនូវភាពប្រជាជន សំនៅតួនុសហគមន៍ក្រើក្រឡើ  
នានអនុត្តែងស្ថាប់ ដោយបានបង្កើតគណកម្មការអនុក្រសួង ឬ  
ក្រុងក្រ ការយកត្រា និងដោះស្រាយការឃុំលើប្រទានកម្ម កម្មសិទ្ធិផលប្រជាជន បុ  
របាយកម្មទាំងឡាយដែលមានទិន្នន័យប៉ុណ្ណោះ និងចំណាំប៉ារាល ឬ្នូវខាងផលប៉ុទិសដោ  
ការបើបានសម្រាប់ដែលកំណត់ដោយបង្កើតឱ្យនៅក្នុងក្រុងក្រឡើ

ile de Koh Pich en construction en 2018.  
oh Pich Island under construction in 2018.  
ការបច្ចេកវិទ្យាកំណើនសង្គម ឆ្នាំ២០១៨



បានធ្លាក់បុរីពិចិននៃទាន់ខេត្តត្រាំង០១ មករើកឯ ២៥២សហគមន៍ នៅ  
ត្រាំង០១៤ តាមយោ:ការអនុវត្តន៍យុទ្ធនាការផ្តល់ដឹងស្សាគារនៃនឹងកំណើន និង  
ការធ្វើសហបរណក្នុងសហគមន៍ទាំងនេះទៅជាក្នុង ជាក្រុម បុណ្យលេខា  
ក្នុងបន្ទាល់សម្រេចសង្គាត់នៃនឹងកំណើន។

ភ្នែរទស្សនីមានឈម្ខាន់ បណ្តុះក្រុង និងរាជធានីភ្នែរ កំពុង  
មើលគ្មោះទៅការកែសារនូវបណ្តុះក្រុងនៃតាមចុះហើយ ដែលមានការគំព្រឹង<sup>1</sup>  
ដោយត្រូវកំដើរនៅក្នុងភ្នែរ។ ដោយទូទីក្នុង រាជធានីភ្នែរ ដែលកំពុងប្រុយមេ  
ដូចជានេបាលខាងលើ ខ្ញុំសូមយកទិន្នន័យ៖ លើកទីផ្ទុកកិច្ចការទាំងនេះ ដែលត្រូវ  
ពិចារណា រួចគិតិត្រយោបល់ និងរាជការចំពោះ ដូចខាងក្រោម៖

ទី១.ជាមួយត្បូនាទីដែលកំណុងអនុវត្ត ត្រូវពេញចានដើរត្បូនាទីប្លុសពីហាន់  
ជាក្រុងកដាចី ពេលគឺចានកំណុងទទួលយក និងលាយានសល់ដំណាក់កាលនៃ  
ការរៀបចំកែប្រែជាថ្មីរាយុទ្ធមុខាងរបស់ខ្លួនពីក្រុងកដាចី ម៉ោងក្រោមដំបូង  
ដែលត្រូវមានភាពជាក់លាក់ទាំងមុខងារ ធនាគារ សម្រាការ និងដែនកំណត់  
នៃការទទួលខ្ពស់ត្រូវទាំងលើទីផ្សារភាពច្បាប់ បច្ចេកទេស ការគ្រប់គ្រង និង  
ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ។

ទី២.ជាមួយការស្នើសុំឡើងយ៉ាងលើវា ទាំងកំណើនមនុស្ស មហោរាជាយ និង  
សំណង់ ហើយពេលសម្របបង់បានត្រូវពិចារណា ធ្វើការកែសម្រេចនូវ  
ប្លង់មេរបស់ខ្លួនឡើង សម្រាប់ទទួលនូវភាពការក្រុកប្រជែងដើមីសំបុរី  
សេដ្ឋកិច្ច ដូចជាដើរការណានេះការអភិវឌ្ឍមួយ ដែលប្រកបដោយនិន្ទោភាព  
និងចិត្តភាព។ ពីសេសក្តីពេញ ត្រូវក្រុមខ្លួនឱ្យបានសេចបាត់ ដើម្បីត្រួតឱ្យទាន់  
ចាន់គ្នាតំបន់ គឺងារ៖ជាសមាជិកមាក់នៃបណ្តាញទីក្រុងនៃភាព។

# 1979 – La ville réinventée

Phnom Penh, après presque quatre ans d'abandon, ne sera plus jamais habitée comme avant. Ceux qui arrivent ont vécu autrement et vont la faire revivre différemment. On assiste à une réinvention de cette ville par ses nouveaux occupants. **PAR FABIENNE LUCO**

## PARTICULARITÉ DE PHNOM PENH

Parmi les cas de villes détruites par la guerre ou les catastrophes naturelles, celui de Phnom Penh est particulier. Cette capitale, très peu touchée par la guerre<sup>1</sup>, a été entièrement vidée de ses habitants en 1975 par les Khmers rouges comme toutes les villes du Cambodge. Phnom Penh est restée quasiment vide pendant près de 4 ans et a été réinvestie par des populations différentes de celles qui y avaient habité précédemment. En 1979, la ville abandonnée avait souffert mais les bâtiments «en dur» du centre étaient toujours debout et opérationnels. La catastrophe est avant tout humaine. Près d'un quart de la population du pays, principalement celle originaire des villes, a péri de faim, de maladie ou a été exterminée entre 1975 et 1979.

## CONTEXTE DE LA CATASTROPHE – LA VILLE VIDÉE DE SES HABITANTS

Que s'est-il passé? Revenons au 17 avril 1975. Les soldats Khmers rouges entrent dans Phnom Penh. La ville, qui compte à ce moment 2 millions d'habitants pour une population nationale de 7 millions, se rend sans combat. L'ordre est rapidement donné aux habitants de quitter immédiatement la ville et de se diriger vers la campagne. Pour les Khmers rouges d'obédience communiste, «la ville est mauvaise<sup>2</sup>». Elle représente en effet toutes sortes de dépravations et de corruptions apportées par le capitalisme venu de l'extérieur et qu'il faut éradiquer. Les gens de la ville sont perçus comme des suspects à rééduquer ou comme ennemis à éliminer. En trois jours, Phnom Penh est entièrement vidée.

Pendant près de quatre ans, Phnom Penh devient une ville fantôme où s'installent l'administration Khmère rouge, quelques divisions militaires, ainsi que de petites usines en périphérie. Seuls certains bâtiments symboliques comme la cathédrale et la Banque Nationale sont détruits. Les Khmers rouges ne construisent pas de nouveaux bâtiments, mais en transforment certains pour de nouveaux usages comme la tristement célèbre prison politique S-21, aménagée dans une école. Dans une volonté de faire disparaître l'urbain et tous les signes des méfaits du capitalisme qu'il représente, beaucoup d'intérieurs de logements sont saccagés. Les meubles et appareils électro-ménagers sont détruits ou bien recyclés. Dans un souci de réemploi, nombre de

maisons en bois, en paille et en tôle sont démolies. Certains matériaux sont réutilisés. Le métal est par exemple refondu dans des ateliers de fortune pour devenir des cuillères, tandis que le bois sert de combustible dans les cuisines collectives.

Comme pour mieux nier la ville marchande, une partie des espaces urbains, comme les jardins ou les parcs, sont transformés en rizières ou en potager afin de revaloriser les pratiques agrariennes que la ville aurait tendance à faire disparaître. Des cocotiers et des bananiers sont aussi plantés le long des rues. Vidée de ses habitants, Phnom Penh est debout, mais elle n'est plus qu'une ville morte, un squelette de brique et de béton sur lequel la végétation commence à pousser. Des auteurs évoquent un urbicide<sup>3</sup> pour décrire ce phénomène.

## LE RETOUR À PHNOM PENH

Le 7 Janvier 1979 marque la fin du régime des Khmers rouges. Les troupes vietnamiennes et le Front National de Libération entrent dans Phnom Penh vide. Ils découvrent une ville dont les bâtiments semblent figés dans le temps. L'herbe a poussé sur les boulevards et trottoirs. La ville est décrite par les premiers observateurs étrangers, principalement des journalistes, comme étant «un fantôme de cité, comme dans un décor de cinéma. Les maisons ne sont plus que des façades mortes, des coquilles vides sans âme<sup>4</sup>.»

Très rapidement, c'est toute une population exsangue libérée des coopératives agricoles qui se presse aux portes de la ville fantôme. Chacun espère trouver en ville une structure qui prendra soin d'eux. Face à cet afflux de réfugiés, les nouvelles autorités mettent en place un cordon de sécurité autour de la ville et bloquent les accès. Les gens s'installent dans des campements de fortune en attendant de pouvoir entrer.

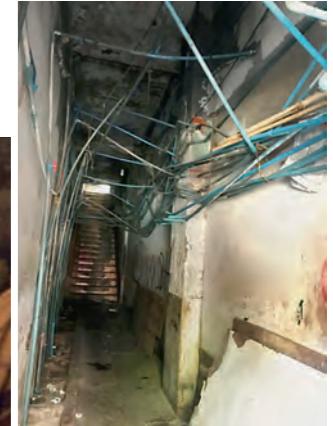
## LA REFONDATION

Pour la poignée d'hommes qui prend la tête du pays, tout est à reconstruire. Pour cela, l'urgence, c'est tout d'abord de reconstituer un appareil d'État. Le bâti de Phnom Penh va servir de support physique à cette refondation. Des Ministères sont ainsi recréés dans les anciens bâtiments et une zone résidentielle est délimitée autour de chacun d'entre eux<sup>5</sup>. Il s'agit ensuite de trouver du personnel pour y travailler et recréer un embryon d'État. Les gens qui se pressent autour de Phnom Penh sont recensés. Ceux qui ont des qualifications particulières sont affectés à un Ministère<sup>6</sup>. Les gens éduqués et les fonctionnaires ont été particulièrement ciblés pendant le régime des Khmers rouges. En effet, 70 à 80 % d'entre eux auraient disparu<sup>7</sup>. Ce qui reste des anciens fonctionnaires, médecins, juges et étudiants, ainsi que leurs familles, répondent à l'appel. Dans les premiers mois, ils composent la première vague d'habitants. Les anciens forment rapidement des jeunes à leurs nouvelles tâches. Tous les terrains et bâtiments dans tout le pays sont déclarés propriété de l'État. On propose aux fonctionnaires nouvellement recrutés de s'installer dans un logement d'État qu'ils peuvent choisir dans une zone impartie autour de leur Ministère de rattachement.

Les ruelles, puis les toits des immeubles ou même les escaliers sont investis petit à petit.

Les premiers arrivants s'installent les uns à côté des autres dans les pièces d'immeubles ou de maisons abandonnés. Ils construisent des murs dans les grandes pièces, puis sur les toits, les halls, les paliers...

The first arrivals settled side-by-side in rooms in abandoned apartment blocks or houses. They built walls in the big rooms, then on roofs, landings and staircases...  
ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋមកជុំដីបុរាណស្ថែន  
ជាមួយគ្នាត្រូវអាមេរៃដែលគេ  
ឡាយដោយត្រូវបង្កើតព្រាំខ្លួន  
ប្រចាំថ្ងៃ បន្ទាប់មក នាសម្បាតទៅនៅទៅ  
និងដំបូល ដូចសាល់ដែកឈាមបង្គោះ តាម  
ជាតិរឿង។



Les professeurs de l'Université des Beaux-Arts sont ainsi logés dans les compartiments tout autour de l'Université, non loin du Palais Royal. C'est encore aujourd'hui le quartier des galeries de peinture. Les gens qui travaillent au Ministère du Commerce habitent autour du vieux marché *Psar chas*. Les militaires sont installés dans le quartier de *Tuol Kork*. La prison S-21 est gardée en l'état pour témoigner des crimes commis et transformée en Musée du génocide. Le personnel du Musée est logé dans les maisons des rues adjacentes.

## LA VILLE RÉINVESTIE

Après quelques mois, devant l'afflux des réfugiés qu'il devient difficile de contenir, les barrages aux portes de la ville s'ouvrent et laissent entrer plus de personnes. Les modalités d'attribution des logements sont plus lâches et les nouveaux arrivants s'installent plus librement là où il y a des logements libres en vertu du principe du «premier arrivé, premier servi». L'insécurité est grande dans les premiers temps et l'on craint les pillages. On recherche donc à s'installer à côté d'autres familles par souci de protection. Les familles s'agglutinent les unes aux autres. Il ne fait pas bon s'installer à l'écart ni aux rez-de-chaussée<sup>8</sup>. Les grandes maisons sont ainsi



partagées par plusieurs familles. Chaque famille s'installe dans une petite pièce ou bien partage une grande pièce.

Une partie des individus et familles qui ne peuvent bénéficier d'un emploi dans l'administration et donc disposer d'un bon logement, ainsi que ceux arrivant après que la grande majorité des logements existants ait été occupée, s'installent dans des bâtiments qui n'étaient pas autrefois des logements, ou bien dans les «interstices» de la ville. Les bâtiments administratifs inoccupés, les anciens jardins ou parcelles libres, les enceintes des monastères, les espaces vides entre les bâtiments, les ruelles, puis les toits des immeubles ou même les escaliers des immeubles sont petit à petit investis. Des familles construisent tout d'abord des huttes avec ce qu'ils trouvent à leur portée: bambous, palmes de cocotiers, planches en bois et tôles. Derrière les façades des immeubles modernes des grandes avenues, la ville se transforme ainsi en un gigantesque camp de réfugiés. Dans les premiers temps, les gens racontent une vie encore difficile. Cependant, après ces années d'enfer, le simple fait de prendre ses repas en famille sous un même toit est déjà un luxe. Dans ce moment de survie et de débrouille, le logement est surtout appréhendé comme un simple abri pour

soi et sa famille où reprendre des forces et vivre au jour le jour. On ne s'y attache pas. Les temps sont encore incertains et il est difficile de penser au long terme. L'insécurité foncière n'incite pas à investir le peu dont on dispose dans des réparations. Certaines familles bougent aussi d'un quartier à l'autre en fonction des réquisitions ainsi que des opportunités d'emploi et de logement. Nombre d'intérieurs d'appartements sont dépecés et réaménagés. Les boiseries des fenêtres et portes sont démontées. Le bois sert de combustible pour la cuisson des aliments. Le métal des gouttières et des canalisations d'eau est revendu au prix du poids du métal. 40 années plus tard, on observe que certaines familles sont restées dans les mêmes logements qu'ils occupaient dans les années 1980 sans y avoir apporté beaucoup d'entretien et de rénovations, favorisant encore leur dégradation. D'autres, enfin, continuent à habiter les campements informels des premiers temps qui se sont solidifiés au fil du temps. Le temps de l'amélioration du cadre domestique ne viendra qu'à partir de 1989, quand l'occupation formelle du logement (autorisation temporaire) ouvrira à des droits de propriété qui vont sécuriser le logement sur le long terme.

Là où les occupants occupent de façon informelle des lieux (sans autorisation de résidence), les autorités vont récupérer les terrains et les bâtiments occupés au fil des ans. C'est le cas, entre autres, du Ministère de la justice<sup>9</sup>, d'une partie de l'hôpital Calmette, du Lycée français René Descartes, ainsi que de l'Ambassade de France où habitaient les chauffeurs du Ministère des transports. Dans d'autres endroits, ce qui était au départ des huttes en matériaux légers sont devenues des habitations pérennes, et les matériaux originaux ont peu à peu été remplacés par des structures plus durables,

### MME OUCH EST NÉE EN 1947

Elle est originaire de Phnom Penh, elle y revient au début de 1979. Son père est médecin militaire et on lui propose de s'installer dans une maison dans le quartier de Tuol Kork où étaient établies des garnisons militaires. La maison est isolée. Mme Ouch ne se sent pas en sécurité. Elle cherche à partir. Elle veut habiter un lieu plus sûr entouré d'autres familles. Comme elle est éduquée, elle aide le chef de commune à rédiger ses documents. Celui-ci l'aide ensuite à récupérer une villa près du marché de Daem Kor. Elle se lance dans le marché du change de l'argent et de la vente d'or au marché de Tuol Tumpung. Quelques années plus tard, elle revend la maison et avec le prix de la vente elle achète plusieurs terrains et appartements. Elle installe son stand de vente d'or au marché

fautes de briques ou de ciment par exemple. Aujourd'hui, on trouve ainsi de nombreuses zones d'habitat d'urgence qui se sont consolidées. Certaines perdurent jusqu'à aujourd'hui. C'est par exemple le cas dans l'enceinte du monastère de *Prayu Vuong*, où des ruelles serpentent entre de petites maisons accolées les unes aux autres. L'expansion de l'habitat a même ici coralisé<sup>10</sup> d'anciens bâtiments du monastère, comme les cellules des moines et même la pagode *vihear*.

### LES NOUVEAUX HABITANTS

Ainsi la vie repart-elle, mais la ville n'est plus la même. Les gens qui reviennent sont aussi différents de la population urbaine qui habitait Phnom Penh avant 1975. Non seulement les anciens urbains sont marqués par ces années éprouvantes mais peu d'entre eux ont des racines urbaines. Ce sont en effet surtout des gens de la campagne qui viennent s'installer dans la ville. Les urbains ont été particulièrement décimés par la politique des Khmers rouges qui les considéraient comme des ennemis de classe – de riches capitalistes. Nombre d'entre eux sont morts ou partis à l'étranger. Les nouveaux habitants ne connaissent pas les codes urbains. Comme à la campagne, chaque famille s'établit de façon indépendante sur son petit territoire familial. Ce mode d'occupation de l'espace de vie est répliqué dans un contexte urbain, que ce soit au sein de logements semi-détachés, de bâtiments collectifs, ou de maisons individuelles. À l'intérieur de l'appartement ou même d'une pièce, c'est ainsi le monde de la maison cambodgienne rurale qui est ici reproduit. Chaque famille installe un foyer sur trois pierres pour cuire le riz au feu de bois. Les nattes sont déroulées au sol pour dormir. Mais, à l'inverse de la campagne ou l'espace autour des maisons est extensible et où il

central. Jusqu'à l'ouverture des premières banques, le marché central de Phnom Penh est le lieu où ont lieu les plus grosses transactions financières, achat-vente d'or et de devises étrangères. Son commerce est florissant. Elle est aujourd'hui propriétaire d'un grand immeuble situé sur les pourtours du marché central. Au rez-de-chaussée, elle continue de vendre des bijoux en or. Mme Ouch avait sept frères et sœurs. Trois sont morts pendant les Khmers rouges. Les trois autres sont partis aux Etats-Unis. Elle est restée. Elle a fait fortune avec le commerce d'or et la revente de terrains. Désormais c'est elle qui aide financièrement des membres de sa famille qui résident aux Etats-Unis.

### MONSIEUR YI EST NÉ EN 1937

Il est originaire de la province de Kandal. Il arrive à Phnom Penh au milieu de l'année 1979 avec sa famille. Un ami l'aide à s'installer dans un logement du bloc Tan-Pa. Autour de lui, il raconte que ceux qui avaient des compétences techniques et des relations sont engagés par la municipalité pour aider aux raccordements d'eau et d'électricité. Les autres étaient affectés à des tâches de simples ouvriers ou de porteurs. Son origine ethnique chinoise ne lui permet pas de travailler dans l'administration. Il survit au quotidien en trouvant et revendant des objets de toutes sortes dans les logements, les rues et les entrepôts. En 2019, il vit toujours dans le même logement encombré de pièces d'appareils d'électro-ménager, ventilateurs que son fils et maintenant son petit-fils réparent et revendent.



était possible de bouger facilement sur un autre terrain, la ville n'offre que des espaces restreints fixes. Ces nouveaux urbains doivent vivre avec des voisins proches à côté, mais aussi au-dessus et en dessous d'eux. Au fil des ans, cette promiscuité qui était au départ vécue comme une protection et un réconfort après une période très difficile devient source de conflits.

Après le temps où il faut aller chercher l'eau dans les puits au pied des immeubles, chacun installe petit à petit ses propres tuyaux de raccordement au réseau d'eau nouvellement rétabli et trouve des solutions pour évacuer les eaux sales. Des réseaux denses de fils électriques et des tuyaux en PVC s'accrochent sur les façades des immeubles et dans les couloirs. Dans les immeubles collectifs, la gestion des passages des tuyaux d'eau et d'égouts et des câbles électriques doit être négociée parfois difficilement avec tous les voisins. Avec l'accroissement du nombre de

familles et la densification des habitats, l'espace domestique est étendu sur les parties communes. Les jarres d'eau et les foyers de cuisson sont installés dans les couloirs, les escaliers et les trottoirs. Des pièces d'habitat fermées sont également construites dans les cages d'escalier. Encore aujourd'hui, la notion d'espace commun et d'espace public peine à être intégrée par les habitants. Dans les quartiers anciens, chacun cherche à rogner sur les couloirs, les trottoirs et les rues. Des familles arrivées plus tardivement se trouvent obligées d'investir les toits terrasses des immeubles.

Les anciens immeubles sont aussi peu entretenus. La priorité est de subvenir aux besoins quotidiens et la notion de copropriété n'existe pas, que ce soit dans les mentalités ou dans la loi. Habiter dans des logements en dur est aussi nouveau pour les gens de la campagne habitués aux maisons ou huttes en matières végétales périssables comme le bois, le bambou, les feuilles de palmier à sucre ou la paille. Comme on en a l'habitude pour les maisons végétales, on laisse la maison ou l'immeuble disparaître à son rythme. Plus tard, si l'argent arrive, on détruira le logement vétuste pour en reconstruire un neuf, pour l'habiter ou le louer. Ou bien, s'il s'agit d'un appartement situé dans une zone centrale au prix élevé, on le vendra tel quel pour partir s'installer en périphérie dans un bâtiment neuf. Les plus démunis restent dans les appartements anciens qui ne sont souvent pas rénovés. Mais ce sont surtout les parties communes des immeubles qui se dégradent le plus, faute d'une gestion collective.

### LA VILLE REFORMULÉE

Les bâtiments de la ville subsistent mais les usages de la ville ne sont plus les mêmes. Il s'agit de parer au plus pressé et tous les bâtiments sont réinvestis. Leurs usages précédents sont souvent remplacés par d'autres.

## MADAME VENG EST NÉE EN 1945

Par souci de sécurité, elle choisit le dernier étage de l'immeuble. En 1989, avec la nouvelle loi foncière, elle devient propriétaire de l'appartement qu'elle occupe. Elle va y rester jusqu'en 2017. Au fil des années, elle a vu ses anciens voisins instituteurs partir. La rue 130 est proche du marché central. Elle est très convoitée par les commerçants. Les temps ont changé et les rez-de-chaussée propices au commerce sont les plus prisés et les plus chers. Au fil des ans, les instituteurs qui touchent un maigre salaire vendent leur appartement un bon prix et achètent un logement plus excentré. Avec ce qui reste de l'argent de la vente, certains achètent un ou deux terrains en plus qui se revendront bien plus cher quelques années plus tard. Elle a vendu son appartement il y a deux ans. Elle est revenue à Chhbar Ampov auprès de sa famille. Avec la vente de l'appartement de la rue 130, elle a pu acheter des petits appartements pour ses neveux et s'assurer une retraite plus confortable.

## MADAME MUTH EST NÉE EN 1947

Avant 1975, elle cultivait la rizière dans un village de la province de Kampot. Paysanne pauvre, elle a été enrôlée comme petit cadre dans les rangs Khmers rouges ainsi que son mari. Début 1979, elle est veuve et décide de rejoindre Phnom Penh avec ses enfants pour se fondre dans la masse des réfugiés par crainte de représailles dans son village. Elle a déroulé sa natte dans le vaste espace ouvert du premier étage d'un immeuble sur les quais devant le fleuve Tonlé Sap. L'usage de ce bel immeuble avant 1975 est inconnu des habitants actuels. Certains disent qu'il s'agissait d'un hôtel de luxe comme semblait le suggérer la présence d'un piano sur une terrasse couverte au dernier étage. D'autres penchent plutôt pour un hôpital comme en témoignaient les bouteilles de sérum laissées au sol certainement par les Khmers rouges. D'autres disent qu'il s'agissait d'un immeuble de bureau comme la disposition ouverte du premier étage semble le suggérer. En 1979, petit à

petit, des familles sont venues s'installer à côté de Mme Muth. Chacune a construit des cloisons/murs à l'intérieur de la grande salle autour de sa natte. Très vite, Mme Muth a installé un foyer dans le couloir pour y faire la cuisine et une table sur le trottoir pour vendre des plats simples. Depuis 40 ans, Mme Muth occupe l'escalier de l'immeuble pour laver et découper les aliments et le couloir pour cuisiner. La forme de la bassine en métal posée chaque jour au pied des escaliers se lit dans l'usure des carreaux de ciment. La famille a grandi et sa fille a installé une glacière à côté d'elle sur le trottoir. Elle vend des boissons. Cette famille qui n'a pas bougé de son logement et qui ne l'a pas rénové vit toujours dans une économie de survie au jour le jour comme au lendemain de 1979. Avec l'argent généré par le petit commerce de rue, Madame Muth a acheté des terrains à Kampot où elle pense prendre sa retraite bientôt maintenant que les gens du village se sont réconciliés avec leur passé.

C'est ainsi l'exemple du quartier de kolab Muoy situé au Nord Est de Wat Phnom. L'habitat y est aujourd'hui dense. De petites constructions, héritées des anciens habitats précaires, s'imbriquent les unes aux autres. Au détour d'une ruelle, un bâtiment apparaît tout à fait anachronique – c'est une ancienne église catholique située dans un vaste terrain appartenant autrefois à la congrégation catholique de sœurs de la Providence. En 1979, les soldats vietnamiens ont amené ici des enfants orphelins. Un dortoir de garçons est installé dans l'église. Quand l'orphelinat a été fermé en 2000, les enfants qui avaient grandi là sont restés. Ils ont privatisé l'espace autour de leur lit en métal. Chacun a érigé une paroi pour s'isoler de son voisin avec un tissu, une cloison en bambou et des feuilles de palmier à sucre, puis avec des briques. Finalement, au fil des ans, des petits toits situés sous le grand toit de l'église sont venu clore plusieurs espaces familiaux. L'église est maintenant devenue un immeuble d'habitat collectif. Comme dans de nombreux autres lieux dans Phnom Penh, le bâtiment ancien disparaît peu à peu, mangé ou coralié par des constructions nouvelles. La structure très dégradée finit alors par être détruite pour laisser place à de nouvelles constructions. Le vieux Phnom Penh est ainsi peu à peu remplacé par une ville patchwork composée d'un assemblage de constructions aux allures modernes. Les nouvelles générations cherchent également à s'installer dans des logements neufs s'ils en ont les moyens financiers. Comme leurs parents et grands-parents, ils privilégient le modèle du compartiment<sup>1</sup> ou de la maison individuelle. Leur souci de protection hérité d'années d'insécurité se trouve satisfait dans la proposition des borey, ces cités où s'alignent petites et grandes maisons créant ainsi un village cambodgien idéal. On y retrouve le modèle traditionnel où l'on vit séparé des autres, tout en ayant la propriété de la terre «sous les pieds». Une nouvelle tendance s'observe cependant. Les petits-enfants commencent à acheter des appartements dans les immeubles collectifs neufs, alors que ces formes d'habitat n'étaient pas prisées des précédentes générations. Ainsi, la culture urbaine semble reprendre forme, et Phnom Penh est à nouveau en phase de réinvention.

1. Guerre civile qui a opposé les forces armées républicaines du Général Lon Nol (basées dans les villes) aux soldats Khmers rouges (qui enrôlent les gens de la campagne) entre 1970 et -1975..

2. Ponchaud, F., le Cambodge année zéro, ed. Kailash: Paris, 1977

3. Tyner J.A., Henkin S., Sirik S., Phnom Penh during the Cambodian genocide: A case of selective urbicide, in Environment and Planning A 46(8):1873-1891, January 2014.

4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BJ4LWp4q4c>

5. A. Carrier, Les «lois de la possession» à Phnom Penh: conversion des droits d'usage résidentiel issus du contexte socialiste de réappropriation urbaine (1979-1989) en droits de propriété. Thèse, 2007- <https://www.theses.fr/2007PA082895>

6. Yao T., 1997. «1979-1990, le retour et la réorganisation de la vie urbaine» in Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, Phnom Penh, développement urbain et patrimoine, Paris, APUR, pp. 54-59.

7. Kanharith K., 1997. «1979, les premiers jours du nouveau Phnom Penh» in Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, Phnom Penh, développement urbain et patrimoine, Paris, APUR, p. 52..

8. Qui vont devenir par la suite très prisés quand les commerces s'y installent

9. Clément-Charpentier, Mort et Renaissance d'une capitale: Phnom Penh victime des Khmers rouges en Géographie et culture, 2008, no 65, pp. 91-110.

10. Dans le sens «d'englober».

11. Dans le grand immeuble collectif Tan-Pa, le nombre de maisons était tellement important que l'ensemble est compris en tant que «village». Le village du bloc Tan-Pa disparaît dans un incendie en 2002.

12. Le compartiment chinois (ou shop house) est un appartement-maison peu large mais profond, associant une activité commerciale ou artisanale au rez-de-chaussée à des espaces de vie et de logements à l'étage. Les compartiments sont généralement accolés les uns aux autres, permettant de fortes densités de population.

## 1979 – The Reinvented City

After almost 4 years of abandonment, Phnom Penh would never again be inhabited as before. The arriving populations had lived differently and would give the city a different kind of life. The new occupants set about reinventing the city.

BY FABIENNE LUO

### THE SINGULARITY OF PHNOM PENH

Among the examples of cities destroyed by war or natural disasters, Phnom Penh is a case apart. Little affected by the war,<sup>1</sup> this capital city was entirely emptied of its inhabitants in 1975 by the Khmer Rouge, as were all of Cambodia's cities. Phnom Penh remained virtually empty for almost 4 years, and the populations that reoccupied it were different from its old inhabitants. In 1979, the abandoned city had suffered but the "hard" buildings of the centre were still standing and operational. The disaster was primarily human. Almost a quarter of the country's population, mainly journalists, as a "ghost city", like a movie set. The houses are no more than blank façades, soulless empty shells.<sup>2</sup>

Very quickly, an entire population, exhausted but liberated from the farming cooperatives, is pressing at the gates of the ghost city. Everyone hopes to find in the city a structure that will take care of them. Faced with this influx of refugees, the new authorities set up a security cordon around the city and block the access routes. People settle in makeshift camps waiting to be able to enter.

### THE RECONSTRUCTION

For the handful of men who take charge of the country, everything has to be rebuilt. To that end, the first and most urgent priority is to re-establish a state apparatus. The old built fabric of Phnom Penh would serve as a physical structure of this reconstruction. Ministries are therefore recreated in the old buildings and a residential zone is demarcated around each of them.<sup>3</sup> The next step is to find staff to work in them and to recreate the embryo of a state. A census of the

military divisions, and some small factories on the outskirts. Only certain symbolic buildings, like the cathedral and the National Bank, are demolished. The Khmer Rouge do not erect any new buildings, but convert some to other purposes, like a school that became the infamous S-21 political prison. Out of a desire to eliminate the urban and every sign of the misdeeds of capitalism that it represents; many of the interiors of houses are trashed. Furniture and household appliances are destroyed or recycled. Many wooden, straw, or corrugated iron houses are demolished. Some of the materials are reused. The metal, for example, is melted down in makeshift workshops and made into spoons, and the wood is used for fuel in collective kitchens.

As if to more effectively eradicate the city as a mercantile centre, some of the urban spaces, such as gardens or parks, are converted into rice fields or vegetable plots, in order to revive the agrarian practices that the modern city tends to eliminate. Coconut and banana trees are planted along the streets. Emptied of its inhabitants, Phnom Penh still stands, but it is now no more than a dead city, a skeleton of brick and concrete on which vegetation is beginning to grow. Some authors would refer to this phenomenon as an urbicide.<sup>4</sup>

### THE RETURN TO PHNOM PENH

January 7, 1979, marks the end of the Khmer Rouge regime. The Vietnamese troops and the National Liberation Front enter the empty streets of Phnom Penh. They find a city whose buildings seem frozen in time. Grass has grown on the avenues and sidewalks. The city is described by the first foreign observers, mainly journalists, as a "ghost city", like a movie set. The houses are no more than blank façades, soulless empty shells.<sup>5</sup>

Very quickly, an entire population, exhausted but liberated from the farming cooperatives, is pressing at the gates of the ghost city. Everyone hopes to find in the city a structure that will take care of them. Faced with this influx of refugees, the new authorities set up a security cordon around the city and block the access routes. People settle in makeshift camps waiting to be able to enter.

Some of the individuals and families that are unable to obtain a job in the administration and therefore good accommodation, as well as those who arrive after the majority of the existing dwellings have been occupied, move into buildings that had not previously been residential, or else into the "interstices" of the city. Unoccupied administrative buildings, old gardens or empty plots, monastery compounds, empty spaces between buildings, alleyways, then the roofs or even staircases of buildings, are gradually occupied. Families initially construct huts with whatever comes to hand: bamboo, coconut palms, wooden planks, and corrugated iron. Behind the façades of the modern buildings on the main avenues, the city is thus

gathered around Phnom Penh is conducted. Those with specific qualifications are assigned to a Ministry.<sup>6</sup> Educated people and civil servants, have been specific targets of the Khmer Rouge regime. Indeed, it is estimated that 70 to 80% of them have been decimated.<sup>7</sup>

What remains of the former civil servants, doctors, judges, and students, as well as members of their families, answer the call. In the early months, they form the first wave of inhabitants. The oldest quickly train the youngest in their new tasks. All the land and buildings throughout the country are declared state property. The newly recruited civil servants are offered state housing to live in, chosen within a set area around the Ministry in which they work.

For example, teachers at the University of Fine Arts are housed in "tube houses" all around the University, not far from the Royal Palace. This is still today the art gallery district. People working at the Ministry of Trade are housed around the old market, *Pasar Chas*. Military personnel settle in *Toul Kork* district. The S-21 prison is left as it was found, as a reminder of the atrocities committed and will become a "Genocide Museum". The Museum staff is housed in the buildings in the adjacent streets.

### REOCCUPATION OF THE CITY

After a few months, faced with the influx of refugees, which was becoming hard to contain, the barriers at the gates of the city are removed and more people are allowed to enter. The housing allocation systems became looser and the new arrivals are able to settle more freely wherever there is space available, on a first-come first-served basis. Initially, insecurity is high, and people are afraid of looting. Therefore, they settle close by other families, looking for protection. It is not good to live away from other people, or on the ground floor.<sup>8</sup> Families cluster together. As a result, the big houses are shared by several families. Each family settles into a small room, or else share a large room with another family.

Some of the individuals and families that are unable to obtain a job in the administration and therefore good accommodation, as well as those who arrive after the majority of the existing dwellings have been occupied, move into buildings that had not previously been residential, or else into the "interstices" of the city. Unoccupied administrative buildings, old gardens or empty plots, monastery compounds, empty spaces between buildings, alleyways, then the roofs or even staircases of buildings, are gradually occupied. Families initially construct huts with whatever comes to hand: bamboo, coconut palms, wooden planks, and corrugated iron. Behind the façades of the modern buildings on the main avenues, the city is thus

transformed into a gigantic refugee camp. In these early days, life is still difficult. However, after the years of hell, simply being able to enjoy a family meal under a single roof is already a luxury. At this time of survival and making do, a dwelling is primarily seen simply as a shelter for oneself and one's family, a place to gather strength and live from day to day. People are not attached to the places. The times are still uncertain and it is difficult to think far ahead. The insecurity of land occupancy gives people no incentive to invest what little they have in repairs. Some families also move from one neighbourhood to another, as a result of requisitions or in search of employment and housing opportunities.

During these difficult times, many apartment interiors are dismembered and rearranged. Window and door frames are dismantled. The wood is used for cooking fuel. Metal from gutters and water pipes is sold by the weight. Forty years on, some families are still in the same dwellings they occupied in the 1980s, with little maintenance or renovation, in deteriorating conditions. Others continue to live in the informal camps of the early days, which solidify over time. Some incentive to improve living conditions would only come after 1989 when formal occupancy of a dwelling (temporary authorisation) would open up property rights that would provide long-term security of tenure. In some places where the occupants are living informally (with no residence permit), the authorities would reclaim the land and buildings occupied over the years. This is the case of the Ministry of

Justice,<sup>9</sup> part of Calmette Hospital, the René Descartes French Lycée, and the French Embassy (where the drivers from the Ministry of Transport lived). In other places, dwellings that had initially been huts made of light materials will become lasting structures, the original perishable materials gradually being replaced by more durable substances like brick or cement. Many emergency housing areas thus became permanent residential spaces, some of which are still there today. One example is the compound of the *Prayu Vuong* monastery, where narrow alleyways wind between clusters of small houses. The houses here have even expanded to absorb former monastery buildings, such as the monks' cells and even the *vihear* pagoda.

#### THE NEW INHABITANTS

Life starts over, but the city is no longer the same. The people who come back are different from the urban population that inhabited Phnom Penh before 1975. Not only are the former residents marked by those terrible years, but it has to be noted that the majority of the new arrivals do not have urban roots. Indeed, most of the people who come to settle in the city are countryfolk. Urbanites were specifically targeted by the Khmer Rouge, who saw them as class enemies – rich capitalists. Many have died or gone abroad. The new inhabitants are unfamiliar with the urban codes. In the countryside, each family lives independently in its small family territory. These rural populations transfer this mode of life to urban conditions, whether in semi-detached houses, apartment blocks or individual houses.

They reproduce the world of the Cambodian rural house inside the apartments, or even in the single rooms. Each family builds a hearth on three rocks to cook their rice with charcoal in the corridors. Sleeping mats are rolled out on the ground. However, by contrast with the countryside, where the space around the houses is extensible and where families can easily move to another plot, the city only offers small fixed spaces. These new urbanites have to live with neighbours not just close by, but also above and below them. Over the years, this promiscuity, which was initially experienced as a source of protection and comfort after a very difficult time, would become a source of conflict.

After a period when water has to be fetched from wells at the foot of the buildings, each family gradually installs its own connections to the newly re-established water system and finds ways to evacuate wastewater. Dense bundles of electric wires and PVC pipes are fastened to the façades of the buildings and to corridor walls. In apartment blocks, the routes of water pipes, waste pipes and electricity cables have to be negotiated with all the neighbours, not always an easy process. As the number of families grows and housing density increases, domestic space expands into the communal areas. Water jars and hearths are installed in corridors and on stairways and sidewalks. Rooms are built in the stairways. Even today, residents find it hard to adjust to the notion of common or public space. In the old districts, everyone tries to grab more space in the corridors, the sidewalks, and

streets. Families that arrived later are then obliged to occupy the flat roofs of buildings or the space in between buildings.<sup>10</sup> The old buildings are poorly maintained. The priority is to meet everyday needs and the notion of joint ownership does not exist, whether in mentalities or in the law. Living in solid buildings is a novelty for people from the countryside, who are used to houses made of perishable plant materials, like wood, bamboo, sugar palm leaves, or straw. As was the custom with dwellings made of these kinds of materials, the house or building was allowed to crumble away at its own pace. Later, if money is available, the old building would be knocked down and replaced with a new one, whether to live in or to rent out. Or else, if it is an apartment located in a high-value central area, it would be sold in its existing state, and its occupants would move into a new building in the outskirts. The poorest families remain in the old apartments, which are often not renovated. This is particularly the case in the communal areas of buildings that deteriorated the most, in the absence of collective management.

#### THE REFORMULATED CITY

Most of the city's buildings remains, but the uses of the city are no longer the same. The priority is to deal with the most urgent matters, and all the buildings are reoccupied. Their previous uses are often replaced by new ones. This is the case, for example, with the *Kolab Ti Muoy* district, located in the north-east of Wat Phnom. Today, the fabric is dense. Small buildings, inherited

from the old temporary dwellings, are tightly clustered together. At the end of an alleyway appears an anachronistic building – a former Catholic Church located on a large plot that previously belonged to the Catholic Congregation of the Sisters of Providence. In 1979, the Vietnamese soldiers brought orphaned children here. A boys' dormitory is installed in the church. When the orphanage is closed in 2000, the children who had grown up there remained. They had privatised the space around their metal beds. Each one built a partition to separate him from his neighbour with a piece of fabric, a bamboo screen or sugar palm leaves, and then with bricks. Finally, over the years, small roofs situated under the great roof of the church, began to turn some of these partition spaces into family rooms. The church has now become an apartment building.

As in many other places in Phnom Penh, the old building gradually disappears, absorbed or incorporated into new constructions. The very damaged structure is ultimately destroyed, giving way to new constructions. The old Phnom Penh is thus gradually replaced by a patchwork city, made up of an assembly of modern look constructions. The new generations also consider moving into new dwellings, if they have the resources. Like their parents and grandparents, they prefer the model of the compartment<sup>11</sup> or detached house. Their desire for protection, inherited from years of insecurity, is met with the *borey*, housing estates characterised by lines of small and large houses that re-create an ideal Cambodian village.

Here, we find the traditional model, where people live separately from each other while owning the land "under their feet". A new trend can also be observed. The second and the third generation after the Khmer rouge are beginning to buy apartments in the new apartment blocks, whereas these forms of housing were not popular with the previous generations. In consequence, urban culture seems to be taking a new shape, and Phnom Penh is once again in a phase of reinvention.

1. A civil war between the armed republican forces of General Lon Nol (based in the cities) and the Khmer Rouge soldiers (who recruited people from the countryside) between 1970 and 1975.

2. Ponchaud, F., le Cambodge année zéro, ed. Kailash: Paris, 1977

3. Tyner J.A., Henkin S., Sirik S., Phnom Penh during the Cambodian genocide: A case of selective urbanicide, in Environment and Planning A 46(8):1873-1891, January 2014.

4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BJ4LWp4q4c>

5. A. Carrier, Les "lois de la possession" à Phnom Penh: conversion des droits d'usage résidentiel issus du contexte socialiste de réappropriation urbaine (1979-1989) en droits de propriété, Doctoral Thesis, 2007-<https://www.theses.fr/2007PA082895>

6. Yao T., 1997. «1979-1990, le retour et la réorganisation de la vie urbaine» in Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, Phnom Penh, développement urbain et patrimoine, Paris, APUR, pp.54-59.

7. Kanharith K., 1997. «1979, les premiers jours du nouveau Phnom Penh» in Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, Phnom Penh,

développement urbain et patrimoine, Paris, APUR, p.52

8. Which would subsequently become highly prized when shops began to move in.

9. Clément-Charpentier, Mort et Renaissance d'une capitale: Phnom Penh victime des Khmers rouges in Géographie et culture, 2008, no 65, pp.91-110.

10. In the big Tan-Pa apartment building, there was only dwellings that the block was seen as a "village". The Tan-Pa block village was wiped out by a fire in 2002.

11. The Chinese compartment (or shop house) is an apartment-house that is narrow but deep, combining a shop or trade business on the ground floor with living areas and housing above. The compartments are generally clustered together, leading to high population densities.

## MS. OUCH WAS BORN IN 1947

*She is from Phnom Penh and she returned there in early 1979. Her father was a military doctor and was offered to settle in a house in Tuol Kork district where military garrisons were set up. The house was isolated. Ms. Ouch did not feel safe there. She wanted to leave. She wanted to live in a safer area, surrounded with other families. Due to her education, she helped the head of the commune write his documents. He then helped her acquire a villa near Daem Kor Market. She went into currency exchange and sold gold at Tuol Tumpung Market. Some years later, she sold the house and with the money from the sale purchased several lots and apartments. She set up her gold shop in Central Market. Prior to the creation of the first banks, Phnom Penh's Central Market was where the biggest financial*

*transactions took place (buying and selling gold, currency exchange). Her business prospered. She now owns a tall building next to Central Market. On the ground floor, she continues to sell gold jewelry. Ms. Ouch had seven siblings. Three died during the Khmer Rouge period. Three others left for the United States. She stayed on. She made a fortune by trading gold and reselling lots. She is now the one who supports some of her family members in the United States.*

## MR YI WAS BORN IN 1937

*He originates from Kandal Province. He arrived in Phnom Penh in mid-1979 with his family. A friend helped him find a place to live in the Tan-Pa Block. Around him he relates that those who had technical skills and connections were hired by the municipality to help with water and electricity hookups. Others were given jobs as day laborers or porters. Because his ethnic origin is Chinese, he could not get a civil servant job. He survived from day to day by collecting items of all sorts in the housing units, on the street and in depots and reselling them. In 2019, he still lives in the same unit cluttered with household appliance parts and fans that his son and now his grandson repair and resell.*

## MADAME VENG WAS BORN IN 1945

*Before 1975, she was single and worked as a teacher. She lived in Chhbar Ampov with her parents, in the southern part of Phnom Penh. During the Khmer Rouge period, she lived in the countryside in a village in Kandal Province. In March 1979, she returned to her family which was already back in Chhbar Ampov. They tried to move back into their former house, but the area where it stood was fenced off and inaccessible. The local authorities directed them to another ward where the family could choose an apartment. The family lived on the second floor for safety reasons. As a teacher, she was recruited by the Ministry of Industry. Her job was to train teachers who would teach reading and writing to staff children. She was asked to leave Chhbar Ampov and move near the ministry in the center*

*of Phnom Penh. She chose an apartment in a building on Street 130 where other teachers lived. For safety reasons, she chose to live on the top floor. In 1989, the new land law allowed her to buy the apartment in which she lived. She stayed there until 2017. As the years went by, her fellow teacher neighbors left. Retailers were drawn to Street 130 due to its proximity to Central Market. Times changed: the ground floors of buildings became the most coveted and expensive floors due to their lucrative potential. Over the years, teachers, with their meager salary, sold their apartments for a fair price and relocated away from the center. With the money left over from the sale, some purchased an additional lot or two to resell it at a much higher price a few years later. She sold her apartment two years ago. She returned to her family in*

*Chhbar Ampov. After selling the apartment on Street 130, she was able to buy smaller apartments for her nephews and arrange a more comfortable retirement.*

## MS. MUTH WAS BORN IN 1947

*Before 1975, she grew rice in a village in Kampot Province. As a poor peasant farmer, the Khmer Rouge recruited her, along with her husband, as a lower-level cadre. In early 1979, now a widow, she decided to head to*

*Phnom Penh with her children and blend into the mass of refugees for fear of retaliation in her village. She unrolled her mat in the broad open space on the first floor of a building along the banks of the Tonle Sap River. The people who now live there know nothing of the beautiful building's purpose prior to 1975. Some believe it was a luxury hotel as suggested by the presence of a piano on the top floor's covered terrace. Others took it for a hospital because of the medical infusion bottles left around, most probably by the Khmer Rouge. Others claim that it used to be an office building due to the open layout of the first floor. In 1979, families gradually settled next to Ms. Muth. Each family put up partitions/walls around its mat inside the big hall. Quickly, Ms. Muth set up a hearth in the corridor for cooking and a table on the sidewalk to sell simple*

*meals. For the past 40 years, Ms. Muth has used the stairwell of the building to wash and cut up food and the corridor for cooking. The shape of the metal recipient which she places every day at the foot of the stairwell can be detected in the worn cement tiles. Her family has grown up and her daughter has set up an icebox beside her mother on the sidewalk. She sells beverages. This family, who has not moved out of its home and has never renovated it, still live in a survival economy, one day at a time, just like in the aftermath of 1979. With the money she has made from her little business, Ms. Muth has bought land in Kampot where she plans to retire soon, now that the people in the village have made peace with their past.*

# ព្រះទេសចរណ៍ - ទីក្រុងថ្មប្រិទ្ធនេះវិញ

ភ្នំពេញ បន្ទាប់ពេញចូលបានគោរះបង់បាលស្តីវេតអស់រយៈពេលឡើង គ្មានប្រជាធិបតេយ្យសែន្សំនៅដួងមុនឡើតឡើយ។ អ្នក ដែលចូលមកសៀវភៅក្នុងទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញវិញ សុខុមាភត្រូវបានសៀវភៅតាមរបៀបផ្សេង ដូចដែល ពួកគេនឹងធ្វើឱ្យទីក្រុងនេះ មានការសៀវភៅបែបផ្សេងទៅវិញ។ គេយើងអ្នកដែលចូលមកសៀវភៅនៅមីនី បានថ្មីប្រិតិតរបៀបសៀវភៅបែបសំពូកគេតាម បែបមីមួយ។ ដោយណាកស្រី FABIENNE LUCO

លក្ខណៈពិសេសនៃភាជានីភ្នំពេញ

ក្នុងចំណោមការណើទីក្រុងដែលទទួលបានកំពើនិច្ចប់ផ្លាស់បាត់  
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ទូទាយនៅក្នុះបានក្នុះបានក្នុះ នៅពេលរួចរាល់នៅថ្ងៃទីនេះ និងការបើបាត់នានាពាក្យ។ គឺ  
ហេរមហាផ្ទាយមួយទៀតជាបានគេបើបាត់នៅថ្ងៃទីនេះ ជីវិតធមួយសុំ ជីវិតធមួយ  
ភាគបូន្មីប្រជាធិបតេយ្យសុបាទទាំងអស់ក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធសកម្មជាបានបើបាត់ ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យដែល  
នានាប្រភេទដើមបូរិច្ឆេទទីក្រុង នានាស្ថាប់បាត់បង់ដើរីតាត់ដោយសារភាពអភិវឌ្ឍន៍  
ជីវិតធមួយ និងការសម្រាប់អ្នកល នៅថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃទាំងរាយ និងថ្ងៃទាំងរាយ។

បិចទនៃក្រោមហេតុកយ - និក្រងក្រពានជម្លសប្រជាផន្វ

ເດືອນເງິ່ນຢູ່ຜົນຕາມທີ່ຕີເຮັດວຽກ? ສຸລະເຄູດບໍ່ມີກົດຍາພີໄຫ້  
໑ໜ ເພີ້ມ ອັນຕະ ບສີລືສິນໆ ຕາມການໃຊ້ກູກທານບູລາຍກັບລໍ່ເຖິງ  
ຄຸ້ມເທິງໆ ເຖິງກູກ ພິລເກົ່າເຕີມເກົ່າ ມານປັດຈຸດຂດການກ່າວໆ ຄຸ້ມບໍ່ແດນກາ  
ປັດຈຸດສຸບຊູ່ທີ່ມີເບີເຮັດວຽກ ດາວໂຫຼດກ່າວໆຜົນຕາມທີ່ຕີເຮັດວຽກ  
ການປັບປຸງໆ ປັບປຸງເກົ່າຕາມຜົນຕາມທີ່ຕີເຮັດວຽກ ຂີ່ປັດຈຸດທັກເຫງົ້າ  
ຕີເຖິງກັນຕັບຕົ້ງກ່າວໆ ເພົາເພີ້ມເກີດໃຫ້ອີເມວທ່າງໆ ສຸລະເຄູດບໍ່ໄກ້ກູກທານບໍ່ມີຜົນ  
ແພີ້ມຕາມລົດຕີກູກສຸລົມ ຖຸກເກີດຍຸດໆ “ຕີເຖິງກັນຕີມີນັດສູງສູງ” ທີ່ໄດ້ເລີມເນັດເບີຍ  
ສຸລະເຄູດຕົກເຄີດ ຕີເຖິງກັນຕີເຕັກເຕັກ ເພົາເພົາກາຕາມການ ຮິ່ງທີ່ເທິງຕຸກລູຍ  
ເຄີບປັບເຄີດ ພິລສົ່ງລູບມາດຕີເຖິງກັນ ເພົາເພົາກູກສຸລົມລົດຮີພົມ ເບີຍີ່ຜິລຸດ  
ໃຊ້ກູກທານບູລາຍບໍ່ຫຼາກເງົ້າກ່ຽວຂ້ອງບູລາຍເຫດລາຍ ປົບປັດຈຸດເກົ່າຕາມທີ່ຕີເຮັດວຽກໃຊ້ກູກທານ  
ຍຸດໆເພີ້ງຕົວຕ້າ ດັວດສັນຍົງຍົງຜິລຸດເກົ່າຕົວຕ້າ ເບີຍີ່ຜິລຸດ ບູລາຍຊຳ່ສົງໄຟຜິລຸດ  
ເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດຕະລາຍໆ ຊຸ່ນຍະເລີບບື້ບໍ່ຢູ່ແນວຕະຫຼາດ ຢູ່ເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດ  
ສົມພັດເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດ ຊຸ່ນຍະເລີບບື້ບໍ່ຢູ່ແນວຕະຫຼາດ ຢູ່ເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດ  
ຕີເຖິງກັນເຊົາບ ເກົ່າໄສລ່ວໍາຄູ່ມັນຕະລາຍໃຊ້ກູກທານ ຮິ່ງທາງນີ້ບໍ່ຫຼັງການກັບ  
ທີ່ຕີເຖິງກັນຕີເຕັກເຕັກໃຊ້ກູກທານ ຮິ່ງທາງນີ້ບໍ່ຫຼັງການກັບ  
ບົ້ມັດກະ: ສິ້ນທາງທັງປະກົງຍັງບໍ່ຮັດຮັດຕາມຕາຍກົງປົງຜິລຸດເກົ່າຕົວຕ້າ ຊຸ່ນຍະ  
ໃກກາກຕົວຕີບົກ ຮິ່ງທາງທັງປະກົງຍັງບໍ່ຮັດຮັດຕາມຕາຍກົງປົງຜິລຸດເກົ່າຕົວຕ້າ  
ໃກກາກຕົວຕີບົກ ຮິ່ງທາງທັງປະກົງຍັງບໍ່ຮັດຮັດຕາມຕາຍກົງປົງຜິລຸດເກົ່າຕົວຕ້າ  
ການຕົກເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດ ຊຸ່ນຍະເລີບບື້ບໍ່ຢູ່ແນວຕະຫຼາດ ຢູ່ເຕັກເຕັກສົມພັດ  
ທີ່ຕີເຖິງກັນຕີເຕັກເຕັກໃຊ້ກູກທານ ຮິ່ງທາງນີ້ບໍ່ຫຼັງການກັບ

ការកសាងមូលដ្ឋានគ្រឹះទ្វីងវិញ

សម្រាប់អ្នកដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់នៅពេលនោះ  
អីវិញ្ញុត្រូវសង្គមដើរឡើង ដើរឡើង ដើរឡើង នៅពេលនោះ  
គឺត្រូវការសង្គមចំណាំដូចមួយសម្រាប់អ្នកទៅនឹងទីតាំងដូច  
នៅតាមប្រពេទសម្រាប់អ្នកដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់នៅពេលនោះគឺ  
នេះទេ គឺថែរនោះហើយដើម្បីដើរឡើងមនឹងទោនក្រោមតាមប្រពេទសម្រាប់  
ប្រពេទសម្រាប់អ្នកដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់នៅពេលនោះគឺត្រូវបានការពារ  
តាមក្រុមដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់នោះទេ ហើយបានការពារតាមក្រុមដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់  
តាមក្រុមដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់នោះទេ ហើយបានការពារតាមក្រុមដឹកជញ្ជាំប្រពេទសម្រាប់



Le boulevard Preah Monivong en 1979. La ville est vide, à l'abandon depuis 1975.  
Boulevard Preah Monivong in 1979. The city is empty, abandoned since 1975.

មហា឴ិប៊ុព្យៃមួនីដែន្លេត្រូវទៅទិន្នន័យ។ ទីក្រង់ទេស្អាត ត្រូវបានគេចាប់បង់ពាល់តាំងពីត្រូវទៅទិន្នន័យ

ដីផ្លូវនិងអារម្មណេស់នៅទីទាំងបែងចាន ត្រូវបានប្រកាសថាបានកម្មសិទ្ធិ  
បែងចានផ្លូវ។ គេចាប់រាយដឹកជញ្ជូនដោយប្រើប្រាស់ការបែងចាននៃប្រព័ន្ធសិល្បៈ  
ឱ្យទុកដាក់នៅក្នុងអារម្មណេ ដើម្បីបានប្រើប្រាស់បាន នៅក្នុងតំបន់មួយ  
បែងចានក្នុងខេត្តក្រោមក្រសួងដែលបានប្រព័ន្ធដែលបានប្រើប្រាស់បាន នៅក្នុងតំបន់មួយ

សាស្ត្រពាយពេទ្យសាកលវិទ្យាលូបីច្បាស់ធមុន្តៃតានគឺខ្សោះ  
សែនក្រោងអាណាពិតសាកលវិទ្យាលូបីយ៉ា ដែលពេទ្យឱ្យធ្វើយើត្រាយពីក្រោបមេកដីង  
បុន្ទាន់ឡើយ។ បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះទៀតសោរ ផ្ទះទាំងនេះជាបានលក់ក្នុងតួន្យោ។  
អ្នកដែលធ្វើការនៅក្រសួងពាណិជ្ជកម្ម សែនក្រោមជ្រើរបានសោរ ទាហរនសែនក្រោម  
នូវសង្គារតែខ្លួនគោរ។ មនុស្សយើងបានសែនក្រោមត្រូវបានគោរក្នុងខ្សោះ  
ស្ថានភាពដែល ដើម្បីជាសក្ខីកម្មបង្ហាញប្រព័ន្ធដីខ្លួន ដែលពួកខ្លួនបានបញ្ចប់  
ប្រព័ន្ធ ហើយគោរពបែបត្រូវយើងបានយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ មិនមែនមិនបានគឺខ្សោះ  
ប្រលប់យុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ។ បុគ្គលិកសាមន្ទីត្រូវបានគឺខ្សោះសែនក្រោងផ្ទះនានា  
តាមដងដីរឿងគោរ។

ទីក្រុងមានប្រធានាជនចូលសៀវភៅ

បុន្ញនេះខ្លាតេយក នៅចំពោះមួយប្រធានបាលដែលសម្រួលចូល  
មក នៅឯណាស្តីជាពិភាកនីនេះប៉ុណ្ណោះបោណាល់ នៅទាំងប្រកប្បានចូលទិញក្រោះ  
ក្នុងបានដើរ ហណ្ឌាយឱ្យប្រធានបាលដូចតួនាទីក្រោងការតែបើនឹងឡើង។  
បែបទីនេរការបែកផ្ទះមានភាពជួលុនដាក់មួយ អ្នកដើរទិន្នន័យកម្មដល់  
ឲ្យអារម្មេរកនូវសំណែនឈាយសេដ្ឋកិច្ចមួយ គឺនៅក្នុងផ្ទះណាងដែលទៅនៅ  
ថ្ងៃពាមគោលការណ៍ “អកមកដល់ម៉ោង បានមួយ”។

ຖុងពេលដំបូង នៅមេដានបញ្ហាមសុត្រិភាពខ្សោយ ហើយប្រជាការណ៍បាន  
ម្មីពួកឱ្យការចេរូលយកតែក្នុងបែបអារាតិបតេយ្យ។ ដូច្នេះ មនុស្សម្នាក់ប្រើប្រាស់តែក្នុង  
ឯកការទំនួរសេវាឌីតារ៉ាគ្របាលើផែនដីមួយុទ្ធដាត្តុ។ ហើយនៃមេដានបញ្ហាបួន្ទី  
លើទេដែលសំនេរបានតាមគុណភាពក្នុងការកែងការ ដូច្នេះការកែងការដែលបានបង្កើតឡើង

ហេងីយទិន្នន័យបានក្រោមរដ្ឋបាលសំខាន់ជាមួយគ្នាតុកដឹងដូចជា៖ ដំឡើងយ។ ត្រូវសាមួយ  
សំខាន់ជាមួយគ្នាតុកដឹងបន្ថែមយ ហើយសំខាន់ជាមួយគ្នាតុកដឹងដូចជាដំឡើងទៅ។

នៅក្នុងត្រាគដ្ឋីបុង ប្រជាពលនាថានជូរកប់ថា ដីភាពបែស់ពួកគេនៅ  
លំបាកនៅខ្លឹមឃុំយា បុំន្តែ បន្ទាប់ពីបានផ្តល់ការតែសម្រាប់ការបានរក្សាបច្ចកទេ  
ត្រាន់តែបានស្រស់ស្របអាមេរិកបង្កើតធនាគារនៅក្រោមជូរឱ្យបាន ការណាយឱ្យដឹង  
ឲ្យដឹងក្រោមបានសំខាន់ហើយ។ នៅក្នុងកាលវេលាដែលដែលបានរក្សាបច្ចកទេ ថាគ្នុងការតែសំខាន់  
បានសំដើរកំបែកនៅ ដូចសំណើនៅក្នុងសម្រាប់ត្រាគដ្ឋីបុង គឺត្រូវបានគេគិតថា ត្រាន់តែបានដឹងក្រោម  
សម្រាប់ខ្លួននេះ និងសម្រាប់ត្រាគដ្ឋីបុងទេ ជាក់នៃនិងសម្រាប់សំខាន់ក្នុងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង  
តែសំខាន់ក្នុងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង តែមិនយកចិត្តទុកដាក់នឹងដូចសំណើនៅក្នុងការតែសំខាន់  
ពេកនោះទេ ពេលដែលបាននិងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង កំពុងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង កំពុងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង  
គឺត្រូវបានដឹងក្រោមបានសំខាន់ដឹង និងសម្រាប់ត្រាគដ្ឋីបុងទេ ក្នុងការតែសំខាន់ដឹង

និងយោគទ្រពុសមួគិតិចត្តលដលកេហនេះ គូនការជួសធម៌ផ្លូវសំឡែង  
ឡើយ។ ត្រីសាមួយបំនុះសំឡែងតិចភាពក្នុងក្រុងមួយទៅសំឡែងមួយ ទៅ  
តាមការអនករួម បុទ្ទតាមខាងការដោយ និងផ្លូវសំឡែង។ នៅខាងក្រុងផ្លូវ  
ភាគច្រើនគោននខណ្ឌបំបាត់បន្ទូប៉ា និងរឿបបំឡើងព្រៃញ គ្រឿងរឿងនៃតាម  
ទ្វាបង្គប ត្រូវបានគុំបែងបន្ទូប៉ា គេយកលើទៅតើអុសធម៌ផ្លូវសំឡែងបាន

ទីកន្លែងដែលប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសេវាឌែលបញ្ជាក់ការ ( ត្រានាមអនុញ្ញាតការកំណត់លំនៅផ្ទាន់ដាច់ផ្សាយ ) អាជ្ញាធនឹងដែកហុតយកដី និងផ្លូវដែលគេសែវភោគ នៅក្នុងក្រុងការណើប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសេវាឌែលបញ្ជាក់ការ

ប្រធានៗនីមួយៗ

: ផែលដើមទីយុត្តិឈានជាការសំខែក្រឹងបានជាត្រូវ និងជាការដ្ឋីយក្តា  
ក្នុងទីមក បន្ទាប់ពីសម្រាប់រាយការណាមួយដើម្បីបានក្រុមហ៊ុនកំណានខ្លួចជា  
ភកពន្លៅទំនាក់នាក់ទៅក្នុង

អាណាពាស់កំណើនសូមេងការដែចាំបានលុយដី អេវិភាគតីត្រូវបំ  
ញ្ញើទៅតាមពេលវេលាដំឡើ ហើយសញ្ញាបាលសហកម្មសិទ្ធិភាពនេះ តាំង  
ត្រូវនេះគឺតិន្នន័យបំផាន់ កំណើនដាក់ត្រូវបានបញ្ចប់ សៀវភៅដូចជាបុរី  
ដែលបានបញ្ចប់បានដឹងដែលមកពីជនបទ ដោយសារពួកគេទូលាបាននឹងដូច  
ខ្លួនធ្វើឱ្យស្តី ដែលនាយកពុកដូចឯណុះ ដូចជាយើង បុស្សី ស្តីកត្តាត បុស្សរាជឃីមី។  
យោងនាយកទេនៅបំបាន៖ គេទូទិន្នន័យ បុរាណិច្ឆាស់តុលាបុរីតាមដឹងណើ  
សៀវភៅ ក្រុាយយោងឡើង គេនឹងដូចជាបានចោល ហើយ  
សៀវភៅដូចជាបុរីតុលាបុរី ប្រសិនបើមានបុរី គេនឹងដូចជាបានចោល ហើយ  
ដូចជាបុរីសម្រាប់សៀវភៅ បុរីសម្រាប់ដូចជាបុរីសម្រាប់នោះនៅក្នុងនាយក  
ដែលបានបញ្ចប់ដូចជាបុរីនោះដោយមិនចាំបាច់ប៉ែបានលើ ហើយបញ្ចប់  
នោះនៅក្នុងនាយក ឥឡូវដូចជាបុរីយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក  
ដែលបានបញ្ចប់ដូចជាបុរី តាំងបានការុំសិទ្ធិភាព ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក  
ដែលបានបញ្ចប់ដូចជាបុរី ដែលបានបញ្ចប់ដូចជាបុរី ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក ឬក្នុងនាយក

## ក្នុងត្រូវបានប្រើប្រាស់តាមបេបន័យ



**លោកស្រី និង ភើតនៅត្រូវបានដេញ មុនត្រូវបានពន្លាតាត់ជាប្រចាំប្រអប់ និងនៅលើទៅ**

# លោកស្រី មុន កេតេនីត្រាំទេរ

## លោកស្រី អុន កែវតេនត្រាំទេណ

## ເລກ ຍື ເກີດເນັດຕຳ ດັນທາ

# Quelques remarques sur la période de reconstruction de Phnom Penh

C'est seulement au cours des années 1990 que la reconstruction de Phnom Penh va s'accélérer grâce au redémarrage de l'industrie et à la mise en œuvre de nombreux projets de coopération. C'est durant cette période que les fondements d'une nouvelle croissance urbaine sont posés. **PAR CHRISTIANE BLANCOT**

## SE RECONSTRUIRE SOUS EMBARGO INTERNATIONAL

L'histoire récente de Phnom Penh est marquée par une interaction très forte entre la grande politique, les grands événements de la marche du monde et une histoire très locale, née d'une relation particulière d'une population à son territoire. Après la chute du régime Khmer rouge, alors que la population revient vers la ville pour s'y réinstaller, se met en marche un processus de reconstruction du pays dont Phnom Penh, en tant que centre économique et politique du Cambodge, va être la vitrine.

Cette réinstallation de la population, en 1979, est d'abord une réadaptation à une vie « normale » dans une ville qui ne l'est plus. Il n'y a ni eau potable ni électricité. Des palmiers et des bananiers sont plantés dans le bitume, les immeubles sont abandonnés depuis près de 4 ans, certains ont été démontés pour récupérer les matériaux, l'ensemble des réseaux sont cassés ou bouchés. Une longue période de remise en état de tout ce qui peut l'être commence alors.

Dans un contexte marqué par un embargo international sur le Cambodge, qui va durer jusqu'aux accords de paix de 1991, l'aide venant de l'Union Soviétique et des pays de l'Est, des ONG internationales et des agences onusiennes (UNICEF) assure le ravitaillement et fournit les techniciens, ingénieurs et administrateurs de toutes sortes pour aider à reconstruire les institutions publiques et les infrastructures de base. Ainsi vont se combiner les actions des survivants et des « experts » pour pallier le manque de personnel qualifié, technique et administratif, capable de gérer la ville.

En 1979, il fallait redémarrer les usines d'électricité et d'eau, recenser la population, la répartir dans les lieux de travail, ouvrir des orphelinats, rouvrir les écoles et les hôpitaux après un minimum de réparations et très peu de matériel. Jusqu'en 1991, le manque de moyens financiers a rendu tous grands travaux impossibles.

La situation sanitaire dans la ville et l'état des constructions vont s'aggraver au fil du temps et favoriser les branchements sauvages au réseau

Devant l'Hôtel Royal, rue inondée durant la mousson 1995.  
In front of the Royal Hotel, a street flooded in the 1995 monsoon.

ខេមបុរាណសារ  
ទីផ្សារ  
ដែលបានអាចការឡាយស្ម័គ្រ  
ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៥

d'eau potable et d'électricité, les coupes d'arbres pour faire du charbon de bois, l'utilisation des parties communes des immeubles collectifs comme cuisines, les fuites d'eau qui ruinent les maçonneries, etc. L'entassement des familles dans des logements bricolés avec des briques et du bois à l'intérieur de bâtiments anciens – écoles, pagodes, administrations – a fortement dégradé ces édifices, rendant leur rénovation difficile, voire impossible. L'embargo, qui a empêché pendant près de quinze ans la mise en œuvre d'une véritable politique reconstruction pérenne, a amplifié la dégradation de la ville et exposé les habitants à de nombreux risques, comme les inondations récurrentes des rues lors de chaque mousson, les épidémies de dengue et de choléra, ou encore les incendies.

La multiplication des villages de paillettes et de maisons en bois sur les toits-terrasses des immeubles, ainsi que dans les espaces publics et les jardins, tout comme l'occupation de berges inondables au bord du fleuve ont abouti à des catastrophes humaines à la fin des années 1990 car les moussons exceptionnelles de 1996 et 2000 ont inondé des quartiers entiers situés sur les bords du Mékong et dans les terrains en contrebas des digues. Ailleurs, de grands incendies ont ravagé des quartiers de plusieurs centaines d'habitations précaires.



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Autour du marché central, rue inondée après une forte pluie en Août 1995.

Around the central market, street flooded after heavy rain in August 1995.

ឯកតាលើកប្រាប់ពីក្នុង  
ខេមបុរាណ  
ខេមបុរាណ  
ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៥

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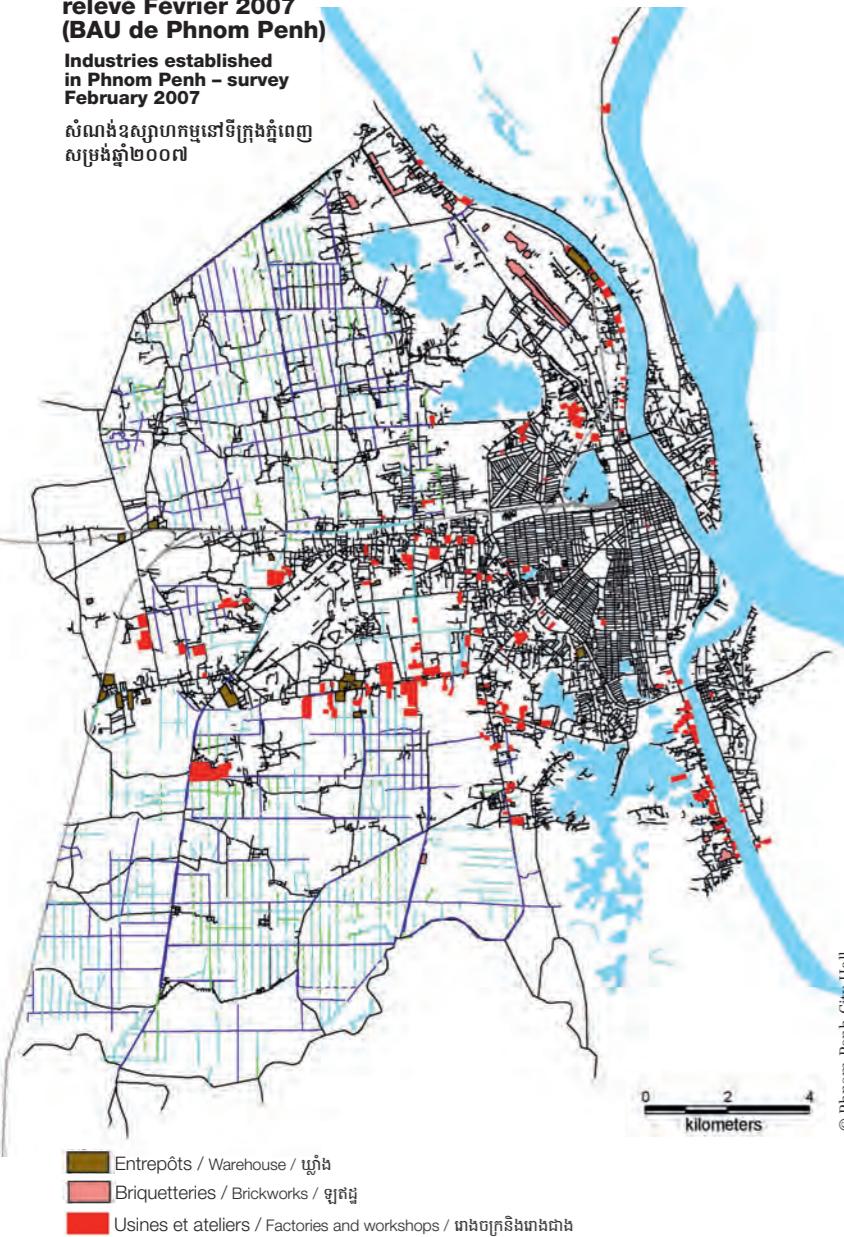


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## Implantation des industries à Phnom Penh relevé Février 2007 (BAU de Phnom Penh)

Industries established  
in Phnom Penh - survey  
February 2007

សំណង់របាយការក្នុងនៅក្រែងខ្លាំង  
សម្រាប់ឆ្នាំ២០០៧



La ville s'étend.  
Les rizières sont remblayées pour accueillir les usines.  
L'habitat s'installe à côté.

The city expands.  
The rice fields are covered to make place for factories.  
Housing is built alongside.

ទីក្រុងកំពង់  
គេតាកែដូលបុរិសេរី  
សាងសង់ពេងចក្រ  
ផ្លូវក្រោរសេរី  
សង្គមនៃការពិភោះ



### UNE RECONSTRUCTION ACHARNÉE DURANT 20 ANS

Les accords de Paris signés en Octobre 1991 ouvrent une nouvelle période. Une administration provisoire du Cambodge (APRONUC) est mise en place par les Nations Unies pour préparer les élections générales de 1993.

30 000 militaires et administrateurs arrivent au début de l'année 1992 et bénéficient de budgets conséquents. Leur simple présence, qui engendre la restauration de villas et d'immeubles pour les loger, ainsi que l'ouverture de bars et de restaurants, déclenche les premiers travaux de rénovation de la ville.

A partir de 1993, la Conférence internationale sur la reconstruction du Cambodge, qui réunit les principaux pays donateurs de l'aide au développement, va enfin permettre aux institutions cambodgiennes de bénéficier des programmes d'aide internationale, bilatérale et multilatérale. Plus d'un milliard de dollars d'aide arrive désormais chaque année, 500 millions venant des États-Unis d'Amérique, l'autre moitié de l'ensemble des donateurs et des ONG. Les fonds sont répartis dans les différents ministères et organismes publics (santé, éducation, travaux publics, eau potable, électricité,



routes et ponts, administration, justice, etc.), selon un programme d'investissement annuel présenté par le gouvernement cambodgien et validé par la quarantaine de pays et institutions donateurs. Ce procédé a été efficace pendant plus de vingt ans.

### LE RÔLE DÉTERMINANT DE L'INDUSTRIE

En parallèle de ce programme d'aide, il est nécessaire d'organiser l'arrivée des investisseurs privés qui vont permettre le redémarrage de l'économie, notamment du secteur industriel. Le CDC (Conseil pour le Développement du Cambodge) est créé par le gouvernement pour devenir un guichet unique d'entrée au Cambodge des investisseurs étrangers. Son rôle est de coordonner les investissements, fournir un appui technique aux ministères et aux institutions gouvernementales, aider les entreprises dans leurs démarches pour s'implanter au Cambodge, et favoriser la création de partenariats avec des entreprises cambodgiennes, notamment sous la forme d'investissements joints.

La mise en place de réformes libérales et l'adoption de l'économie de marché permet au Cambodge de bénéficier d'accords préférentiels pour exporter sa production textile, essentiellement de l'habillement, sur les marchés américains et européens. Ces accords ont entraîné le développement du secteur de la confection principalement porté par des investisseurs asiatiques venant



Gauche:  
L'ancienne école chinoise:  
les habitants transforment les bâtiments en logements et construisent dans les cours.

Left:  
The former Chinese school: The inhabitants converted the buildings into homes and built in the courtyards.

ខាងឆ្វេង  
អគ្គិសនាបុរិស៊ីខេះ  
ប្រជាសាស្ត្រយោអាស៊ី  
សាលាថីជាតុខេះសំន់  
និងសង្គមខេះ  
ក្នុងប្រជាសាស្ត្រ

Droite:  
Les enclos de pagodes sont transformés en village, 1992.

ខាងស្តាំ  
ប្រជាសាស្ត្រក្នុងប្រជាសាស្ត្រ  
ក្នុងប្រជាសាស្ត្រ  
និងសង្គមខេះ

chercher au Cambodge une main d'œuvre bon marché. En dix ans à partir de 1996, Phnom Penh devient une ville industrielle. En 2004, on compte à Phnom Penh plus de 280 usines, principalement installées en périphérie de la ville. Elles emploient 200 000 ouvriers textiles, principalement de jeunes ouvrières originaires de la campagne. Le respect par le Cambodge de certaines normes internationales du travail, dont le contrôle est assuré par l'Organisation internationale du travail (OIT), conforte les investissements dans cette industrie, qui aide une partie non négligeable de la population urbaine à sortir de la pauvreté.

La création du CDC et les mesures prises pour respecter les normes de l'OIT ont ainsi été déterminantes pour le développement économique du Cambodge.

Mais les conséquences de cette industrialisation sont très importantes. L'expansion du territoire urbanisé a été amplifiée par l'installation des usines sur les rizières qui, privées de leur système d'irrigation, sont devenues des friches urbanisables.

### LA QUESTION FONCIÈRE ET LA PRODUCTION DU LOGEMENT

La question du logement est aussi illustrative d'un processus de sortie de crise permis par une série d'actions conjuguées impliquant l'ensemble des acteurs sociaux. A la fin des années 1990, la

situation du logement est catastrophique : on estime qu'il faudrait produire 10 000 logements par an pour permettre à la population qui s'entasse dans les immeubles collectifs des districts centraux d'accéder à un logement neuf.

D'une part, la loi foncière de 2001 et les différents décrets qui y sont attachés réinstaurent la propriété privée et permet la création de baux de 99 ans sur les terrains publics. Cette loi va permettre aux investisseurs de se lancer dans la construction de lotissements de compartiments sur de vastes emprises foncières. Ces initiatives favorisent les extensions urbaines, notamment sur les lacs remblayés et les rizières non irriguées.

D'autre part, la pénurie de logements, la pauvreté urbaine et la volonté d'éradiquer les habitats précaires ont amorcé des programmes de relogement des populations installées dans des paillottes sur les terrains à risque.

Les habitants, aidés par les ONG internationales, se sont organisés en associations communautaires par site pour peser sur les politiques de relogement et être entendus. Les autorités locales, aidées par le PNUD (UN Habitat) et ADB, ont constitué, avec les ONG et ces communautés d'habitants, des instances de coordinations permanentes pour organiser les relogements, développant un partenariat étroit soutenu financièrement par les aides internationales (ADB, UN, UE). Les nouveaux sites, situés dans les districts extérieurs, vont être, eux aussi, des points d'appui pour les extensions urbaines.

Une des conclusions provisoires de ces premières interventions pourrait être que le dynamisme de la reconstruction a beaucoup tenu à la conjonction de plusieurs facteurs : l'énergie de la population et sa volonté de reconstruire sa vie, l'action des gouvernements qui, à tous les niveaux, ont su inventer des solutions innovantes, l'action des donateurs qui ont fidèlement aidé durant plus de vingt ans malgré les aléas politiques, les initiatives des investisseurs privés qui, bien qu'arrivés plus tardivement car attendant la preuve de la stabilité, sont désormais très actifs.

#### DE NOUVEAUX DÉFIS

Entre 1973, et 2015, la superficie de Phnom Penh est passée de 3 100 Ha à 25 400 Ha. 21 000 ha de terres agricoles et de lacs ont été perdus au profit de territoires urbanisés ou en cours d'urbanisation. On est donc passé d'une ville d'emprise modeste entourée de rizières et dont la subsistance était en partie assurée par sa ceinture agricole à une vaste métropole dépendante pour son approvisionnement de territoires beaucoup plus lointains. En même temps, cette vaste métropole produit une grande part des richesses nationales par ses activités économiques. Cette transformation spectaculaire et très rapide génère de nouveaux défis, comme l'augmentation de la pollution, la thrombose du trafic, ou encore l'augmentation de l'exposition aux risques, notamment aux risques d'inondations dûs à la disparition des grands lacs. Face à ces nombreux défis, Phnom Penh peut se trouver fragiliser à nouveau. Évaluer ces risques est ainsi une nécessité permanente.

## Remarks about the Reconstruction Period in Phnom Penh

The reconstruction of Phnom Penh did not really begin until the 1990s, with the revival of industry and the implementation of numerous collaborative projects. It was back then that the foundation for a new urban growth was laid.

BY CHRISTIANNE BLANGOT

### REBUILDING UNDER AN INTERNATIONAL EMBARGO

Phnom Penh's recent history is characterized by a strong interaction between politics, major events in world affairs, and a very local history born of the special relationship between a people and its land.

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, as people were coming back to resettle in the city, a process of national reconstruction began, showcasing Phnom Penh as Cambodia's economic and political center.

The resettlement of the people in 1979 firstly required their getting used to a "normal" life in a city that was no longer normal. It had no running water or electricity. Palm trees and banana trees had taken root in the pavement; the buildings had stood empty for nearly four years; some had been dismantled to salvage building materials; the networks were all broken or clogged. A long period of rehabilitating anything that could be rehabilitated began.

In the context of the international embargo on Cambodia that lasted until the 1991 Peace Agreements, aid from the Soviet Union, other Eastern countries, international NGOs, and UN agencies (UNICEF) ensured the provision of supplies and provided Cambodian technical experts, engineers, and administrators of every sort with help to rebuild the public institutions and basic



Le boeng Cheung Ek en 2019. Les remblais s'étendent désormais largement sur les lacs en périphérie de la ville.

Boeng Cheung Ek in 2019. Large areas of the lakes on the outskirts of the city have been reclaimed with earth fill.

បឹងជីងុក ឆ្នាំ២០១៩  
បច្ចុប្បន្ន៖ គោរកិន  
លូប៊ី អាទីយក្រឡ  
យ៉ាងប្រើនទៅបើយ។

infrastructure. The initiatives of survivors and "experts" were thus combined in an effort to make up for the lack of qualified technical and administrative staff capable of managing the city.

In 1979, power stations and water treatment plants reopened; a census had to be completed; people had to be assigned to worksites; orphanages, schools, and hospitals had to reopen with a modicum of repairs and very little equipment. Until 1991, a lack of financial resources made it impossible to undertake any major project.

The city's health conditions and the state of the buildings went downhill with time and led to illegal water and electricity hookups, the cutting down of trees to make wood charcoal, the use of communal areas of shared dwellings as kitchens, water leakage which ruined masonry work, etc. The crowding of families into makeshift accommodations made of bricks and wood inside old buildings—schools, pagodas, government offices—greatly damaged the buildings, making their renovation difficult, if not impossible. The embargo that prevailed for nearly 15 years blocked any true, long-term reconstruction policy. The city's degradation only got worse, exposing its inhabitants to many risks such as the recurrent flooding of streets during the monsoons, dengue and cholera epidemics, as well as fires. The proliferation of straw-hut villages and wooden houses on the rooftop terraces of buildings, as well as in public spaces and parks, along with the occupancy of flood-prone riversides led to human disasters in the late 1990s because the exceptional monsoons of 1996 and 2000 flooded entire neighborhoods on the edges of the Mekong and the land below dikes. Major fires also devastated neighborhoods comprised of several hundred precarious homes.

### A DETERMINED 20-YEAR RECONSTRUCTION EFFORT

The Paris Agreements signed in October 1991 opened the way for a new era. The United Nations set up a transitional authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) to prepare for the 1993 general elections. Some 30,000 military officers and administrators arrived in early 1992 with a hefty budget. Their mere presence, which led to the restoration of villas and buildings to accommodate them as well as the creation of bars and restaurants, triggered the first wave of renovation works in the city.

Starting in 1993, the International Conference on the Reconstruction of Cambodia, an umbrella for the key countries funding development assistance, would finally enable Cambodian institutions to benefit from international bilateral and multilateral aid programs. Over a billion dollars in

such aid arrived each year, 500 million from the United States of America, the other half from the body of donor countries and NGOs. The funds were distributed among the different ministries and public agencies (health, education, public works, water, electricity, roads and bridges, administration, justice, etc.), based on an annual investment program outlined by the government of Cambodia and confirmed by the 40 or so countries and donor institutions. This process worked for over 20 years.

### INDUSTRY'S LEADING ROLE

In parallel with this aid program, work was needed to plan for the arrival of private investors to help kickstart the economy, including the industry sector. The CDC (Council for the Development of Cambodia) was set up by the government to provide a single entry point into Cambodia for foreign investors. Its role is to coordinate the investments, provide technical assistance to the ministries and government institutions, help businesses in their efforts to get established in Cambodia, and promote partnerships with Cambodian businesses, including in the form of joint ventures. By getting liberal reforms working and adopting a market economy, Cambodia has been able to take advantage of preferential agreements to export its textile production, mainly garments, to the American and European markets. Those agreements have promoted the development of the garment manufacturing sector, led mainly by Asian investors seeking cheap labor in Cambodia. In the ten years from 1996, Phnom Penh became an industrial city. By 2004, Phnom Penh had over 280 factories, mainly in its outskirts, employing some 200,000 textile workers, for the most part young female workers from the countryside. Cambodia's compliance with certain international labor standards is ensured by the International Labor Organization (ILO)

which boosts investments in the sector and is helping a considerable segment of the urban population escape from poverty. The creation of the CDC and the measures taken to comply with ILO standards have been crucial for Cambodia's economic development. But the consequences of that industrialization are far-reaching. Urban sprawl has been exacerbated. Factories are being built on rice paddies which, deprived of irrigation, become available for urban-planning purposes.

### LAND TENURE AND HOUSING PRODUCTION

The issue of housing also illustrates a post-crisis process facilitated by a series of joint initiatives involving all social stakeholders. In the late 1990s, the housing situation was disastrous. It was estimated that 10,000 housing units per

year had to be produced to relocate the people who were crammed into apartment blocks in the city's central districts.

On the one hand, the 2001 land law and the different decrees that go along with it reinstated private property ownership and enabled 99-year leases on public land. This law makes it possible for investors to undertake the construction of compartmented subdivisions on huge pieces of land and will help urban expansion, notably on landfilled lakes and non-irrigated rice fields. On the other hand, the housing shortage, urban poverty, and the commitment to do away with inadequate housing have generated programs to relocate people living in straw huts on subprime land. The people, with assistance from international NGOs, are organized into community associations on a site-by-site basis to contribute to the relocation policies and to be heard. Local authorities, with assistance from the UNPD (UN-Habitat) and ADB, have worked in close partnership with the NGOs and relevant communities to set up permanent coordinating bodies to organize rehousing with the financial support of international agencies (ADB, UN, EU). The new sites located in outlying districts will also foster urban extension.

One of the tentative conclusions of these first interventions suggests that the brisk pace of reconstruction is very much due to the conjunction of several factors: the energy of the people and their desire to rebuild their lives, action on the part of the governing authorities who, at all levels, were up to the task of finding innovative solutions, action on the part of donors who for over 20 years, despite the political ups and downs, have consistently supported the initiatives of private investors who, although they arrived late because they were waiting for evidence of stability, are now very active.

### NEW CHALLENGES

Between 1973 and 2015, the area covered by Phnom Penh went from 3,100 ha to 25,400 ha. Some 21,000 ha of agricultural land and lakes were lost to gain land for city planning or land with development potential. We have gone from a city with a modest footprint surrounded by rice paddies and whose survival was in part ensured by its agricultural belt, to an expansive metropolis dependent on distant places for its supplies. Meanwhile, this sprawling metropolis is producing much of the national wealth through its economic activities. This spectacular, fast-track transformation generates new challenges, including increased pollution, traffic congestion, and greater exposure to risks such as flooding due to the loss of the great lakes. Faced with these many challenges, Phnom Penh may find itself weakened again. Assessing these risks is an ongoing necessity.

# កំណត់សំគាល់ម្បយចំនួនស្តីអំពីសម័យភាគរដ្ឋសាង រាជធានីភ្នំពេញខ្លួនវិញ

គីមកដល់ទសភ្ន័រឆ្នាំ១៩៩០ ពើបារកសាងកដជានីតិវិញ្ញុពេញនូវតាមបាប់ផ្ទើមពាណីនទៅមុខយោងលើវិន  
ដោយសារតែវិស័យខស្សាបកម្ពុណាបាប់ផ្ទើមឡើងវិញ និងដោយសារមានគម្រោងសហប្រតិបត្តិការជាប្រើប្រាស់  
នអនុវត្ត។ គីនៅក្នុងរយៈពេលនេះហើយ ដែលបាប់ផ្ទើមមានមូលដ្ឋានគ្រឹះនៃកំណើនបីក្នុងទីក្រុង។  
ដោយលោកស្រី CHRISTIANE BLANCOT

កសាងទេវិនិព្យកម្មនណ្ឌកម្មអនុរដ្ឋាន

ບຽນບໍ່ຕົກສູລະບໍລ່າໂຄຣບໍ່ຂອງກູມທະ ຂດາ:ໄສລັບພູຜັດເຄີຍບໍ່  
ເຜື້ຍເຕືອນບໍ່ດູລະກົມສ່ວນ ສິນົບການສັນເປົ້າໃຫ້ດູນທີ່ກົງໄສງ່າງ ຜໍ່ເណັດກາ  
ການສັນເປົ້າໂຄຣສະເໜີງໄຕ້ກົດທີ່ບໍ່ເຜື້ຍເຕືອນແຜ່ ຖຸ້ນເຈົ້າກະຕິກັ້ນແຕ່ງ  
ດູນທານ ດ້ວຍຜູ້ມະນຸລາເສັນຊີກົດ ສິນົບເພົາຕາຍເບສົກມູນ ອີຕັກຕູກກ່ຽວຂໍ່ມູນ  
ຜໍ່ເណັດກາການສັນເປົ້າເຮັດວຽກ

នៅថ្ងៃទី១៩ គេត្រូវធ្វើឱ្យដំណើរការឡើងវ្សែងវ្សោះពេលចរណិត  
អគ្គិសនី ទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ដែលបែកប្រជាពលន៍ទៅតាមទីក្រុងដឹងដើរការ  
យុងឱ្យ បើកមណ្ឌលក្រុងក្រោម សាលាអ្នក និងមន្ត្រីពេទ្យ ប្រឡាប់ពីពាណិជ្ជស  
ធម៌លកិច្ចក្រុង និងមានសុខភាពបុច្ចុប្បន្ន ហើយ ពីលក្ខណៈថ្ងៃទី១៩ ក្នុងខែតុត  
មេរោចបាយហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ បានការងារមិនខ្សោយការផ្តានជំងារដើម្បីទៅបានឡើយ។  
អនាម័យនៅក្នុងទីក្រុង និងសំណង់អគារយុងឱ្យការការងារតែមានសភាគច្បាស់រៀបចំ  
និងបណ្តុះបណ្តាលឱ្យការការយុងឱ្យបានប្រព័ន្ធដីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ និងខ្លួនឱ្យត្រូវតាមបិបរបៀបរៀបចំ  
ការការបំបែកដើម្បីយកកម្មការដើម្បីជាអសិនុបុត្រ ការយកដើម្បីក្រុមក្រោមនៃក្នុងអគារក្រុង  
ជាក់នៅជាល្អជាមិជ ទីក្រុងទីខ្លួនគ្រឿងបង្កើងដូច្នេះ និងអគារការងារតែខ្លួនខាត់  
ខ្លាំងឡើងឱ្យបាន ប្រាកាលលក្ខណៈប្រើប្រាស់នៅក្រោមក្រុងក្នុងដីដែល  
មានការរៀបចំបិច្ចុប្បន្ន ដោយប្រើបង្កើងនិងឈើ នៅក្នុងអគារបានសំរាប់មុចចាត់  
សាលាអ្នក នៅក្នុងក្រុម និងអគារអ្នកបាននៅក្រោមក្នុងដីដែល

ການຄະຫຼາດເຮືອໃຈກົມພ້າຍສົກລະຕາກອບສ່ຽງ:ເຕັມໄຕໜີ

sur les toits terrasse, des maisons en bois  
et en maçonnerie sont bâties.

Wooden houses and masonry houses are built on the flat roofs.



## នាគិស់សំខាន់នៃខស្សាបកម្ម

ការដាក់ចេញទូរកំណត់ម្រង់សែន និងការសម្របច្បាប់យក  
បង្គឺកិច្ចិថ្នូរដីជ្រើរបានអនុញ្ញាតខ្សោយការប្រើប្រាស់ទូលាលទាននូវកិច្ចិថ្នូរព្រមព្យាយេនអនុគ្រោះ  
យ ដើម្បីវាត្រូវបានប្រើប្រាស់ដើម្បីបានប្រើប្រាស់ទូលាលទាននូវកិច្ចិថ្នូរព្រមព្យាយេនអនុគ្រោះ  
ការដាក់ចេញទូរកំណត់ម្រង់សែន និងអីប៉ុបា កិច្ចិថ្នូរព្រមព្យាយេនទាំងនេះបានទាំងឯុទ្ធផល  
នាមការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍សែនយកបានកណ្តុ ជាតិសែស លើកិច្ចិថ្នូរដីជូនីយេកិនអាសុំ  
ការកំណត់ទូលាលទានកម្ពុជាកន្លែងទូរកំណត់ម្រង់សែនយកបានកណ្តុ តួនាទី: ពេលដៃប៉ោន្តា ពេល  
បាបពីថ្ងៃទី១៩ខែមករា តួនាទីព្រៃនកម្ពុជាដែលបានការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីថាមពេលត្រូវបាន  
០០៤ គេកប់យើង នៅថ្ងៃក្រុងតួនាទីព្រៃនកម្ពុជា នាមជានេះដែលបានការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីថាម  
នាន់សង្គម ជាតិសែស នៅតាមបានយកបានកណ្តុ ហង់បញ្ជាក់ទាំងនេះ:  
យើងបានយកបានកណ្តុ ក្នុងសែនយកបានកណ្តុ ប្រមូលបានមីនុស្សនោះ នាក់  
ពីសែសគឺកម្ពុជា កម្ពុជានឹងយកត្រូវដែលភាគត្រូវមកពីជនបទ។ ការគោរព  
យកម្ពុជាតំបេរ៉ោបទដ្ឋានអនុវត្តនាគាត់ការងារមួយចំនួន ដែលមានការត្រួតពិនិត្យ  
យកដោយការបោះឆ្នោតកម្ពុជាតិភាគលាងក បានពីរដែលការិនិយោគនៅក្នុងខសស្អាតកម្ពុជា  
: ដែលជួយមួយដឹកដំឡើងប្រជាមុនគុណទូរកំណត់ម្រង់សែនយកបានកណ្តុ ឱ្យបានកុំពិន្ទុក្នុង  
បរិភ័ណ្ឌក្រោមបីក្រុងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កម្ពុជា និងវានាបានត្រូវដើម្បីគិតិយក្រុងការបោរព  
ដ្ឋានអង្គភាពបោះឆ្នោតកម្ពុជាដែលជាតិ ពិនិត្យសំខាន់ខ្ពស់លំណែងរាល់សំប្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍ  
បង្គឺកិច្ចិថ្នូរបែលប្រព័ន្ធកម្ពុជា បុន្ណែនជាតិការនៃខសស្អាតកម្ពុជាបុរីឈឺយកម្ពុជា  
: គិតិយក្រុងការបោរពដំឡើងខ្ពស់ ធ្វើដើម្បីក្រោងការនៃគេកិច្ចិថ្នូរ ពីរបោរពបាន  
នាន់សង្គម លើដើម្បីក្រោងការបោរពដំឡើងខ្ពស់ ធ្វើដើម្បីក្រោងការនៃគេកិច្ចិថ្នូរ ពីរបោរពបាន

## ការដឹងទិន្នន័យសាសនា

បានសម្រេចនឹងដីផ្លូវកម្មបុរិច្ឆាស់យោះពេលរហូតដល់ទំនាំ។ ប្រាប់នេះនឹង  
អនុញ្ញាតឡើងឱ្យដឹងពីនិមួយាតិនបាបីដើម្បីកសាងន្ទៃដែលនៅក្រោមដីដើម្បីជីថាម។ គឺនិត  
ដឹងដើម្បីថានេះនៅខ្លួនមានការព្យិកកិច្ច ជាអារី ទៅដល់ដីបីនេះដែលគេចាក់  
ដើម្បី និងដឹងដីផ្លូវកម្មបុរិច្ឆាស់យោះពេលរហូតដល់ទំនាំ។

មួយដែលទ្រូវការ កង្វៈខាតដីសំរួល សភាតក្រុងទីក្រុង និង  
បច្ចនាលុបបំបាត់តែម៉ោង នៅក្នុងអនាគិបតេយ្យ បានតាំងលំការដោយបំពេញ  
កម្មិតិវិកទីតាំងដើម្បីខ្សោយបានដែលសំរាប់បានមួយដែលស្ថិត នៅក្នុងទីតាំងដែល  
ប្រុយបាននិងបានកំណើយ។ ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋដែលទទួលបានដំឡើយពីអង្គភាពនិង  
អង្គភាពិតាលអនុវត្តតាត បានរៀបចំខ្លួនឯងជាសមាគម បុសហគមន៍តាមទីតាំង  
នៃសំរាប់បានស្ថិត ដើម្បីខ្សោយសម្រេចបែស់ត្បូរតែម៉ោងទូទៅនៅលើនៅក្នុងការ  
បស់អង្គភាពិតាលគុងការកែវតាំងដើម្បីជួយនូវកែតែ និងឱ្យអង្គភាពិតាលត្រូវលំប្តូរគេ  
អង្គភាពិតាលដែលដែលទទួលបានដំឡើយពីអង្គភាព UNDP ប្រអប់ការ UN  
Habitat និងជាការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កែស្សីរបាយការណ៍ នៅក្នុងការិយៈពេលអង្គភាពិតាលនិង  
សហគមប្រជាពលរដ្ឋទាំងនេះ បានបង្កើតអង្គភាពសម្របសម្រួលអបិវត្ថុយ៉ា  
នៅតាមមូលដ្ឋាន ដើម្បីបង្កប់ការងារនៅក្នុងទីតាំងដែលស្ថិត និងបង្កើតការងារ  
ដើម្បីដែលក្នុងនិតិវិធី ដោយនានាដំឡើយហិត្តុត្រូវពីអង្គភាពនិតិវិធី និងបង្កើតការងារ  
ជាការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កែស្សី អង្គភាពសហគមប្រជាពលរដ្ឋទាំងនេះ និងបង្កើតការងារដើម្បី  
ទីតាំងដើម្បីដែលស្ថិតនៅតាមជាមុនក្នុងកីឡាប្រាស់ និងបង្កើតការងារដើម្បីនៅការបាទប៉ែនិម  
ព្រឹកទីក្រុងនៅរោ។

សេចក្តីផ្តើមមួយគុងចំណោមសេចក្តីសិត្សរបណ្តាឃោះអាសន្ន  
នៃអនុវត្តន៍មុខប័ណ្ណទាំងនេះ ការចាត់បាយភាពនៃការកសាងឡើងដើរ ការចាត់  
ឡើង គឺជាយសារមានក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធនូវរឿង នៅក្នុងកំណើនរបស់ប្រជាធិបាល និង  
ចំណោមសេចក្តីប្រជាធិបាលដូចជាកសាងដីក្នុងបំពាល់ខ្លួនឡើងដើរ ចំណាត់ការ  
របស់ថ្មាក់ដីក្នុងការចាត់បាយភាព ដូចនេះក្នុងក្រប់ក្រង់ទីដីអស់ ឬជំនួយរក  
ដីណែនាំស្រាយប្រកបដោយនរោត្តិនឹង ព្រមទាំងដោយសារសកម្មភាពរបស់  
ប្រឈម និងស្ថាប័នផ្តល់ជូនយន្តាន ដូចលើតែងតែផ្តល់ជូនយន្តាមអសយេះ ពេល  
ជាប់ខែត្រូវ ទៅជាប់ពេលខ្លះ នានាពាណិជ្ជកម្មដ្ឋានឡើងរកយោបាយ  
យ៉ាងណាតី ហើយមួយផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់ គឺជាយសារកំនើនតែងតែផ្តល់ជូនរបស់វិនិយោគិន  
នៃការបង្ហាញ ទៅបីជាតុកគេប្រឈមបានកើតឡើង ក្នុងបំពាល់យ៉ាងណាតី នៅក្នុងព្រោះ  
តែងតែការបង្ហាញដែលបានកើតឡើង និងការបង្ហាញដែលបានកើតឡើង និងការបង្ហាញដែលបានកើតឡើង

បញ្ជាបេយមថ្មី

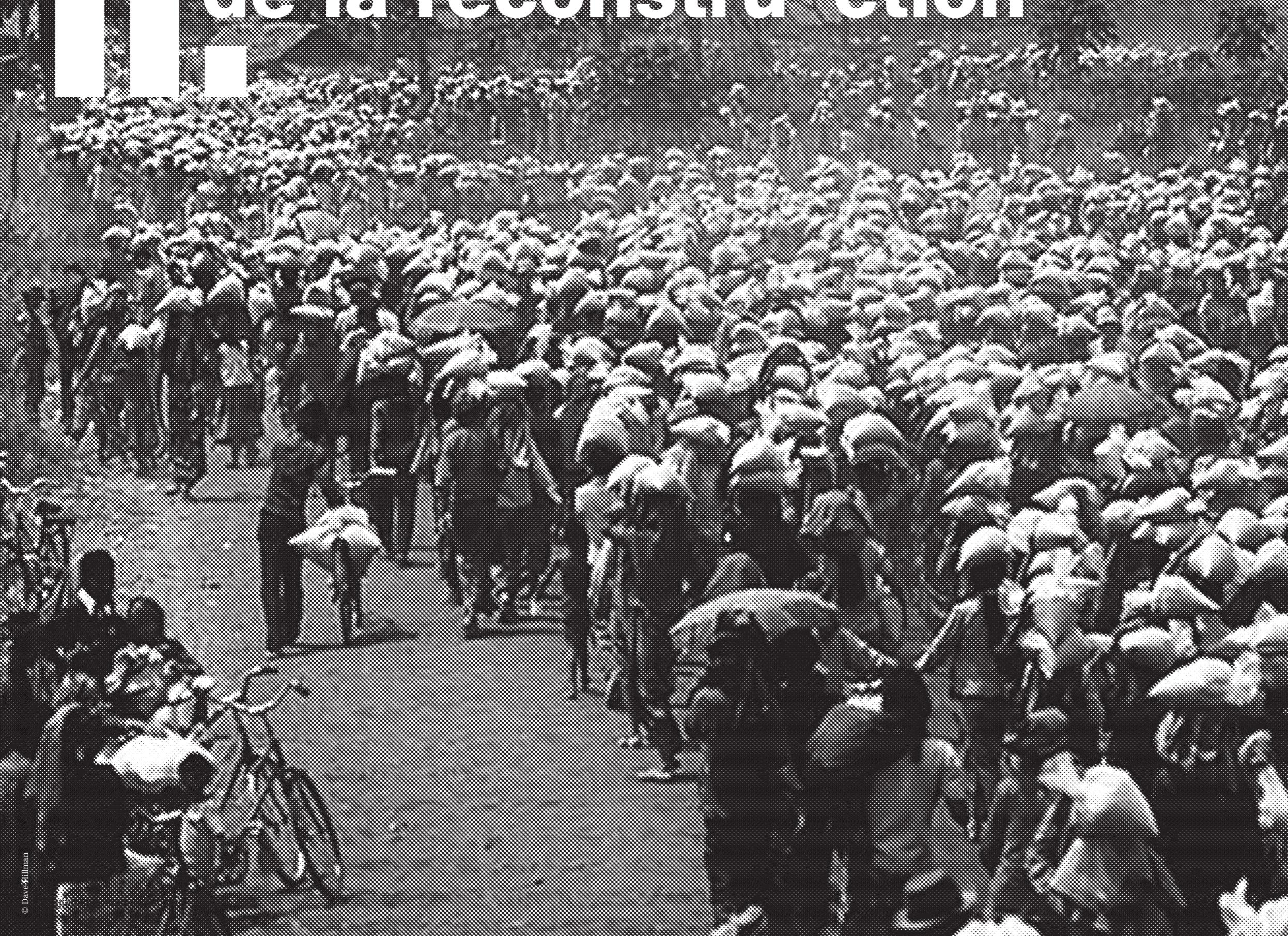
# Urgence de la reconstruction

Urgency  
of reconstruction

b. ministère

# Urgency of reconstruction

## ៤. ការបន្ទាន់នៃការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ក្នុងវិញ



Men Chandevy, enfant à l'époque, témoigne de son retour dans la ville. S.E. Thong Khon nous parle des premières décisions politiques et sociales et S.E. Mok Mareth de la difficulté de remettre en marche une ville entière. En contrepoint, Jean Marie Théodat narre l'impossible reconstruction de Port au Prince après le tremblement de terre.

Men Chandevy, a child at the time, recalls her return to the city. H.E. Thong Khon tells us about the first political and social decisions and H.E. Mok Mareth about the difficulty of restarting an entire city. By way of a counterpoint, Jean Marie Théodat describes the impossible rebuilding of Port au Prince after the earthquake.

## Réception du riz par les réfugiés en Thaïlande, Mai 1983. Refugees receiving rice in Thailand, May 1983.

# Etre jeune à Phnom Penh en 1979

Chandevy a presque dix ans quand elle revient à Phnom Penh avec sa famille en 1979.

Elle raconte les débuts de cette nouvelle vie.

PAR NAK MONEANG MEN CHANDEVY



Chandevy et son père dans l'usine de clous où il travaillait et où ils habitaient.

Chandevy and her father in the nail factory where he worked and where they lived.

អ្នកមាន ពាន់ទៅ និង  
ឱ្យកុំហែស់អ្នកមាន  
នៅតួនាទេរកសណិត  
ដែកគោល និងកុំហែស់  
អ្នកមានពើរាជ និង  
សំនៃតួនាទេរកសណិត

En 1979, j'avais moins de 10 ans quand j'ai retrouvé ma ville natale en empruntant des petits chemins à travers les champs et les rizières. Malgré mon jeune âge, des images que mes yeux capturaient comme autant de photos sont imprimées dans ma mémoire et certaines apparaissent encore clairement dans mes souvenirs. Je me revois avec ma mère et ma grand-mère, d'autres parents et des sœurs. Nous revenons de la province de Kandal à pied. Mes sœurs portent leurs sacs de vêtements et de la nourriture sur la tête. Comme de nombreuses autres familles qui revenaient à Phnom Penh, nous étions extenués et nous nous reposions sur le bord des chemins ou des trottoirs quand il y en avait pour faire une halte. Quand nous sommes entrés dans Phnom Penh, la rue était calme et on voyait les gens scruter la foule avec l'espoir de retrouver des proches et des membres de leur famille.

Dès les premiers pas dans Phnom Penh, la ville florissante de jadis apparaît vide, calme, lugubre, morne, sans âme. Les maisons abandonnées sont comme imprégnées de tristesse, semblant attendre le retour des anciens habitants. On ne voit aucune voiture ni aucun autre mode de transport. Les rues sont envahies de feuilles mortes et d'herbes folles. Une sensation de malaise flotte dans l'air; pas d'eau propre, d'électricité ni de soins médicaux. La ville est d'une tristesse insigne.

Autour de moi les survivants du régime de Pol Pot cherchent des membres de leur famille disparus. Ils sont en haillons. Jeunes ou vieux, ils sont tous maigres et pâles. Seuls leurs yeux sont grands ouverts, cherchant des voisins, des personnes de leur famille. Ce qui me frappe aussi, c'est l'angoisse des gens qui n'osent pas vivre dans les maisons et qui ont peur des lieux fermés. Ils préfèrent camper dans la rue. Partout, on entend des récits tragiques. Dans chaque famille, le soir après le dîner, les grands parents ou les parents racontent toutes les horreurs vécues pendant le régime de Pol Pot.

Nous nous installons à Chak Angrè Krom, le long du fleuve Tonlé Bassac, dans une maison qui servait autrefois de bureau à une usine de clous qui

Sortie d'école en 1982. / End of school day, 1982.

សិល្បៈបញ្ជីសាលាអ៉ែន ឆ្នាំ១៩៨២



Cambodgiens essayant d'éviter les roquettes lancées par l'Armée Khmer rouge, février 1974.

Cambodians trying to avoid the rockets launched by the Khmer Rouge army, February, 1974.

ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋខ្មែរ  
តែទេចតិត្របែងច្ថែង  
ដោយទេសទេខ្មែរ  
ក្រោម ទីត្រូវក្នុងពេទ្យ  
ខេត្ត: ឆ្នាំ១៩៧៤

redémarrait ses activités. D'autres familles se sont installées dans une sorte de hangar pas loin de nous. Chaque famille cloisonne alors son espace avec une plaque de contreplaqué pour délimiter son périmètre. Nous avons peur de vivre isolés et les gens se rassemblent instinctivement. La proximité est recherchée. Notre maison est petite mais elle accueille deux ou trois autres familles en plus de nous. Au moins une personne par famille travaille dans l'usine de clous. Mon père, qui était médecin avant 1975, travaille aussi à la fabrication des clous.

Je suis la benjamine de la famille. Mon activité principale consiste à aller à l'école qui a rouvert. Trop jeune, je n'ai normalement pas le droit d'y aller, mais je suis ma grande sœur. Pendant les récréations, nous jouons avec les autres enfants,

mais mes parents me l'ont rapidement interdit car il n'était pas permis de laisser jouer des filles avec des garçons. En compensation en 1985-1986, mon père me fait lire des livres ramenés d'un centre culturel russe pas trop loin de chez nous. Mon autre occupation est d'aller collecter l'eau avec ma sœur et d'aider aux tâches ménagères. À cette époque, il n'y a pas d'eau courante. Des vendeurs privés

utilisent une pompe pour collecter l'eau du Tonlé Bassac. Elle est mise dans des bidons métalliques recyclés, utilisés initialement pour les huiles industrielles et le carburant d'essence. Ces bidons remplis d'eau sont ensuite mis sur des charrettes que nous tirons et poussons jusqu'à la maison. Ensuite, il faut traiter l'eau avec du *sach chou*, un produit local très acide qui a pour effet d'éclaircir et de décontaminer l'eau. Je dois participer à diverses tâches, y compris celles qui demandent de la force physique. C'était le lot de beaucoup de familles dont les enfants sont uniquement des filles ou dont les hommes et les ainés sont absents de la maison. Dans mon cas, les deux parents travaillent (ma mère au marché, mon père à l'usine), une de mes sœurs est partie faire des études en Russie, et mon frère est au Vietnam. Je m'occupe donc des tâches ménagères (cuisine, lessive, ménage). A cette



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époque, les conditions de vie sont pénibles, pour les femmes comme pour les hommes. Il y a une égalité dans la difficulté et la dureté de la vie. Ce qui m'a aussi beaucoup marqué, c'est de voir que la solidarité est toujours restée très forte entre les gens. Même si les familles sont très pauvres, on partage toujours nos vivres. Il est aussi très fréquent de rendre visite aux autres membres de la famille, même éloignés. À cause de la guerre et des pertes engendrées, les survivants de chaque famille cherchent à retisser et à resserrer les liens.

Nous n'aimons pas être seuls quand nous nous déplaçons. Nos peurs sont liées aux récits des personnes plus âgées qui parlent tout le temps de fantômes et de morts. Cela marque beaucoup notre imagination. Cette peur des fantômes va poursuivre ma génération pendant longtemps. Nous avons droit à des rations alimentaires distribuées de façon stricte. Grâce au travail de mon père, nous avons du riz, distribué par l'usine, et de la farine pour faire des gâteaux. Nous recevons aussi des poissons, mais bien sûr peu de viande et pas du tout de lait.

Les conditions d'étude sont difficiles mais nous n'avons pas le choix. Parfois, nous n'avons ni table ni chaise. Mais le côté positif est que nous recevons alors une éducation solide car les professeurs et institutrices survivants du régime Khmer rouge ont tous été formés pendant ou avant l'époque du Sangkum Reastr Nyum. Ils nous ont transmis des connaissances culturelles et historiques très complètes, ainsi qu'un enseignement moral et une éducation solide qui, en revanche, font défaut aujourd'hui.

Je me souviens aussi qu'après avoir retrouvé notre maison familiale d'autan, située dans le quartier de Toul Svay Prey à côté de la prison de Toul Sleng<sup>1</sup>, nous sommes allés la visiter. Ma mère y a trouvé par hasard la photo de son frère. Depuis, la hantise nous poursuit et nous n'y sommes pas retournés.

On a souvent dit « rien ne vaut la jeunesse ». Mais moi, je dis « rien de vaut la liberté ». Durant ces premières années, la ville de Phnom Penh évolue lentement et la vie recommence tant bien que mal. Ce qui nous manque, alors, c'est une nouvelle « façon de vivre », car après le génocide, nous survivons en attendant des jours meilleurs. Quelques années plus tard, la vie de la population s'améliore de jour en jour. Tout semble se développer, surtout dans des domaines prioritaires tels que l'éducation. Le gouvernement a pu envoyer la génération de mes frères et soeurs étudier à l'étranger, en particulier en URSS et au Vietnam. De retour au Cambodge, ces gens formés ont aidé à reconstruire le pays. Après l'impression de grande désolation que j'ai ressentie au sortir du régime Khmer rouge, je sens désormais que la ville a retrouvé son âme. Les Accords de Paris de 1993 ont amorcé une transition importante avec le retour de la Royauté et une ouverture à l'international. À partir de ce moment, la ville change alors beaucoup. C'est aussi le

## Les survivants de chaque famille cherchent à retisser et resserrer les liens.



A côté de la fontaine, boulevard Preah Sihanouk, 1982.  
By the fountain, Boulevard Preah Sihanouk, 1982.

សៀវភៅការអប់រំ មហាផ្លូវព្រះស៊ុហន្ឌ ឆ្នាំ១៩៨២

moment du retour des Khmers partis à l'étranger. Ces derniers vont renforcer les capacités de formation, comme à l'Université Royale des Beaux-Arts. Les premiers contrastes sociaux et géographiques au sein de Phnom Penh se dessinent, favorisés par un important exode rural vers la capitale, ainsi que par les emplois dans les usines textiles. Cette nouvelle population s'agglomère et s'installe dans des espaces libres de la ville ou en périphérie, créant souvent des zones de précarité. Les deux guerres civiles et le régime khmer rouge ont causé de grandes destructions sociales, économiques et culturelles au Cambodge. Dans ce pays autrefois décrit comme étant « le pays du sourire », retrouver son identité prend beaucoup de temps. Aujourd'hui, avec tout ce qui a été fait pour moderniser la ville, les années perdues ont été rattrapées.

<sup>1</sup> L'ancien lycée de Tuol Sleng est devenu une prison et un centre de tortures sous le régime des Khmers rouges. En 1979, elle est transformée en lieu de mémoire que

l'on peut visiter. Les très nombreuses photographies de détenus assassinés dans ce lieu y sont exposées.

## Young in Phnom Penh in 1979

Chandevy was almost six years old when she came back to Phnom Penh with her family in 1979. She gives an account of the early stages of this new life.

BY NEAK MONEANG SISOWATH MEN CHANDEVY

In 1979, I was about six years old when I got back to my birth city after following pathways through the fields and rice paddies. Although I was young, the images that my eyes captured are like photographs imprinted in my memory and some still show up clearly in my recollections. I can see myself with my mother and grandmother, other relatives, and my sisters. We are returning from Kandal Province on foot. My sisters are carrying their bags of clothing and food on their heads.

Like so many other families returning to Phnom Penh, we are exhausted and so we take breaks along the road or sidewalk. When we get into Phnom Penh, the streets are quiet. We can see other people looking through the crowd in the hope of finding family members or close relatives.

After stepping into Phnom Penh, the formerly burgeoning city appears empty, quiet, dreary, dismal, spiritless. The abandoned houses seem overcome by sadness, seemingly awaiting the return of their former occupants. No automobile or any other form of transportation in sight. The streets are covered with dead leaves and wild grass. A kind of uneasiness is in the air; no clean water, no electricity, no medical care. A distinctive sadness pervades the city.

Around me the survivors of the Pol Pot regime are looking for family members who went missing. They are clothed in rags. They are thin and pale, young and old alike. Only their eyes are wide open in search of neighbors or family members. What surprises me as well is the anxiety people feel: they don't dare live in the houses and are afraid of closed spaces. They prefer camping out on the street. Everywhere, tragic stories are being told. In every family, after supper, the grandparents or parents recount all the atrocities they experienced under the Pol Pot regime.

We settle in Chak Angre Krom, along the Tonle Bassac River, in a house that was once used as an office for a nail factory now going back into business. Other families settle in a type of shed not far from us. Each family partitions off its space with panels of plywood. People are afraid of being isolated so they gather together instinctively. Closeness is desired. Our house is small but is home to two or three other families in addition

to ours. At least one member of each family works at the nail factory. My father who was a doctor until 1975 also makes nails for a living.

I am the youngest child in the family. My main occupation is school, which has reopened. Because of my young age, I should not have been allowed in school but I followed my big sister there. During recess, we play with the other children but my parents quickly forbid it because girls should not play with boys. To make up for it, in 1985–1986, my father has me read books that he brought back from the Russian Cultural Center, not far from where we live. I also have to collect water with my sister and help with chores. There is no running water. Private sellers use a pump to get water from the Tonle Bassac that they put in recycled metal barrels initially meant for oil and gasoline.

The barrels are filled with water and put on carts that we pull or push to the house. The water then has to be treated with *sach chou*, a very acidic local product which clarifies and purifies the water. I have to do various chores, even those that require physical strength. Many families with only girls or where the men and older siblings are away from home function that way. In my case, both my parents work (my mother in the market, my father at the factory). One of my sisters has left to study in Russia and my brother has gone to Vietnam. I do housework (cooking, laundry, cleaning).

At that time, living conditions are hard for both women and men: life is equally difficult and harsh. I am also impressed with the solidarity that always remained strong among people. The families are very poor but everyone shares what they have. People also frequently visit other family members, even those living far away. Because of the war and the losses sustained, each family's survivors seek to mend and tighten their bonds.

We don't like to travel alone. Our fears go back to what our elders always told about ghosts and the dead which has left a mark on our imagination. This fear of ghosts has haunted my generation for a long time.

Food rations are strictly distributed. With my father working, we get an allowance of rice from the factory, and flour for cake-making. We also get fish, but very little meat of course, and no milk.

Schooling is difficult, but we have no choice. Sometimes we don't even have desks or chairs. But on the positive side, we get a good education because the teachers who survived the Khmer Rouge were all trained during or after the Sangkum Reastr Nyum period. They pass on to their students a comprehensive

understanding of culture and history as well as moral and sound education that is lacking today.

I also remember that after we found our former family home that was located in Tuol Svay Prey ward, beside the Tuol Sleng<sup>1</sup> prison, we visited the jail. There, my mother came across a photograph of her brother. We have been haunted by that ever since and have not gone back. It has often been said that “nothing is better than youth.” But I say that “nothing is better than freedom.” During those early years, Phnom Penh gradually evolved, and life somehow started again. What we were missing then was a new

“way of life” because after the genocide we were only surviving, awaiting better times.

A few years passed and people's lives were getting better day by day.

Development was the byword, especially in priority fields such as education. The government was able to send my brothers and sisters' generation off to study abroad, particularly in the USSR and Vietnam. When they returned to Cambodia, these people used their training to help rebuild the country. After the incredible desolation that I had perceived at the end of the Khmer Rouge regime, I now felt that the city had found its soul.

The Paris Agreements of 1991 ushered in a major transition with the return of the royalty and an international opening up. From that time on, the city changed a great deal. The Khmers who had gone abroad started to return. They helped improve training capacity at the Royal University of Fine Arts for instance. The first social and geographical contrasts in Phnom Penh took shape, fostered by a major rural exodus to the capital and by work opportunities in textile factories. This new population wave gathered together and settled in empty spaces in the city or on its outskirts, often resulting in zones of precarious living conditions. The genocidal war of the Khmer Rouge caused incalculable social, economic, and cultural devastation in Cambodia. In this country formerly described as “the country of smiles,” recovering one's identity takes a long time. Today, all the efforts to modernize the city have made up for the lost years.

<sup>1</sup> The former Tuol Sleng High School was turned into a prison and torture center during the Khmer Rouge regime. In 1979, it was made into a memorial site open to tours. A huge number of photographs of prisoners killed in the place are exhibited in it.



# Piloter la reconstruction au lendemain des Khmers rouges

Au cours des années 1980, le reconstruction de Phnom Penh est un véritable défi. L'inventivité et l'implication de la population, ainsi que l'appui de nombreux acteurs extérieurs ont permis de trouver des solutions au jour le jour et d'éviter une catastrophe humanitaire. **PAR S.E. THONG KHON**



De 1970 à 1975, entre le coup d'Etat et la prise de pouvoir des Khmers rouges, Phnom Penh change radicalement. En raison des bombardements sur l'Est du pays, les réfugiés affluent et la ville passe de 700 000 à 2 millions d'habitants en quelques années.

La prise de pouvoir des Khmers rouges met un coup d'arrêt brutal à cette croissance urbaine incontrôlée, et Phnom Penh est déserte. Les habitants sont évacués de force vers les campagnes. Traités comme des prisonniers, nombre d'entre eux meurent d'épuisement et de faim sur les sites de travail forcé aux champs, et nombre d'autres sont exécutés. Pour les survivants qui reviennent en 1979, la situation est très précaire.

## LES DÉFIS DE LA RECONSTRUCTION

Comment pouvait-on mettre en œuvre des chantiers gigantesques de reconstruction et, en même temps, gérer une marée humaine qui afflue à Phnom Penh ? Le grand nombre de réfugiés qui convergent vers Phnom Penh constitue un problème majeur. Le premier souci est de déterminer et de différencier les habitants ordinaires des forces Khmers rouges infiltrées. Au début, l'accès à la ville est donc interdit afin de mieux en contrôler les accès et de se protéger contre une éventuelle attaque Khmère rouge. Différentes stratégies étaient mises en œuvre pour identifier les Khmers rouges parmi le flot de réfugiés. Par exemple, pour les identifier parmi tous les gens armés, le jour, nous portions des AK-47 (Kalachnikov), et la nuit, nous les remplaçons par des M-16.



Panneau de campagne d'éducation publique, 1990.  
Public Education Campaign billboard, 1990.

Khmer Rouge  
1975-1979

Dans la ville vide, seuls circulent les militaires, 1979.  
In the empty city, nothing but soldiers, 1979.

សៀវភៅទីក្រុងទេស្ថាន  
មានតំបន់ខែបុណ្យដែល  
ដើម្បីលក់ ឆ្នាំ១៩៧៩

## LES PRÉMISES DE LA RECONSTRUCTION, LA MISE EN PLACE D'UNE ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE

En cette « année zéro », il faut non seulement reconstruire la capitale, mais aussi le pays tout entier, et ce, avec de très faibles moyens. En février 1979, deux premières équipes de travail sont constituées : la première à Chrang Chamres (route nationale 5) et la deuxième à la Cité des 100 toits (route nationale 4). Leur mission est de recruter les intellectuels survivants, les anciens fonctionnaires et les anciens étudiants. Le premier groupe, dont je fais partie, est composé de 25 personnes venant du Nord de Phnom Penh, et de plus de 70 personnes venant de l'Ouest. Notre première action est de mettre en place l'école politique centrale dont les enseignements de la première promotion sont donnés par Samdech Techo Hun Sen, SE. Say Phouthorng, SE. Bou Thong et SE Y Yaun.

Après cette formation, plusieurs groupes de travail sont constitués. Leur principale tâche est de recruter et de former des personnels administratifs, officiers et employés pour gérer les différents lieux de Phnom Penh.

Le groupe initial de 60 personnes, dont je fais partie, parfait sa formation au Vietnam. À notre retour, 32 personnes, dont moi-même, sont affectées à la Municipalité de Phnom Penh. Les autres sont réparties dans les différents Ministères nouvellement créés.

La Municipalité de Phnom Penh a créé par ailleurs des écoles politiques et administratives, à différents niveaux, pour former des fonctionnaires dans tous les domaines. Phnom Penh est divisée en 4 régions centrales et 12 communes périphériques. En 1980, avant les élections, les régions sont divisées en quartiers. En 1983 puis en 1986, deux nouvelles réformes administratives permettent à Phnom Penh d'annexer une partie de la

province de Kandal. La ville atteint alors 401 km<sup>2</sup>. Entre 1979 et 1983, je suis nommé par le PRPK<sup>1</sup> officier et chef du Bureau du Personnel et de l'organisation administrative de la ville avec pour fonctions le recrutement des agents, ainsi que l'organisation et la structuration des services. De 1983 à 1985, je suis nommé Maire adjoint de Phnom Penh en charge de la santé, de l'éducation, de la culture et des affaires sociales.

## LA RECONSTRUCTION FACE À L'URGENCE

De 1979 à 1990, environ 10 000 employés sont recrutés et formés pour travailler pour la municipalité de Phnom Penh. Pendant cette période, les priorités et les grands objectifs de la reconstruction et du développement de Phnom Penh sont tous définis pour faire face à l'urgence.

### La défense de Phnom Penh

La priorité est tout d'abord la défense de la ville contre un éventuel retour des Khmers rouges. Ces derniers bombardent la ville depuis le Nord-Est (Mok Kampoul) et l'Ouest (Samrong Krom). Les alentours de Phnom Penh doivent être sécurisés pour prévenir les attaques contre les dépôts de pétrole de Russey Keo et l'aéroport de Pocheutong.

Concrètement, nous travaillons dans la journée au service des citoyens et nous prenons les armes le soir pour effectuer des rondes autour de la capitale. Nous formons et motivons aussi les populations locales pour participer à la surveillance et à la défense de la ville. Par ailleurs, douze jeunes sont recrutés et formés pour devenir des officiers de police. Parmi eux, S.E. Neth Savoeun, qui occupe aujourd'hui le poste de Chef National de la Police et S.E. Thong Lim, Chef national adjoint.

### Assurer les services médicaux et les soins

Aux premiers temps de la reconstruction, les conditions de santé restent très précaires. Par exemple en 1983, nous devons faire face à des épidémies de choléra et de dengue hémorragique qui sont jugulées grâce à l'intervention des associations de médecins de la ville de Hô Chi Minh. Afin de répondre aux enjeux de santé publique, la Faculté de Médecine est rouverte début 1980 sous le nom de Faculté mixte de Médecine, Pharmacie, Odontostomatologie. Les anciens étudiants sont invités à reprendre leurs études afin d'achever leur formation. Les enseignants sont recrutés parmi les quelques médecins, pharmaciens et dentistes rescapés, tout cela avec l'assistance de médecins vietnamiens et de quelques médecins étrangers francophones en mission au Cambodge. Des ONG fournissent des livres, des équipements et du matériel médical de base. Grâce à cela, en 1987, il existe huit hôpitaux (2000 lits) gérés par le Ministère de la santé publique, ainsi que trois hôpitaux (400 lits), neuf infirmeries et sept dispensaires dans les arrondissements périphériques gérés par la Municipalité. Par ailleurs, un Centre national de protection des mères et des enfants et le Centre municipal de la santé maternelle et infantile sont en fonctionnement.

Pour répondre aux besoins urgents de santé

Réouverture de la Faculté de Médecine, 1982.  
Reopening of the Medical Faculty, 1982.  
មហាវិទ្យាល័យជ្រើសរើស  
ដែកក្បាសឡើងដូច  
ឆ្នាំ១៩៨២



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Les cocotiers plantés par les khmers rouges autour du marché central, 1979.

The coconut trees which were planted by the Khmer Rouge around the central market, 1979.

ដែកក្បាសដែលក្នុងខ្សោយ  
បាយជាតិនៃពីរស្តីរៀងរាល់  
ឆ្នាំ១៩៧៩

publique, le Ministère de la Santé décide d'incorporer d'anciens infirmier(e)s ou sages-femmes à la formation pour devenir médecin.

The North bridge destroyed during the war.

ស្ទឹងប្រាសាទីប៉ែង  
ធម្មជាតិនៃពីរស្តីរៀងរាល់

La Radio, la télévision et l'affichage en ville sont utilisés pour lancer des campagnes d'hygiène publique. Notre slogan était « manger propre, loger propre, boire propre! ». Les soins aux enfants sont aussi une priorité. Un nombre important d'orphelins survivent dans les rues. La municipalité crée et gère trois orphelinats : Kolap1, Kolap2, Kolap 3, ainsi que Kolap 4 qui s'occupe plus spécifiquement d'handicapés et de femmes en difficultés sous le contrôle du Ministère des Affaires sociales

## L'éducation

Pendant le Régime Khmer rouge, la plupart des intellectuels, y compris les enseignants et les professeurs, sont morts. Dans les premiers temps de la reconstruction, le Gouvernement s'est appuyé sur la méthode de l'éducation partagée pour reconstituer le corps éducatif. Le slogan était : « les personnes les plus éduquées enseignent aux personnes les moins instruites ; les personnes moins instruites enseignent aux non-éduqués ! »

1. Le PRPK, au pouvoir à partir de janvier 1979, est le Parti Révolutionnaire du Peuple Khmer. Il deviendra par la suite le Parti du Peuple Cambodgien (PPC).

## La relance du commerce local

La relance des activités économiques est une autre priorité majeure. Le régime des Khmers rouges a totalement détruit le secteur économique national et local. À Phnom Penh, des cocotiers avaient été plantés autour du marché central par les Khmers rouges. En 1983, la municipalité les enlève pour les replanter dans l'enceinte de l'hôpital pédiatrique. Nous avons été surpris de découvrir des squelettes humains sous les racines. Ce n'est qu'en 1984 que les stands du Marché Central peuvent reprendre leurs activités.

## L'Habitat et la reconstruction des infrastructures urbaines

Après le 7 Janvier 1979, le Gouvernement autorise la population à revenir dans la ville et à occuper les maisons.

L'insécurité régnante alimente les peurs des gens. Ils recherchent la sécurité en cohabitant à côté d'autres familles et des forces militaires vietnamiennes et cambodgiennes. Cette promiscuité des premiers temps a, aujourd'hui encore, des répercussions sur les façons d'habiter la ville.

Après 1979, les habitants ne sont plus les mêmes qu'avant 1975. Seulement 30% des anciens habitants ont pu revenir et 70 % des nouveaux arrivants sont originaires des provinces. La population occupe alors les appartements vacants, mais des problèmes de maintenance, d'hygiène et de propreté apparaissent vite.

Certains bâtiments, qui avaient été détournés de leurs usages premiers pendant les Khmers rouges, bénéficient de programmes de rénovation. Certains retrouvent leurs anciennes fonctions, d'autres en ont de nouvelles. Ce fut par exemple le cas de la Bibliothèque Nationale, qui avait été transformée en cuisine centrale par les Khmers rouges, mais qui est rouverte après 1979. Ou encore, le lycée de Chao Pogneayat (Tuol Svay Prey), qui fut transformé en centre de détention et de torture (S21) par les Khmers rouges, et qui devient dès 1979 le Musée

# Carrying out and leading the reconstruction in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge

During the 1980s, the reconstruction of Phnom Penh was a real challenge. The population's inventiveness and involvement, along with support from many foreign stakeholders, made it possible to find solutions one day at a time and avoid a humanitarian disaster. **BY S.E. THONG KHON**

From 1970 to 1975, between the coup d'état and the Khmer Rouge seizure of power, Phnom Penh underwent a dramatic change. The bombings in the eastern part of the country led to a population jump: the city population went from 700,000 to

National du Génocide. Le site de Choeung Ek, qui a servi de lieu d'exécution, est conservé tel quel pour devenir un lieu de mémoire du génocide.

La réparation des égouts fait aussi partie des priorités. Selon les témoignages de survivants, Phnom Penh avait été inondée lors de la crue de 1978. Les vannes qui évacuent l'eau vers le Tonlé Sap en saison sèche n'avaient pas été fermées au moment de l'évacuation des habitants de 1975. Ainsi, à chaque saison des pluies, l'eau et les alluvions du fleuve sont remontées dans les canalisations, créant de véritables bouchons qui se sont peu à peu solidifiés. C'est l'Ordre de Malte qui apporte les premières aides avec des hydrocureuses. Afin de commencer à déboucher les canalisations.

Le problème de la propreté et de la gestion des déchets est tel que les personnels de la Municipalité et de tous les ministères sont mobilisés chaque samedi et dimanche pour nettoyer la ville avec des tracteurs et des remorques.

Le système d'eau potable est aussi inexistant. Des trois stations d'eau potable, seule celle de Phum Prek (près de la Faculté de médecine) est encore en état de fonctionner, mais avec seulement un moteur de pompage parmi les six disponibles. Avec l'aide vietnamienne et soviétique, nous avons remis en marche une partie de ce système de distribution. L'électricité reste quant à elle un défi majeur pour la Municipalité en raison de l'abandon des trois centrales électriques.

Après la libération du pays, le 07 Janvier 1979, par le Front National de Solidarité pour le Sauvetage du Cambodge et avec le support et le soutien des troupes vietnamiennes, nous n'avons jamais perdu espoir malgré les énormes problèmes auxquels nous avons été confrontés. Notre rêve était de voir Phnom Penh rénovée et belle comme avant. Nous y sommes parvenus. Les stratégies et les plans d'action mis en place par le gouvernement dans la période la plus difficile y ont beaucoup contribué.

stages, access to the city was prohibited in order to better control who accessed it and provide protection against a possible Khmer Rouge attack. Different strategies were used to identify Khmer Rouge members among the flow of refugees. For example, in order to identify them among people bearing arms we carried AK-47s (Kalashnikov) in the daytime and we replaced them with M-16s at night.

### **THE STARTING POINT OF THE RECONSTRUCTION: SETTING UP A PUBLIC AUTHORITY**

Early on, it was not just the capital that needed reconstruction but the entire country—with very limited resources. In February 1979, the first two working groups were created: the first one at Chrang Chamres (National Highway 5) and the second one in the "City of 100 Roofs" (National Highway 4). Their responsibility was to recruit survivors who were intellectuals, former civil

servants, and former students. The first group, which I was a part of, was made up of 25 people from northern Phnom Penh and over 70 persons from western Phnom Penh. Our first initiative was to set up a central school of politics. The first graduating class was taught by Samdech Techo Hun Sen, H.E. Say Phouthorng, H.E. Bou Thong, and H.E. Y Yaun. After this creation, several working groups were set up. Their main task was to recruit and train administrative staff, officers, and workers to manage different sites in Phnom Penh.

The initial group of 60 people, which I was a part of, completed its training in Vietnam. At our return, 32 people, including me, were assigned to work in the Municipality of Phnom Penh. The others were distributed among the different newly established ministries. The Municipality of Phnom Penh set up political and administrative schools at different levels to train civil servants in all areas. Phnom Penh was divided into four central regions and 12 surrounding communes. In 1980, prior to the elections, the regions were divided into wards. In 1983 and in 1986, two new administrative reforms enabled Phnom Penh to annex part of Kandal Province. The city then covered 401 km<sup>2</sup>.

Between 1979 and 1983, the KPRP<sup>1</sup> appointed me as officer and chief of the office of personnel and administrative organization, with the responsibility of recruiting staff, as well as organizing and structuring services. From 1983 to 1985, I was deputy mayor of Phnom Penh, in charge of health, education, culture, and social affairs.

### **REBUILDING WHEN FACED WITH URGENCY**

From 1979 to 1990, about 10,000 workers were recruited and trained to work for the Municipality of Phnom Penh. The priorities and main objectives of reconstruction and development in Phnom Penh all came under the umbrella of emergency.

#### **Protecting Phnom Penh**

Protecting the city against a possible return of the Khmer Rouge was a key priority. The Khmer Rouge were bombing the city from the northeast (Mok Kampoul) and west (Samrong Krom). The surroundings of Phnom Penh needed to be secured to prevent attacks on the oil depots in Russey Keo and Pochentong Airport.

In concrete terms, we worked in the daytime to serve citizens and took up arms at night to patrol around the capital. We provided training and motivation for the local communities to involve them in the surveillance and defense of the city. A dozen young officers were recruited and trained to become policemen. Among them were H.E. Neth Savoeun, now national chief of police, and H.E. Thong Lim, deputy national chief.

#### **Providing medical services**

Early on in the reconstruction, health conditions were very precarious. For

example, in 1983, we were confronted with epidemics of cholera and dengue hemorrhagic fever that were successfully curbed with assistance from medical associations in Ho Chi Minh City.

To take on the challenges facing public health, the faculty of medicine was reopened in early 1980 as the Joint Faculty of Medicine, Pharmacy and Dental Surgery. Former students were invited to return to their studies in order to complete their training. Professors were recruited among the few doctors, pharmacists, and dentists who had survived, with the help of doctors from Vietnam and a number of French-speaking foreign doctors on mission in Cambodia. NGOs provided books, equipment, and basic medical equipment. The assistance led to the creation, in 1987, of eight hospitals (2,000 beds) managed by the Ministry of Public Health, along with three hospitals (400 beds), nine infirmaries and seven dispensaries in the surrounding districts managed by the Municipality. The National Center for Maternal and Child Protection and the Municipal Center for Maternal and Child Health were also operating.

To meet the public health sector's urgent needs, the Ministry of Health decided to include former nurses and midwives in the training to become doctors.

Public health campaigns were launched using radio, television, and outdoor ads in the city. Our slogan was "Clean eating, clean living, clean drinking!"

Childcare was also a priority. Many orphans were living on the streets. The municipality established and managed three orphanages: Kolap1, Kolap2 and Kolap3, as well as Kolap4 which focused more specifically on disabled people and women in difficulty, under the control of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

#### **Education**

Most intellectuals, including teachers and professors, lost their lives under the Khmer Rouge regime. In the early stages of reconstruction, the government used the shared education approach to rebuild the educational body. The slogan was: "the most educated teach the least educated; the least educated teach the uneducated"!

#### **Reopening local businesses**

Reviving economic activities was another major priority. The Khmer Rouge regime had utterly destroyed the national and local economic sector. In Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge had planted coconut trees around the Central Market. In 1983, the municipality had them removed and replanted within the Pediatric Hospital compound. We were surprised to discover human skeletons under their roots. The Central Market only reopened in 1984.

#### **Habitat and urban infrastructure reconstruction**

After January 7, 1979, the government authorized people to come back to the city and occupy the houses. The prevailing insecurity fostered fear among the people. They found security

by living next to other families and Vietnamese or Cambodian military forces. The early stages favored a closeness that still has repercussions on the way people dwell in the city today.

After 1979, inhabitants were not the same as those before 1975. Only 30% of former inhabitants were able to come back and 70% of new arrivals were from the provinces. People occupied vacant apartment buildings, but maintenance, hygiene, and cleanliness issues quickly arose.

Certain buildings whose original use had been lost during the Khmer Rouge period benefited from renovation programs.

Some retrieved their former use, others were given new uses. For example, the National Library had been turned into a central kitchen by the Khmer Rouge but was reopened as a library after 1979.

Chao Pogneayat High School (Tuol Svay Prey) had been converted into a detention and torture center (S21) by the Khmer Rouge and became the National Genocide Museum in 1979. The Choeung Ek site, an execution site, was preserved to become a memorial for the victims of the genocide. Repairing the sewage system was another priority. According to survivors, Phnom Penh was flooded in 1978. The valves used to move water to the Tonle Sap during the dry season had not been closed during the city evacuation of 1975. So, wet season after wet season, water and river alluvia went up into the pipes, clogging them completely and gradually solidifying. The Order of Malta was the first agency to step in and provide assistance using hydro-cure devices to start removing the blockage from the pipes.

Cleanliness and waste management issues were such that staff from the municipality and all ministries was called up every Saturday and Sunday to clean up the city with tractors and trailers.

There was also no drinking water system. Of the three water treatment plants, only the one at Phum Prek (near the Faculty of Medicine) was still operational, but with only one pump motor instead of six. With help from Vietnam and the USSR, we got part of this distribution system up and running.

Electricity is still a major challenge for the municipality because the three power generating plants were abandoned.

When the country was liberated on January 7, 1979 by the National Solidarity Front for the Rescue of Cambodia with the support and backing of Vietnamese troops, we never lost hope despite the enormous problems we faced. Our dream was to see Phnom Penh renovated and as beautiful as it used to be. We achieved it. The strategies and action plans implemented by the government during the harshest period did much to that end.

<sup>1</sup> The KPRP is the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, which began ruling in January 1979. It later became the Cambodian People's Party (CPP).





Un marché peu après sa réouverture, 1982.

A market shortly after its reopening, 1982.

សាខាអូយកនៃខេត្តកម្ពុជានឹងរៀបចំសាសនា ឆ្នាំ១៩៨២

# Agir dans l'urgence, remettre la ville en marche

Les premiers temps de la reconstruction de Phnom Penh ont été des moments clés de la reconstruction urbaine.

En témoigner, c'est permettre aux générations futures de mieux comprendre le chemin parcouru et les nombreuses difficultés auxquelles nous avons dû faire face.

PAR S.E. MOK MARETH

Le 7 Janvier 1979, à l'entrée des troupes de libération dans la capitale cambodgienne, Phnom Penh, jonchée d'immondices et de cadavres, est une ville fantôme. Seulement 60 habitants environ y sont recensés. La première tâche consiste à incinérer les morts. Les services publics n'existent plus. Les égouts sont bouchés. Les mots manquent pour décrire les épreuves des jours suivants. La nourriture est très rare. La ville que le peuple avait connue avant 1970 n'est plus la même. Beaucoup d'habitations ont été brûlées ou dégradées. Le souvenir des temps d'avant s'estompe. C'est un grand choc et un vrai traumatisme qu'il nous a fallu surmonter. Au quotidien, le temps est à la survie avec, en prime, la peur : la peur de la reprise de la guerre et de la proximité des Khmers rouges qui continuent leurs exactions. C'est ainsi que nous sommes allés couper la forêt autour de la ville pour qu'elle ne leur serve pas de refuge. Nous devions anticiper et nous défendre contre les embuscades menées par les Khmers rouges, tapis le long des trajets que nous empruntions. J'étais responsable adjoint des opérations Kor-5<sup>1</sup> et Kor-6<sup>2</sup> contre la résistance khmère rouge dans la ville de Phnom Penh. Sur le front du Kor-5, je menais un convoi qui acheminait du ravitaillement alimentaire et des fournitures médicales aux civils, mais aussi aux soldats et aux volontaires de l'armée vietnamienne qui étaient déployés sur le front à Takor, ainsi que dans les montagnes de Melai et de Phnom Proek. Kor-6 désignait la ligne de front qui entourait la ville de Phnom Penh. Ma mission

était d'emmener les fonctionnaires et les civils dans les campagnes pour débroussailler les zones boisées et les maquis inondés de Mok Kampoul pour empêcher les rebelles Khmers rouges de prendre position dans ces lieux et de bombarder Phnom Penh avec leur artillerie.

L'État reconstruit alors, à partir de zéro, les services et les institutions publiques aux niveaux national, provincial et municipal. Ainsi, Phnom Penh est administrativement divisé en *sangkat* (communes) et *phum* (villages). Des services publics y sont créés dès 1979. Sous la conduite de Samdech Heng Samrin, président du Conseil d'État de la République populaire du Kampuchéa, je suis nommé adjoint du Comité révolutionnaire du peuple de la ville de Phnom Penh avec pour mission de gérer les opérations sur l'ensemble de la cité. Les défis sont immenses et la ville doit faire face à une multitude d'urgences.

## 1-LES PÉNURIES ALIMENTAIRES:

Dès les premiers temps de la reconstruction, nous devons faire face à une sévère disette de riz. Les cadres mangent en général du riz cuit avec des céréales (maïs, manioc ou autres). On ne trouve pas de légumes ou de viande, ni aucun autre produit alimentaire. Afin de suppléer au manque de nourriture, nous organisons régulièrement des pêches au filet dans le Lac Tonlé Sap<sup>3</sup> avec le Directeur du Département de l'Agriculture, mon camarade Mann Choeun<sup>4</sup>. Les filets sont fournis par le gouvernement grâce au camarade Taing Sarim, alors ministre de l'Économie et des sources de revenus. Les employés du service nous accompagnent, ainsi que le responsable du *sangkat*, Mr. Chraing Chamreh, qui gère l'équipe de pêcheurs composée en majorité de Chams<sup>5</sup>. Ainsi, en 1979, nous avons pêché énormément de poissons pour les distribuer, d'abord aux cadres des ministères et des services, puis aux habitants de Phnom Penh et des provinces. La transformation des poissons frais en pâte de poisson (*Prahok*) ou en huile (*pha'ok*) permet leur conservation.

En 1979, nous ne comptons que sur nos propres forces car nous ne recevions aucune aide humanitaire extérieure.

Peu à peu, la population de Phnom Penh a augmenté pour atteindre 500 000 habitants en 1988, et ceci malgré une distribution alimentaire toujours difficile. Je suis aussi chargé de voyager dans les provinces pour acheter des denrées alimentaires (riz, haricots, maïs, porc et bœuf) afin d'approvisionner les marchés de la capitale. Tous les marchés existants sont remis en fonction : Psar Thmey, Psar Tuol Tom Pong, etc. On nomme des chefs de marchés, les stands sont alloués aux employés des ministères et aux fonctionnaires. Beaucoup de femmes de fonctionnaires sont ainsi devenues commerçantes.

Nous n'étions guidés par aucun schéma directeur. Des denrées de première nécessité, notamment importées, n'étaient accessibles qu'à ceux qui en avaient les moyens.

## 2-GESTION FINANCIÈRE, BANQUE, COMMERCE, INDUSTRIE, CONSTRUCTION ET URBANISATION :

La monnaie, le *riel*, est réintroduite le premier octobre 1979, mais ce n'est qu'à partir de 1990 que le gouvernement retrouve les moyens d'imprimer lui-même des billets. Au cours de la première moitié des années 1980, le ministère de l'Industrie gère un nombre croissant d'activités artisanales et industrielles, notamment la fabrication des groupes électrogènes, la création d'usines de cigarettes, la production d'alcool ou encore de pneus. Il existe à la municipalité de Phnom Penh un service de l'industrie et de l'artisanat qui donne les orientations pour aider à la croissance de ces entreprises d'État. Celles-ci fabriquent les produits de première nécessité tels que des marmites en aluminium en recyclant du métal, du riz séché pour pourvoir au ravitaillement des soldats sur le front, de la sauce soja, des bicyclettes, ou encore des pneus de vélo. En 1984, ce secteur artisanal a été privatisé. À partir de la fin des années 1980, les produits sont de meilleure qualité et deviennent plus compétitifs sur le marché régional.

L'attribution de logements aux fonctionnaires, aux travailleurs, aux membres des forces armées et à la population en général représente un autre défi. L'État, par l'intermédiaire de son service de l'urbanisme et de la construction, attribue les maisons vides aux cadres, aux officiels du gouvernement, quels que soient leurs échelons, ainsi qu'aux membres des forces armées et aux civils qui étaient venus s'installer à Phnom Penh dans les premiers temps.

## 3- LES RÉGIES, LA GESTION DES RÉSEAUX D'ÉGOUTS ET DES ORDURES

En 1979, l'approvisionnement en eau potable et en électricité est pratiquement inexistant. La municipalité remet rapidement en marche une usine de traitement d'eau potable. Cependant la qualité de l'eau est mauvaise car les canalisations d'eau sont très endommagées. La Régie des eaux entreprend, au début des années 1990, de vastes efforts pour les réparer afin d'approvisionner progressivement tous les habitants en eau potable. Le ministère de l'Industrie est responsable de la restauration du réseau électrique, même si sa capacité reste très faible. Il faut noter que l'anarchie des raccordements illégaux rend la tâche plus ardue. Pour remettre de l'ordre, le gouvernement met sur pied un comité responsable de l'éradication de ces pratiques. Je suis nommé président de ce comité et nous avons ainsi travaillé à l'élimination des raccordements électriques illégaux.

Le réseau des égouts est bouché et exige des travaux de rénovation à grande échelle. Je me souviens encore de l'aide apportée par le gouvernement français et la Ville de Paris, qui nous ont fourni deux véhicules, des hydrocureuses, pour déboucher les égouts, ainsi que des bennes à ordures. La Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité (CIDSE) a aussi apporté une assistance précieuse.



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#### 4-ÉDUCATION, CULTURE, SANTÉ ET AFFAIRES SOCIALES:

À partir de 1985, le poste de président adjoint du Comité du peuple de Phnom Penh responsable de l'éducation de la culture et des affaires sociales m'est également confié. Avec mon équipe, nous nous attelons à remettre en route le système éducatif dans tout le pays en utilisant les écoles qui étaient encore debout. Le gouvernement lance alors une campagne appelée «le cultivé enseigne le non-cultivé» où tous ceux qui avaient un minimum d'éducation rejoignent le maigre corps des enseignants et des professeurs survivants afin d'enseigner aux personnes non éduquées.

Le ministère de la Culture, quant à lui, insuffla un nouvel élan à la culture. Les artefacts et les biens culturels ont été récupérés et transférés au ministère de la Culture pour les mettre en sécurité. Des troupes artistiques et des groupes de musique ont été créés grâce à l'action de la municipalité.

Notre équipe œuvre aussi dans le secteur de la santé. Plusieurs bâtiments sont réquisitionnés pour être transformés en centres de soins et en maternités. Pendant une courte période, nous avons bénéficié du soutien de médecins vietnamiens volontaires qui nous assistent pour les soins généraux et les opérations chirurgicales.

#### 5. LES AFFAIRES SOCIALES:

Les premières tâches du service des affaires sociales de la ville de Phnom Penh consistent, à partir de ??? à fournir une assistance aux sans-logis et à rapatrier, dans leurs provinces d'origines, des pillards venus en ville pour voler. L'administration municipale crée également un centre éducatif à Koh Kor, dans la province de Kandal, pour les femmes seules.

Toutes les personnes de cette génération qui ont vécu ces événements et qui ont réussi à survivre jusqu'à nos jours réalisent pleinement la chance qu'elles ont d'être toujours en vie.

1. Le plan Kor 5 a pour mission de protéger la ligne de front sur la frontière Thaïlandaise

2. Le plan Kor 6 a pour mission de protéger la ligne de front autour de la ville de Phnom Penh

3. y compris la pêche au Day, Manh, Senne etc.

4. S.E. Mann Choeun est actuellement sénateur.

5. Les Chams ou «Khmer Islam» sont majoritairement des populations musulmanes dont les ancêtres ont fui le Royaume du Champa au moment de son absorption par les Vietnamiens entre le XV<sup>e</sup> et le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il faut aussi compter parmi eux des groupes originaires de l'archipel indonésien et de Malaisie.

## Emergency Action: Getting the City Going Again

The early days of the reconstruction of Phnom Penh were key moments in the urban reconstruction process. Telling the story is a way to help future generations understand how far we have come and the many difficulties we faced. **BY H.E. MOK MARETH**

On January 7, 1979, when the liberation forces entered the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh was a ghost city, strewn with refuse and corpses. There were no more than about 60 people living there. The first task was to incinerate the bodies. There were no public services. The sewers were blocked. There are no words to describe the challenges of the days that followed. There was very little food. The city that people had known before 1970 had gone. Many houses had been burnt or damaged. Little was left of earlier times. We had to overcome feelings of terrible shock and real trauma. The day-to-day priority was survival, against a backdrop of fear: fear of further war and of the nearby Khmer Rouge, whose atrocities continued. That is why we cut down the forest around the city, so that they could not hide in it. We had to anticipate and protect ourselves against ambushes perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge, who were concealed along the routes we took. I was second-in-command of the Kor-5<sup>1</sup> and Kor-6<sup>2</sup> operations against the Khmer Rouge in the city of Phnom Penh. On the Kor-5 front, I led a convoy that was carrying food and medical supplies to civilians, but also to the soldiers and volunteers of the Vietnamese army, who were deployed on the front at Takor, as well as in the mountains of Melai and Phnom Proek. Kor-6 was the name of the frontline that surrounded the city of Phnom Penh. My mission was to transport public servants and civilians into the countryside to clearly the wooded areas and flooded scrubland of Mokshelling Kampoul, to prevent the Khmer Rouge rebels occupying these places and shelling Phnom Penh with their artillery.

From nothing, the state began to rebuild public services and institutions at the national, provincial and municipal levels. Phnom Penh was divided administratively into *sangkat* (municipalities) and *phum* (villages). Public services were created in 1979. Under the leadership of Samdech Heng Samrin, President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, I was appointed deputy head of the People's Revolutionary Committee for the city of Phnom Penh, with the task of managing operations across the whole city.

The challenges were huge, and the city faced a mass of urgent problems.

#### 1- FOOD SHORTAGES:

From the early days of reconstruction, we suffered from a serious shortage of rice. The *cadres* generally ate cooked rice with

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Nettoyage de la ville en 1979. / Cleaning of the city in 1979. / ការបាសស្ថាតទីក្រុង ឆ្នាំ១៩៧៩

#### 2. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT, BANKING, TRADE, INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION AND URBANISATION:

The currency, the riel, was reintroduced on October 1, 1979, but it was not until 1990 that the government regained the ability to print banknotes. In the first half of the 1980s, the Ministry of Industry oversaw a growing number of light and heavy industrial activities, in particular the manufacture of generators and of tyres, the creation of cigarette factories and the production of alcohol. Phnom Penh municipality had an industry and crafts department which provided guidelines to help these state enterprises grow. They made essential products like aluminium saucepans, by recycling metal, dried rice to feed the soldiers at the front, soya sauce, bicycles, or bicycle tyres. In 1984, this light industry sector was privatised. By the end of the 1980s, the quality of the products had improved and they had become more competitive on the regional market. The allocation of housing to civil servants, to workers, to members of the armed forces and to the population in general was another challenge. The state, through its urban planning and construction department, allocated empty houses to the cadres, to government officials of all levels, and to members of the armed forces and civilians who came to settle in Phnom Penh in the early days.

#### 3. UTILITIES: THE SEWAGE AND WASTE SYSTEMS

In 1979, there was practically no drinking water and no electricity supply. Though the municipality quickly recommissioned a water treatment plant, the quality of the drinking water was poor, because the water pipes were extensively damaged. In the early 1990s, the water authority undertook a major repair programme, with the aim of gradually bringing

drinking water to everyone in the city. The Industry Ministry was responsible for restoring the power grid, although its capacity remained very low. The anarchy of illegal hookups made the task harder, so to restore order, the government set up a committee to eradicate these practices. I was appointed chairman of that committee, and we worked to eliminate illegal electricity connections.

The sewage network was blocked and needed large-scale renovation. I still remember the assistance provided by the French government and the City of Paris, which supplied us with two sewage-flusher vehicles to unblock the sewers, as well as garbage trucks. Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité (CIDSE – international cooperation for development and solidarity) also provided valuable help.

#### 4. EDUCATION, CULTURE, HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

From 1985 onwards, I also held the position of deputy chairman of the Phnom Penh People's Committee for education, culture and social affairs. With my team, we worked to get the educational system up and running across the whole country, using the schools that were still standing. The government then launched a campaign called “the educated teach the uneducated”, in which anyone who had a modicum of education joined the small band of surviving teachers and professors to teach people without education.

The Ministry of Culture, for its part, gave new impetus to national culture. Cultural artefacts and goods were recovered and transferred to the Ministry of Culture for safekeeping. Troupes of artists and musicians were created on the initiative of the municipality.

Our team also worked in the health sector. Several buildings were requisitioned and converted into health and maternity centres. For a short period, we received support from volunteer doctors from Vietnam, who helped us with general care and surgical operations.

#### 6. SOCIAL AFFAIRS:

The first task of the city of Phnom Penh's Social Affairs Department, from 1980 onwards, was to provide support for the homeless and to send looters who came to the city to steal back to their home provinces. The municipal administration also created an educational centre in Koh Kor, in Kandal province, for lone women. All the people of that generation who lived through those events and have succeeded in surviving until today know full well how lucky they are to still be alive.

1. The purpose of the Kor 5 plan was to protect the front line on the Thai border.

2. The purpose of the Kor 6 plan was to protect the front line around the city of Phnom Penh.

3. H.E. Mann Choeun is now a senator.

4. The Chams or "Khmer

"Islam" are mostly Muslim populations whose ancestors fled the Kingdom of Champa at the time of its absorption by the Vietnamese between the 16th and 17th centuries. They also include groups that originated from the Indonesian Archipelago and from Malaysia.



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Un des débarcadères de Phnom Penh qui assure les liaisons avec les provinces, 1982.

One of Phnom Penh's wharfs providing connections to the provinces, 1982.  
កំពង់ដរិយាយនេះទីក្រុងកំពោះ ត្រូវបំពាករណ៍ថា តាមខ្លួន ត្រូវបានដែល

## ចាត់វិធានការក្រុងពេលបន្ទាន់ ធ្វើឱ្យទីក្រុងដំណឹកការឡើងវិញ

ពេលដំបូងនៃការកសាងទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញឡើងវិញគឺជាបែលនៃភាគន៍ខ្លួន៖នៅក្នុងការកសាងទីក្រុងឡើងវិញ។ ធ្វើជាសាក្សី ផ្តល់សក្ខីកម្ម គឺអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យមនុស្សជានាន់ក្រោយយល់ច្បាស់ជាងមុនពីដូរដែលយើងបានដើរឆ្លងកន្លែងមក និងយល់ពីការបំបាតកជាប្រើនដែលយើងចាំបាច់ត្រូវប្រឈម និងដោះស្រាយ។  
យើងឯកខ្លួន ម៉ោង ឬណាត់

និងបាប់ដើម្បីកសាងក្បាលម៉ាសុនផ្សេង ស្ថាបន់ដ្ឋានពីបាល ពីថ្មីកំ  
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ឆ្នាំ១៩៨៩ ដើម្បីក្រប់គ្រោះប្រតិបត្តិការក្នុងទីក្រុងតាំងមួយ។

បញ្ចប់ប្រយោជន៍តិចជាប្រើប្រាស់អនុក ហើយទីក្រុងត្រូវប្រយោជន៍មុខនឹងបញ្ហាបន្ទាន់ជាប្រើប្រាស់។

បច្ចន៍សេវា

ເយືນດີຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານ ເພື່ອ ກຸມູດີຕາລະເຍັນ  
ຮູບພາຍເກຳແລ້ວມາເປັນຕາມ ລາຍເມື່ອ ບູນຈູ້ຢູ່ນີ້ ປູ້ຄູບ່ານຫຼັງຕົກເຜົ່າງ  
ຕາ ຄູ່ສາວິ່ນບັນຫຼາກກີ່ຂະໜາດຜົນໄຟ່ ຕົກທີ່ດູຈຸນີ້ຈຳອົດຕະໂລກ ຂໍ້ມັນ  
ບໍ່ມີໃຈຫຼືກົດລົງກູງກຸກໍາໆເຖິງເກົ່າກົດຕຳບັນດາເລືສາທະບູບຄູ່ຕາມຜົນຈະ  
ບໍ່ເພີ້ມເປົ້າຍເປົ້າຍ ທ້າງໆ ບູນຈັ່ງສໍາມາດຕັ້ງຕ້າມເພື່ອ ຂໍ້ຊູ້ຂູ້ລະດານສຳຫຼັບ  
ຜົນດີຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານເພີ້ມເປົ້າຍເປົ້າຍ ເພື່ອກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາ  
ເພື່ອກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານເສດຖະກິດຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານ  
ກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານ ອີ່ຈະບັນດາສຳຫຼັບຜົນຈະ  
ບໍ່ມີໃຈຫຼືກົດລົງກູງກຸກໍາໆເຖິງເກົ່າກົດຕຳບັນດາເລືສາທະບູບຄູ່ຕາມຜົນຈະ  
ບໍ່ເພີ້ມເປົ້າຍເປົ້າຍ ທ້າງໆ ບູນຈັ່ງສໍາມາດຕັ້ງຕ້າມເພື່ອກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາ  
ເພື່ອກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານເສດຖະກິດຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານ  
ກົດຕູ້ຮີ້ນໃຈຕື່ມະນຸຍາກົງບູນທຸກຄູບ່ານ ອີ່ຈະບັນດາສຳຫຼັບຜົນຈະ

ការងារចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនីវិកសិកម្មបានស្ថាប្រសាំគ្រឿង ដលូតនឹងការកួនក្រើងឯកបង្កើនអ្នកចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនីទាំងក្រោង។ ការងារដោយនឹងដែលការងារចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនីរាយក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នបង្កើនអ្នកចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនីដល់ព្រមទាំងផ្សេងៗមានលម្អិតយកតិត្យក្រោមក្នុងការងារចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនី។ អ្នកខ្លះមានកោ អ្នកខ្លះមាននូលដោយឈឺប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ បុន្ណោមគ្មានអ្នកចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនីដលូតនឹងការងារចិត្តឱ្យម្រើនី។

ការគ្រប់គ្រងហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ នៅការពាណិជ្ជកម្ម ខស្សាបកម្ម សំណង់  
ប្រើឃើយកម្ម

ເພື່ອມານຸກຕົກປ່ຽນທະຍາດີຕັ້ງຕົວ ຂະຫຼາດ ດຳຈົດຕິ  
ບຕີເດືອນຫຼຸ່ມຊົນຢ່າ ເຖິງສູງລົງງົງຮົດ ເຊີ້ມືຜູ້ຕະຫຼາມເທະະມຸນກົດຕົກຕັກ  
ກ່າວແກ້ວຍຂອງນິ້ນໆ ໂສໍ້ຍສົບປົກມູນຕູ້ຕະຫຼາມຄຽບຕົກຕົງຕະຫຼາມ: ນິກັດກຸ່ມ  
ວັດແດງ ຕະຫຼາມເຊີ້ມືສົບຍເຣະ: ບໍລິສັດຕະຫຼາມຜົລືຜົລມານຄຸດຄາຕ  
ກຸ່ມຄູ້ຄໍ້ມູ້ຕູ້ຜູ້ກໍລັບນໍ້າຕະຫຼາມ ກາວບັກຜູ້ຜູ້ກົດຕົກມູນຕູ້ຕົກມູນກົດ  
ນິ້ນ້ຳກັດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດ  
ນິ້ນ້ຳກັດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດກົດ

ីស៊យកសិកមួ ខស្សាបកមួ ក្រសួងខស្សាបកមួបានដាក់ខ្សី  
នឹកការ ហេងចក្រមួយចំនួនដែលអាចជិះណ៍ការបានមានហេងចក្រអតិថិជនី  
នឹងចក្រ បាន ស្រាត សំបកកង់ដែរយន្ត សំបកកង់ដីៗដើម្បី នៅក្នុងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ  
ឯមានមន្ទីរខស្សាបកមួ សិប្បកមួជិះការការសាងវិស៊យកសិប្បកមួសមួប  
។ យើងទានសិប្បកមួធ្វើត្រូវបានបាយ ខ្លួនពីំណាល់លេហបាត់ត្រាសំរៀប  
ប្បកមួជិះតិះ មិនប្បាយសម្រាត បំពើខ្សីក្នុង ទៅសម្រាតិធមួយ សិប្បកមួជិះតិះ  
នឹង សៀវភៅ និងសិប្បកមួជិះតិះសំបកកង់ដីៗបារា វិស៊យកសិប្បកមួត្រូវបាន  
ការការសាងវិស៊យកសិប្បកមួត្រូវបានបាយ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និង  
ក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និង  
ក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និងក្រុងតីត្រព្យ និង

## ៣-អគ្គិសនី ទីក ការត្រួតប័ត្រងលើទីក សំណាល់សំរាម

## ៤-ឯសំយអប់រំ ប្រព័ជមេ សុខភាពាល និងសង្គមភីច្បា

ເຕີເຕີບລາກສູງມາຮອດສະຫຼຸບຜົນ ( ຊູ້ລົບບຊຸກເບັ້ນ ໃປ່ງຜົນ  
ສູ່ມືກິດູ ) ຄວາມ: ກົມາດີກາງປຽບເນັດຜົນທີ່ໄປແລ້ວດຳເນັດກົມາ ຂໍ້ຕູ້ຕານຕາຄົ່ນ  
ຂຶ່ງຊູ້ລົບບຊຸກບໍ່ໃໝ່ມາໃສ່ພາຍເຕີ: ຍິສ່ພັຍເບັ້ນສົກວູເຖິງຕານສ່າງເຊີ້ນໃໝ່ເງຸນທຳນີ້  
ປະເທດສາ ພົບຕະຫຼາດການເສີມກົມາຕາສົວໃໝ່ເລັດເຕີເສັລສະລຸດຕົກເບີສື່ບັດຕຸງ  
ຖຸກສູ່ພັງສູ່ ສື່ນະບບະບຸລົບຍຸດຜົນສາລົງບໍ່ບັດຕາ ເຊັ່ນຕະກິດຕູ້ເສີ້ນ “ມຸກ  
ຕະ:ບໍ່ໄປໜຸກມີນີ້ຕະ:” ມີນັ້ນຢັງເທັດກົດ ມຸກກົດ ສື່ນະບຸນາງໝາງເພີ້ມເລັດເຕີ  
ສ່າງມູນບໍ່ນີ້ນີ້ບຸນສະບັບຕືກເກົກບໍ່ສູ່ມູນບໍ່ ສື່ນະບຸເພົ້າຍເກົ່າກົດທີ່ການທາງ  
ເຖິງບັນຫາ

ឯសយប្បជម័កត្រួវបានសារឱ្យរៀបចំឡើងវិញ មន្ទីរប្បជម័កប្រាមការដើម្បីការអនុវត្តន៍ខ្លួនឯងបានប្រើប្រាស់ក្រសួងប្បជម័កបានដាច់ខ្លួនឯងណែនាំការបានយកឃើញសកម្ម។ យើងបានប្រើប្រាស់ក្រសួងប្បជម័កដូចខ្លួន សិល្បៈ មកក្រោមទឹកមុននឹងបញ្ហានទៅក្រសួងប្បជម័កក្នុងទីក្រុង យើងបានរៀបចំក្រសួងសិល្បៈរដ្ឋបាននឹងក្រសួងប្បជម័ក។ ពីក្នុងក្រសួងប្បជម័ក ត្រូវបានដាន ១៧៦

វិស័យសុខភាព ម្នាក់សុខភាពរដ្ឋបាន និងផ្លូវទេស (លំហ៏កមាតុភាព) បានសម្រេច ។ យើង  
អគាសម្រាកព្យាពាល និងផ្លូវទេស (លំហ៏កមាតុភាព) បានសម្រេច ។ យើង  
មានការផ្សាយបន្ថធម្ភតិត្រូវទេសស្បែកចិត្តផ្តល់រាយរបៀប ។ កាលខ្លួនឯើងបានឱ្យជីឡើង  
និងវាំភាត់សាល។

## ៥-វិស័យសង្គមកិច

បាបីឆ្នាំ១៩០៧ មន្ទីរសង្គមកិច្ចដ្ឋាននឹងបានជំណើរការដោយស្ថាឃេតុនៃអនាមេរាតទីនឹង ប្រើបញ្ញូនបង្កួនទៅដែលបទ បានៗពាក ខាយកលេងសារបស្ថុកមិត្តរោគតូលមកក្នុងតំបន់យកជំយកណ្ឌូ ជាដីមោ។ ក្នុងបានផ្សេបចំមណ្ឌលអប់វ្សេងដែលអតិថិជំនួយការនៃក្រោះគឺ ខេត្តកណ្តាលៗ មនុស្សប្រែប្រឈមនៅជាន់នេះពីតាមានសំណងណាស់ដែល បាននៅលើសហគមន៍សំណួលប៉ុចនេះ។

1. ຜົນກາເກະຕີມານແບສກກມກາຕາງໂຂບ່າດໍ່ສະຍົກຜົນໃຈຕາມຖິ່ນເປົ້າ

2. ຜົນກາເກີບຕື້ມານເບສກກຍກາຕາງຂອບໃຈຕໍ່ສະຍເກມໃເນໄວຕາງເຖິງກັນດຳເຕາ



# Port-au-Prince, ville résiliente ?

À Port-au-Prince, la résilience est souvent synonyme de survie. Les difficultés que rencontrent les Portoprinciens dessinent parfois les limites et les apories de la reconstruction urbaine.

PAR JEAN MARIE THÉODAT

Dans son acception la plus courante, la résilience se définit comme la capacité d'un corps à se remettre d'un choc traumatique et à retrouver la plénitude de ses fonctions sans trop de dommages. Dans la perspective humaine, cette résistance au choc s'accompagne d'une capacité à vivre de façon satisfaisante après avoir connu des situations humainement désespérées, comme de survivre à un massacre ou à une catastrophe naturelle. Dans le cas de la ville de Port-au-Prince, la catastrophe a pris la forme d'un séisme de magnitude 7,3 sur l'échelle de Richter avec des conséquences terribles sur le plan matériel et humain. Plus de 10 milliards de dollars de dégâts matériels et près de 300 000 personnes sont mortes ou disparues sous les décombres. La catastrophe est alors apparue comme le point d'orgue d'une série de désastres en tous genres qui avaient marqué l'actualité haïtienne durant les dernières années.

En effet, la première décennie du nouveau millénaire a été marquée, avec l'accélération des processus de réchauffement climatique, par une succession de cyclones de plus en plus violents. Ces derniers ont chacun laissé un bilan assez lourd en termes de vies perdues et de biens dévastés. Comparée à des villes comme Dresde, Varsovie, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Phnom Penh ou Kigali, dont les renaissances post-catastrophes et les revivis-

cences ont parfois relevé du miracle, la trajectoire suivie par la capitale haïtienne est bien différente. Il faut en effet bien distinguer la reconstruction en tant qu'acte physique requérant des moyens matériels donnés, de la réconciliation des consciences qui demande, elle, des outils de gouvernance que l'on ne peut se procurer en boutique. Des outils de gouvernance sont essentiels dans la résilience post-traumatique, et lorsqu'ils font défaut, la résilience se résume à la capacité de la société à suppléer aux carences des instances d'encadrement que sont l'État, la Région, la ville, etc. S'il semble donc difficile de parler de résilience pour caractériser la situation de la ville de Port-au-Prince dix années après le séisme dévastateur du 12 janvier 2010, c'est parce que les Portoprinciens ne sont pas satisfaits de leurs conditions de vie et que la plupart rêvent de quitter la ville. Et cela en dépit de l'avantage comparatif indéniable de vivre en ville plutôt qu'à la campagne. Dans cette métropole de plus de deux millions d'habitants, à peine 30% ont accès à l'électricité et à l'eau courante. De surcroît, le ramassage des résidus solides ne concerne que 10% du total produit par la cité. L'insalubrité, l'insécurité et l'instabilité sociale sont le lot de la plupart des habitants, dont 80% vivent avec moins de 2 dollars par jour. Dans ces conditions, comment, dix ans après le séisme de 2010, la capitale haïtienne continue de croître et d'attirer de nouveaux migrants ? Alors qu'il n'y a eu ni aménagement d'envergure ni reconstruction de masse en réponse au désastre, quel est le véritable moteur de la ville ?

## LES FAITS : PORT-AU-PRINCE FACE À UNE DESTRUCTION DE GRANDE AMPLITUDE

Le 12 janvier 2010, vers 17 heures, le pays est secoué par un séisme de magnitude 7,3 dont l'épicentre se trouve à Léogâne, une ville située à une trentaine de kilomètres de la capitale. Dans les jours et semaines qui ont suivi la catastrophe, environ 600 000 personnes ont fui la ville pour se réfugier dans les provinces. Plus de 1,3 million de personnes se sont trouvées dans des abris de fortune établis sur toutes les places publiques et les trottoirs. Elles y sont restées durant plusieurs mois après le séisme, et dans certains cas, les camps ont duré des années. Sur la place du Champ de Mars, le cœur symbolique de la capitale, plus de 40 000 personnes ont campé au pied des statues qui honorent les héros de l'Indépendance pendant plus de trois années après le désastre. L'image était terrible et symbolisait l'État failli.

Or, si la terre a tremblé à Port-au-Prince, c'est le monde entier qui a souffert avec Haïti, comme en a témoigné le puissant élan de solidarité qui a suivi cette catastrophe. 9 milliards de dons et d'aides humanitaires ont afflué, soit plus ou moins l'équivalent d'une année

La cathédrale de Port-au-Prince détruite en janvier 2010 par le tremblement de terre.

Port-au-Prince cathedral destroyed in January 2010 by the earthquake.

ព្រះរាជក្រឹត់ទេសចរណ៍  
Port-au-Prince ខ្វះខាង នៅថ្ងៃទី២០១០  
ដោយសារពុម្ព

de PIB en 2018 (8 milliards de dollars). Pour gérer cette manne tombée du ciel, le pays a vu arriver une nuée d'ONG et d'associations spécialisées dans l'aide internationale et la gestion des risques. Cependant, le manque de coordination et la méconnaissance du terrain d'un certain nombre d'entre elles n'ont eu d'autres effets que d'ajouter à la confusion générale en empiétant encore davantage sur les minces prérogatives de l'État. On a parlé parfois d'Haïti comme de la République des ONG où la disparition de l'État a ouvert la voie à la gestion des affaires courantes par des organisations étrangères dont les cadres et les administrateurs ne restaient au pays que pour de courtes périodes, mais prenaient des décisions qui engageaient durablement la vie de toute une communauté. Cette gestion par défaut a conduit à des aberrations à la fois sur le plan des décisions et sur le plan comptable. Certaines initiatives se sont révélées obsolètes, voire mal inspirées, et d'autres ont été de véritables gouffres financiers par rapport aux maigres bénéfices pour la population. Par exemple, le village Lumane Casimir, construit dans la partie Nord de la ville, est un échec à la fois sur le plan architectural, économique et social. Le lotissement est éloigné de la ville, planté littéralement au milieu des ronciers, sur une voie pourtant stratégique, la Nationale 3, qui relie la capitale au Centre du pays. Aujourd'hui, la plupart des maisonnettes sont vides.

Beaucoup d'argent a pourtant été consacré à la reconstruction. Pourtant de nombreux projets sont à l'arrêt, et il est difficile de connaître la part exacte de l'aide qui a été détournée. Dans le même temps, on a assisté à une extension de la tâche urbaine aux dépens des dernières terres agricoles proches de la ville. La capitale est devenue désormais un ensemble urbain désarticulé et dysfonctionnel.

## CANAAN : SURVIVRE APRÈS LE SÉISME

Dans la partie Nord de la ville est apparu un nouveau quartier appelé Canaan par les résidents et qui présente un véritable défi à l'urbanisation. Les terres, propriétés de l'État (même si elles ont été cédées en bail à des intérêts privés) ont été déclarées d'Utilité Publique et aussitôt envahies par les rescapés du tremblement de terre. Plus de 200 000 personnes y habitent désormais, constituant un nouveau bidonville aux portes de la capitale, à un emplacement stratégique qui avait été planifié, avant le séisme, pour une extension formelle de la ville. À l'origine, Canaan devait attirer une clientèle de classe moyenne ou munie de moyens financiers assez importants pour investir dans l'acquisition d'un logement de standing moderne.

Au cours de l'histoire d'Haïti, l'exode rural a longtemps été freiné, voire réprimé. Les installations à Port-au-Prince des populations paysannes se faisaient surtout dans des quartiers périphériques, loin de la ville-centre. Cependant, le séisme du 12 janvier a brisé un tabou: les pauvres sont entrés dans la ville, que ce soit en occupant crânement les ruines des demeures abandonnées, ou en intégrant l'une des nombreuses tentes bleues dis-



posées avec des bâches en plastique sur la plupart des espaces publics, dans les écoles encore debout et sur les places publiques. Du jour au lendemain, cette majorité pauvre et silencieuse, délaissée, oubliée dans les dépenses publiques, s'est retrouvée au cœur de tous les calculs. Il a fallu trouver une solution pour dégager les écoles et les places les plus symboliques. C'est ainsi que le 22 mars 2010, par décret présidentiel, le terrain de Canaan a été déclaré d'Utilité Publique et ouvert de ce fait à l'installation des sinistrés. Des camps de fortune des débuts, on ne voit plus que les bâches qui servent parfois encore de tonnelle aux cuisines en plein air.

Mais les emplacements ont pour la plupart été enclos avec des murs en béton ou des haies vives. Les maisonnettes de par-

paing fleurissent un peu partout et donnent un aspect presque agreste à ce faubourg autrefois connu pour le paysage rocheux qui caractérise le versant sud de la chaîne du Trou d'Eau.

A Canaan, domine encore un sentiment de précarité lié à l'indétermination de son statut sur le plan foncier. Le fonds étant déclaré d'Utilité Publique, l'État, à travers la Direction Générale des Impôts, délivre des autorisations d'occupation qui ne sont en aucun cas de véritables titres de propriété, même si à la longue l'occupation continue vaut possession taisable. Difficile dans ces conditions de donner de la valeur au patrimoine foncier. Une autre indétermination tient à l'appartenance territoriale : Canaan est revendiqué à la fois par Cabaret, Thomazeau et la Croix-des-Bouquets, les communes limitrophes du site. Certains penchent pour une autonomie communale qui ferait de Canaan une municipalité à part entière. Tout cela crée une insécurité administrative qui ajoute à la précarité d'ensemble du territoire. De là, sans doute, le peu de soins apportés à la construction des maisons et le peu de confort en dépit du coût relativement élevé du bâti. Les latrines sont rares et les gens font le plus souvent leurs besoins dans la nature. Les eaux usées sont évacuées dans la cour en terre battue ou sur la voie publique sans souci de la gêne que cela peut représenter pour autrui. On peut sans détour parler de péjoration des conditions de vie et d'aggravation de la vulnérabilité de certains quartiers autrefois vierges d'habitation. En cas de nouveau séisme, il n'est pas dit que le nombre de victimes serait moindre que ce qu'il a été en 2010, pour les mêmes raisons : constructions précaires, matériaux non appropriés et normes de construction parasismiques non respectées.



Le quartier de Canaan créé, après 2010...

The Canaan neighbourhood created after 2010...

សង្កែត Canann បានក្រួចរាប់ឆ្នាំ២០១០...



... au pied de la montagne,

... at the foot of the mountains,

... នៅក្នុងក្នុងដែលការពួកគ្នា...



... compte plus de 200 000 habitants...

... has more than 200,000 inhabitants.

... មានប្រជាពលដ្ឋានជាមុន ២០០ ០០០នាក់

## À Canaan, domine encore un sentiment de précarité lié à l'indétermination de son statut sur le plan foncier.

Et pourtant, à certains égards, on dénote une amélioration du couvert boisé. Les nouveaux habitants ont planté des vergers et des haies qui produisent aujourd'hui l'effet d'un bocage urbain. Les lots sont délimités de haies d'arbres lorsque l'argent manque pour construire un mur. Une association pousse la population à planter des espèces résistantes à la sécheresse comme le tamarin et le moringa dont les pépinières alimentent le faubourg. Le tamarin est vendu sur le marché. Le moringa pour la consommation locale et l'exportation à travers une ONG locale.

Ce qui caractérise le plus les quartiers périphériques de la capitale, c'est la rareté ou l'incommodeur des espaces partagés, comme les voies publiques, les places ou les marchés. Ces espaces publics ne sont pas dimensionnés ni équipés à la mesure du risque sismique. Dans le reste de la ville, la largeur des rues et des trottoirs, l'élévation des bâtiments, la distance entre les édifices, etc. sont calculés selon des règles d'urbanisme qui existent sur le papier, mais ne sont nulle part appliquées. La notion même de permis de construire a été vidée de son sens et transformée en taxe à la construction délivrée dans un but d'enrichissement personnel par le personnel des mairies. À Canaan, pas plus qu'ailleurs, ces règles ne sont respectées. Il n'y a ni rues à proprement parler, et encore moins de trottoirs. Il y a quelques initiatives d'aménagement de places publiques, de fixation d'adresses et de détermination des voies. Une géographie de la nuit ferait apparaître l'appropriation exclusive de certains espaces par des groupes de jeunes gens à l'exclusion des filles qui s'y sentent souvent en danger, en particulier lorsqu'elles sont seules. Les marchés se tiennent sur le bord de la voie principale ou, à certaines heures, dans des points qui ne sont ni fixes, ni formellement indiqués. Comme à la campagne, les marchés apparaissent et disparaissent aux carrefours. Au-delà du cercle de l'expérience privée, du

domicile, tout espace non approprié individuellement et personnellement occupé en permanence tombe dans la catégorie des non-lieux où se diluent les règlements et les usages de la ville-centre. À Port-au-Prince, depuis le tremblement de terre, les rues, les trottoirs, les places publiques et les principales artères de la ville sont devenus terra nullius par excellence, investis par des activités informelles qui empiètent sur l'espace public avec une régularité et un systématisme qui bannit l'usage du terme informel pour les assigner à un principe explicatif. La même dynamique prévaut désormais dans le reste de l'agglomération, à Canaan en particulier. De cet émiettement de l'espace public découle l'impossibilité d'une vision commune. Par une dilution des responsabilités communes dans les intérêts privés, on en vient à une perception du risque sismique limitée à un registre magico-religieux où la prière et les offrandes tiennent lieu de parade dans la perspective de la prochaine catastrophe.

Dans ces conditions, la résilience a le goût amer d'une victoire à la Pyrrhus, où la population n'a de réponse qu'autant qu'elle apparaît comme un problème, et non pas comme une opportunité de service aux citoyens. C'est en occupant les places publiques, en menaçant de saccager et de mettre le chaos, que la population attire la bienveillance des autorités. Mais c'est toujours en périphérie qu'elle finit par se retrouver. Loin de tout, donc soumise à l'arbitraire des fournisseurs de services plus chers et de moins bonne qualité. Dans la perspective géographique du renforcement des capacités des gens comme seul moyen de renforcer les capacités et l'attractivité des lieux, Canaan est mal parti. Dans la lutte des places, son rôle est condamné à être celui du dortoir insalubre où la population ne rêve que de fuir. La résilience est alors tout ce qu'il reste lorsque l'État est absent de l'espace public.

## Port-au-Prince, Resilient City?

In Port-au-Prince, resilience and survival often mean the same thing. The difficulties experienced by Portoprinicians sometimes reveal the limitations and contradictions of urban rebuilding.

BY JEAN MARIE THÉODAT

As most commonly understood, resilience is defined as a body's capacity to recover from a traumatic shock and return to full function without too much damage. From a human perspective, this resistance to shock is accompanied by a capacity to live in a satisfactory way after experiencing humanly calamitous situations, such as surviving a massacre or a natural disaster. In the case of the city of Port-au-Prince, the disaster took the form of an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.3 on the Richter scale, which had appalling human and material consequences. More than 300,000 people were killed or lost beneath the rubble, and there was \$10 billion of damage to property. The disaster seemed at the time like the culmination of a series of calamities of all kinds that had struck Haiti in the years running up to it. Indeed, with the acceleration in global warming, the first decade of the new millennium was marked by a succession of increasingly violent cyclones, each of which left a heavy legacy in terms of lives lost and property destroyed.

Compared with cities like Dresden, Warsaw, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Phnom Penh or Kigali, with their seemingly miraculous post-disaster rebirths and revivals, the Haitian capital has travelled a quite different path. It is important to distinguish clearly between rebuilding as a physical act that requires given material resources, and rebuilding as a change of mindset, which demands governance tools that cannot be bought off the shelf. Tools of governance are essential to post-traumatic resilience, and when they are lacking, resilience consists in the society's capacity to compensate for the

failures of entities of governance such as the state, the region, the city, etc. So if it seems difficult to talk about resilience in reference to the situation of the city of Port-au-Prince 10 years after the devastating earthquake of January 12, 2010, it is because its inhabitants are not satisfied with their living conditions and most of them dream of quitting the city. And this is despite the undeniable comparative advantage of urban life over that in the countryside.

In this metropolis of more than 2 million inhabitants, scarcely 30% have access to electricity and running water. Only 10% of the total solid waste produced by the city is collected. Squalor, insecurity and social instability are the fate of most of the inhabitants, 80% of whom live on less than 2 dollars a day. Under these circumstances, how – 10 years after the 2010 earthquake – does the Haitian capital continue to grow and attract new migrants? Given that there has been neither significant development nor mass reconstruction in response to the disaster, what is really driving the city?

## **THE FACTS: LARGE-SCALE DESTRUCTION IN PORT-AU-PRINCE**

On January 12, 2010, around 5 p.m., the country was rocked by a 7.3 magnitude earthquake with its epicentre in Léogâne, a town some thirty kilometres from the capital. In the days and weeks that followed the disaster, some 600,000 people fled the city to take refuge in the provinces. More than 1.3 million found themselves in makeshift shelters erected on public squares and sidewalks. They stayed there for several months after the earthquake, and in some cases, the camps remained for years. On Place du Champ de Mars, the emblematic heart of the capital, more than 40,000 people continued to camp at the foot of the statues honouring the heroes of Independence for more than three years after the quake. It was a terrible image, symbolic of a failed state.

However, though it was in Port-au-Prince that the earth trembled, the entire world suffered with Haiti, as evidenced by the powerful movement of solidarity that followed the disaster. Nine billion dollars in donations and humanitarian aid flowed in, in other words roughly the equivalent of the country's total GDP in 2018 (\$8 billion). To manage this manna from heaven, a host of NGOs and organisations specialising in international aid and risk management swarmed into the country. However, the lack of coordination between them, and in some cases their unfamiliarity with the terrain, had the effect of simply adding to the general confusion by encroaching yet further on the meagre powers of the state.

Haiti has sometimes been described as the Republic of NGOs, where the evaporation of the state has resulted in day-to-day affairs being managed by foreign organisations whose executives and administrators spent only short periods in

the country, but took decisions that had a long-term impact on the life of an entire community. This management by default led to aberrations both in decision-making and in financial management. Some initiatives proved obsolete, or poorly thought out, and others turned out to be financial black holes of little benefit to the population. For example, the village of Lumane Casimir, built in the northern part of the city, is a failure in every respect, be it architectural, economic or social. The housing estate is a long way from the city, planted in the midst of a field of brambles, yet on a strategic road – the National 3 – that links the capital to the centre of the country. Today, most of the houses on it are empty.

A great deal of money has gone into rebuilding, yet many projects have stopped and it is difficult to know just how much of the aid has been misused. At the same time, the urban fabric has sprawled outwards, swallowing up much of the remaining farmland close to the city. The capital has now become a disconnected and dysfunctional urban entity.

# CANAAN: SURVIVING AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

In the northern part of the city, a new district emerged, called Canaan by its residents, which presents a real challenge to urbanisation. The land here was state-owned (although previously leased to private interests) and was declared of Public Utility after the earthquake, with the result that it was immediately overrun by survivors of the earthquake. More than 200,000 people now live there, forming a new shantytown at the gates of the capital, in a strategic location where, before the earthquake, a formal extension of the city had been planned. Canaan was originally intended for a middle-class clientele, or people with sufficient financial resources to invest in the acquisition of a luxury modern house.

Over the course of Haiti's history, the rural exodus was for a long time contained, or even restricted. Peasant populations settled in Port-au-Prince mainly in peripheral areas, a long way from the city centre. However, the earthquake shattered a taboo: the poor came into the city, whether proudly occupying the ruins of abandoned houses, or setting up camp in one of the many blue tents made of plastic tarpaulins that sprung up in most of the public spaces, in any schools still standing, and in public squares. From one day to the next, this impoverished and silent majority, previously abandoned, excluded from public budgets, found itself the focus of every calculation. A solution had to be found to release the schools and the most problematic public spaces.

This was why, on March 20 to 22, 2010, by presidential decree, the land in Canaan was declared of Public Utility and thereby opened up for settlement by the victims of the earthquake. Of the original makeshiftamps, all that remains are the tarpaulins,

Sometimes still used as awnings for the sun-air kitchens. Most of the plots, however, have been surrounded with concrete walls or hedges. Breezeblockages have sprung up almost everywhere, giving an almost rustic appearance to this village, which was formerly known for the rocky landscape characterises the southern slopes of Trou d'Eau mountain range.

aan is still dominated by a sense of security, because of the indeterminacy of land ownership status. Since it has officially been declared of Public Utility, the state – through the Central Tax Authority – issues occupancy permits that are in no way real property titles, although long and continuous occupancy maybe equate to de jure ownership. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to value land assets. Another factor of uncertainty is the territorial identity of the site: Canaan is simultaneously claimed by Cabaret, L'Amazeau and Croix-des-Bouquets, the municipalities adjacent to the site. Some are inclined to favour autonomy, which would make Canaan a municipality in its own right.

In right. All this creates an administrative insecurity that exacerbates precariousness of the whole area. In fact, no doubt, the lack of care shown for construction of the houses and the lack of comfort, despite the relatively high cost of buildings. There are few latrines, and people mostly fulfil their needs in nature. Raw wastewater is evacuated into the clay yards or on to the public road, without consideration for how others might be affected. In plain language, what is happening here is a decline in living conditions and an exacerbation of the precariousness of certain areas that were previously empty of human habitation. In the event of another earthquake, there is no certainty that there will be fewer victims than in 2010, and for the same reasons: fragile construction, inappropriate materials and a failure to apply

quake-resistant building standards. yet, in certain respects, one can serve an improvement in tree coverage. new inhabitants have planted hedges and hedges, which now give the appearance of urban woodlands. The plots divided by hedges of trees, in cases where households lack the money to build wall. A local organisation encourages the population to plant drought-resistant species, nurseries of trees like tamarind and moringa, which feed the village. Tamarind is sold on the market. Moringa is consumed locally and goes for export through a local NGO.

at most characterises the peripheral areas of the capital is the rarity or inconvenience of communal spaces, such as public roads, squares or markets. These public spaces are not big enough or properly equipped to tackle the risk of an earthquake. In the rest of the city, the width of the streets and sidewalks, the height of the buildings, the distance

between buildings, etc., are calculated according to urban planning regulations that exist on paper, but are applied nowhere. The very concept of building permits has become meaningless, transformed into a construction tax levied by municipal staff for the purpose of personal enrichment. In Canaan, these rules are no more obeyed than anywhere else. There are no streets, in the strict sense of the term, let alone sidewalks.

There are a few initiatives for the development of public squares, for allocating addresses and planning a street network. A geography of the night would show how certain spaces appropriated entirely by groups of young men, places where young women are excluded and often feel endangered, especially when alone. The markets operate on the edge of the main road or, at certain times, at locations that are neither fixed nor formally signposted. As in the countryside, temporary markets come and go at road intersections.

beyond the circle of private experience, beyond the home, every space that is not individually appropriated and personally and permanently occupied, falls within the category of non-places, where the rules and practices of the city centre are diluted. In Port-au-Prince, since the earthquake, the streets, the sidewalks, the public squares and main arteries of the city have become the ultimate terra nullius, occupied by informal activities that encroach into public space with such systematic regularity that it is less accurate to describe them as informal than as an explanatory principle. The same dynamic now prevails in the rest of the city, especially in Canaan. Because of this fragmentation of public space, a common vision is impossible. As shared responsibilities blur into private interests, the perception of seismic risk becomes limited to a magico-religious sphere in which prayer and offerings constitute the sole protection against the prospect of the next catastrophe.

Under these circumstances, resilience has the bitter taste of a pyrrhic victory, where my response by the population is seen as a problem, not as an opportunity for service to citizens. It is by occupying public spaces, by threatening to loot and to spread chaos, that the population attracts the benevolence of the authorities. However, the population always finds itself in the periphery. A long way from anywhere, and therefore subject to the arbitrary practices of suppliers who offer the most expensive and poorest quality services. From the geographical perspective wherein building the capacities of people is the only means to reinforce the capacities and attractiveness of places, anaan is on the wrong path. In the conflict of places, it is condemned to play the role of a squalid dormitory in which the population dreams only of flight. Under these circumstances, resilience is all that is left when the state is absent from the public arena.

# ទីក្រុង ពេរអូប្រាំងស៊ី ជាន់ក្រុងដន្តប្រែ ?

នៅទីក្រុង ពាណិជ្ជកម្ម តាមដាននៃប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ គឺមាននៅលើ  
ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ នៅក្នុងពាណិជ្ជកម្ម ដែលបានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ  
នៅក្នុងពាណិជ្ជកម្ម ដែលបានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ នៅក្នុងពាណិជ្ជកម្ម ដែលបានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ

ជោយលោកសាស្ត្រាណាហី **JEAN MARIE THÉODAT**  
សាកលវិទ្យាល័យអូប្រចេនបាត់ទី  
សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ ប៊ែងពេអុន សំរាប់

ហើយប្រឈមជំរាបមួយទីក្រុងផែនខាងមុខដាតា ក្រុងឱ្យស ក្រុងកាសី ក្រុងហិរញ្ញសីមា ក្រុងណាគាលសាតិ ទីក្រុងតុលាទេរី បុរីក្រុងពិភាសី ឧបាទ់ដែល ការដើរបាយឡើងវិន្ច្រាន់ក្រោមទាំងនេះ ឬការយើតចានជូនប្រចេះឬគារមហាផ្ទៃយ ពេលខ្លះ វាអុច្រតារឿងអណ្តូលេហ៍តុ បុរីនូទីក្រុងប្រទេសវេហទីចានដើរទៅតាមផ្លូវ មួយដែលខាងពីគោះ តិតិលំនេរបើយ គោរពីក្រុងបែកកុងជាប់ស្រឡាត្រូវៗ វាបានការ

នៅក្នុងទីក្រុងដីមួយនេះ មានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសំនោះជាបាន  
នាក់ គុងនៃពេលវេលាដែលបានត្រួតពិនិត្យថា ពេលមានភ្លើងអគ្គិសនី និងទីក្រុង  
ស្ថាត ប្រើប្រាស់។ ជាមួយនេះទៅទៀត ការប្រមូលការសំណាល់នៅ គិតាន់១០%  
បុណ្ណាស្រាវែនការសំណាល់ទាំងអស់ដែលជាលិខ្សោយដោយប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសំនោះ  
គុងទីក្រុង។ ភាគចិន ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសំនោះគឺជាការស្រួលគ្រប់  
អសុក្នុងភាពសង្គម ហើយក្នុងនេះ ៩០ភាគរយនៃប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសំនោះនៅដោយ  
មានប្រាក់ចិនដែលបានបង្កើតឡើងដូចមួយចំប្រើ។ តើនៅក្នុងបញ្ជីបន្ទាត់  
១០ឆ្នាំ បន្ទាត់ប៉ុណ្ណោះដីនៅត្រូវបានប្រើប្រាស់ហើយបីបន្ទាត់ទាំង  
ពាណិជ្ជកម្មបានការសង្គមដែលធ្វើឡើងដូចមួយចំប្រើ។ ឧបាណ៉ាដែលត្រូវ  
ការរៀបចំចិន បុរីក្នុងការកសាងឡើងដូចមួយចំប្រើដោយជាបាន  
ព្រាយពីក្រុងការបង្កើតឡើងដូចមួយចំប្រើដោយជាបានក្នុងម៉ាសីន  
ពីក្រុងការសង្គមដូចមួយចំប្រើ។ ឯឡាយទីក្រុងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋសំនោះទីក្រុងនេះ ?



នៃលីអាមេរិកដែលត្រូវបានគ្រប់គ្រងនៅក្នុងប្រជាជាតិ Canaan

យាយពីទីក្រោង ហើយនៅក្នុងកណ្តាលថ្មីរបៀបដោះទេរត គិតនៅតាមផ្លូវយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ ដែល  
យុទ្ធឌីរូប គិតជាផ្លូវយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ តាមបណ្តុះបាយផ្លូវដោតិលខោ ដែលល្អប៉ាប់  
ដែនធានីទៅក្នុងភាគកណ្តាលនៃប្រទេស។ បច្ចុប្បន្ន ភាគបូរីនៃក្នុងផ្ទះក្នុង  
ក្នុងនេះគិតនៅទេរស្ថាត ត្រានមួនសុស្សរំលែកទៀតឱ្យយ។  
វិវាបីបូរីនិងលាងស់ត្រូវបានគេបូរីបានដើម្បីកសាងទីក្រោងឡើងវិញ។ ប៉ុន្តែ  
ម្រោងនាមបូរីនិងត្រូវបានដ្ឋាក ហើយគេពិចារណានឹងជីវិតព្រាករដណ្តាលសំចា  
និយប៉ុន្មានត្រូវបានគេបង្កើតដោយប៉ា ទន្លឹមនឹងត្រាងនោះ គេសង្គតមើល  
នានាការពាណិជ្ជកម្មទៀត នៅក្នុងកណ្តាលប៉ាប៉ា ដែលនៅជាបាយក្រោងទេរតដែរ។ បាប់ពី  
បាលនោះមក ដែនធានីបានភ្លាយជាទីប្រជុំជនបានសង្គត់ជាបូរីនិងសុគ្រោះ និង  
និងដោរការ។

## រង្កាត់កាលពន្លេ ត្រួស់បន្ទាប់ពីរច្ឆាយដី

ខ្លួនបែកចានដើរនៅទីក្រោម មានសង្ឃាត់ឱ្យមួយចានលើចាប់ច្បាប់ជាបង្កើង ឱ្យលូបរាងជាមុនហើយ សង្ឃាត់ការណានេះ សង្ឃាត់នេះមានបញ្ហាបីចិត្តខាងក្រុងគ្មបនិយកម្ម។ ដីដីដើលជាកម្មសិទ្ធិរបស់អ្នក (ទៅបីជាតិទាំងនេះត្រូវបានធ្វើជាសម្បូរាណទួរស័ព្ទដែលយកមកក្នុងប៉ារិយោជន៍សារាណាពេលយោង) ត្រូវបានប្រកាសថា ជាបីសំកប់ប៉ារិយោជន៍សារាណាពេលយោងនៅក្នុងប៉ារិយោជន៍សារាណាពេលយោងដែលក្រោមការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ បាប់ពីពេលនេះមក ការប្រជាពលរដ្ឋជាងខែឯកនៅក្នុងការប្រកាសនៅក្នុងប៉ារិយោជន៍សារាណាពេលយោង ហើយប្រកាសថាបានបញ្ហាបន្ថែម ក្នុងការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ មុននឹងពេលយោជន៍សារាណាពេលយោង កៅកិច្ចការណ៍តាមលក្ខណៈ តាំងយកឈ្មោះសារស្អាត់នេះត្រូវបានបញ្ហាបន្ថែមដែលការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ ដីមីរីប្រភ្តាយជាការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ កៅកិច្ចការណ៍តាមលក្ខណៈ តាំងយកឈ្មោះសារស្អាត់នេះត្រូវបានបញ្ហាបន្ថែមដែលការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ ដីមីរីប្រភ្តាយជាការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ កៅកិច្ចការណ៍តាមលក្ខណៈ តាំងយកឈ្មោះសារស្អាត់នេះត្រូវបានបញ្ហាបន្ថែមដែលការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។ ដីមីរីប្រភ្តាយជាការប្រកាសប្រចាំឆ្នាំនៅត្រូវបាននៅលើដីនៅទៅ។

ទីក្រុង ព័រម្បាច់បានសំបុត្រាតលាយដើម្បីជួយបន្ទុកពីទីផ្សារបច្ច បុរីនៅតែធ្វើឡើងនៅតាមសង្គមតាតាមរយក្រុង ដែលបានយើតិកណ្តាលបញ្ជី បុំនុំ ព្រមយើដឹងថ្មីទី១២ ខែមករា បានធ្វើឱ្យចូលបាននៃលេងមានទៀតហើយ ពេលគឺប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្រុងក្រុង បានចូលមកជួយដើរី ពួកគេចានចូលមេទៀតសែន្រោះក្រោប់ក្នុង មិនចាត់ក្លុងអគារ តាតកំបែកដែលគេបានបង់ចាល បុរីពោះតិចណែនាំខ្លះ ដើម្បីរាយកេដាយមួយនៃនាយកដ្ឋាន តាមទីសាធារណៈ បុរាណសាធារណរដ្ឋបានដើម្បីរាយកេដាយមួយនៃដួនលីហ៊ូរដំបោះនៅឡើយ។ ដូច្នេះ ត្រូវបានរាយកេដាយ តាតាមរយក្រុងនៃប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្រុងក្រុងដែលមិនមាត់មិនក ដែលរាយកេដាយ គេបានបង់ចាល បុរីមិនគិតគូនៅក្លុងនៃការចំណាយសំរាប់ស្រាវ ស្រាវប៉ែនការ ត្រូវមាននៅក្នុងក្រោកការណែនាំតែងតាំង។ គ្រឿងរកដំណោះស្រាយមួយឆ្នាំ ដើម្បីរាយកេដាយបាន និងឱ្យបានប្រើប្រាស់នៅក្នុងការណែនាំតែងតាំង។

អូកខេះទ្វោតចង់ដាកេយកាណាពាណភ្នាក់សង្គកតែជាប់ដោយទ្វោក  
មានស្មើយការទន្លនង ជាសង្គកតែមួយដុលសង្គកតែដើម្បីដោយ លក្ខណៈទាំងនេះ  
បានឱ្យតិត្យអសុត្រិតាបាន ដែលបន្ថែមទៅបើភាពមិនប្រាកដបានដែរដើម្បី  
ទាំងមូល។ ប្រពេលជាមកពីមួលហេតុទាំងអស់នេះហើយបានជាអិមិនស្មើ  
សាងសង់ផ្សេងៗខ្លួន ផ្សេងៗដែលគេសង្ឃឹមដូលជាសុកភាពតិចតុលណាស់  
ទៅបីជាតិម្ខូចបំណុលយកទៅបើសំណង់ខ្លស់យ៉ាងណាក្តី។ គេសង្គតាមិន  
សូវមានបង្កន់ទេ ហើយជាក្រុងក្រាប់ មនុស្សម្ខានបន្ទូរបង់ទៅឯហាលភាត៍។  
ទិកក្នុងក្នុងបានគេងទៅបើដីក្នុងទិន្នន័យ៖ បុរីភាក់ទៅបើផ្សេងៗសាធារណៈ  
មិនខ្ចប់ពីការប៉ះពាលបូរាមានជាលម្អិតទ្វោយ។ គេអាចនិយាយដោយក្នុងថែរ  
អំពីភាពស្អាតក្រោគក្នុងការសំនៅ និងអំពីភាពពេកយកការកំពើដែឡូនត្រូវទៅ  
នឹងសង្គកតែមួយបំន្លន ដែលជួយគ្រាប់មនុស្សសំនៅទាល់តែសោះ។ ក្នុងការណី  
ដែលបានរញ្ជួយដីមួលទៀត កិមិនប្រាកដទេពេជានៅដែលបំន្លនតិច  
ជានៅបំន្លនដែលនៅក្រោរបញ្ជីដែលកិត្តទ្វោងនៅក្នុងឆ្នាំ១០១០ ដោយសារតែ  
មូលហេតុដុលប្រាតោ នៅក្នុងសំណង់ធ្វើឱ្យក្នុងបំពីដែលស្មាមិនសម្រប ហើយ  
បទដ្ឋាននៃសំណង់ប៉ះប់លិនរញ្ជួយដីមិនបានគោរពសោះទ្វោយ។

ຜູ້ຍາເຈົ້າໃຈ ດຸກໂຮສັນຕະດູວະ ຜູ້ບັດຕະປະບໍລິຫານ ເຄີຍເບີຕັດ  
ສຳເນົາຄົມເພື່ອງທະນາຄາດບັນເສີມຂອງເຈົ້າໃຈ ມຸກກໍ່ຜົລມະກ່າວ່າເຫຼືອຕົກຕານດຳ  
ເພີຍແຍ້ ອີ່ນີ້ເຖິງບໍ່ຜູ້: ຕີ່ເພີຍກູ້ດັກ ໃລະບັດບູນກູງໄວ້: ບໍ່ເຫຼືອຕົກຕານນັສໍາກຳລົດ  
ມູນຍະສູງໃຈ່ເພີຍແຍ້ ຊື່ໂຄງກົງຮື່ມຍາງວັດທະນາຂັດດູກໃບກໍ່ເພີຍບໍ່ເປັນ  
ເພີຍແຍ້ ເຊິ່ງເຕີມຜົລມະກ່າວ່າມີຄົວາລຸບຍະສັກສົ່ງທີ່ເປັນຜູ້: ສາທາລະນະຍ  
ຕານຜົມເງົາງົງປະຕາບລາມຜູ້ດຳປົງເກີດເພີຍແຍ້ຜົລມະກ່າວ່າມີຄົວາຕັດກຳນີ້ດັກ  
ມູນບັດຕະເພີຍກົມືລົບ ບຸກໍ່ເພີຍມູນບຸກໍ່ຜົລມະກ່າວ່າມີຄົວາຫຍຸປະຕົວແຫຼ່ງໃຫ້

វិនិផ្ទៃប្រុម គីឡូរោងទាននៅក្នុងស្រុក បុរីអំពេញថែលក៏នៅក្រោម ប្រជែង តាមរយៈអង្គភាពក្រោរដ្ឋាកិចាលក្នុងស្រុកមួយ។

ລະຄູດາ:ເພີ່ມເຕັກໂນໂຍງເພື່ອຕົກຕົກຫຼຸດຫຼຸດ ຕາມບຸກຄຸກສັກຄຳເກົ່າ  
ຕາມຕັ້ງການ ທີ່ມີຜົນສູງທີ່ມີຄຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ: ບຸກພົມໃຈສະໜູງໄໝຕິດຳນິ້ນ  
ສາດາເວັບ: ຜູ້ຕັ້ງ ຜູ້ສາດາເວັບ: ອີ່ຕູ້ ບຸກໍ່ຜູ້ສາດາເວັບ ອີ່ຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ:  
ທີ່ນະໂຍ້ນຄູ່ຕະຫຼາດພູບບໍ່ ບຸກໍ່ບໍ່ຕັກບິກໍາຢູ່ສະໜູງປະເທດກົມືຕິ  
ກາກີດີ່ພໍາຫຼຸດຍິນເກະ:ເຊື້ອຍໆ ເກະຕາມກິດໃໝ່ແຜ່ງເຖິງຕຸກົນທີ່ຕົກ ຜູ້ຕັ້ງທີ່ບໍ່  
ຮັບຮັດຜູ້ ອີ່ນີ້ເປີ້ມເຖິງຜູ້ ກຸມໍ່ສໍາຄັນ ອີ່ນີ້ກຸມໍ່ຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ  
ລຸ່ມຊື່ເຕັກໂນໂຍງເກົ່າຕາມກິດໃໝ່ກຸມໍ່ພົມ ເພີ່ມມານີ້ເຕີເບີກັດສາລ  
ບຸ້ເຄີຍ: ບຸ້ເຄີຍໃຈຄູ່ຕະຫຼາດພົມເກະຊາຍກົດັກກຳສູ່ສັງເກາະ:ເຊື້ອຍໆ ເກະບັນດັ່ງ  
ເພີ່ມຕັ້ງກຸມໍ່ບໍ່ມີສາດາສັນສົ່ງ ທີ່ກຸມໍ່ພົມ ເກີຍກຸມໍ່ບໍ່ມີສາດາສັນສົ່ງຄູ່ຕະຫຼາດ  
ໃຈປະລາຍງົງເກະຕາລີຂີດຄອງສາດາສັນສົ່ງ ເພີ່ມບຸກຄົດີກສາດາລາບຕົກມື້ນຜູ້ລໍ່ຜູ້ນ  
ເກົ່າຕົກມື້ນເຄີຍບໍ່ມີກິດໃໝ່ເພີ່ມຍື່ງກົດັກຍົງຕູ້ລໍ່ຂອງເກີຍບຸ້ເຄີຍ: ເກະສັກຄຳກາ  
ນາງ ກຳຜູ້ຕັ້ງເກະສັກຄຳເຜົ່ານີ້ເຖິງຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ: ດີກັນກຳມື້ນເຕັກຕົກຕົກ  
ເຊື້ອຍໆ ຊູ່ບໍ່ກຸມໍ່ພົມ ເກີຍບຸ້ເຖິງຊູ່ບໍ່ລໍ່ ຖີ່ກິດໃຈຕົກຕົກຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ ເກີຍບຸ້  
ມານີ້ຕິດຳນິ້ນຜູ້ລໍ່ເພີ່ມຍົງຍົງບໍ່ຂອງເພີ່ມຍື່ງປຸ່ມບໍ່ອີ່ສາດາເວັບ: ກິດກຳກຳສາຍຜູ້ນ ສິ້ນ  
ຜູ້ສາດາເວັບ: ພະຍົບມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນ  
ເກະຕາມອີ່ຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ:ນູ່ຍົງບໍ່ຂອງ ເລີກໃລ້ນີ້ເຕີເບີກັດສາລາບກາງມູນດັ່ງ  
ຄູ້າສົ່ງສົ່ງຄົນເກະຕາມອີ່ຕິດຳນິ້ນເກະ: ດັກຕັ້ງເກົ່າສົ່ງສົ່ງຄົນເກະຕາມເກົ່າ  
ນັ້ນ ດັກຕັ້ງເກົ່າສົ່ງສົ່ງຄົນເກະຕາມເກົ່ານັ້ນເກົ່າສົ່ງສົ່ງຄົນເກະຕາມເກົ່ານັ້ນ  
ເກະຕາມອີ່ຕິດຳນິ້ນສາດາເວັບ: ພະຍົບມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນທີ່ມີຄົນ

ក្រុមពីហិរណ៍ណាលំនៅត្រង់ និងដឹងការដែល កលប់កំន្នែងដែលត្រាងមនុស្ស សែនទៅ បុរីប្រាស់ជាប់រហូត ត្រូវត្រូវក៏ឡើងបំណាក់ចុះកែវិធីតាំងដែលត្រាង ម្នាស់ នៅមេណានយ៉ាង ច្បាប់ និងការបុរីប្រាស់របស់ក្រុង មានលក្ខណៈដីនៃ ច្បាស់លាស់ឡើយ។ នៅទីក្រុង ពាណិជ្ជាមេនីស់ តាំងពីមានរបួបដីមឱក ផ្លូវប្រឈម ចិត្តិមួល ទីតាំងសាធារណៈ និងផ្លូវជំងឺក្នុងក្រុង បានភាយជាទីតាំងទៅនៅ ដីលូ សម្រាប់សកម្មភាពកសិក្សាផ្លូវការ ប្រកបដោយភាពទៅនៅទាត់ និង ស្ថូរប្រើប្រាស់ដែលត្រូវបានប្រើបាន ការបុរីប្រាស់មិនផ្លូវការ ហើយដឹងនូវសំណាយគោលការណ៍នៃការយោគយល់ទៅក្នុង បាប់ពិពេលនោះមក ការអនុវត្ត ផ្លូវត្រានេះ គឺកើតមានឡើងនៅតាមទីកន្លែងដូចនេះទីក្រុង ជាតិសែល នៅក្នុងសង្គ្រាតការណានតែមួយ។ ការបុរីប្រាស់ទីតាំងសាធារណៈបែបនេះ បណ្តាលខ្សោយគិមិនអាចមានចុកុវិស់យុវរួមយុវជននោះទេ ដោយសារតែ ត្រាងទំនួលខុសត្រូវមេ ព្រមទាំងតែជួលប្រយោជន៍ការដែលនោះ ទីបីគេបិទទេ ដើម្បីស្ថាយការិតឲយាភ្វាយដីតាមផ្លូវដីឡើងតាមនាមីក្រុង ពេលវិការស្ថូរ ដីបំបន់ស្របតាម និងការបុរីប្រាស់ គឺជាការអនុវត្តមួយដែលត្រូវបាន និងអារជ្រួញ ពាក្យសេរី មហានរាយដែលអាចកើតមានឡើងបានយើងទៀត។

ເຮົາຖຸນລູກຂອດດູບບໍບະເຣະ: ກາຕຜົນເບີເພົາທານສ່ວນັດຜູ້ປັດຕື່  
ຖົງປັບຜູ້ບັນຍັດເພື່ອໃຫ້ເກົ່າໂຄດຕາຕູ່ບັນດູນ: ມານສໍຍົດ ປະມິດຜົນຮູ້ລູ  
ຕານຳແມະກະ: ສາງຍັດລົງປັບຜູ້ບັນຍັດບໍລິຫານເຊີງໄຟງໍ ຕື່ມີນຳໃໝ່ຕາມຂົກສູງຍ  
ເພື່ອຢືນຢັນວ່າຜູ້ປັບຜູ້ບັນຍັດສູງເກະະເຈົ້າ ຕີ່ເພົາຍສາງປັບຜູ້ເສົ່າໜ້າໃໝ່  
ເຮົາຕາມທີ່ສູງສາມາດ: ເພົາຍສາງປັບຜູ້ບັນຍັດຜູ້ປະເມີນສູງມູນຄູ່ລູບຜົນດູ້ມີຍ  
ສັກັນ ບໍ່ຜູ້ບັນຍັດ ຮີ່ໃຈເຫຼືອທານກາຕິກິໂກ ແກ້ວໜ້າ ເຊີບບັນຍັດຜູ້ຈາງ  
ຍົກທີ່ມາບໍ່ກ່າວຍຸດດັບ ຮີ່ໃຈກາຍເກົ່າໂຄດູກັດຜົກກໍາຕົກຕ່າງ ບັນດູ້ເສົ່າ  
ຕີບຕູ້ບໍ່ ຕີ່ປັບຜູ້ບັນຍັດສູງໃໝ່ເຊັ່ນເຊັ່ນເຫັນເວັບໄຕມາດຍຸກຸນເຊີງໄຟງໍ ຕີ່  
ເຮົາຕັ້ງຍົງໃຈກົງໃຈລົງຍົງທີ່ມີງວ່າສູງຂຳນະເສັ່ນ ແກ້ວຢຽກເຕັກຄູ້ຄົນຜົມຫຼືເຜູ້ຈຳ  
ທຸກໃກ້ຕີ່ໂຄດູກັດຜົກຍຸດຕື່ມູນຄູ້ຄົນຄູ້ຜູ້ຜູ້ໃຈລົງຕັ້ງຕ່າງ ຮີ່ໃຈມາດຄຸດກາຕິບັນດັບ  
ເກະະເຈົ້າ ເຮົາຖຸນອສງົນວິສີ່ຍົກສົ່ງສາງສູງໄກ້ກາຕິກິໂກໃຈສະບຸກຕາຕະລາຜູ້  
ໃຈລົດຕັກຄູ້ຄົນຍົງຍົກຕໍ່ໄກ້ກາຕິກິໂກໃຈສະບຸກຕາຕະລາຜູ້ ຮີ່ໃຈກາຕິກັດທີ່ຈາງໃຈສັກັນ  
ເຊັ່ນ: ກາຕການທີ່ມີຕັ້ງບັນຍັດກາລົບຕັກເກີຍພາຍໃຕ້ ເຮົາຖຸນກາຕິສົງຜົນດູ້ມີຢັນບັນ:   
ສັກັນຕໍ່ກາຕການຕາງເຊີ່ມຕື່ເຕັກກິ່ງທີ່ເຄື່ອງກໍາຕົກຕ່າງ ເຮົາຖຸນກາຕິສົງຜົນດູ້ມີຢັນບັນ  
ໃຈລົດບັນຍັດເປົ້າຕົ້ງມີຫຼຸດຕັ້ງຕໍ່ເຕັກເກີຍບັນດູນ: ພູ້ເຊີ່ມຕື່ກັດທີ່ເສັ່ນລົບ  
ເຄື່ອງກໍາຕົກຕ່າງ: ຂະບາຍ: ໃຈລົດຜົມກາຕິກິໂກໃຈສະບຸກຕາຕະລາຜູ້: ຍາ

# Dynamiques politiques et économiques de la reconstruction

Political and  
economic dynamics  
of reconstruction

# Political and economic dynamics of reconstruction

៣. ចាមភាពនយោបាយនិងសេដ្ឋកិច្ចនៃការកសាងនេវីជ្ជវិញ



Après les actions dictées par l'urgence S.E. Kep Chuktema raconte les étapes d'une reconstruction durable, S.E. Mann Choeun insiste sur l'importance d'une politique du logement et S.E. Ek Sonn Chan explique comment apporter de l'eau potable à tous. En miroir, Nadine Umutoni Gatsinzi nous raconte la reconstruction de Kigali après le génocide.

After the immediate actions dictated by the emergency, H.E. Kep Chuktema recounts the stages in a sustainable reconstruction, H.E. Mann Choeun emphasises the importance of a housing policy and H.E. Ek Sonn Chan explains how to bring water to everyone. Echoing these accounts, Nadine Umutoni Gatsinzi describes the remaking of Kigali after the genocide.

បន្ទាប់ពីការដោះដើលត្រូវរួចរាល់ឡើងដោយសាកាតបន្ទាន់ នកខត្តម កែប  
ដុតិថា នានជូហកប់អំពីដំណាក់កាលឆ្លងវនៃការកេសានីឡើងវិញ  
ប្រកបដោយនិត្យភាព នកខត្តម មាន ឈ្មោះ សង្គត់ចុងនៃលី  
សារ៖សំខាន់នៃគោលនយោបាយកសាងលំនៅត្រូវ ហើយ នកខត្តម  
ឱក សុទ្ធទាន់ នូវយ៉ាង ពីត្រូវរួចរាល់ឡើងដោយសាកាតបន្ទាន់  
ប្រជាពលដ្ឋានប្រចាំបីប្រឈម ឬការប្រឈមនឹងសាធារណរដ្ឋប្រជាសាស្ត្រ និង  
នេះ លោកក្រុម Nadine Umutoni Gatsinzi នានជូហកប់បានប្រាប់  
យើងពីការកសាងនិត្យ Kigali ឡើងវិញ បន្ទាប់ពីបេសប្រជាធិបាល

Un Atelier de confection à Phnom Penh,  
à la fin des années 1990.  
A garment workshop in Phnom Penh in the late  
1990s.  
ពេងជាន់ការកំដែងនៅភ្នំពេញ បច្ចុប្បន្នឆ្នាំ១៩៩០

# Agir pour Reconstruire : Le développement de Phnom Penh de 2003 à 2013

De 2003 à 2013, Phnom Penh connaît un essor sans précédent. Après l'urgence de la reconstruction, la capitale cambodgienne est entrée dans une ère de modernisation plus pérenne.

PAR S.E. KEP CHUKTEMA

L'an 2000 est un tournant important pour le Cambodge. Cette année-là marque l'ouverture vers une période de paix et de stabilité politique et sociale qui a permis l'amorce d'une phase de développement urbain sans précédent. La population croît alors rapidement, pour atteindre 1 million d'habitants en 2003 avec pour corollaires l'augmentation du trafic automobile et les premiers embouteillages, ainsi qu'une demande croissante pour de meilleurs logements. En s'étendant, la ville manque de capacités d'approvisionnement en eau et en électricité et le système de drainage est incapable de répondre à la demande et de faire face aux inondations annuelles causées par la mousson.

## PRIORITÉ AU DÉVELOPPEMENT DE PHNOM PENH (2003-2008)

C'est dans ce contexte que, le 10 février 2003, je suis nommé gouverneur de la ville de Phnom Penh par Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techno Hun Sen, qui tenait à un développement plus rapide mais aussi plus durable de la capitale Cambodgienne. La ville couvre alors 378 km<sup>2</sup> et est divisée en 7 khans (districts). Au cours de ces cinq premières années (2003-2008), mes priorités ont été d'assurer la sécurité publique et le calme dans la ville après une période politique trouble pendant laquelle l'Ambassade de Thaïlande ainsi que des commerces thaïlandais ont été saccagés par la population. Après avoir rétabli la paix en ville, je me suis attaché à améliorer le bien-être de la population et l'esthétique de la ville. Le développement des infrastructures était l'axe principal de mon action.

Il était important pour moi d'offrir à la population des espaces où ils puissent passer agréablement leur temps libre, se détendre et faire de l'exercice.

### La modernisation et l'extension de l'Aéroport international de Phnom Penh – Pocheutong

Au sortir d'une longue période de conflit, il fallait réhabiliter les infrastructures de transport, en particulier l'aéroport. À l'issue d'un appel d'offre international, le Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge sélectionne une société franco-malaisienne, la Society Cambodia Airports (SCA), dont les actionnaires sont le groupe VINCI et Muhibbah, et signe le 6 juillet 1995 un des premiers PPP<sup>1</sup>s au monde dans le domaine aéroportuaire. Il incombe à la SCA de financer, développer, construire, gérer et exploiter l'aéroport de Phnom Penh jusqu'en 2040. Les débuts sont modestes avec un trafic autour de 600 000 pax/an. Une première réhabilitation et modernisation de la plateforme démarre vraiment en 2002-2003, compte tenu des événements politiques internes et de la crise asiatique de la fin des années 1990 qui ont retardé les programmes d'investissement. Un premier terminal est construit à la place du hangar militaire qui en faisait office jusque-là. Il est achevé en 2003 avec l'ouverture d'une aérogare d'une capacité de plus de 4 millions de pax/an, d'un terminal cargo et la rénovation de la piste (runway et taxiway) pour accueillir les gros porteurs et pour fluidifier les mouvements des avions. Par ailleurs, des extensions successives des aires de stationnement des avions sont réalisées, puis enfin, l'extension de l'aéroport avec la création de nouvelles pistes dotées d'un système de drainage pour leur protection contre les inondations.

### Amélioration de la voirie

Une politique de décentralisation a été appliquée pour la première fois au cours de mon premier mandat. Le gouvernement central a progressivement délégué des responsabilités accrues, administratives et financières, aux administrations locales. Avec ce nouveau mode de gouvernance, une contribution financière volontaire des habitants pour la rénovation de leur quartier a été instaurée. Cette idée novatrice a été suggérée par le Premier Ministre lui-même. Sachant que l'État ne serait pas en mesure de financer 100% de la réfection des ruelles et des petites rues de la ville, un mode de financement appelé 50/50, sur un principe de contribution libre et volontaire, a été proposé à la population. Les habitants contribuent pour moitié au coût des travaux, le reste est financé par la municipalité. Les travaux sont planifiés par les conseils communaux locaux et inscrits dans le plan annuel

du sangkat. Cette action réunit tous les habitants d'une rue ou d'une ruelle. Si un accord est trouvé entre tous, alors la contribution des habitants rentre dans le plan. L'habitant devient ainsi un maître d'ouvrage. Des groupes de contrôle de la construction sont constitués. Ainsi des petites ruelles et routes ont-elles été rénovées avec succès dans tous les sangkats. Ce fut une des premières applications locales du plan national de décentralisation qui visait à renfor-



cer la transparence et la bonne gouvernance.

Pour avancer vite et bien sur la rénovation des grandes rues, qui nécessitait des budgets beaucoup plus importants qu'il fallait en même temps réduire, un système de construction des chaussées a été établi en prenant appui sur une innovation technique, une « armature » en bambou à la place de l'acier. Pour cela, nous avons suivi les conseils techniques donnés par des techniciens internationaux du Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD). Cette solution a permis de faire les travaux, tout en ayant conscience qu'elle représentait une résistance inadaptée aux poids lourds et une durabilité moindre par rapport à une structure en acier, mais tout de même suffisante pour le passage de la plupart des véhicules.

Les voies, et notamment les routes-digues périphériques, ont été élargies et asphaltées pour permettre l'amélioration de la circulation. Des feux de signalisation plus nombreux et de meilleure qualité ont été déployés pour assurer plus de sécurité au trafic routier. Avec l'amélioration des voies publiques et des routes, nous avons constaté une amélioration de la qualité de vie de la population et la multiplication des implantations d'usines en périphérie.

### Amélioration du système de drainage de la ville

En 2006, le projet de rénovation du canal de drainage du lac de Boeng Trabek s'est terminé grâce au financement de la Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Ce projet visait à réduire les inondations dues aux fortes pluies, depuis le marché de Kandal jusque devant le Palais Royal et l'ancienne Assemblée Nationale. Ce fut un succès. Les inondations furent grandement réduites et la durée de stagnation des eaux passa de plus de 12h à environ 3 à 6 heures. Cette durée aurait pu être encore réduite si l'habitude prise par la population de jeter les déchets directement dans les bouches égouts avait pu être changée.



Haut:  
Construction  
du pont sur  
le Tonlé Sap qui  
relie la digue  
de Kop Srov à la  
route nationale  
N°6, 2008

Top:  
Construction of the  
bridge on the Tonlé  
Sap that links Kop  
Srov to national  
road 6, 2008.

ការរោចនាលើសង្គមការ  
ទាន់សាស្ត្រប្រព័ន្ធប៉ែប  
ស្រីអេឡិចត្រូនិកខេះខេះ  
ឆ្នាំ២០០៨

Bas:  
Rénovation  
d'une route  
dans un district  
périphérique,  
2008

Bottom:  
Renovation of a road  
in a peripheral  
district - 2008.  
ការរោចនាលើសង្គមការ  
ទាន់សាស្ត្រប្រព័ន្ធប៉ែប  
ស្រីអេឡិចត្រូនិកខេះខេះ  
ឆ្នាំ២០០៨

### Amélioration des parcs et jardins publics

Les plus importants espaces «verts» publics se trouvaient autour du Monument de l'indépendance et du Palais Royal, mais leur sol en latérite et leur manque d'entretien ne rendaient pas ces espaces confortables. J'ai donc œuvré, avec mes équipes, à la création de nouveaux espaces verts, tout en améliorant l'hygiène et l'esthétique des anciens. Des jets d'eaux ont été ajoutés devant le Wat Botum et autour du Monument de l'Indépendance. Les aires de parking autour du Wat Phnom ont été reconvertis en jardin public et en terrains de jeux. Les parcs publics en face de l'Institut de technologie du Cambodge, de l'aéroport, autour du monument de l'Indépendance, du Wat Phnom et en face du Palais Royal ont été rénovés. J'ai pu ainsi, à ma grande satisfaction, multiplier par trois les espaces verts et augmenter le budget disponible pour leur entretien. Il était important pour moi d'offrir à la population des espaces où ils puissent passer agréablement leur temps libre, se détendre et faire de l'exercice.

La mise en œuvre de mon premier plan quinquennal devait aussi répondre à de nombreux défis, tels que: i) le manque de fonds pour déployer toutes les activités prévues (un budget annuel de développement de 20 millions de dollars US alors qu'il en aurait fallu 3 fois plus) et un budget limité pour l'amélioration des infrastructures; ii)

une situation politique tendue après les élections qui a retardé le processus de formation du nouveau gouvernement et donc la mise en œuvre de projets; iii) un manque de ressources humaines qui impacta beaucoup la mise en œuvre des travaux urgents. Sur ce point, le Cambodge a heureusement été soutenu depuis 1990 par la Ville de Paris qui a organisé une coopération technique permanente entre les techniciens municipaux de Paris, l'Atelier parisien d'urbanisme et les techniciens de Phnom Penh. Cette coopération, soutenue financièrement par l'Union européenne et le gouvernement français, a permis de former des techniciens et d'élaborer un plan de développement de la ville. iv) enfin, une croissance très importante de la population et de l'économie de la ville, qui a entraîné une demande accrue d'infrastructures performantes, une meilleure gestion des ordures, une meilleure alimentation en eau et en électricité, ainsi que davantage d'activités de loisirs.

### CONSOLIDATION ET ACCÉLÉRATION DU DÉVELOPPEMENT (2008-2013)

Tirant les leçons de mon premier mandat et anticipant les nouvelles exigences de la population, je me suis efforcé de consolider l'encadrement du développement urbain.

#### Rénovation des infrastructures:

Un effort accru pour la rénovation et la modernisation des infrastructures était une priorité de la municipalité, particulièrement pour l'amélioration



La nouvelle ligne à haute tension le long de la rue Oknha Mong Reththy, 2009  
The new high-voltage line along Oknha Mong Reththy Street, 2009.

ខេត្តកែច្ចិកដៃអង្គខ័ស់  
តាមបណ្ឌិ៍យន្តូខេត្តកែច្ចិក  
មុខប្លឹក ឆ្នាំ២០០៩

du réseau de voirie et des routes périphériques dotées désormais d'un revêtement d'une épaisseur de plus de 2,5cm, notamment la route qui joint Tuol Kork au Grand Phnom Penh, la route de Veng Sreng jusqu'à Kandal, ainsi que la rénovation des axes importants tels que le Boulevard de Russie ou la route 271. De nouveaux ponts ont aussi été construits, tel que le pont Monivong et les 3 ponts aériens de Kbal Tnol, 7Makara et Steung Meanchey, qui ont permis de gérer un trafic intense. En effet, plus de 179 000 voitures et 1 million de motos sont en circulation dans les rues de la capitale, contre 23 000 voitures en 2005. La protection de la ville contre les inondations et la collecte des eaux usées ont reçu la même attention.

#### L'Amélioration de l'approvisionnement en eau et en électricité:

Électricité du Cambodge (EDC) et la Régie Des Eaux de Phnom Penh ont été dotés de budgets autonomes, distincts du budget de développement de la ville. Cela leur a permis de bénéficier de programmes d'aide internationale supplémentaires. En tant que Président du conseil d'administration de la régie des eaux, je me suis beaucoup impliqué dans la supervision des travaux d'accès à l'eau potable pour toute la ville, et en particulier ceux favorisant la desserte des zones périphériques qui avaient des besoins importants d'accès à l'eau (connections des zones lointaines comme Steung Veng Sreng ou Chba Ampov au sein desquelles des usines de traitements des eaux usées ont été installées).

#### Relocalisation et réinstallation des habitants vivant dans des zones précaires:

Environ 100 000 habitants des zones d'habitats précaires, vivant notamment à Borei Keila, ainsi que sur le front du Bassac et au Boeung Kak, ont été relogés dans de nouveaux quartiers de Phnom Penh après trois années d'efforts. Un financement de plus 20 millions d'euros de l'aide internationale a pu un peu améliorer les conditions de vies pour les habitants du Bassac relogés sur le nouveau site à Kmouing, après qu'un grand incendie ait ravagé



Site de relogement des populations des squat du centre-ville  
Rehousing site for populations from the inner-city squats.  
ទីតាំងសំគាល់រួមសំបាល់  
ប្រជាពលន៍អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ក្នុង

Page de droite:  
Camko City,  
condominium en construction,  
2009.

កំរិកសំគាល់  
ខ្សែកំពុងសាងសង់  
ឆ្នាំ២០០៩

Camko City, a  
condominium under  
construction, 2009.

1. Un PPP est un accord de Partenariat Public-Privé passé entre une entreprise privée et un gouvernement, généralement via une entreprise publique.

2. Six villes-satellites créées: Camko City, Koh Pich, Boeung Snor, Chroy Changvar, Boeung Kak et Grand Phnom Penh.

3. 2004: Prix de la BAD (Eau pour tous) reçu à Manille; 2005: World Leadership Awards, catégorie de rénovation n° 1, planification pour

leurs logements en 2001. Grâce à ce financement, le gouvernement cambodgien a été en mesure d'acheter des terrains et de construire les infrastructures nécessaires pour établir un réseau routier, et apporter aux populations déplacées un approvisionnement en eau et en électricité.

#### Expansion de la ville et équipements publics:

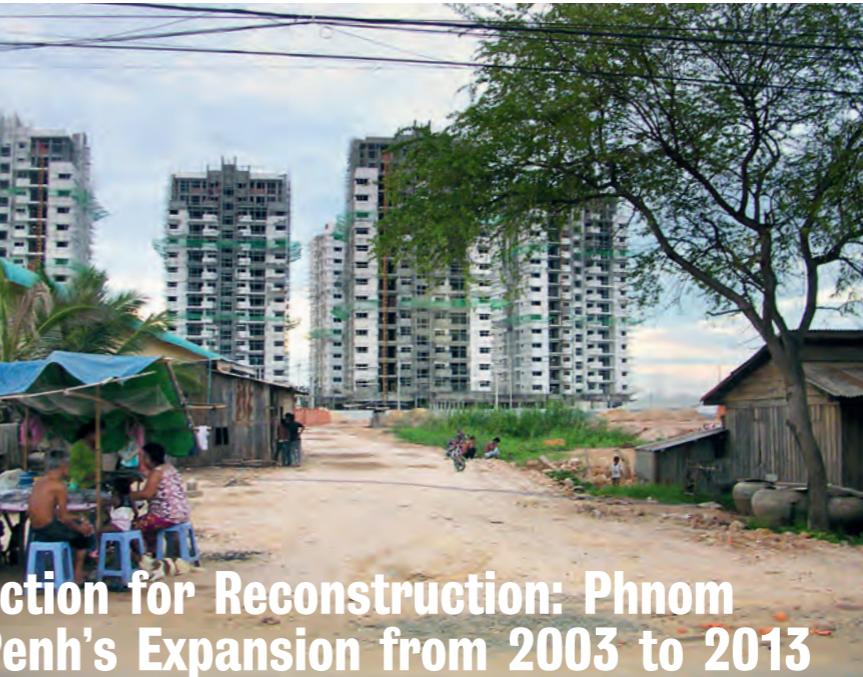
La population de la ville a atteint 2 millions d'habitants en 2013 et la demande de logements a suivi. 10 000 nouveaux logements chaque année étaient nécessaires. En réponse à cette croissance démographique rapide, nous avons étendu la capitale de 378 km<sup>2</sup> à 678 km<sup>2</sup> en intégrant 20 communes de la province de Kandal.

Des écoles, des hôpitaux et des marchés ont été créés à la périphérie pour répondre aux besoins des nouveaux habitants de ces secteurs. Des efforts importants ont été déployés pour créer des jardins et des espaces verts, car une ville sans verdure n'est pas une ville. Des zones d'entraînement sportif en plein air et une aire de jeux pour enfants ont été installées. Plus de 40 000 arbres ont été plantés dans la ville. Des monuments dédiés aux érudits et héros cambodgiens ont été créés pour rappeler la grandeur de nos ancêtres. Ils sont peu à peu devenus des points d'attraction touristique.

Phnom Penh a donc connu des transformations importantes au cours des dernières années de mon mandat. Le secteur privé a beaucoup investi dans le développement de villes satellites<sup>2</sup> de standard international, équipées d'écoles, d'hôpitaux et de centres commerciaux. Ces investisseurs privés ont construit plus de 80 autres complexes résidentiels et de nombreux immeubles de grande hauteur sont apparus dans le paysage de Phnom Penh, répondant aux besoins de nouveaux espaces de vie, de travail et de commerce.

Le développement de Phnom Penh était un défi entre la préservation de sa beauté traditionnelle et son développement plus moderne. Aujourd'hui, il est facile de construire des bâtiments de 40 étages, mais la protection des sites, des pagodes et des bâtiments anciens est tout aussi importante, car on ne peut pas les reconstruire. Par conséquent, des règlements pour déterminer des zones de protection ont été établis pour interdire, par exemple, les constructions de grande hauteur autour du Palais Royal et dans la zone située à l'est du boulevard Norodom. Un autre défi consistait à préserver la qualité de l'environnement pour les habitants, ce qui a amené la municipalité à construire davantage de parcs et de jardins le plus rapidement possible. Depuis 2004, pour tous les efforts faits pour son développement au cours de ces 10 dernières années, Phnom Penh a reçu de nombreux prix internationaux, délivrés par des organisations respectables<sup>3</sup>.

un boom démographique, Londres, Royaume-Uni; 2006: Asie Pacifique du maire Sommet sur l'environnement, Melbourne, Australie; 2007: Les World Leadership Awards Rénovation environnementale locale, Londres, Royaume-Uni; 2008: Prix de la ville écologiquement durable de l'ANASE, Hanoi, Vietnam; 2009: Prix Sambo-Japon (IYSH) à l'UPDF, Tokyo, Japon; 2011: Prix de l'ASEAN pour la durabilité de l'environnement, Bali, Indonésie



## Action for Reconstruction: Phnom Penh's Expansion from 2003 to 2013

From 2003 to 2013, Phnom Penh experienced unprecedented development. After tackling the pressing needs of reconstruction, Cambodia's capital moved into a new era, one of a more lasting phase of modernization. **BY H.E. KEP CHUKTEMA**

The year 2000 marked a major turning point for Cambodia, the beginning of a period of peace and socio-political stability which enabled an unprecedented phase of urban development. The population grew quickly, reaching one million inhabitants in 2003, which caused an increase in car circulation and the first traffic jams as well as a growing demand for better housing. As it spread, the city was short on water and electricity supply. The drainage system inadequately served the city's needs and couldn't cope with the annual monsoon floods.

#### PRIORITIZING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHNOM PENH (2003-2008)

Against that backdrop, I was appointed governor of Phnom Penh by Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo Hun Sen on February 10, 2003. He wanted the Cambodian capital to develop more quickly and sustainably. The city then covered 378 km<sup>2</sup> and was divided into 7 khans (districts). During the first five years (2003-2008), my priorities were to ensure public security and calm in the city after a period of political turmoil during which the Embassy of Thailand and Thai businesses were ransacked by the people.

After bringing peace back to the city, we focused on improving the people's welfare and the beauty of the city. My action was centered on infrastructure development.

**Modernising and expanding the Phnom Penh International Airport – Pocheotong**  
A country emerging from a long period of conflict is faced with the task of rehabilitating its transport infrastructure,

particularly its airport. An international call for tenders was launched and the royal government of Cambodia selected a French-Malaysian company, the *Société Concessionnaire des Aéroports* (SCA), whose shareholders were the VINCI group and Muhibbah. On July 6, 1995, one of the first airport-sector PPPs<sup>1</sup> in the world was signed. The SCA agreed to finance, develop, build, manage, and operate the Phnom Penh Airport until 2040. It began with modest passenger traffic (around 600,000 pax/year). A first phase of rehabilitation and modernization of the platform began in 2002-2003 as investment programs were delayed by internal political events and the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. An actual terminal replaced the military hangar that had been repurposed until then. It was completed in 2003 with the opening of an air terminal with a capacity of over 4 million pax/year and a cargo terminal, and with the renovation of the runway and taxiway to handle wide-body aircrafts and to streamline aircraft movement. Successive extensions of the airport apron were completed, and, finally, the airport was extended with new runways equipped with a drainage system to protect them from floods.

#### Improving roads

During my first term of office, a policy of decentralization was implemented for the first time. The central government gradually delegated increased administrative and financial responsibilities to local government. With that new mode of governance, a voluntary financial contribution from the

inhabitants for the renovation of their neighborhood was put in place. This novel idea had been suggested by the prime minister himself. Given that the government did not have the means to fully finance the rebuilding of the city's alleyways and smaller streets, a financing method referred to as 50/50, based on a principle of voluntary contribution, was put forward. Residents would cover half of the cost of the work; the remainder would be financed by the municipality. Projects were planned out by the local commune councils and listed in the sangkat's yearly plan. This initiative involved all those living on alleyways and roads. If they all reached a mutual agreement, their contribution was included in the plan. The resident became a contractor. Construction control groups are formed. Small streets and roads were thus successfully renovated in all the sangkats. That was one of the first local applications of the national decentralization plan aiming at increasing transparency and good governance.

To speed up the renovation of the main streets, which involved much bigger budgets that needed to be limited, a roadway construction system was developed using a technical innovation, a "framework" made of bamboo instead of steel. To achieve that, we received technical advice from international specialists with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). This approach enabled us to complete the projects, cognizant of the fact that the road structure was not suitable for large goods vehicles and would not last as long as a steel structure but would resist use by most vehicles.

The roads, notably the levee roads, were widened and paved to improve traffic flow. More and better-quality traffic lights were installed to ensure greater road traffic safety. With the improved public thoroughfares and roads, we noticed an improvement in the population's quality of life as well as an increasing number of factories on the outskirts.

#### Improving the city's drainage system

In 2006, the project to renovate the drainage canal of Boeng Trabek Lake was completed with funding from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The purpose of the project was to cut down on floods that occurred from Kandal Market to the Royal Palace and former National Assembly building during periods of heavy rainfall. The project was a success. Flooding has been greatly reduced and water has gone from stagnating over 12 hours to about 3 to 6 hours. That stagnation period could decrease even more if residents lost the habit of throwing waste directly into the sewer.

#### Improving the public parks and gardens

The city's largest "green" spaces were located around Independence Monument and the Royal Palace. However, their



ការពាណិជ្ជកម្មនៃប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ (ឆ្នាំ២០០៣-ឆ្នាំ២០០៨)

គិស្សតានៅក្នុងបីបទនេះហើយដើម្បីចូលរៀបចំទី១០ កម្ពុជា ឆ្នាំ២០០៣  
ខ្លួនពីរាជាណកែងកាំងជាតិបាលរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ដោយសម្រួលអគ្គិសនាទេ  
បដិសត់ដោ ហូវិស និង ពីរាជាណសម្រួលបានដោយមានរាជការអភិវឌ្ឍនភានីលើវិវាទ  
ជាងមួយ បុំន្តូរការអភិវឌ្ឍនេះក៏ត្រូវមាននិរន្តរភាពជាមួយដើរ។ នៅពេលនេះ  
រាជការនឹងធ្វើដំណឹងពីរាជាណកែងកាំងជាតិបាលរាជធានីភ្នំពេញដែលមានផែន

ຖុងរយៈពេលច្បាស់ដំបូងនេះ (ឆ្នាំ២០០៣-ឆ្នាំ២០០៥) អាជីវការ  
បែងចុះ តិចជាមួយបានឡើងសូមត្រួតពិនិត្យការងាររបស់ខ្លួន  
ទីក្រុង បន្ទាប់ពីបានផ្តល់ការតែងតម្លៃយកបាននយោបាយមួយដំលោកនាក់រីករាយ  
ត្រូវរយៈពេលពេញ៖ តើស្ថានទូទៅប្រចាំរដ្ឋបាលក្រុងប្រមូលចំណាំនៅរាយក្រឹងក្នុង  
ថែរបីនឹងត្រូវបានបំផ្តើបំផ្តាញរាយប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ។ បន្ទាប់ពីធ្វើរាយក្រឹងមាន  
សុខសន្តិភាពឡើងវិញ ខ្លួនដោយបានរាយក្រឹងក្នុងសុខមានបាត់បែកបំបាត់  
និងសេកាកំណើការបែងចុះក្រុងមានភាពប្រលើខ្លួនវិញវិញ។ ការអភិវឌ្ឍរាយក្រឹង  
បានសម្រេចនានា គឺជានិស់ដំខាន់ជាន់គេនឹងសកម្មភាពការងារបែងចុះ។

ក្រាយពិចធាងតិដៃមេះអស់រយៈពេលមួយដែល យើង

ខ្សែងវិញ្ញនរហប្រធានសម្បទីដឹកជញ្ជូនជាតិសេសគិតការសយោជន៍។  
ក្រោយពីការដោក្ទីខ្សែងច្បាប់អនុជាតិសិរមធរក កដុជាតិបាលកម្មជាន  
សម្របដើមីសិលសយកក្រុមហ៊ុនបាកំង-ម៉ាឡូសីមួយណ៍ថា  
ក្រុមហ៊ុនសម្រាប់ការប្រាក់ប្រាក់ និងលក់ការការណាតាកំងថា  
SCA នៅក្នុងនោះ ម្នាស់តារាងបុរីគិតនៃក្រុមហ៊ុនបាកំង VINCI  
និងក្រុមហ៊ុនម៉ាឡូសី Mouhibbah ហើយកដុជាតិបាលបានចុះហត្ថលេខា  
នៅថ្ងៃទី ១៦ ខែកញ្ញា ឆ្នាំ ២០១៨ លើកូលូក្រមប្រព័ន្ធដែកឈើ-ឯកសារ។ លើកីបុរី  
នគរូបនិភ័ពលកបើសំយអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ការសយោជន៍។ កូលូកសវន្យានោះអនុ  
ញាតិឱ្យក្រុមហ៊ុន

ការគេលមង្គចេល

អាណាពេជ្រិយសម្រាប់ក្រុងបានអនុវត្តលើកដីបុងទៅក្នុង  
ភាគភូមិមួយរបស់ខ្ញុំ។ ភ្នៀវបាលច្បាក់ជាតិបានផ្តល់បន្ទិចចិត្តនឹងវិវឌ្ឍនិភ័យទុស  
ក្រុងការពេជ្រិយសម្រាប់ខ្ញុំ ទាំងដើរកដឹងបាន និងដើរកហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ ដល់ដឹងបានច្បាក់  
ក្រុមជាតិ ដោយបើកប្រាស់របៀបអគ្គិតាលកិច្ចិត្តនេះ ប្រជាពលដ្ឋានបាប់  
ដើម្បីបានឈ្មោះដើរកដឹងស្ថិតិថ្មី ដើម្បីកែលមុនភាគាស់នៅបែលត្បូគតាការ។  
គឺតិចជូនប្រកបដោយនាក្យតុនីនេះក្នុងបានស្ថិតិខ្ញុំដោយសម្រួចនាយកដឹងមួយ  
ខ្លួនលោកដ្ឋាហ៍ ដោយយល់យើងទាំងអស់ ដឹងបាននឹងត្រានិភ័យបានផ្តល់  
ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុទាំង១០០% ដើម្បីដឹងមុនប្រើក្នុងបាប់របៀបនៅក្នុងទីក្រុងបាននោះ បែលបទ  
នៃការដឹងលើហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ ៥០%-៥៥% ដោយឈរទៅលើគោលការណ៍នៃការ  
ចូលរួមដោយលើ និងស្ថិតិថ្មីបុរាណបានដ្ឋានក្នុងបានស្ថិតិខ្ញុំ។ ប្រជាពលដ្ឋាហ៍  
បានឈ្មោះដើរកដឹង និងស្ថិតិថ្មីបុរាណបានដ្ឋានក្នុងបានស្ថិតិខ្ញុំ។ ប្រជាពលដ្ឋាហ៍

ກົດກົດຄຸນລາເຈົ້າຕັດຕະຫຼອດຜູ້ບໍ່ເກີຍສາມາດກຳນົດໆ ດາວໜັງຜູ້ລັດຜູ້ລັດຄາຕາແກ່  
ການຜັກເຈົ້າຕຸກໆໃໝ່ຜົນກາເກີຍເກົຮບີ່ຄູກສັກ໌ ອີ່ນທະບະໄສຕຸກໆໃໝ່ຜົນກາ  
ບັນດິນໆບໍ່ບໍ່ສັກ໌ ກົມື້ວິດເຣະຕານເຖິງເກີຍທານກາເຖິງລູ້ນີ້ທີ່ປັດຕະລົມຜູ້  
ບັນດິນໆເຈົ້າຕຸກໆເກີຍສັກ໌ ພົມມື້ວິດເຣະຕານເຖິງເກີຍທານກາເຖິງລູ້ນີ້ທີ່ປັດຕະລົມຜູ້  
ກົດກົດຄຸນລາເຈົ້າຕັດຕະຫຼອດຜູ້ບໍ່ເກີຍສັກ໌ ເຊິ່ນເຕີມທານກາ  
ກາກົດກົດຄຸນລາເຈົ້າຕັດຕະຫຼອດຜູ້ບໍ່ເກີຍສັກ໌ ປົກສີກົດຕານບໍ່ປັດຕະລົມຜູ້ນີ້ທີ່ບໍ່  
ບັນດິນໆເຈົ້າຕຸກໆໃໝ່ຜົນກາ ໃບເບີໂທ: ປັດຕະລົມຜູ້ເກີຍຕົກມາສຸກ໌ ຄະຫຼາດໜູ້ນີ້ທີ່  
ກົດກົດຄຸນລາເຈົ້າຕັດຕະຫຼອດຜູ້ບໍ່ເກີຍສັກ໌ ທີ່ບໍ່ເບີໂທ: ຜູ້ນີ້ບໍ່ຮັບຮ່ວມທີ່ບໍ່  
ບັນດິນໆເຈົ້າຕຸກໆໃໝ່ຜົນກາ ເຊິ່ນເຕີມທານກາເຖິງລູ້ນີ້ທີ່ປັດຕະລົມຜູ້  
ກົດກົດຄຸນລາເຈົ້າຕັດຕະຫຼອດຜູ້ບໍ່ເກີຍສັກ໌ ຕົກມາສຸກ໌ ເຊິ່ນເຕີມທານກາ

ការគេងបានរួមចិត្តភាព

នៅឆ្នាំ ២០១៦ គម្រោងស្ថាបូលបីនគ្រែក្រោតវាទាបញ្ចប់ ដោយសារ  
ការជិនយហិរញ្ញវប្បទានពីភ្នាក់នាសេបាប្រតិបត្តិភាពអនុជាតិនូវឯង ដើម្បី  
ការតែងតាំ JICA។ គម្រោងនេះសំដេញការចំណួនយុទ្ធផលដែលបានដោយសារឡើង  
ត្រូវបាន នៅក្នុងតំបន់បានបំពេញការណូនុសាលហ៊ុតដល់មុខព្រះបរមាណីនេ និងអតិថិ  
ជីសភាជាតិ។ នៅពាក្យម្រោងមួយដែលទទួលបានដោតជីយខ្សោះ។ ជាក់ស្នើ  
កិច្ចនៃក្រោតវាទាបញ្ចប់បញ្ចប់ឡើង ហើយយោងពេលដែលទិន្នន័យកំតិចនា  
ការតែងតាំបន្ទូយិទេ ម៉ោងទៅប្រមាណជាន់ការទៅវិញ ម៉ោងបុណ្យភាព៖ រយៈពេលនេះ  
មួយពេលជាអារការតែងតាំបន្ទូយបានបែងចុះ ប្រសិនបើប្រជាពលរដ្ឋអាជ្ញាស់យុ  
ទាលបែងបែងបានសំរាប់បញ្ចប់បញ្ចប់។

## ការកែលមួស្សនសារធាន់

ការអនុវត្តដែនការប្រាំឆ្នាំហើយរបស់ខ្លួនត្រូវធ្វើយកចបងដែរ  
ទៅនឹងបញ្ហាប្រមូលដឹកជញ្ជូនដោយពីរដៃ (១).ក្នុងថ្ងៃការធ្វើអនុវត្ត  
គម្រោងទាំងអស់ដែលបានរក្សាទុក (ប្រើការប្រាំឆ្នាំសម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍  
២០២០បានអូល្យ ឧបន៍:ដែលយើងត្រូវការប្រើប្រាស់នេះពាងនេះពាង) និងវិការ  
តិចតួចសម្រាប់ការកែលមួយហេដ្ឋារបេទាសម្ព័ន្ធ (២).ស្ថានភាពនៃយោបាយ  
នឹងក្នុងក្រុងបន្ទាប់ពីការបានប្រាក់ប្រាក់ ស្ថានភាពនេះបានទន្លីជិតណិតិការនៃ  
ការបង្កើតផ្ទាក់បានឡើ ដូច្នេះការអនុវត្តគម្រោងនានាកំហានការយើរព័ត៌មាន  
(៣).ក្នុងអតិថិជនបានមនុស្ស កីត្តិលិខិតិជនជំជាតិប្រើប្រាស់ដែលដែលការអនុវត្ត  
ការងារបន្ទាន់ទាំងឡាយ។ ពាកត់នូវនឹងខ្លួនចុចនេះ សំណង់លូ កម្មាធាទូល  
បានការដើរយក្រោមឬដូច ការដើរឱ្យចំណាំទេស ពីក្រុងប៉ានីស ដែលបានរៀបចំឱ្យ  
មនុស្សកិច្ចសម្រប្តិចបុគ្គលិកការបច្ចេកទេសជាប់ជាប្រឈរហូលក រាងអ្នកបច្ចេកទេស  
សាលាភ្លេងប៉ានីស តាមរយៈអង្គភាពនគរបៀនិយកម្មប៉ានីស ដែលហេតុការតែង  
APUR និងអ្នកបច្ចេកទេសសាលាការជាតិក្នុងពេញលេញ កិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការ  
នេះ ដែលទទួលបានការគោរពដើរឱ្យកិច្ចការបន្ទាន់ត្រូវបានការពារអីបី និងរាងក្នុងបាន  
បានអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យយើងបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្នកបច្ចេកទេស និងរៀបចំដែនការ  
អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ក្នុង (៤).និងចំណុចចង់រក្សាយ កំណើនខ្លួននៃចំនួនប្រជាពលដ្ឋុះ  
និងសេដ្ឋកិច្ចត្រូវក្រុង ដែលបណ្តាលឱ្យមានតម្លៃការការពារតែប្រើប្រាស់ឡើងបែន្រែក  
ហេដ្ឋារបេទាសម្ព័ន្ធប្រកបដោយគុណភាពខ្ពស់ ការគ្រប់គ្រងការតែលូប្រឈឺជាដោមុន  
លើការកសាងបាល តម្លៃការទិន្នន័យ និងអគ្គិសនីការតែប្រើប្រាស់ឡើងប្រមូល  
តម្លៃការឱ្យមានសកម្មភាពលើហេតុការពារតែប្រើប្រាស់ឡើងប្រមូល

## ការពេជ្ជីន និងពន្លឹនការអភិវឌ្ឍ (២០០៨-២០១៣)

ជោរយដកបទទិន្នន័យទីអង្គភាពតុលាទីទី១របស់ខ្ញុំ និងគិតទូជាមួយអំពី  
តម្លៃការក្រើងឱ្យបស់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ខ្លះបានខិតខ្សែប្រែងព្រៀងក្រោមការ  
អភិវឌ្ឍន៍។

## ការកែលមួយហេដ្ឋារចនាសម្ព័ន្ធ

កិច្ចិតិខ្សែប្រជុំបង្កើតមួយការតែគ្នា ឡើងដើម្បីផ្តល់សុវត្ថិភាពអេក្រង់ និង  
ធ្វើទំនើបកម្មហេត្តូរោនសម្រាប់គ្នា គឺជាអាជិពិតាមួយបេស់សាលាភាសាដានីត្រូវពេញ  
ជាតិសេស ការកំណត់ប្រជុំដែលត្រូវបានដោះស្រាយក្នុងការបង្ហាញបានប៉ុណ្ណោះ  
មក មានការចាត់កោសិកម្មសប្រហាលៗ ២,៥សម្រាប់ថ្ងៃគ្រែ ជាតិសេស គឺជួរ  
ត្រូវប៉ះទួលគោកទៅប្រជានត្រូវពេញ ពីដួរឱ្យបង្រៀនបញ្ហាប្រចាំឆ្នាំ ដើម្បី  
ទាំងការឈ្មោះអ្នកសម្រាប់កំណត់ប្រជុំសំខាន់ៗឡើងឡើង ដូចជាមហាវិរីសហព័ន្ធដឹសី ឬ  
ផ្លូវការជាជាមី ល្អនភាពប្រើប្រាស់ឡើងឡើង ត្រូវបានសារិកដែលដែងដែងដើរបាន  
ស្ថានព្រះមហីម្បី និងស្ថានអាកាសបំនួនបី គឺស្ថានអាកាសក្រុមប្រុះ ស្ថាន  
ការាសសម្រាប់ការ និងស្ថានអាកាសស្តីឱ្យមានជីយ ដែលអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យចាប់រាល់  
ប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីថានាការតែគ្នា ពីតិចមែនហើយយាយនយុទ្ធដាច់ទានាតែគ្រឿង  
និងមួយទូទាត់រាយក្រុងចំណែក និងការបង្ហាញ ខណៈដែលនៅត្រាំ  
២០០៥ មានយាយនយុទ្ធគំពេល២០០០ក្រឿងបុរិណាបារា ការងារការពារទៅក្រុង  
ទំនួលនិងទឹកជិននៃ និងការប្រមូលទឹកក្នុងទីផ្សារ និងបានការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់  
និងគ្រឿងបុរិណាបារា

## ការពេលមួយប្រចាំនាងតែងតាំងនៃទីកស្សាត និងអគ្គិសនី

អគ្គិសនិកមួយ និងដោករីកចក្ខំពេញ មានចំណាត់ថ្នាក់សំខាន់សំខ្ពស់ និងដែល  
ខុសពីការសំរាប់អភិវឌ្ឍការណ៍ទាំងត្រូវ ការធ្វើបេហេនោះបានអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យ  
ស្ថិតិស្ថាបនីទៅទូលានបានល្អប្រហែលជាដឹកជញ្ជូនយកនូវជាតិខ្លួនមេត្រា ក្នុងនាមជាប្រជាពលរដ្ឋប្រចាំឆ្នាំ ក្នុងការបាត់បន្ទាន់ដោករីក ខ្សោយបានចូលរួមប្រើប្រាស់បច្ចុប្បន្ន នៅក្នុងការមើល  
ពីលើការងារកសាងស្ថិតិយដូចជាដឹកស្សាតនៅទីក្រុងទាំងមួល ជាតិសេស គឺប្រព័ន្ធដូចជាដឹកស្សាតនៅតាមការបំបាត់ជាយករោងដែលមានតម្លៃការទីកស្សាតការនៃតេខ្សុដីនិងត្រូវ ( ការរៀបចំប្រព័ន្ធដូចជាប្រព័ន្ធបាយ ឬបុរាណីដី ដែលមានតម្លៃការទីកស្សាតត្រូវបានកសាង )

ការយកប្រជាជនដើម្បីសែន្ទោតមានចំណាំភាសាខ្មែរ

## ការពេញកទិក្សកុង និងគ្រឹះកុងហិក្សសារធានៗ

ចំនួនប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅត្រូវក្នុងទីក្រុងបានលាយសម្រាប់លាងនាក់នៅឆ្នាំ  
២០១៣ ហើយម្មានការងារដើម្បីការប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅត្រូវក្នុងទីក្រុងបានលាយសម្រាប់  
ពិភពចំណាត់ដែលមួយច្បាស់ យើងត្រូវការសារសម្រាប់នៅត្រូវក្នុងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅឆ្នាំ៤០២៣  
ដើម្បីធ្វើឱ្យសេវាទៅខ្លួនក្នុងការប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅប្រជាធិបតេយ្យបែបនេះ យើងបានទទួល  
ការដាក់ទី ១ ពាណិជ្ជកម្មប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅប្រជាធិបតេយ្យបែបនេះ យើងបានទទួល  
សង្គមត្រូវក្នុងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅប្រជាធិបតេយ្យប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅប្រជាធិបតេយ្យបែបនេះ។

# Après 1993, gérer l'habitat pour le retour des réfugiés et les populations pauvres

1979, retour de la population dans Phnom Penh; 1992, retour des réfugiés; 2000, des milliers de familles dans des logements très précaires; une politique volontariste et coordonnée va assurer le relogement des populations pauvres. PAR S.E. MAN CHOEUN

## LE RETOUR DE LA POPULATION

Les habitants des villes déportés dans les coopératives agricoles ont plus particulièrement souffert pendant le régime des Khmers rouges. Un grand nombre d'entre eux sont morts de faim de maladie ou bien ont été exécutés entre 1975 et 1979.

A partir de 1979 et jusqu'en 1991, deux catégories de population retournent à Phnom Penh, d'un côté les anciens Phnom Penhois évacués en 1975, et de l'autre, les populations déplacées d'une province à une autre qui transitent et logent temporairement dans la ville avant de repartir vers leur village natal.

Phnom Penh devient alors un lieu de transit et de rencontre pour toute la population dont la plus grande part a perdu des proches et cherche à retrouver des membres de sa famille. La ville est le lieu qui permet de disposer des sources d'informations, de recouper les rumeurs, de faire le tri entre le vrai et le faux. Chaque information sur sa famille, des amis ou des proches représente une source d'espoir ou de désespoir. Les gens écrivent des messages sur les murs pour se contacter et se retrouver. Les murs des bâtiments situés sur les grands carrefours des boulevards comme Monivong ou Sihanouk sont utilisés comme panneaux d'affichages des annonces. Chacun utilise des lieux particuliers en association avec son histoire personnelle.

Après la signature des accords de paix de Paris en Octobre 1991, les populations venant des campagnes affluent massivement à Phnom Penh. D'une extrême pauvreté, ils s'installent sur les terrains publics, le long des voies ferrées, sur les bas-côtés des routes et les berges des canaux,

ainsi que sur les terrains à risques, notamment les berges inondables. Les quartiers d'habitat précaires se développent ainsi rapidement. Il en est de même sur les toits terrasses des immeubles et dans tous les lieux où il est possible de construire une paille ou une petite maison avec des matériaux de récupération.

La gestion administrative de la population commence seulement à ce moment-là, avec l'apparition de tableaux d'enregistrement et de recensement de la population.

De plus, durant la période où le pays est sous administration de l'UNTAC, de 1991 à 1993, le programme de rapatriement des populations réfugiées rassemble et centralise toutes les populations à Phnom Penh pour ensuite les rediriger vers les campagnes. Les gens reçoivent une compensation financière pour leur réinstallation dans les provinces mais la plupart des gens arrivant des camps de réfugiés vont rester à Phnom Penh et ne plus en repartir. Les arrivées dans la ville sont alors continues et en constante augmentation.

Après 1979, lors de leur retour à Phnom Penh, les survivants avaient trouvé facilement des logements car ils étaient tous vides. Environ 500 000 personnes se sont ainsi installées entre 1979 et 1991. A partir de 1991, pour ce deuxième contingent, moins de logements étaient disponibles et leur accès est devenu plus sélectif et restreint en raison de la restauration de la propriété privée à partir de 1989 qui a recréé la possibilité de vente et d'achat de logements et de terres.

L'arrivée des Nations Unies et des organisations internationales va mettre en circulation une masse monétaire importante et la demande de logements pour leurs personnels va réactiver ce marché immobilier. Deux modes de transactions cohabitent alors : les ventes directes d'un bien immobilier en échange de devises, et un système de troc avec échange de biens, de métaux ou pierres précieuses. Ce système à deux vitesses va rapidement multiplier les zones d'habitations précaires et insalubres où se regroupent les populations les plus pauvres qui ne peuvent accéder au marché immobilier « officiel ».

Une enquête conduite en 2009 par la ville de Phnom Penh en partenariat avec les ONG locales montre que les populations rentrant des camps de réfugiés avaient encore, en 1993, d'autres choix que de vivre sur des terrains à risque : seulement 1,34% des habitants de Phnom Penh sont installés le long des voies ferrées, 1,16% sur les bords de routes, 2,21% sur les berges, 0,89% sur les canaux de drainage.

## AU MILIEU DES ANNÉES 1990, LE LOGEMENT DEVIENT UN DÉFI.

L'expansion des zones d'habitat illégal va devenir un défi. Tout le réseau de drainage des eaux étant bloqué, il était nécessaire de le rénover. La première campagne de travaux touche immédiatement les gens qui habitent le long des canaux et engendre des manifestations de protestation, les habitants refusant de se déplacer et empêchant la réalisation des travaux en bloquant l'accès aux engins de chantier.



Habitat précaire sur les berges d'un canal.  
Precarious housing on the banks of a canal.



Maisons sur l'emprise du chemin de fer.  
Houses at the edge of the railway line.  
ផ្ទះ សង្កែប់រីកចំណេះដើរ  
សង្កែត់នៅលានកំ  
ប្រពាណលេខាដំជីរយ  
ឆ្នាំ២០០១



Maisons en feu sur le toit de l'immeuble Tan-Pa, 2003  
Houses burning on the roof of the Tan-Pa building, 2003.  
ផ្ទះក្លែងលើលូតិ៍  
លើជួលអគារុក  
តានចា ឆ្នាំ២០០៣



Recensement des populations inondées à reloger.  
Census of flooded out populations for rehousing.  
ព្រឹត្តិកិច្ចពាណលេខ  
ដែលមានផ្លូវជីវិត  
ត្រូវទេសទេតែដឹង



Après l'incendie du Bassac, distribution de matériel aux sinistrés, 2001.

After the Bassac fire, distribution of equipment to victims, 2001.

បន្ទាប់ពីអគ្គិភ័យនៅ  
សង្កាត់ត្រូវតាមការ  
ការចំណែកសម្រាប់  
ជនដែលម្នាក់ ឆ្នាំ២០០១

Quartier d'habitat précaire avant et après reconstruction.

Precarious housing district before and after rebuilding.

សង្កាត់ដែល:  
សម្រាប់ជនទាំង  
អនុស៊ីរបាយ  
ការសាងផ្តើម



ravagé les quartiers d'habitat précaire situés sur le toit de l'immeuble Tan Pa (200 familles) et sur le Front du Bassac (3000 familles). Il fallait donc aussi agir dans l'urgence. Cela amena, en 1998, les premières demandes du gouverneur de Phnom Penh, S.E. Chea Sophara, au Premier Ministre de créer un budget spécifique destiné à l'acquisition des terrains à l'extérieur de la ville pour des sites de relogement et pour la construction de logements et d'écoles.

Une gouvernance spécifique de ces actions a été mise en place avec la création d'un comité qui rassemblait les donateurs, les ONG et les communautés d'habitants autour de la municipalité de Phnom Penh. Une stratégie de coordination et une méthode de travail ont été définies. Les habitants se sont organisés en association communautaire et un système de micro-crédit a été mis en place. Par ailleurs, les jeunes architectes du Bureau des Affaires Urbaines ont aidé à établir les relevés des maisons sur les sites à déplacer pour préparer les plans de relocalisation.

Le projet de développement communautaire Mean Chey, en 1998, fut le premier projet de relocalisation de maisons dans le sangkat Toul Svay Prey I, dans le district de Chamkarmon. Ce projet, élaboré en concertation avec les associations communautaires, a permis l'acceptation par les habitants de la méthode employée par le gouvernement et la confiance des pays donateurs et des agences internationales. Ce premier projet a été considéré comme un modèle et a ensuite été dupliqué auprès de nombreuses autres communautés, telles que Monorom I, Toul Sombo, Kork Khleang I et Kork Kheang II, Toul Rakarkos et le Chungruk village, puis Anlong Korng.

#### EN CONCLUSION, QUELQUES PISTES DE SOLUTIONS ?

1/ Les actions de relogement nécessitent un travail conséquent de préparation et de mise en œuvre. La première étape consiste à recenser les familles à reloger et à comprendre leurs problèmes et leurs besoins spécifiques. Cette action a permis d'établir des statistiques qui ont servi

de base aux programmes de réinstallation et de relogement. La seconde étape consiste à sensibiliser les familles au micro-crédit pour leur permettre d'épargner pour assumer le coût du nouveau logement.

Il fallait un budget important pour le développement d'une stratégie de réduction de la pauvreté urbaine car les habitants à reloger sont souvent économiquement très vulnérables. Un fonds de crédit a donc été constitué et sa gestion a été confiée par les autorités publiques à l'organisation UPDF (Urban Poor Development Fund) en collaboration avec l'Asian Coalition for Housing Rights. Cela a été possible car les actions de la municipalité de Phnom Penh ont été menées en étroite collaboration avec UN Habitat, les ONG, le secteur privé et les communautés d'habitants avec l'aide du Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement (PNUD) et le département de développement international du gouvernement anglais.

2/ Après les réinstallations, les problèmes auxquels les personnes sont confrontées proviennent de leur grande pauvreté. Les sites de relocalisation manquent d'assainissement, d'eau potable, d'électricité, d'écoles et de services de base. Cela leur donne le sentiment d'être abandonnés par le gouvernement. C'est pourquoi l'accompagnement des populations relocalisées par les associations communautaires qui font le lien avec les autorités locales est important pour la réussite de ces actions.

3/ Les communautés d'habitants après s'être organisées, ont été reconnues par le ministère de l'Intérieur, en tant que village légal pouvant bénéficier des budgets locaux et leurs habitants jouir de leurs droits civiques tels que la régularisation des papiers d'identité et le droit de vote.

4/ Le travail coordonné entre tous les acteurs a été la solution pour mettre en œuvre une stratégie acceptable et acceptée par tous. Cela a permis d'établir un climat de confiance avec les organisations internationales qui aident à la réduction de la pauvreté par «l'accès de tous à un logement pérenne».

5/ Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, le gouvernement cambodgien et la municipalité consacrent un budget non négligeable chaque année à la relocalisation des populations pauvres pour leur bonne intégration dans la société.

## After 1993, housing arrangements for returning refugees and impoverished communities

1979, return of the population to Phnom Penh; 1992, return of the refugees; 2000, thousands of families in insecure housing; targeted and coordinated policy to rehouse impoverished communities. BY S.E. MAN CHOUEUN

#### THE RETURN OF THE POPULATION

City-dwellers who were deported to agricultural cooperatives suffered particularly badly under the Khmer Rouge regime. Many died of hunger and disease, or were executed, between 1975 and 1979. After 1979 and up to 1991, two categories of refugees were arriving in Phnom Penh. One consisted of former inhabitants of the city who had been evacuated in 1975. The others were people who had been displaced from one province to another, and were passing through the city before returning to their home villages. Phnom Penh therefore became a place of transit and encounter for the whole population, as people tried to find lost family members and friends. The city was a place where they could potentially obtain information, investigate rumours, sort out what was true and what was false. Every piece of information on family, friends or relations might bring hope or despair. People wrote messages on the walls to make contact and find each other. The walls of the buildings at the intersections of big boulevards like Monivong or Sihanouk were used as noticeboards. People left messages at specific places linked with their personal history.

After the signature of the Paris Peace Agreements in October 1991, there was a huge influx of people from the countryside to Phnom Penh. Profoundly poor, they

settled in public spaces, along railway lines, on road embankments and the sides of drainage channels, even in dangerous areas like flood-prone riverbanks.

Informal neighbourhoods developed quickly. People settled too on the flat roofs of buildings and anywhere where it was possible to build a straw hut or a small house with makeshift materials.

It was only now that the administrative management of the population began, with the appearance of housing registers and a census.

Moreover, during the period when the country was under UNTAC administration, from 1991 to 1993, the refugee repatriation and resettlement programme brought all the refugees into Phnom Penh before redirecting them to the rural areas. Though financial compensation was offered to resettle in the provinces, most of the people who came from the refugee camps would remain permanently in Phnom Penh. As a result, more and more people were arriving and staying in the city.

After 1979, on their return to Phnom Penh, the survivors had easily found places to live, because all the buildings were empty. Some 500,000 people thus settled there between 1979 and 1991. For this second contingent that arrived after 1991, fewer dwellings were available and access to them became more selective and restricted because of the re-establishment of private ownership in 1989, which once again made it possible to buy and sell property and land.

Following the arrival of the United Nations and the international organisations, substantial amounts of cash flowed into the economy and the demand for accommodation for their personnel reactivated the real estate market. As a result, two kinds of transaction existed in parallel: direct sales of property in return for cash, and a barter system, in which real estate was exchanged for precious metals or stones. This two-speed system quickly led to the proliferation of areas of insecure and squalid housing, which were home to the most impoverished communities, which had no access to the "official" real estate market.

A survey conducted in 2009 by the city of Phnom Penh in partnership with local NGOs shows that, in 1993, the populations returning from the refugee camps still had other choices than to live in high-risk areas: only 1.34% of the inhabitants of Phnom Penh had settled along railway lines, 1.16% on the edges of roads, 2.21% on river banks, 0.89% on drainage channels.

#### IN THE MID-1990S, HOUSING BECOMES A CHALLENGE.

The expansion of illegal housing zones would become a challenge. When the city's entire drain network became blocked and had to be renovated, the first round of renovation work immediately affected people living along the drainage channels

and was met with protests. People refused to move and stopped proceedings by blocking machinery access.

Under the government's new plan, if local authorities were planning urban developments on such land, illegal residents had to be evicted and resettled elsewhere with their consent. Phnom Penh municipality had followed the necessary administrative procedures, and decided to use force and deploy bulldozers to demolish houses, actions which in some cases led to confrontations between the authorities and inhabitants. These forced evictions, and the occasional violence that accompanied them, came to a halt following criticisms from Human Rights organisations.

This situation prompted the international agencies to inject more funds into the rehousing of the populations living in public spaces and high-risk areas, since in 2003 almost 60% of insecure housing was still located on land exposed to risk. In fact, in 2002 and 2003, several fires devastated the informal housing areas on the roof of the Tan Pa building (200 families) and on Front du Bassac (3000 families). Urgent action was therefore needed. In 1998, this prompted the governor of Phnom Penh, H.E. Chea Sophara, to ask the Prime Minister to create a specific budget for the acquisition of land outside the city for resettlement sites, and for the construction of homes and schools.

A specific governance arrangement was introduced for these measures, with the creation of a committee made up of donors, NGOs and communities of inhabitants from around Phnom Penh. A coordination strategy and working method were established. The inhabitants organised a community association and a system of micro-credit was set up. In addition, the young architects from the Bureau of Urban Affairs helped to survey the housing plots on the resettlement sites in preparation for the rehousing plans. The Mean Chey community development project, in 1998, was the first resettlement project, a relocation to the Tuol Svay Prey I sangkat,<sup>1</sup> in the Chamkarmon district. Developed in consultation with the community organisations, this project gained acceptance from the inhabitants for the government's method and the approval of the donor countries and international agencies. This first project was seen as a model and was subsequently duplicated with many other communities, such as Monorom I, Tuol Sombo, Kork Khleang I and Kork Kheang II, Tuol Rakarkos and Chungruk Village, then Anlong Korng.

#### IN CONCLUSION, WHAT POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS?

1/ Rehousing measures required a significant effort of preparation and implementation. The first stage was to identify which communities were to be rehoused and to understand their specific problems and needs. This process made it

possible to establish statistics, which formed the basis for the resettlement and rehousing programmes. The second stage was to provide information on micro-credit, in order to help families save money to pay for their new accommodation. A big budget was needed for the development of an urban poverty reduction strategy, because the target populations were often economically very vulnerable. The authorities therefore established a loan fund and assigned its management to the UPDF (Urban Poor Development Fund) in collaboration with the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights. This was possible because Phnom Penh municipality acted in close collaboration with UN Habitat, the NGOs, the private sector and the communities of inhabitants, with the help of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the British government's Department for International Development.

2/ After the resettlement, the problems people faced came from their extreme poverty. The relocation sites lacked sewage facilities, drinking water, electricity, schools and basic services. This made them feel that they had been abandoned by the government. That is why it is important for the success of such measures that the resettled populations should be supported by community associations working with local authorities.

3/ Once organised, the communities of inhabitants were legally recognised by the Ministry of the Interior as villages, which allowed them to receive local budgets and gave their inhabitants civic rights such as identity papers and the right to vote.

Identical papers and the Right to Vote.

4/ Coordinated work between all the actors involved was the solution needed to implement a strategy that everyone could accept. It established a climate of trust with the international organisations which were helping to reduce poverty by "universal access to a permanent home".

5/ Up to now, the Cambodian government and the municipality have allocated significant annual funds to the resettlement of populations living in poverty and to their integration into society.

1. Sangkat: The sangkat is the smallest administrative subdivision in Phnom Penh

ក្រោយឆ្នាំ១៩៩៣ ត្រូវបានសម្រាប់ការពិនិត្យការងាររបស់ខ្លួន ដើម្បីបង្កើតរឿងរបស់ខ្លួន និងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋភ្នំពេញ

នារីលត្រឡប់មកវិញ្ញបស់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ

ប្រាកេតាលីដ្ឋានសំនួរក្នុងទីតាំងដែលត្រូវបានដាក់ជាសមាជិក  
សិក្ស ពិតជាបានទូទឹងដៃក្នុងទៅយ៉ាងខ្សោះនៅក្នុងរែបខ្លួនរបស់ខ្លួន  
ដើម្បីនៅពេកគេបានស្ថិតជាយសារភាពអំពី ប្រុកត្រូវបាន  
យកទៅតាមលក្ខណៈរបស់ខ្លួន នៅពេលនេះជាភាសាអង់គ្លេស។

បាប់ពីត្រាំទណ៌ន និងហរុដសល់ត្រាំទណ៌ ប្រជាជនពីប្រភេទ  
ក្រឡូប់មកទីក្រុងត្រូវពួក មួយប្រភេទគឺអតិថិជ្រាវត្រូវដែលត្រូវ  
ការសម្រេចចំណែកទៅត្រាំទណ៌ និងមួយប្រភេទទៅត្រូវ តិចប្រជាជនដែលត្រូវ  
ការសម្រេចចំណែកទៅខែត្រូយដោយត្រូវពួក និងផ្តល់ការត្រូវបានក្រឡូប់មកពួកទៅ  
ឈុំការសន្លឹកដីក្រុងត្រូវ មុននឹងក្រឡូប់ទៅក្នុងយុទ្ធផលការបស់ពួកទៅ  
ឡើយ ដូច្នេះ នៅពេលនេះ ត្រូវពួកបានត្រូវបានការពារិយាយតាមការបង្កើតឱ្យបានការបស់ពួកទៅ  
ឈុំការចិត្តនៃបន្ទប់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ដែលការពួកបានបានតាតបង្កើតឱ្យបានការបស់ពួកទៅ  
និងសុំស្សែងកែសមាជិកក្រុសបាយសំពួកគេឡើយ ទីក្រុងគីឡូទីនៃដែល  
នូវការត្រូវគេទទួលបាននូវប្រកត់ពីមាន ធ្វើដោយតាក្រុងបាយអាមេរិក និង  
ប្រាសាអ្នរ៉ែ ដែលបងក រាយកែវការនូវប្រកត់ពីមាន និងពីក្រោមនូវវារ៉ា រាយកែវក្រោមពីនូវនិង  
ក្រុស មិត្តភកិតិ បុអ្នកនិតសិទ្ធិបស់គេ គិជាប្រកតនៃកិតិសង្ឃឹម ប្រអស់សង្ឃឹម។  
នុសញ្ញាសរោសរាយនៅលើជាត្រាំងដូច ដើម្បីទិន្នន័យ បុក្រោមការតែបងក្រុា។  
ត្រាំងអាណាពាណាសិតនៅតាមដឹងដំបូង ដូចជាមហាហីមិត្រេ: មួនឯុទ្ធផល បុរាណ  
ព្រះសិហនុជានីមិត្រេ: សុទ្ធដែក្រានគេបូរីជាត្រាំងសរោសរាយក្រុសករ  
ការបំព្រឹត្តិភាព ម្នាក់របៀបនីមិត្រេ: បុរាណបំផុំនិងបុរាណបំផុំ

បន្ទាប់ពីកិច្ចព្រមប្រើបងស្ថិតាពាណិជ្ជកម្មដើរីសត្វ្រូបាយ៖ហត្ថលេខាភីខគុលា ឆ្នាំ១៩៩១ ប្រជាជននៅតាមដនបទបាននាំត្រាសម្បកមកទីក្រុងពួរយ៉ាងចិន។ ដោយសារស្ថិតុនការព្រឹកក្រោេក ត្បូកគេបានទៅសែន្រៀងដីផ្លូវ នៅតាមបណ្តុះបញ្ជីរបស្ថិន់ នៅតាមដីផ្លូវ តាមមាត្រប្រឡាយ ប្រឈរបីដីដែលអាចបង្ហាញបាន ដូចជាតាមបាត់ទន្លេ ដែលអាចបានទីកិច្ចដីមិះយា ស្ថាត់ដែលមានផ្លូវសំបែងមិនស្តីម៉ាទាំងតាប់ដីឱ្យកិដីដែលយ៉ាងចិន។ គេបែងទាំងទៅសំដីដែលបានដឹបុលអភាពបានលាស់ឡើត្រូដី គេលើដែលនៅតាមទីតាំងណានដែលអាចសំបែកបាន ប្រីសង្គមដីដែលយ៉ាងប្រឈរបីសម្រាប់ប្រើបង។

ការគ្រប់គ្រងដាចាល់លើប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ទីប៊តេប់ធ្វើមនាគេនោះ  
ប៉ុណ្ណោះ ដោយយើងបានរឿចាបកកំត្រានឹងស្ថិតិប្រជាពលដ្ឋា ជាង  
ខេត្តទៅទៀត តុងសម្រាប់បានដឹងពីរបាយទេសយើង ស្ថិតិនៅក្រោមភ្នំគ្រែង  
ឱ្យបានបែលស់ អុន តាក់ ពីឆ្នាំ១៩៩១ ដល់ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៣ កម្មិតិប្រព័ន្ធដើរក្សោះ  
នគ្រប់មេដូចគ្នា បានប្រើប្រាស់ប្រជាធិថីការងារសំយកការដាក់តួនាទីក្នុង  
ពេញ បន្ទាប់មក ទីប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីតិតាមកម្មិតិស្ថិតិក្រោមនៃទីផែនទី។ អូក  
នៅក្នុងនៅទីនេះទទួលបានព្រាក់ការសម្រួលបំន្លែ ដើម្បីដឹងពីរបាយទៀតទេស់នៅតាម  
គ្រប់គ្រងនៅក្នុងប្រជាធិថី នៅក្នុងដែលមកពីជាន់ក្នុងខេត្តទៀត បានបន្ទាប់នៃទីក្នុង  
ក្រោមភ្នំគ្រែង ហើយនិងបានបេញទៅក្នុងនោះទៀត ដូច្នេះ ប្រជាធិថី

ការមកដល់នៃអង្គភាសហប្បជាតិ និងអង្គភាពអនុជាតិនានា និងពើចូរមានចារណ៍ហូបីយាត្វូយ៉ាងប្រើប្រាស់នឹងបញ្ជីយការង្មេះដំបូងសម្រាប់ គួលិកកែសង់អង្គភាសហប្បជាតិ និងពើចូរទិញឱ្យអប់លនទ្រព្យចាប់ផ្តើម ណែនការឡើងដោយ រៀបចំបច្ចុប្បន្នតិត្តការពិធានប្រព័ន្ធឌីឡើងនឹងក្នុង ពាល ការទិញលក់អប់លនទ្រព្យដោយរឿបឱ្យឈុយ និងប្រព័ន្ធមួយទៀត គឺការទិញ កំកាត់ដោយរឿបឱ្យមាសប្រាកាំ ប្រព័ន្ធទិញលក់ការទាំងពីនេះ និងហត្ថិរយ៉ាងនេរវិន វេចនៅតំបន់ដែលមានផ្លូវការចំនួនខ្លួន និងគ្មាននូវការងារ ក្នុង បន្ទាន់ទាំងនេះ គឺមានកំប្បានជាន់ក្រឹកក្រាតាន់គេបូណ្ណាបាយដែលសំនើ តួកគេគ្នាន់ បន្ទាន់ទិញដូចស្នើសុំក្នុងទិន្នន័យ។

**សេចក្តីសន្លឹជាន ធិដោះស្រាយមួយចំណែ**  
១. ពីងបញ្ញប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្នុងនាស់ទេស់នៅក្នុងបី  
តម្បូរឱ្យមានការងារប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្នុងការក្រោមប័ណ្ណបំ និងអនុវត្ត។ ដំណាក់កាលទី១  
គិត្រូប្រសង្គមបំណើសារប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្នុងលក្ខបញ្ហាយឱ្យខ្លួនទិន្នន័យ  
និងសែងយោលអំពីបញ្ហា និងតម្បូរការពិសេសបសពួកគាត់។ បញ្ហានេះតម្បូរឲ្យ  
យើងធ្វើបញ្ជីស្ថិតិ សម្រាប់ប្រជាស់ជាមួលដ្ឋាននៃការរៀបចំគម្រោងបញ្ហា  
ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្នុងនាស់ទេស់នៅក្នុងបី។ ដំណាក់កាលទី២ គិតងារ  
បាលនាប្រជាពលរដ្ឋក្នុងបញ្ហាយឱ្យបានដោយលើផ្ទះបី។

ເພີ້ມໄສກາເປົ້າເປົ້າເບື້ອງ ເພີ້ມທີ່ບໍ່ເກີດຢູ່ຊັ້ນສາເສົາຄັດໆບໍລິຍະກາດ  
ກີໂກຖຸ່ນກຽງ ຕີ່ຢູ່ຕະຫຼາດລັງຜູ້ແຜນລູກໃຈໆເອົ້າສ່ວນເກີດກຳລົງຮັບຕື່  
ຕັດຖຸເຈົ້າ ມານສູນຄາຕະທິບໍ່ຢູ່ຖຸ່ນຍຸງຍຸງຂໍ້ມູນຄາສ່າໆ ມຸລືລົດື່ມີຄົນຄາຕະ  
ມູຍພົກລູ້ຕະຫຼາດບໍ່ເພີ້ມເຈົ້າ ແກ້ໄຂຍາກຸຽບໍ່ຄົນມຸລືລົດື່ມີເຣະ: ອາວັດສາຕາແດກ:  
ຕາລຸນປົກລ່ວມຜູ້ອັນເກີນ ປະກາ UPDF (Urban Poor Development Fund -  
ມຸລືລົດື່ມີເກີນຢູ່ຮັນປົກລ່ວມຜູ້ກີໂກຖຸ່ນກຽງ) ເພີ້ມຍາການຕ່າມຍຸງຍຸງເກີນ  
ACHR (Asian Coalition for Housing Rights - ສັນຕະກຳຄະດີກົດໝົງ  
ເພີ້ມສົຟໃຫຍ່ທານລໍ່ເຕັກຊາຍ) ວິ ດຶງການແຮງກະເທົ່າເຕັກ ສາລາກຸນໆດີເຕັງ  
ຕາລຸນຍາກາເພົ້ານີ້ຕື່ສົ່ງຕ້ອງຕ່າມຍຸງຍຸງເກີນ ແລ້ວ UN Habitat ກີໂກ  
ຖຸ່ນກຽງຕົວລຸ ໄສ່ຍັງກົດຜົນ ຮີ້ນສົບຕະຍົກລົງປົກລ່ວມຜູ້ ເພີ້ມຍາກາພື້ນຍ  
ຕີກຸງວິທີເກີນສາມາລັບປະຕິເພີ້ມເກີນຢູ່ຮັນ (ເກີນ ແລ້ວ UNDP) ຮີ້ນ  
ກາຍກັບຕ່າງໆເກີນຢູ່ຮັນຮັບຕັດຕິເພີ້ມເກີນຢູ່ຮັນ (ເກີນ ແລ້ວ UNDP) ຮີ້ນ

២. បន្ទាប់ពីទេស់នៅក្នុងបន្ទីរឱយ បញ្ហាដែលប្រជាពលដ្ឋាសត្រូវប្រឈម គឺបណ្តុះការតិចការតែមនាមាត្រាក្នុងខ្លួនទេ។ ទីតាំងបន្ទីរឱយនៅទីតាំងតិចនូវប្រព័ន្ធឌីកស្សាត ប្រព័ន្ធគ្រឹះសិសិរី សាធារណរដ្ឋ និងសេរាបុរាណដ្ឋាន ដើម្បីត្រូវបានការពារបែងបន្ទាន់ នៅត្រូវការតែមនាមាមួយណាបាន ត្រូវបានការពារបែងបន្ទាន់ ហើយបានការពារបែងបន្ទាន់ ដោយសមាគមសហគមន៍ ដើម្បីទទួលទៅការប្រើប្រាស់ អាជ្ញាបុរាណដ្ឋាន គឺសំខាន់ណាស់ ដើម្បីបានបាននូវដោតដីយ៉ាន់សកម្មភាព ការងារទាំងនេះ។

၆. ក្រុងពេលបច្ចេកវាគលប់ពីរ សហគមន៍ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋតាន ទទួលស្ថាល់ដោយក្រសួងមហាផ្ទៃ ថាគាត់ក្នុងមួយស្របច្បាប់ អាជទទួលបាន ថា ការមូលដ្ឋាន ពីរប្រជាធាសាណរដ្ឋនៃក្រសួងក្នុងពីរនេះ ក៏មានសិទ្ធិផ្តល់បញ្ជីដើម្បី ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋរៀងរាល់ដែរ ដូចជាមានសិទ្ធិពេញនិយម និងមានសិទ្ធិពេញនិយម។

Panneau montrant les bonnes pratiques à respecter, 2002.  
Poster showing good practices to follow, 2002.



# La régie des eaux de Phnom Penh, renaissance, réforme & développement durable

Fournir de l'eau potable à tous les habitants, même les plus pauvres, tel a été le défi relevé par la Régie des Eaux de Phnom Penh en mettant en place un mode de gestion exemplaire. PAR S.E. EK SONN CHAN

En 1975, la période révolutionnaire et génocidaire des Khmers rouges a commencé. La capitale a été entièrement vidée de ses habitants. L'administration Khmère rouge s'y est installée mais durant quatre ans, les installations destinées à l'approvisionnement en eau potable n'ont pratiquement pas fonctionné et il en a résulté un niveau de dégradation élevé. Le régime des Khmers rouges a été chassé de Phnom Penh en 1979 et les habitants ont commencé à revenir dans la ville. Les installations d'eau abandonnées ont été remises en service, mais de manière désorganisée.

## DES DÉBUTS TRÈS DIFFICILES

En 1992, la situation était toujours un cauchemar pour tout résident de Phnom Penh. Les installations d'eau étaient encore en grande partie inutilisables. La Régie des Eaux de Phnom Penh (RDE) ne pouvait produire qu'environ 65 000 m<sup>3</sup> d'eau potable, soit environ 40% de la capacité de l'installation. Cela ne pouvait desservir que 25% environ des résidents de Phnom Penh. Seule une partie de l'eau distribuée aux ménages, par le biais d'un réseau de distribution en fonte de 288 km, arrivait jusqu'aux immeubles. En effet, les habitants revenus dans la ville ponctionnaient une partie de cet approvisionnement par l'intermédiaire de 1945 puits qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes creusés<sup>1</sup>. Ces puits venaient directement percer les tuyaux d'eau du réseau souterrain. À partir de ces puits improvisés, de petites pompes submersibles étaient installées. On y raccordait des tuyaux flexibles prolongés jusqu'aux fenêtres des appartements pour y acheminer l'eau. Cet enchevêtrement de tuyaux porta alors ce nom fameux de « connexion spaghetti ». Ce système de dé-

© PPWSA

Chaque famille installe son tuyau d'arrivée d'eau.  
Each family installs its water supply pipe.

ក្រសួងឈប់ឈាន់  
ទីក្រុងលេខរដ្ឋមន្ត្រី

Des branchements illégaux sont réalisés directement sur le réseau souterrain  
Illegal connections are made directly on the underground network.

ក្រសួងឈប់ឈាន់  
ឱ្យប្រព័ន្ធពីបច្ចុប្បន្ន



© PPWSA

chait l'acheminement de l'eau jusqu'aux habitations normalement connectées. En outre, le service public ne pouvait récupérer le paiement que de 48% de l'eau produite en raison d'un fichier clients erroné et obsolète, d'une consommation non mesurée, ainsi que d'une faible volonté et de la corruption des collecteurs. Seulement 25% environ de l'eau produite générait des revenus effectivement collectés. Ceci explique pourquoi le service public n'était pas en mesure de rémunérer raisonnablement son personnel. Le salaire à l'époque ne s'élevait qu'à un dollar par jour. Comme la RDE n'a jamais pu payer la facture de l'électricité nécessaire au fonctionnement de l'usine d'eau potable, elle a été déclarée en faillite.

## LA REPRISE EN MAIN

En 1993, la situation était propice au lancement d'une stratégie de réforme. Après les élections générales de Juillet 1993 assistées par l'ONU, le gouvernement élu adopta une stratégie d'économie de marché et le service des eaux devint éligible à l'aide internationale. Le service public a alors reçu des subventions du PNUD, de la France et du Japon pour le renforcement des capacités institutionnelles et des projets d'urgence. J'ai été chargé de diriger la RDE le 11 septembre 1993. Pour faire face à la situation désastreuse précitée, j'ai mis en place un groupe de travail composé

Les travaux d'installation du réseau d'eau potable (PPWSA)

Photographies des familles au moment du raccordement (PPWSA).

ការត្រួវការបណ្តុះប្រាក់  
ទៅក្នុងទីក្រុង (ក្រសួងឈប់ឈាន់  
ស្ថយ៌ត្រូវកំណត់)



Photographies des familles au moment du raccordement.

Photographs of families on completion of the connection (PPWSA).

ឯបច្ចុប្បន្នសាលាប្រាក់  
ដែលក្នុងលេខរដ្ឋមន្ត្រី  
(ក្រសួងឈប់ឈាន់  
ស្ថយ៌ត្រូវ)



© PPWSA

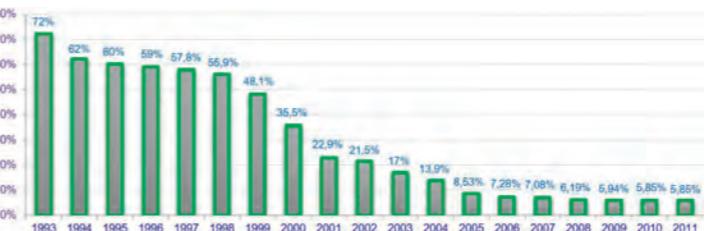


d'un personnel jeune, dynamique, éduqué et très motivé. Dans un premier temps, nous nous sommes concentrés sur trois actions principales qui constituaient le plan de relance : (i) changement de culture, (ii) efficacité opérationnelle et (iii) développement durable. Pour changer de culture, nous avons pris la devise des trois mousquetaires : « un pour tous, tous pour un ». Nous suivions aussi le principe suivant : « l'exemple vient d'en haut ». Pour changer l'état d'esprit et motiver les personnels, nous avons formé tous les états-majors, offert une rémunération raisonnable, créé des mesures d'incitation justes et une discipline sans faille accompagnée de sanctions strictes. Pour pouvoir fournir de l'eau à nos populations avec des tarifs abordables, nous savions que nous devions être efficaces dans toutes les opérations. Nous nous sommes concentrés particulièrement sur les économies d'énergie et la réduction des pertes en eau, en particulier les pertes commerciales, en luttant pour éliminer les raccordements illégaux. Pour que le paiement des factures devienne une réalité, nous avons mis à jour en urgence le fichier des abonnés, compté chaque

connexion et informatisé le système de facturation dès 1994 au moyen d'une subvention française. Trois ans après le début de notre réforme, la situation a commencé de s'améliorer. Le personnel était motivé pour travailler pour le bien commun. La production augmentait, les pertes en eau diminuaient et les revenus devenaient suffisants pour recouvrir la majeure partie des coûts avec une rémunération raisonnable du personnel. En 1997, le gouvernement a promulgué une loi visant à conférer une autonomie administrative et financière à la RDE qui changea alors de nom et devint la Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority (PPWSA). Comme le tarif de l'eau était de 250 riel/m<sup>3</sup> pour les utilisateurs domestiques et de 700 riel/m<sup>3</sup> pour les consommateurs commerciaux, ce qui était trop bas par rapport aux coûts de production, le gouvernement a autorisé la PPWSA à réviser son tarif. En janvier 1997, un tarif global de subventions croisées a été décidé puis révisé en janvier 2001. Nous avons toujours pensé que les tarifs devaient refléter à la fois les recettes et l'efficacité des entreprises, tout en restant abordable pour tous.

**Pourcentage d'eau non-payée par an**  
**Pourcentage of unpaid water each year**

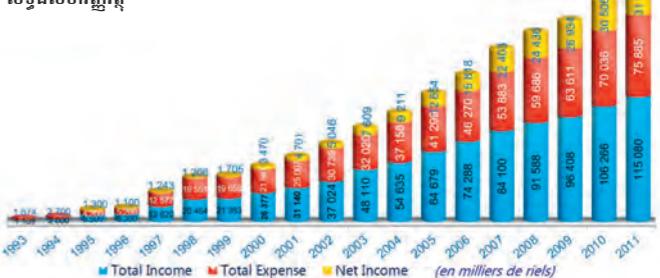
ការបញ្ចូនទិន្នន័យបង្កើតមួយឆ្នាំ



## Résultat financier

### Financial income

សាខាផិស៊ីជាន់

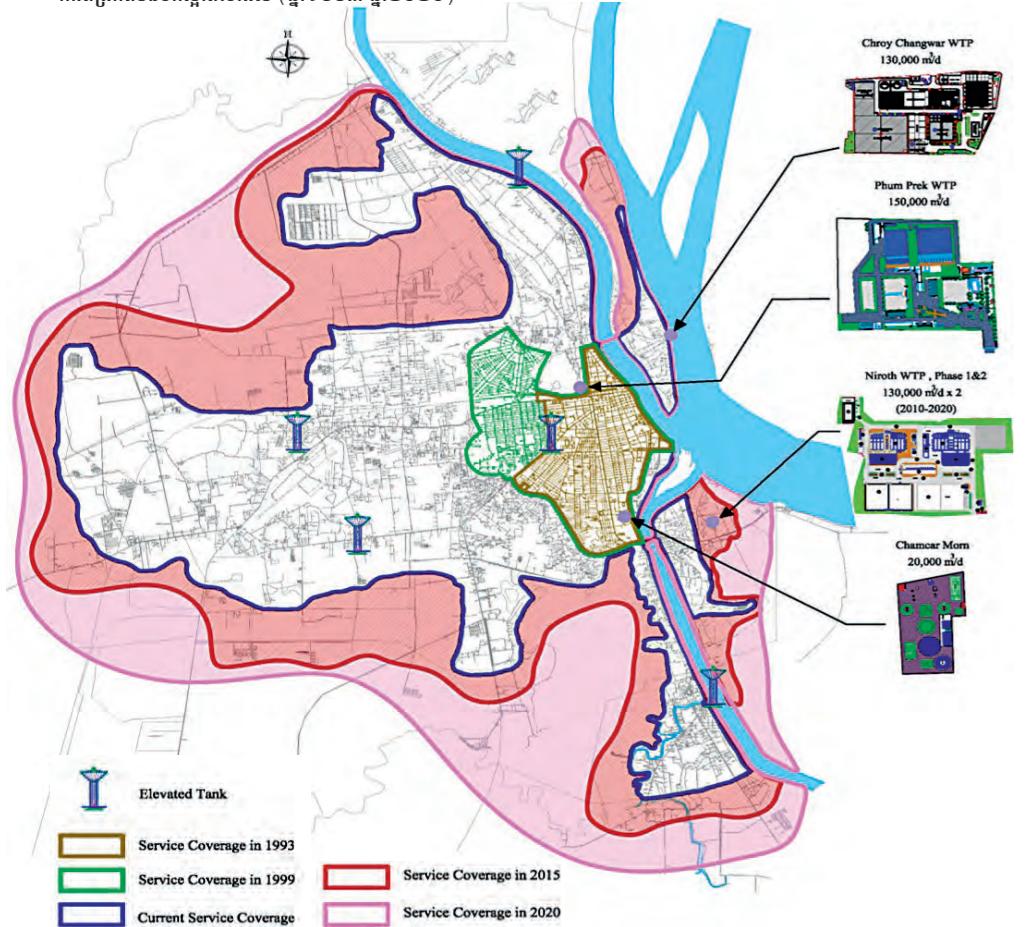


### **Expansion de la zone desservie par le réseau d'eau (1993-2020)**

**Expansion of the receiving area with a mains water supply (1993-2020)**

## ការពេញកត្តបន្ទីកស្ថាគទេដែល (ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៣-ឆ្នាំ២០២០)

50 | P a g e



Dans cette nouvelle ère, avec l'aide de la France, du Japon, de l'Asian Development Bank et de la Banque Mondiale, nous avons entamé une expansion dynamique de nos opérations dans les domaines de la production, de la distribution et des branchements au réseau de la clientèle, tout en continuant à développer l'efficacité des opérations. Sur une période de 18 ans, nous avons réussi à réduire les pertes en eau de 72% en 1993 à 5,9% en 2012. Au cours de la même période, la base de données des abonnés est passée de 26881 connexions de service à 220000 et le réseau de distribution d'eau de 288 km à 2 000 km. De même, la couverture du service de l'eau est passée de 20% à 90% et le taux de recouvrement des recettes a atteint 99,9%. Plus important encore, le

### **Progression des branchements des familles pauvres au réseau d'eau potable de 1999 à 2011**

**Increase in connections of poor families to the drinking water network from 1999 to 2011**

ការគិនទេស្សន៍ទៅតាំងភាគប់បែលសំគ្លោះព្រៃក្រដាមួយប្រព័ន្ធ  
ដើម្បីចុងចម្លាត់ ពីឆ្នាំ៩៩៩៩ ដល់ឆ្នាំ២០១១



personnel de PPWSA a reçu une rémunération beaucoup plus élevée que celle des autres fonctionnaires. PPWSA a finalement réussi à assurer la durabilité de ces résultats.

## **DE L'EAU POTABLE POUR TOUS**

Bien que nous ayons étendu la couverture des services, nous n'avons jamais délaissé les populations vulnérables. Auparavant, les pauvres avaient très peu de chance d'accéder à l'eau de la ville. Sans raccordement au réseau, ils payaient leur eau beaucoup plus chère que n'importe quel autre citoyen car ils étaient obligés de passer par l'intermédiaire des vendeurs d'eau. À partir de 1999, avec l'aide des donateurs, en particulier de la France via les Fonds de l'Eau (fournis par les agences de l'eau de France) et la Mairie de Paris, PPWSA a pu offrir une réduction de 20% sur les frais de connexion pour les pauvres et permettre le paiement par versements étagés sur 20 mois. En 2003, en raison de résultats financiers positifs et avec l'aide des Fonds de l'eau français, nous avons lancé un nouveau programme intitulé «Eau pour tous» qui subventionnait les frais de raccordement à 30%, 50%, 70% ou 100%, le pourcentage étant basé sur un critère d'évaluation sociale fait par un comité mixte. Nos

éduits grâce à une approche de sub-séries. En conséquence, plus de 90% des habitants de Phnom Penh ont accès direct à l'eau potable par le réseau en 2011, plus de 70% des 21 490 connexions étaient des connections que l'on appelle « directes », car elles étaient destinées en majorité aux familles vulnérables sans moyen, donc aux plus démunies. Cette politique a eu des effets très positifs sur la santé et le bien-être des familles, mais aussi sur la réduction des épidémies dues à des problèmes hydriques. Elle a également permis d'assurer l'accès à l'eau pour plus de 3 millions de femmes et d'enfants du pays, dans le cadre de la recherche quotidienne d'eau.

clurai en disant que la PPWSA est dans une situation très difficile, où 20% seulement des villages pouvaient recevoir de l'eau, et ce de manière intermittente. Elle est maintenant dans un état où elle fournit des services d'approvisionnement en eau et électricité parmi les plus performants de la région. Cela a été possible pour trois raisons principales : (i) la stabilité sociale et politique et l'ambition politique du gouvernement, (ii) l'assistance technique et financière des partenaires de développement et (iii) la bonne gouvernance « Équitable pour tous, ferme et transparente ». L'objectif est de faire face à l'avenir avec confiance et de continuer à œuvrer pour le bien-être de la population. La PPWSA a mis en œuvre une équipe dédiée et compétente pour assurer la sécurité et la durabilité de ses opérations.

au début de censer tous les mptage.

# **Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority—revival, reform, and sustainable development**

The Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority met the challenge of providing drinking water for all citizens, even the poorest of the poor, by setting up an exemplary management model.

BY S.E. EK SONN CHAN

In 1975 began the revolutionary, genocidal period of the Khmer Rouge. The capital was completely emptied of its habitants. The Khmer Rouge government was headquartered there but for a four-year period, the clean and safe water supply facilities virtually stopped operating, resulting in severe damages. The Khmer Rouge regime was ousted from Phnom Penh in 1979 and people started coming back to the city. The water supply facilities that had been abandoned went back into service but in an uncoordinated manner.

## **VERY DIFFICULT BEGINNINGS**

In 1992, the situation was still a nightmare for all those living in Phnom Penh. Much of the water facilities were unusable. The Phnom Penh Water Supply Board (Régie des Eaux de Phnom Penh) could only provide about 65,000 m<sup>3</sup> of drinking water, around 40% of the system capacity, which could only serve about 25% of Phnom Penh's residents. Only part of the water distributed to the households

of the water distributed to the households through a 288-km cast iron water pipe network actually reached the buildings. Indeed, people who had come back to the city were drawing off part of the supply through 1,945 wells which they had dug themselves.<sup>1</sup> These wells were directly hooked to the underground water pipes. Small submersible pumps were put into those improvised wells and hooked up to flexible pipes that brought water all the way to apartment windows. This tangle of pipes was referred to as the “spaghetti connections.” This makeshift system used for hookups in the 1980s impeded the smooth functioning of the network because the large number of wells, which led to leakage, greatly reduced the water pressure throughout the network which interfered with getting water to people who were properly hooked up. The Phnom Penh Water Supply Board could also only collect payment on 48% of the

also only collect payment on 18% of the water produced because its user list was incorrect and outdated, consumption was not metered, and payment collectors were negligent and corrupt. Only about 25% of the water produced generated actual revenue. The Phnom Penh Water Supply

remaining affordable for all.

In this new era, with assistance from France, Japan, the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank, we have undertaken a dynamic expansion of operations in the fields of production, distribution, and user hookup to the

I was thus unable to pay its staff a decent wage. Salaries at the time came to more than a dollar a day. The Phnom Penh Water Supply Board was never able to pay the electricity bill to operate its treatment plant, it went bankrupt.

## TAKING BACK CONTROL

In 1993, the situation was favorable to a reform strategy. After the UN-assisted general elections in July 1993, the elected government adopted a market economy and the water department became eligible for international aid. It received grant assistance from the UNPD, France, and Japan for institutional capability development and emergency support.

I was put in charge of the Phnom Penh Water Supply Board on September 11, 1993. To deal with the disastrous situation outlined above, I set up a working group of young, dynamic, educated, and highly motivated people. We initially focused on three aspects of the stimulus package: (i) a culture shift, (ii) operational efficiency and (iii) sustainable development. To operate a culture shift, we focused on the three musketeers' motto: "One for all, all for one." We also followed the principle that we were "leading by example." To change the mindset and motivate staff, we offered training and a decent wage, created incentives and a consistent discipline along with strict sanctions. To supply water to our people at affordable rates, we knew that we had to be efficient in all operations. We paid particular attention to saving energy and reducing water losses, especially business losses, by working to eliminate illegal hookups. To encourage bill payment, we immediately updated the user list, counted every hookup and computerized the billing system in 1994 with French grant aid.

Three years after starting our reform, the situation started to improve. Employees were motivated to work for the common good. Production was increasing, water losses were decreasing, and revenues were meeting most of the costs while offering reasonable staff wages. In 1997, the government enacted a law to give us administrative and financial autonomy, and our name was officially changed to Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority (PPWSA). The rate for water was 250 riels/m<sup>3</sup> for domestic users and 700 riels/m<sup>3</sup> for business consumers. That was too low relative to our production costs, so the government authorized us to revise its rate. In January 1997, an overall rate of cross-subsidies was set then revised in January 2001. We have always felt that the rates should reflect both the receipts and business efficiency, while remaining affordable for all.

In this new era, with assistance from France, Japan, the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank, we have undertaken a dynamic expansion of our operations in the fields of production, distribution, and user hookup to the

We have expanded service coverage but have never overlooked vulnerable communities. Previously, the poor had very little chance of getting water from the city. Without being connected to the network, they were paying much more for their water than any other citizen because they had to go through water dealers. Back in 1999, with donor assistance, notably France via the Water Utility Fund (provided by water agencies in France) and Paris City Hall, PPWSA was able to cut by 20% the cost of hookup for poor people and offer 20-month installment payments. In 2003, in view of the positive financial performance and with funding from the French Water Utility Fund, we launched a new program, "Water for All," which provides subsidy assistance for hookup costs up to 30%, 50%, 70% or 100% (the percentage is based on social criteria established by a joint committee). Our rates were cut using the crossed-subsidy approach. As a result, over 100 communities of Phnom Penh residents were able to get direct access to drinking water through the PPWSA network. In 2011, over 70% of the 21,490 hookups were social connections, i.e. mainly provided for vulnerable families without resources thus qualifying for a subsidy. This policy has had a major impact on the health and welfare of the families, notably through the reduction of waterborne diseases. It has also relieved thousands of women and children from the daily burden of fetching water.

Let me conclude by saying that the PPWSA was born of a very challenging situation, where only 20% of households could get water and only intermittently. It has now become one of the most efficient drinking water supply companies of the region. That was possible for three main reasons: (i) social and political stability and political will on the part of the government, (ii) assistance from development partners and (iii) strong governance ("Fair for all, dedicated to its goals, with faith in its leaders and subordinates") implemented by a committed team with a strong entrepreneurial spirit and a dedication to public service.

network, while continuing to develop operational efficiency. Over a period of 18 years, we have succeeded in reducing water losses from 72% in 1993 to 5.9% in 2012. During the same period, the user database went from 26,881 service connections to 220,000 and the main water network grew from 288 km to 2,000 km. The water department's coverage went from 20% to 90% and the revenue collection rate has reached 99.9%. More importantly, PPWSA staff is paid a much higher salary than other civil servants. PPWSA has finally achieved lasting results.

DRINKING WATER FOR EVERYONE

We have expanded service coverage but have never overlooked vulnerable communities. Previously, the poor had very little chance of getting water from the city. Without being connected to the network, they were paying much more for their water than any other citizen because they had to go through water dealers. Back in 1999, with donor assistance, notably France via the Water Utility Fund (provided by water agencies in France) and Paris City Hall, PPWSA was able to cut by 20% the cost of hookup for poor people and offer 20-month installment payments. In 2003, in view of the positive financial performance and with funding from the French Water Utility Fund, we launched a new program, "Water for All," which provides subsidy assistance for hookup costs up to 30%, 50%, 70% or 100% (the percentage is based on social criteria established by a joint committee). Our rates were cut using the crossed-subsidy approach. As a result, over 100 communities of Phnom Penh residents were able to get direct access to drinking water through the PPWSA network. In 2011, over 70% of the 21,490 hookups were social connections, i.e. mainly provided for vulnerable families without resources thus qualifying for a subsidy. This policy has had a major impact on the health and welfare of the families, notably through the reduction of waterborne diseases. It has also relieved thousands of women and children from the daily burden of fetching water.

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**1.** This assessment was made at the beginning of my term in office in order to determine the number of holes that had been dug.

រដ្ឋាភិបាលសុយំតក្រុងភ្នំពេញ៖ ការកែតទ្វីនិងវិញ  
កំណែទម្រង់ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍប្រកបដោយចិរភាព

នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៣៦ ស្ថានភាគអំណោយដល់ យើងអារបាត់ផ្លូវអនុកតិ៍  
យុទ្ធសាស្ត្រកំណែខ្មែរបាន។ បន្ទាប់ពីបានទេសចរណ៍តំណាងក្បែរ នៅខេត្ត  
កក្កដ្ឋាន ឆ្នាំ១៩៣៦ ដែលមានការអ្វីយប្រជាមួយដូចនេះពីអង្គភាពហុប្រាណភាគី  
ក្នុងកិតាលិប៉ះឡាតាមអនុកតិ៍យុទ្ធសាស្ត្រសង្គគិចឲ្យផ្សាយលើមួយ

photographie  
des familles  
au moment  
du raccordement  
PPWSA).  
photographs of the  
families on  
completion of the  
connection (PPWSA).



កំពង់ប្រាក់ ដើម្បីបង្ហាញភាពជាបន្ទាន់ទូទៅពីអ្នកជាតិ ដោយចុះរាប់ការ  
ទិន្នន័យ និងយកទិន្នន័យក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធគ្មានវិញ ដើម្បីចេញកីឡា  
ក្រុមបាបសំណាក់ខំ និងយកមិនយាតា។

នៅក្នុងសម្រាយដីនេះ ដោយមានជំនួយពីគាតំ ជុប្បិត នភាគា  
អភិវឌ្ឍន៍រាងសុ និងធានាការពិភពលោក យើងបានបាប់ផ្ទើមពាណិជ្ជកម្ម បច្ចេកទាយ និងការតែខ្សោយ  
បណ្តាញរួមអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ទូទៅនឹងនៅ: យើងក៏បន្ថិតខ្លះផ្ទើខ្សោយប្រិតិត្តិការការងារតំ  
មានប្រសិទ្ធភាពជានិងមានដឹង។ ត្រូវយោ: ពេលទៅដោយ យើងបានកាត់បន្ទូយដោយ  
ដោតជំនួយរាងបាប់បង់ទីក្រុង ពី ៧២% នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៣៣ មកត្រីម ៥,៨% នៅ  
ឆ្នាំ១៩១៧។ ត្រូវយោ: ពេលដែលនៅ: មូលដ្ឋានទិន្នន័យនៃអ្នកជាតិ គឺបាន  
យកពី ២៩៨៨១ តំណែ ទៅដល់ ២៩មីន់តំណែ ហើយខ្សោយបណ្តាញបច្ចេកទាយ  
ទីក្រុងពីបានកែងឡើងពីប្រឈីន ២៨៩គីឡូវីម៉ែត្រ ម៉ោ ២៣៣គីឡូវីម៉ែត្រ។ ដូចត្រូវដោ  
ផ្ទើដើរបច្ចាយទីក្រុងពីបានបញ្ចី ២០% ទៅ៤០% ហើយអ្នកនៃរបរមាមូល  
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លិកបស់ផ្ទាក់ទីក្រុងស្វ័យបក្សក្នុងពេលបានទទួលបានកែងក្រុងពេលបានប្រកបដោយដោតជំនួយ  
ផ្សេងៗទៀត។ ផ្ទាក់ទីក្រុងស្វ័យបក្សក្នុងពេលបានប្រកបដោយដោតជំនួយនៅ  
និន្នន័យនៃលទ្ធផលទាំងទាំងនេះ។

សមិទ្ធផលដែលយើងអាចសម្រេចបាន គឺជាយសារហេតុផលប៉ាសំ ខាន់រែង (ក). ស្ថិតភាពសង្គម និងបេតវានយោបាយបស់ឆ្នាំកិច្ចាល (ខ). ជំនួយ ពីថ្វីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍និង (គ). អភិតាមកិច្ចាល “សម្រួលសម្រប់នស្សី គ្រប់បុរី មិនម៉ោងតែបំពេះគោលដៅ និងធ្វើជាក់បំពេះឆ្នាំកិច្ចាល និងអ្នកទទួលបានការ ខែត្តុមួយ” ដែលអនុវត្តជាយករដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលមានការបញ្ជាផ្ទាមសំណងជាតិតាមការប្រើប្រាស់។

1 ជាតុលេខដែលយើងបានធ្វើស្ថិតិនៅដើមអាណាពិរបស់ខ្លួន



De gauche à droite:  
Programme de développement agricole,  
Programme «une vache par famille»,  
Programme de développement par les travaux collectifs

Left to right:  
Agricultural development programme,  
“One cow per family” programme,  
Community work based development programme.

ছান্দে ছান্দ  
ক্ষেত্রের ক্ষেত্রের ক্ষেত্রে  
ক্ষেত্রে “ক্ষেত্রে ক্ষেত্রে”  
ক্ষেত্রের ক্ষেত্রে  
ক্ষেত্রের ক্ষেত্রে

# Regard sur la reconstruction de la ville de Kigali

Kigali, capitale du Rwanda, a relevé de nombreux défis depuis le génocide de 1994. En un peu plus de 25 ans, elle est devenue l'une des capitales les plus dynamiques du continent africain. **PAR NADINE UMUTONI GATSINZI**

Kigali, fondée en 1907 en tant que petit avant-poste colonial ayant peu de liens avec le monde extérieur, a maintenant plus de 100 ans. Peuplée de plus de 1,6 million d'habitants, la Ville de Kigali est aujourd'hui, non seulement la capitale nationale, mais aussi le principal centre d'affaires et commercial du pays. La métropole rwandaise est aussi l'une des capitales africaines les plus propres et les plus sûres, et les projections indiquent que sa population pourrait atteindre 5 millions d'habitants en 2050.

## 1994, UN PAYS DÉVASTÉ

Toutefois, il y a 25 ans, juste après l'arrêt du Génocide contre les Tutsi et la libération du Rwanda par le Front Patriotique Rwandais le 04 Juillet 1994, le Rwanda était qualifié d'État défaillant. Son capital humain était dévasté, avec plus d'un million de vies perdues, environ 3 millions de réfugiés et des centaines de milliers de personnes emprisonnées, soupçonnées d'avoir commis un génocide contre les Tutsi. L'économie rwandaise a diminué de 50% en 1994. Le PIB par habitant est tombé à 146 dollars, l'inflation était à 64% et la pauvreté atteignait 78%. La fonction publique était caractérisée par un personnel à très faible capacité, avec plus de 80% sans qualification d'enseignement supérieur.

## RECONSTRUIRE LA SOCIÉTÉ PAR UNE BONNE GOUVERNANCE ET DES POLITIQUES DE DÉVELOPPEMENT

En dépit de cette situation très critique, la normalisation des relations du peuple rwandais était la voie obligée pour la survie et la reconstruction de

la société. Des consultations nationales entre différentes catégories de Rwandais ont eu lieu de 1998 à 1999. Elles ont dégagé des recommandations dans cinq principaux domaines :

- Le rétablissement de la sécurité dans le pays et la sûreté des personnes et des biens;
- L'unité et la réconciliation comme impératif;
- La justice après une longue période d'impunité où les gens qui commettaient des atrocités n'étaient pas punis;
- La démocratie et la bonne gouvernance comme prérequis pour le vivre ensemble;
- La réduction de la pauvreté et le développement économique;

Des politiques relatives à la bonne gouvernance, ou encore au développement économique et social, ont été mises en place. L'originalité de ces réformes a notamment été de formuler des approches prenant en compte les particularismes de la culture rwandaise et de favoriser les initiatives endogènes. Ces dernières ont largement contribué aux objectifs du millénaire pour le développement (MDG) ou millennium development goals (MDGs) et aux objectifs du développement durable (ODD) de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Les initiatives endogènes se regroupent dans les quatre piliers du programme national, à savoir l'économie, la protection sociale, la justice et la gouvernance. À titre d'illustration, nous avons l'*Umuganda*<sup>1</sup> avec pour objectif de promouvoir la cohésion sociale tout en accélérant le développement socio-économique par les travaux communautaires, l'*Imihigo*<sup>2</sup> ou Contrat de Performance pour promouvoir la bonne gouvernance; les pro-

grammes *Girinka* et *Ubudehe*<sup>3</sup> pour améliorer le bien-être des personnes les plus vulnérables, ou encore les initiatives *Agaciro*, *Kwigira*<sup>4</sup> et *Inteko z'abaturage* (conseil des citoyens) pour renforcer la participation active des citoyens au développement socio-économique.

Ces programmes endogènes, dont la majorité est introduite au cours des années 2000, participera à faire sortir plus d'un million de citoyens de la pauvreté. L'extrême pauvreté a été réduite de 40% en 2000 à 16% en 2018, tandis que le PIB a triplé au cours des deux dernières décennies grâce à une croissance économique moyenne de 8%.

De plus, le Rwanda a adopté des politiques de bonne gouvernance en mettant l'accent sur la participation citoyenne, la transparence et la redevabilité des dirigeants politiques.

## KIGALI EST AUJOURD'HUI UNE VILLE D'EXCELLENCE.

Aujourd'hui, le Rwanda est l'un des pays les plus sûrs, classé au premier rang en Afrique et au cinquième rang mondial par le Forum économique mondial en 2019. Il est en quatrième position des pays les moins corrompus d'Afrique, et à la 29ème place pour la facilité à y faire du commerce. Le Rwanda a aussi mis l'accent sur la participation des femmes dans les organes de décision. Il est le premier pays au monde à avoir une majorité de femmes au parlement, avec 61,3% à la Chambre

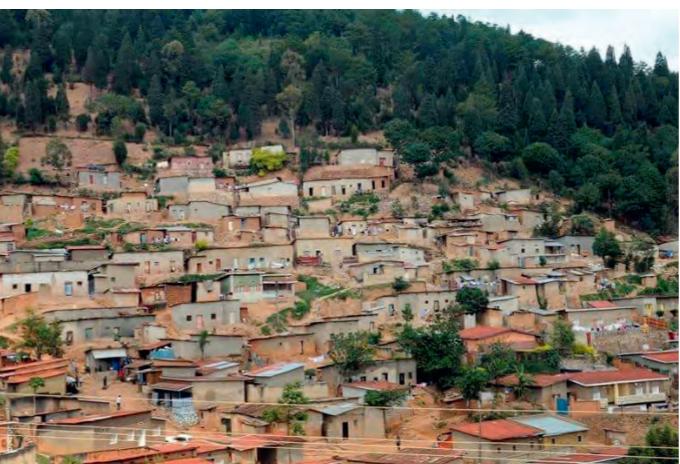
des Député.e.s et 38,5% au Sénat. Les femmes représentent 50 % des Ministres, 49% des juges et 33% des maires de districts.

La ville de Kigali s'est faite le miroir de ses réussites économiques, politiques et sociales après 1994. Un plan stratégique urbain a été développé en 2013. Aujourd'hui en cours de révision, il doit aboutir à l'élaboration d'un plan directeur de la ville. Ce nouveau plan stratégique souhaite faire de Kigali une ville unique, verte, dynamique et inclusive. Huit thèmes de développement privilégiés ont été identifiés : une ville d'excellence, une ville qui travaille, une ville qui bouge, une ville pour les citoyens, une ville de voisinage mixte (commerce, résidentiel, récréation), une ville verte, une ville efficace et une ville innovante. Même si certains de ces objectifs ne sont pas encore atteints, Kigali a fait des grands progrès spécialement en termes d'infrastructure, d'hygiène et de la protection de l'environnement.

Pour la protection de l'environnement et de l'hygiène, par exemple, l'interdiction d'importer et d'utiliser des sacs en plastique polyéthylène à partir de 2006 a été une décision très innovante, non seulement en Afrique, mais aussi dans le monde. En octobre 2019, pour réduire la pollution de l'air, le Rwanda a favorisé le développement des voitures et motos électriques. La construction d'un village 100% vert est aussi en cours dans la capitale. Par ailleurs, Kigali a lancé un programme bimensuel de jours sans voiture afin de favoriser la mobilité active, une zone sans voiture y a été créée. Ces initiatives ont permis à Kigali d'être lauréate du prix UN Habitat en 2008, la plus haute distinction décernée à une zone urbaine.

En termes d'infrastructures, 95% des habitants ont accès à de l'eau potable et 79% à l'électricité. La ville a aussi développé un plan stratégique pour le transport, principalement orienté vers la mobilité verte.

La ville s'est aussi dotée d'un parc immobilier de qualité permettant tant l'accueil des touristes que d'événements de portée internationale. Mentionnons, par exemple, le Kigali Convention center, le village de conférences et d'expositions de Kigali, la salle de conférences Intare, ainsi que le Kigali Arena. Ces réalisations ont permis à Kigali d'accueillir de grands événements internationaux,





comme le Sommet du Forum Économique en Afrique, le Sommet de l'union Africaine, le Transform Africa Summit qui se tient chaque année, le Youth Connect Africa, ou encore le Global Gender Summit, organisée par la Banque Africaine de Développement en novembre 2019.

La qualité et le nombre de conférences internationales accueillies a fait que Kigali a été classée deuxième destination la plus populaire d'Afrique pour les réunions et événements internationaux par l'Association internationale des congrès et des conventions (ICCA).

Mais comme toute ville qui se développe, certains défis sont persistants, comme la croissance rapide de la population urbaine qui demande un développement accéléré des infrastructures et le déblocage de budgets conséquents. Le manque de financement est aussi ressenti pour certains grands projets ambitieux, comme la viabilisation et l'exploitation de la zone sans voiture par exemple. Si le plan stratégique d'urbanisation vise à répondre à ces défis, Kigali s'appuie aussi sur les partenariats public-privé. Par ailleurs, six villes secondaires ont été créées afin d'aider à la réduction des flux de population à Kigali. Ces villes sont Rubavu et Rusizi dans la Province de l'Ouest, Muhanga et Huye dans la Province du Sud, Musanze dans la Province du Nord et Nyagatare dans la Province de l'Est.

Des transformations urbaines radicales: Le site du nouveau centre de congrès avant et après sa construction.

Radical urban transformations: The site of the new conference centre, before and after its construction.

ទីក្រសួងប្រាក់ ទាំងស្តីដី ទៅតែម មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលុយណា សន្លឹកន៍ា មុននេះ ព្រម យករាយការសង្គម

## A look at the reconstruction of the city of Kigali

Kigali, capital of Rwanda, has tackled multiple challenges since the genocide of 1994. In just over 25 years, it has become one of the most dynamic capitals on the African continent.

BY NADINE UMUTONI GATSINZI

Kigali, founded in 1907 as a small colonial outpost enjoying few links with the outside world, is now more than a hundred years old. With a population of more than 1.6 million, the City of Kigali today is not only the national capital, but also the country's main business and commercial centre. The Rwandan metropolis is also one of Africa's cleanest and safest capitals, and projections indicate that its population could reach 5 million by 2050.

### 1994, A COUNTRY IN RUINS

Yet 25 years ago, just after the end of the Genocide against the Tutsi and the liberation of Rwanda by the Rwandan Patriotic Front on July 4, 1994, Rwanda could be described as a failing state. Its human capital had been destroyed, with more than a million lives lost, some 3 million refugees and hundreds of thousands of people imprisoned, suspected of being involved in the Genocide against the Tutsi. The Rwandan economy had shrunk by 50% in 1994. Per capita GDP had fallen to 146 dollars, inflation was running at 64% and poverty levels at 78%. Public services were characterised by a very poorly educated workforce, 80% of them without a degree.

### RECONSTRUCTING SOCIETY WITH GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Despite this parlous situation, normalising relations amongst the people of Rwanda was the only path to the survival and reconstruction of society.

National consultations between different groups of Rwandans took place from 1998 to 1999. They led to recommendations in five main domains: --restoring security for people and property across the country; --the imperative of unity and reconciliation;

--justice after a long period during which people who had committed atrocities went unpunished;

--democracy and good governance as a prerequisite for societal cohesion;

--poverty reduction and economic development.

Policies were introduced for good governance and for economic and social development. What was particularly original about these reforms was that

their approaches reflected the

specificities of Rwandan culture and advanced endogenous initiatives. Indeed, these initiatives contributed significantly to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The endogenous initiatives together contributed to the four pillars of the national programme – the economy, social protection, justice, governance. By way of example, there is *Umuganda*,<sup>1</sup> a practice that aims to promote social cohesion while accelerating socio-economic development through community work; *Imihigo*,<sup>2</sup> or the Performance Contract, which promotes good governance; the *Girinka* and *Ubudehe* programmes,<sup>3</sup> which seek to improve conditions for the most vulnerable individuals; or else the *Agaciro*, *Kwigira*<sup>4</sup> and *Inteko z'abaturage* (citizens' council) initiatives, which aim to boost active citizen participation in socio-economic development.

These endogenous programmes, most of which were introduced in the 2000s, would help to lift more than a million citizens out of poverty. Extreme poverty was reduced from 40% of the population in 2000 to 16% in 2018, while GDP has tripled in the last two decades, with economic growth averaging 8% a year. Moreover, Rwanda has adopted good governance policies by emphasising citizen participation, together with transparency and accountability on the part of political leaders.

### KIGALI TODAY IS A CITY OF EXCELLENCE

Today, Rwanda is one of the world's safest countries, ranked number one in Africa and fifth in the world by the World Economic Forum in 2019. In that year, it was ranked fourth lowest in Africa for corruption, and 29th in the world for ease of doing business. Rwanda has also emphasised women's participation in decision-making structures. It is the first country in the world to have a majority of women in parliament, with 61.3% in the Chamber of Deputies and 38.5% in the Senate. Women account for 50% of

Kigali, «ville verte.»  
Kigali "Green city".  
Kigali ទីក្រសួងប្រាក់



Ministers, 49% of judges and 33% of district mayors.

The city of Kigali has embodied these economic, political and social successes in the period since 1994. A strategic urban plan was developed in 2013. Currently under revision, it is expected to give rise to an urban masterplan. The objective of this strategic plan is to make Kigali a city unique for its greenness, dynamism and inclusiveness. Eight key areas of development have been identified: a city of excellence, a city at work, a city on the move, a city for citizens, a city of mixed neighbourhoods (shops, homes, leisure), a green city, an efficient city and an innovative city. Although some of these objectives have yet to be fulfilled, Kigali has made great strides, especially in terms of infrastructure, hygiene and environmental protection.

With regard to environmental protection and hygiene, for example, the prohibition on importing and using plastic bags, introduced in 2006, was a highly innovative measure not only for Africa but for the world as a whole. In October 2019, to reduce air pollution, Rwanda introduced measures to encourage the development of electric cars and motorbikes. A 100% green village is also under construction in the capital.

Moreover, Kigali has introduced a twice-monthly programme of car-free days in order to encourage active travel modes, and a no-car zone has been created in the city. Initiatives like these won Kigali the UN Habitat prize in 2008, the highest distinction awarded to an urban area.

In terms of infrastructure, 95% of the city's population have access to drinking water and 79% to electricity. The city has also developed a strategic plan for transport, mainly focusing on green mobility.

The city is also endowed with high quality real estate and buildings, able both to provide tourist accommodation and to host international events. Buildings like the Kigali Convention Centre, Kigali's conference and exhibition

village, the Intare Conference Arena and the Kigali Arena, have enabled Kigali to host big international events, such as the Summit of the World Economic Forum on Africa, the African Union Summit, the annual Transform Africa Summit, Youth Connect Africa, or else the Global Gender Summit, which was organised by the African Development Bank in November 2019. The quality and number of the international conferences hosted in Kigali have resulted in the city being ranked Africa's second most popular destination for international meetings and events by the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA).

However, as in any developing city, some challenges remain, such as the rapid growth of the urban population, which demands accelerated infrastructure development and substantial funding. The lack of funds also makes itself felt in certain large and ambitious projects, like the preparation and operation of the car-free zone. While the strategic masterplan aims to tackle these challenges, Kigali also relies on public-private partnerships. In addition, 6 secondary cities have been created to help reduce population flows in Kigali. These are Rubavu and Rusizi in the Western Province, Muhanga and Huye in the Southern Province, Musanze in the Northern Province and Nyagatare in the Eastern Province.

1. Lancé en 1998 dans le cadre de la reconstruction nationale post-génocide, l'*Umuganda* désigne des travaux communautaires et volontaires réalisés par la population. Aujourd'hui, ces travaux se déroulent tous les derniers samedis de chaque mois, de 8h à 12h. Ils sont supervisés à tous les échelons gouvernementaux, du village aux institutions centrales.

2. Introduit en 2006, l'*Imihigo*, ou contrat de performance, renvoie aux initiatives de développement mise en œuvre par les pouvoirs locaux. L'*Imihigo* s'inscrit dans le processus de décentralisation lancé par le gouvernement rwandais en 2000. Il vise notamment à favoriser la responsabilisation des échelons déconcentrés de l'Etat dans la poursuite des objectifs de développement socio-économiques établis par le gouvernement central.

3. Les programmes *Girinka* et *Ubudehe*, lancés respectivement en 2006 et 2001, visent à aider les familles plus vulnérables par l'intermédiaire, notamment, de la lutte contre la malnutrition, du développement de l'agriculture

economic development goals established by central government.

3. The aim of the Girinka and Ubudehe programmes, launched respectively in 2006 and 2001, is to help more vulnerable families by combating malnutrition and developing local agriculture, notably by giving poor households a dairy cow to raise their incomes, and also by reinforcing community links and building capacity in poor communities.

4. This can be translated roughly as self-esteem and resilience, values inculcated into Rwandans to encourage them to look first for solutions to challenges at home in their own communities, before seeking help from outside.

# ក្រសួងពេទ្យ

គិតហុលិ គិតជាអ្នកបាននឹងប្រព័ន្ធសរីវិនិច្ឆ័យ ទិន្នន័យ និង  
នេះបានដោះស្រាយបញ្ចប់ប្រឈមជាប្រើបាន បាប  
តាំងពីសមប័ណ្ណប្រលួយតុដសាសន៍បានបញ្ចប់ឡើ  
កាលពីឆ្នាំ១៩៩៤ ក្នុងរយៈពេលជាង២៥ឆ្នាំ  
ទិន្នន័យ គិតហុលិ បានបញ្ជាយជាអ្នកបានមួយក្នុង  
ចំណោមរដ្ឋបាននឹងធម៌មានថាមភាពខ្សោនជាងគេនៅ  
ទីបុរាណ្វិក។ ឈាយលោកស្រី NADINE UMETONI GATSINZI

ឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨ ប្រទេសខ្មែចខីអស់

ប៉ុន្តែកាលពីថ្ងៃចាំមុន ក្រោយពីរបៀបប្រើបាបពួកសាសន៍ ដែល  
សម្រាប់ជនជាតិទីផ្សារស្ថាពាណបញ្ចប់ត្រូវ និងក្រោយពីរបៀបប្រើបាបពួកសាសន៍ ដែល  
វាំដារេដាយណែនាំសិរីស្មោះហាត់តុកូមិឃីរៀងជាតិ នៅថ្ងៃទី០៨ ខែកក្កដាឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨  
មក ភ្នែកជាតិត្រូវបានចាត់ទុកប្រើបាបសម្រាប់លេងដំណឹកការឡើងហើយ។  
មូលដឹកនាំសុវត្ថិភាពប្រចាំសប្តាហេតុ និងប្រចាំឆ្នាំខ្លួន មានសុវត្ថិភាព  
ទៅលាងការការបានចាត់បង់ដីជីថិត ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋប្រមាណជាពាណាលាងការកំបានគ្រៀស  
ខ្លួនចេញ ហើយនានាមនុស្សបានបំនុះនានាកំព្រឹងបានបានបានបានបានបានបានបានបានបាន  
សង្ឃឹមយ៉ា អ្នកទាំងនោះបានប្រព័ន្ធដីប្រលួយពួកសាសន៍សម្រាប់ជនជាតិទីផ្សារ  
សិរី សេដ្ឋកិច្ចប្រើបាបសិរីរៀងជាតិ បានធ្វើការចុះ៨៥% នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៩៨ ដឺលិតិជល  
អ្នកស្រួលសិរីប្រាប់ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនាក់តាមធ្លាក់ដល់៧៨៥អ្នក អតិថិជន  
មាន៦៥% ហើយអត្រានៅភាពក្រុងក្របាននៅក្នុងជំនួយ។ មន្ទីរឱ្យបាន  
សារឈរណ៍: មានសម្រាប់ការបង្កើតខ្សោយខ្សោយ នៅក្នុងនោះ ជាង៨០% មិនបាន  
ទទួលការអប់រំក្នុងការបង្កើតខ្សោយខ្សោយ។

កសាងសង្គមទ្រួនវិញ្ញាន់ពាណិជ្ជកម្មអភិបាលកិច្ចណ្ឌ និង  
គោលនយាយអភិវឌ្ឍន៍

ពិនិមេងហើយថា ប្រទេសស្ថិតក្នុងស្ថាបនាគរដ្ឋនៃជ្រើនខ្លាំង ហើយនឹងផ្តល់ជាមួយគ្នាតែដែលអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យប្រទេសនេះវាបាបន្ទីវិតែសំរាប់ និងកសាងសង្គម ខ្លួនខ្លឹះនឹងវិញ្ញាន គឺការធ្វើឲ្យប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនូវការណ៍ដែលកសាងទៅនាក់ទំនងដាម្មួយត្រូវ ឡើងវិញ្ញាន។ ការពិគ្រោះយោបល់ត្រូវការតាមិយ ការងារប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនូវការណ៍ដាម្មួយ ទិន្នន័យ គ្រប់ជាប់ច្បាក់ ឆ្លើយបានធ្វើឡើង និងត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើង ដើម្បីបានបង្កើតឡើង។ គឺចូល ពិគ្រោះយោបល់នៅ បានដាក់បញ្ជាផាមុនសាសន៍នៅក្បាងនឹងសំរាប់ ជាន់នៃការងារ ដែលខ្លួន

១. ការធានាល្អាចនីងព្រៃន នូវសនិសុខលើផ្ទះប្រជែង និងសុវត្ថិភាពសម្រាប់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ និងទ្រពូលសញ្ញីភាព
២. ចាំបាច់ព្រៃនការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រមិជ្ជិតិ និងផ្សេងៗផ្សាយជាតិ
៣. ស្វែងរកយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រនៃអង្គភាព ហួគ្ឧោ បន្ទាប់ពីអង្គប្រើប្រាស់អំពីក្នុងផ្សេងៗនៃការប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ
៤. ប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ និងអភិបាលកិច្ចណ្ឌ គឺជាបុរាណក្នុងណ្ឌ ដើម្បីខ្សោយប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ សេវាដោយយកចុចប្រកបដោយសុខអុមនិយកមួយ



Vue panoramique de la ville de Kigali, 2019. / Panoramic view of the city of

Kigali, 2019. / រូបភាពជាល្អកមិកនៃទីក្រុងត្នោត ឆ្នាំ២០១៩

៥. ការកាត់បន្ទូយភាពក្រិក្រ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍសេដ្ឋកិច្ច

ເຄລະນເພາຕາຍຕາກໍທີ່ຮູ້ຮືນເກີດຕາບກົງລຸ່ມ ບັນດັກໍທີ່ຮູ້ຮືນກາ  
ເກີດຂໍ້ເສັນຜົກປົງຮືນສຸ່ນຍາງເຖິງຕາມເຫັນກໍ່ເຫດຕາ  
ເຮັດວຽກໃຈຕີ ອາເຮັດວຽກໃຈຕີສາງໆເພີ້ມລົດຕົກຜົນລົດຕົກຜົນລົດຕົກຜົນ  
ເບັນປົງປັດໄສງ້າກັນເຫັນ ສີໃຈຜົນພະນັກຕາຫາຍໝຽບຜົນບໍລິກາເຮັດວຽກຄົ້ນລົດເພື່ອ<sup>1</sup>  
ເບັນປົງປັດລົດຜົນເກີດຕາມຍຸລົງຢ່າງວ່າ ຄືລົດຕົກຜົນເພື່ອໃຈຕີໃຈຕົກຜົນ  
ບໍລິກາເຮັດວຽກແກ່ຕາມຢູ່ນັ້ນ ທີ່ມີຄືລົດຕົກຜົນເພື່ອໃຈຕີໃຈຕົກຜົນ  
ບໍລິກາເຮັດວຽກແກ່ຕາມຢູ່ນັ້ນ ທີ່ມີຄືລົດຕົກຜົນເພື່ອໃຈຕີໃຈຕົກຜົນ  
ເຄລະນເພາຕາຍຕາກໍທີ່ຮູ້ຮືນເກີດຕາບກົງລຸ່ມ ພົມບັນດັກໍທີ່ຮູ້ຮືນກາ

កម្មិតិន្នន័យស្ថុកទាំងនេះ ដែលបាត់ប្រើបាស្ថិត ត្រូវបានចាប់ផ្តើមអនុវត្ត នៅក្នុងទសក្ស្យថ្មីៗ២០០០ បានចូលរួមដើម្បីប្រជាពលរដ្ឋជាតិទាំងនេះ ពាក្យតាកំណត់បានចាប់ផ្តើមតិចពីក្រឹកក្រោ ពាក្យតិចក្នុងនៅក្នុងទានកាត់បន្ថយ ពី៤០% នៅថ្មីៗ២០០០ មកទៅក្រឹកទៅ១០% នៅថ្មីៗ២០១៧ ដែលឈានឯកជាលិតតិតលាច្ចុងស្ថុក សុបុ បានកើនឡើងគុណភាពនឹងបិចង នៅក្នុងរយៈពេលពីទសក្ស្យបុងក្រាយ ដោយសារសង្គមកិច្ចមានកំណើនមធ្យម៨៩%ក្នុងរយៈពុំ៣៧% ជានេះទៅក្នុង ប្រើបានសង្គមកិច្ចមានកំណើនមធ្យម៨៩%ក្នុងរយៈពុំ៣៧% ដោយផ្តល់ អាជីវភាពទៅលើការចូលរួមរបស់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ត្រូវបាន និងគណនោរយៈពាណ របស់ខ្លួនដើម្បីការចូលរួមរបស់ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ត្រូវបាន និងគណនោរយៈពាណ

គិត្យាលី បច្ចប្រនៃ៖ ជាឆ្នាំកងមួយប្រកបដោយខត្តមករា

បុរីយុទ្ធនេះ ប្រធែសីហ៍ដាង គឺជាប្រធែសម្រួលចំណាត់ថ្នាក់លេខ១ នៅទីប៊ាក្រឹក និងលេខខែនៅត្រូវកិតកម្មភាព ជាប័ណ្ណកត់ត្រូវកំណើលប៉ុណ្ណោះដោយខ្លួន សេដ្ឋកិច្ចពិតិភាពភោគនៅឆ្នាំ២០១៨។ ប្រធែសីហ៍ដាង ជាប័ណ្ណកត់ត្រូវកំណើលចំណាត់ថ្នាក់លេខ៤ ត្រូវចំណោមប្រធែសែដ្ឋកម្មអំពីពីរការបូយកតិចជាងភោគនៅខ្លួន និង ចំណាត់ត្រូវកំណើលចំណាត់ថ្នាក់លេខ៦ ជាប្រធែសែដ្ឋកម្មដែលបាយកិច្ចចូលទៅក្នុងឈ្មោះយោង ។ ប្រធែសីហ៍ដាង ក៏បានសង្គត់ត្រូវនិងដោរទៅបើការចូលឃ្លាយបែលស្រីនៅក្នុង អង្គភាពធ្វើសេចក្តីសម្រាប់ ហើយ គឺជាប្រធែសទី១នៅត្រូវកិតកម្មភាព ដែល

មានស្តីពីការបើចេរជាកំណងក្នុង ហេតុទៅដែលថែទាំនៃស៊ិនិភ័យ ៥% នៃព្រឹកសភា ស្តីកំណងឡើង ៥០% នៃដែមមួន ៥៦% នៃបច្ចេកទេស និងរាយការណ៍នៃអភិបាលខ្ពស់។

ជាទະເហດ់ សម្រាប់ការការពាយឱវិភាគ និងអនាម័យ ការ  
ហាមិនធីរាជ្យចុល និងប្រើប្រាស់ផែងត្រាស្តីក បាបតាំងពីថ្ងៃទី២០១៦មក តីដា  
សេចក្តីសម្រេចមួយដើម្បីរាយការណ៍នៅក្នុងខំង មិនត្រឹមតែនៅក្នុង  
ទីបរាប្រើក្នុងប្រាកប្រើប្រាស់ទេ បុរីនូវគិតាផិតាពេភាក់ទាំងមួល។ នៅខែតុលា  
ឆ្នាំ២០១៩ ដើម្បីការតែបន្ថយកម្រិតសាធារកុណលេខាក្នុងខ្លួល ប្រទេសកូវ៉ែជាតា  
នាន់លើកទីបីតុលូប្រជាមួយប្រជាមួយ និងមួយអតិថិជន។ ការបង្កើត  
សង្គមតែបែកអ៊ី១០០% ក៏ដំបូងប្រព័ន្ធឌីតិថែទាំនៅក្នុងដែនដានដើម្បីរាយការ  
ទីក្រោមគឺបានបង្កើតឯកត្រានយានយន្ត និងអនុគត់ឱ្យដឹងកុងមួលយីឡើ គឺ  
ដើម្បីជួយដឹងប្រុញរូបរាងការបន្ទាន់សំខិត្ត និងបង្កើតកំបង់ត្រានយានយន្ត  
នៅក្នុងទីក្រោម។ តាំងត្រួតពិនិត្យដឹងទំនើននៃបានអនុញ្ញាតរួចរាល់ទីក្រោមបីន្ទាយ  
ជាជីវិកឯងជំរឿកកិម្មួយ ទូទៅបានរៀងរាល់ពីអង្គភាព UN Habitat នៅថ្ងៃ  
២០០៨ នៅក្នុងការរៀនអនុញ្ញាតរួចរាល់ទីក្រោមបីន្ទាយ ដើម្បីរាយការនៃជ្រើល  
ដឹងកំបង់ត្រានយានយន្ត។

ເບີນີ້ພາຍຫົມຕີເທິງສູງເປົາສຸກໍາຊື່ໄວ້ ດະໂອໄລປັດຕະລຸໄດ້ຮູບ  
ຕາຣີກຄູນຟ ຮຶນດັວນ%ຈົ່ງລັດຕາຣີກຄູນຟເຖິງເປົາສຸກໍາຊື່ໄວ້  
ຜົນໃຈ ລູກ໌ຜົນກາຍເຫຼືອສາງສູງສູງເທົ່ານີ້ສັຍເນີນຜົນຕຸງ ດາວີເສັນ ຄືເຫັນວ່າຕະ  
ການນີ້ກີດຜົນຕຸງເບີນີ້

ເຮສດ ກົມບັນດາອະຫຼວມຢູ່ປະເທດໄກຣິຄຳໄກຣິຄາແດກຝຶ່ງຂອງແຮງຕາຕີ່ ຜ້າຂະທາງເລັດ  
ເພີ້ນກາຕະເບີກເຊື່ອນທີ່ມະນຸຍົດຖານສູນສືບີ້ຕື່ບັດລົບ ສາລະສູງສົ່ງ Intare  
ໄປການທຳນົດກົມບັນດາ Kigali Arena ຜ້າເນື້ອມາ ສະໜີໂຫຼຜູ້ຜົນທຳນົດເວລີ:  
ຕານອຸນຫະກາດຕະຫຼາດຢູ່ໄກຣິຄຳບັດລົບເຫດລະຫຼວກພາດທະຫຼວມຢູ່ປະເທດໄກຣິຄຳໄກຣິຄາແດກຝຶ່ງ  
ຕົກສິ່ງ ຜົບຕັ້ງຕົກບັນດຸກທີ່ບໍ່ມີບຸລິໃຈທີ່ການແສ່ຜູ້ກົບເປົກເປົກ ກົມບັນດຸກທີ່ບໍ່ມີບຸລິໃຈ  
ສະຫະກາດທ່ານເປົກເປົກ ກົມບັນດຸກທີ່ບໍ່ມີບຸລິໃຈ Transform Africa Summit ເພີ້ນ  
ເກົ່າຕະຫຼາດຢູ່ປະເທດໄກຣິຄຳ ດີວຽກ ພູ້ມັກລົບສູງ ກົມບັນດຸກທີ່ບໍ່ມີບຸລິໃຈ Youth Connect Africa ບຸກ  
ກົມບັນດຸກທີ່ບໍ່ມີບຸລິໃຈ Global Gender Summit ເພີ້ນຄູ່ງຕະຫຼາດຢູ່ປະເທດໄກຣິຄຳ ເພີ້ງແຕ່  
ຜົນຄາມເກີດໃຫ້ໂຮງໝາຍເປົກເປົກ ລາລົບທີ່ໃຫ້ຕື່ບັດ ສູງເທົ່ານີ້ ພູ້ມັກລົບສູງ  
ຄຸດກາຕາ ອີເມວີ້ນສູນສືບີ້ຕື່ບັດໃຫ້ຕື່ບັດໃຫ້ພົບເປົກເປົກ ເພີ້ນ  
ແຮງຕາຕີ່ໄກຣິຄຳໄກຣິຄາ ອີເມວີ້ນສູນສືບີ້ຕື່ບັດ ແກ່ກາຄຳຕໍ່ຫຼາ ICCA ຕານຜູ້ລົບຜູ້ຮີ້ຕື່ບັດ  
ລົບ ຊົ່ວ່ວໆລົມກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງກໍລົງ  
ເກົ່າຕະຫຼາດຢູ່ປະເທດໄກຣິຄຳ ສະໜີໂຫຼຜູ້ຜົນທຳນົດເວລີ

បុន្តែ ដូចទីក្រុងដែលកាំណីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍រឿងរៀងរាល់ និងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋនៅក្នុងទីក្រុង ដែលត្រូវឱ្យ  
មានការអភិវឌ្ឍនការណ៍តែលើវិស័យថ្មីដែលត្រូវឱ្យពេញលេញនៅមួន និងបញ្ចប់ក្នុង  
សារក្រើមនៃទៅតាមនោះដើរ ក្នុងបញ្ហាប្រឈមនៃកែវតែមានដឹងដើរសម្រាប់គឺ  
ឬមានជំងឺ ប្រកបដោយហិច្ចបាមួយប៉ុន្មោះ ដូចតាការធ្វើឲ្យមាននិរន្តរភាព និង  
ជាការឱ្យដឹងដើរការកំបងដែលត្រានយានយន្ត។ ឯីតុកិត្ត ដែនការយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ  
នគរបនិយកមួយ គឺសំដែរទៅដឹងប្រព័ន្ធប្រជាមុនខាងនេះ បុន្តែនូវក្រុងគឺ  
ហ្មាលី ក៏ពីនឹងផ្តល់ដែរទៅលើភាពពាណិជ្ជកម្ម និងក្រុងនៅ ម្មានឲ្យរៀងរាល់ ក្រុង  
ចំនួននេះ ត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើងដើម្បីជួយការកំបនុយក្រុងប្រជាពលរដ្ឋបាលក  
ឯធម៌ដូចតារីតិបាលី ក្រុងទាំងនេះ រួមានក្រុង Rubavu និងក្រុង Rusizi  
នៅក្នុងខេត្តភាគខាងលិច ក្រុង Muhanga និងក្រុង Huye នៅក្នុងខេត្តភាគ  
ខាងត្បូង Musanze នៅក្នុងខេត្តភាគខាងជើង និងក្រុង Nyagatare  
នៅក្នុងខេត្តភាគខាងកើត។

# V

## Innovation et résilience : le futur du développement urbain

Innovation and resilience,  
the future of urban development



Place à la nouvelle génération ! Seng Vannak pose les enjeux du développement actuel de Phnom Penh. Ngo Natharoun montre la place prise par les nouvelles technologies et des nouvelles pratiques urbaines, Hassan Hajam insiste sur la nécessité d'une économique sociale et solidaire et Hun Chansan sur l'importance d'un développement qui s'appuie sur la culture locale. Enfin, en conclusion, Lionel Prigent énonce des recommandations pour aider tous ceux qui ont en charge l'avenir des villes, leur gestion et leur développement.

Over to the new generation!  
Seng Vannak explains the current development challenges facing Phnom Penh. Ngo Natharoun shows the role played by new technologies and new urban practices, Hassan Hajam emphasises the need for an economy based on community and solidarity, and Hun Chansan the importance of development that is rooted in local culture. Finally, Lionel Prigent concludes with recommendations to help all those with responsibility for the future, for the management, and for the development of cities.

ទុកលេលឡើងអ្នកនៃប្រឹតូវ! លោក សែន វណ្ណោ: យើកឡើងពីបញ្ហាដែលអាមេរិកខ្សោយចិត្តពីប្រព័ន្ធបុរីយុទ្ធឍា លោក ដៅ ណាលួន ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុអាជារនៃបច្ចេកទេសខ្លួន និងទម្ងន់ប្រើប្រាស់នៅក្នុងក្រុង លោក Hassan Hajam សង្គតុច្បាប់ទៅលើការណែនាំនៃសង្គគិត្យ សង្គមនិងសាយគ្រាប់ ហើយលោក ហុង ពាណ់នាន និយាយពី សារៈសំខាន់នៃការអភិវឌ្ឍមួយដែលធ្វើក្រោមឱ្យឱ្យប្រើប្រាស់និងចុងរាយ ក្នុងសេចក្តីផ្លូវ លោក Lionel Prigent នាន់លើក្រុងជាអនុសាសន ដើម្បីរួមជាកំពិតដល់អ្នកដែលទទួលបានកិច្ចអនាគត ការប្រើប្រាស់និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍។



# Les enjeux actuels du développement de Phnom Penh

Ville résiliente, Phnom Penh regarde vers l'avenir. La Municipalité continue de trouver des moyens nouveaux et innovants pour favoriser le développement urbain de la capitale cambodgienne, dont la croissance forte et rapide doit toujours répondre à de nouveaux défis. **PAR SENG VANNAK**

## UN ESSOR ET UNE CROISSANCE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE RAPIDE

Phnom Penh est aujourd'hui le moteur économique du Cambodge. Son territoire compte 3840 ateliers d'artisanat et 857 usines, majoritairement dédiées à la confection textile. Sa population croît rapidement, de presque 4% par an. Aux plus de deux millions de résidents permanents s'ajoute environ un million de journaliers. Depuis 1979, le territoire de la ville a été multiplié par quatre. Pour faire face aux défis posés par cette forte croissance démographique, la Municipalité a développé plusieurs projets d'aménagements du territoire. Avec l'extension de la ville, de nouveaux districts sont créés : ils sont aujourd'hui quatorze, soit cinq de plus qu'il y a 10 ans. Par ailleurs, une meilleure communication entre les différents échelons administratifs hiérarchiques a été mise en place. Elle a permis de mieux répondre aux attentes propres à chaque district. Le schéma directeur à l'horizon 2035 est un autre outil développé pour permettre un meilleur accompagnement du développement urbain par les pouvoirs publics. Afin de faciliter l'accès aux services administratifs de base à tous les citoyens (état civil,

licences d'activité économiques, etc.), l'introduction du système «One Window Service» en 2016 permet désormais à tous les citoyens d'effectuer l'ensemble de leurs démarches administratives de manière simplifiée et transparente grâce à un système de guichet et tarif uniques pour chaque type de document.

## UNE VILLE SANS CESSE EN EXPANSION

En raison de la croissance démographique, la ville s'étend à la fois en hauteur et de façon horizontale. Son paysage urbain évolue très rapidement. 40% des immeubles aujourd'hui comptent plus de 10 étages (317 sur 791), alors qu'il n'y avait aucun immeuble de grande hauteur il y a 15 ans ; la première tour a été terminée en 2010. Des nouvelles manières d'habiter voient le jour. Les *borey*, ou « cités résidentielles », se multiplient. Ces vastes lotissements de maisons et de compartiments sont des quartiers résidentiels fermés, dotés de services de base, supermarchés, écoles..., et où ne peuvent entrer que les résidents. La ville en compte actuellement environ 134, localisées notamment dans les zones périurbaines. Par ailleurs, de nombreuses villes-satellites se développent autour de la capitale.

Vue panoramique de Phnom Penh, 2019.  
Panoramic view of Phnom Penh, 2019.  
រូបភាពដោយលីមិកនៃខេត្ត  
ក្រសួងពេទ្យ ឆ្នាំ២០១៩

Si ces «nouvelles» manières de construire créent des espaces résidentiels d'un nouveau type, leur intégration dans la ville est complexe à gérer en termes de circulations, de continuités avec la ville existante et pose question en raison de l'interdiction d'accès à certains espaces d'une partie de la population. Dans ce contexte, le programme de coopération entre l'APUR et la Municipalité de Phnom Penh, développé depuis 2016, a permis d'accompagner le projet ING City sur une zone de 2 500 hectares au sud de la ville, autour du lac dénommé Boeung Choeung Ek. Des principes d'aménagement pour une bonne intégration de ces projets dans le développement urbain ont été édictés. Ces recommandations portent notamment sur l'importance des espaces publics, le maintien des lacs et des canaux dans le domaine public et leur usage collectif, l'intégration des quartiers précaires existants et le respect des villages existants dans la zone de projet.

La Municipalité de Phnom Penh travaille par ailleurs, à l'intégration dans la ville des populations les plus vulnérables. Le projet que nous venons de lancer cette année, en partenariat avec l'AIMF et les associations des élus locaux du Cambodge, vise notamment à réintégrer dans un quartier rénové les habitants installés aujourd'hui dans un habitat précaire le long du canal Stung Meanchey, au sud-est du centre-ville.

Grâce à la montée en compétences des autorités locales et un accompagnement technique de la municipalité de Phnom Penh, des minimas de qualité architecturales des habitations sont établis et l'aménagement d'espaces publics est réalisé pour faire de ces quartiers des quartiers comme les autres afin que les habitants se sentent finalement citoyens de plein droit, jouissant d'un cadre de vie décent et de la même considération que les autres phnompenhois.

## TROIS DÉFIS POUR LE FUTUR

Phnom Penh aura à relever trois grands défis dans la décennie à venir, défis qui gravitent autour d'un thème central : la durabilité du développement urbain.

**Gérer la consommation énergétique de la ville**  
La dernière saison sèche nous a apporté, comme partout sur la planète, des températures élevées ainsi qu'une grande sécheresse. La majeure partie de l'énergie de la ville dépend d'installations hydro-électriques sur le Mékong alors que la faiblesse du niveau d'eau a atteint des records cette année. L'ensemble du territoire de la capitale a ainsi connu, pendant presque trois semaines, un délestage quotidien d'électricité de trois à quatre heures qui a eu des répercussions sur la vie quotidienne et sur l'économie. Ce genre de phénomènes extrêmes soulève de multiples questions, que l'on peut ramener à la question de la résilience de Phnom Penh au changement climatique. En effet, comment réduire la consommation énergétique de la ville pour favoriser son autonomie, même partielle ? Comment réduire le réchauffement des zones urbaines et conserver «naturellement» des températures vivables en ville ?

La ville de Phnom Penh s'est déjà saisie de ces questions. Nous avons notamment travaillé avec la ville japonaise de Kitakyūshū, qui est jumelée avec Phnom Penh, ainsi qu'avec le Global Green Growth Institute, une organisation internationale promouvant la croissance verte. Ces partenariats nous permettent d'œuvrer au développement d'une stratégie de «ville verte», ainsi qu'à la création d'une stratégie municipale pour faire de Phnom Penh une ville durable. Les espaces verts sont ainsi un outil que la ville explore depuis déjà plus d'une décennie en développant les parcs et jardins publics en ville, comme par exemple la rénovation du parc du Wat Phnom. Plus de projets devraient voir le jour pour permettre à Phnom Penh de proposer et de mettre en œuvre de réelles solutions.

Plus largement dans le futur, il s'agira de créer plus d'espaces publics pour les habitants afin de les inviter à plus s'investir dans la vie citadine. Les places et parcs sont aujourd'hui utilisés pour faire du sport et se promener ; ils participent ainsi à la (re)construction d'un sentiment d'appartenance et au développement d'une identité citoyenne.

## Contenir et gérer la circulation routière

Le sujet des espaces publics nous amène naturellement à la question des circulations douces. La marche à pied dans les rues du centre-ville est aujourd'hui un parcours du combattant. Les trottoirs sont en grande partie accaparés, utilisés par les habitants des rez-de-chaussée pour des usages divers (parking, commerce, atelier, etc.). Il nous faut donc, en tant que Municipalité, travailler avec les pouvoirs locaux et les habitants pour restituer ces espaces à l'usage de tous et améliorer ainsi les conditions de déplacements pédestres. Nous sommes face à un problème sans fin : les résidents ne se déplacent pas à pied du fait de l'encombrement des trottoirs, préférant utiliser des motos ou

des voitures, même sur de courtes distances.

Dans une ville où le nombre de véhicules enregistrés est déjà de plus de 2 millions, avec un taux d'augmentation de 11% par an, la question des déplacements et de la mobilité est une préoccupation croissante des pouvoirs publics. La création de la Régie des transports en 2018 a permis à la Municipalité de mettre en service quinze lignes de bus, favorisant la mobilité de tous, notamment des citoyens les plus modestes. En effet, les ouvrières et ouvriers, les étudiants et les fonctionnaires y voyagent gratuitement, et le tarif unique pour un trajet est de 1000 riels, soit 0,25 USD.

La ville travaille également activement au développement de son réseau routier, et plusieurs nouvelles rocades verront le jour à l'horizon 2030.

## Gérer les déchets

Le dernier enjeu majeur auquel la Municipalité doit répondre est la gestion des déchets.

**La Municipalité de Phnom Penh travaille par ailleurs, à l'intégration dans la ville des populations les plus vulnérables.**



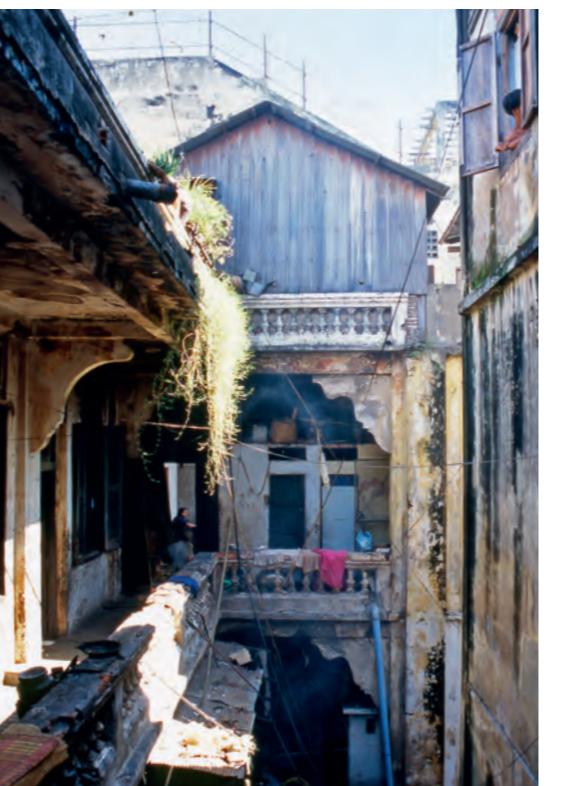
## Current challenges in Phnom Penh's development

Phnom Penh is a resilient city, with its eye on the future. The Municipality continues to find new and innovative ways to foster urban development in the Cambodian capital, where strong and rapid growth continues to raise new challenges. **BY SENG VANNAK**

### RAPID EXPANSION AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH

Phnom Penh today is the engine of Cambodia's economy. Its territory is home to 3840 workshops and 857 factories, mainly dedicated to textile production. Its population is growing fast, at almost 4% a year. In addition to the more than two million permanent residents, there are some one million day labourers. Since 1979, the size of the urban area has increased fourfold.

To tackle the challenges raised by this sharp demographic growth, the Municipality has developed several spatial development projects. With the expansion of the city, new districts have been created: there are now 14 of these, five more than 10 years ago. In addition, communication between the different hierarchical tiers of administration has been improved, with the result that responses to the specific needs of each district are better. The 2035 masterplan is another tool that has been developed to enable the authorities to support urban development more effectively. So that



Programme de relogement de populations pauvres le long du canal du Stung Meanchey.  
Rehousing programme for poor populations along the Stung Meanchey canal.

កម្មវិធីបញ្ចប់ប្រជាផល  
ដើម្បីក្រសាន់តាម  
បណ្តុះបណ្តុះ  
សិក្សាអាជីវិច្ឆី  
នៃក្រសួងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍

Cour d'un immeuble des années 1920 dans le district Daun Penh.

Courtyard of a 1920s building in the Daun Penh district.

ទីផ្សាយខាងក្រោម  
នៃក្រសួងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍  
និងខេណ្ឌនៅពេរោះ

La ville a produit, en 2018, 2700 tonnes par jour de déchets solides, une quantité qui augmente de 13% par an depuis dix ans. La décharge actuelle, ouverte il y a six ans, avait été conçue pour durer dix ans. Or, elle sera fermée à la fin de l'année car elle est déjà pleine.

Le partenariat historique entre la Japan International Cooperation Agency et la municipalité de Phnom Penh sur la question du drainage et de la gestion des eaux en ville a permis de faire émerger le premier projet de station de traitement des eaux usées, dont la construction démarra l'année prochaine. Enfin, avec le soutien de l'AIMF, la municipalité a amorcé une réflexion sur la question des boues de vidange et sur la manière de les valoriser localement, favorisant ainsi l'émergence de dynamiques économiques endogènes. C'est dans ces domaines que des solutions innovantes doivent être développées.

### CONCLUSION

Phnom Penh est une ville résiliente qui a su renaître de ses cendres après 1979 grâce à la grande adaptabilité de sa population et à sa capacité à trouver des solutions endogènes, ainsi qu'à intégrer, se réapproprier et réinventer des mécanismes d'adaptation ayant déjà fait leurs preuves ailleurs. La Municipalité de Phnom Penh a toujours accordé une grande importance au travail en réseau, en prenant appui sur des compétences diverses. Elle s'ouvre ainsi à une collaboration plus active avec les acteurs de la société civile afin de pouvoir, ensemble, mieux préparer l'avenir. La Municipalité compte beaucoup sur son engagement dans le projet de Smart City développé par l'ASEAN qui va lui permettre d'aborder l'ensemble des problématiques décrites précédemment, en intégrant les possibilités offertes par les nouvelles technologies.

citizens can more easily access basic administrative services (public records, business licences, etc.), the introduction of the "One Window Service" system in 2016 has made it possible for people to conduct their administrative procedures simply and transparently via a single access point and with a single tariff for every type of document.

### A CONSTANTLY EXPANDING CITY

As a result of its demographic growth, the city is expanding both upwards and outwards. Its urban landscape is changing very fast. Today, 40% of buildings have more than 10 storeys (317 out of 791), whereas just 15 years ago there were no high-rise buildings in the city. The first tower block was completed in 2010. New ways of living are emerging. Borey, or "gated communities" are proliferating. These large estates of houses and tube house blocks – equipped with basic services such as supermarkets and schools – are gated neighbourhoods accessible only to residents. The city currently has 134 of these, mainly located in periurban areas. In addition, numerous satellite-towns are developing around the capital. While these additional urban entities are creating new kinds of residential space, their integration into the city is difficult to manage in terms of flows and continuity with the existing fabric, and the fact that they exclude sections of the population from certain areas raises issues. In this domain, the programme of cooperation between APUR and Phnom Penh Municipality, underway since 2016, has supported the ING City project in a 2500 hectare zone in the south of the city, around the lake called Boeung Choeung Ek. Planning principles have been laid down to ensure that these projects are well integrated into urban development. These recommendations relate in particular to the importance of public spaces, of keeping lakes and canals in the public domain for community use, of integrating the existing informal neighbourhoods and of respecting villages that are already present in the project zone. Phnom Penh Municipality is also making efforts to integrate the most vulnerable populations into the city. The aim of the project we have just launched this year, in partnership with AIMF and Cambodia's local government associations, is to reintegrate into a new neighbourhood the inhabitants currently living in insecure housing along the Stung Meanchey canal, south-east of the city centre.

Thanks to the increased powers of local authorities and technical support from Phnom Penh municipality, minimum architectural quality standards have been established for housing, and public spaces have been included in order to make these areas districts like any other, so that the people who live there finally feel like full citizens, with decent living conditions and the same status as the capital's other inhabitants.

### THREE CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

Phnom Penh will have to tackle three big challenges in the next decade, all of which gravitate around a central theme: the sustainability of urban development.

#### Managing the city's energy consumption

The last dry season brought Cambodia, as everywhere around the world, high temperatures and drought. Most of the city's energy depends on hydroelectric plants on the Mekong, where water levels recorded historic lows this year. As a result, for almost three weeks, the whole capital area experienced daily power outages lasting three or four hours, which had a negative impact on day-to-day life and on the economy. Extreme phenomena of these kinds raise numerous questions, which can be boiled down to the question of Phnom Penh's resilience to climate change. How can the city's energy consumption be reduced in order to make it at least partly self-sufficient? How can rising temperatures be prevented in urban areas and livable conditions maintained in the city by "natural" means?

The city of Phnom Penh has already begun to consider these questions. In particular, we have been collaborating with the Japanese city of Kitakyūshū, which is twinned with Phnom Penh, and with the Global Green Growth Institute, an international organisation that promotes green growth. Through these partnerships, we are working on the development of a "green city" strategy, and on the creation of a municipal strategy to make Phnom Penh a sustainable city. Green spaces are thus a tool that the city has been exploring for more than a decade by developing public parks and gardens in the city, for example with the renovation of Wat Phnom Park. More projects need to be pursued so that Phnom Penh can advance and implement real solutions.

More broadly, in the future, the aim will be to create more public spaces for citizens, in order to encourage them to get more involved in the life of the city. Squares and parks are now being used to do sport and as places to walk. In this way they contribute to the (re)construction of a sense of belonging and to the development of a civic identity.

#### Containing and managing road traffic

The subject of public spaces naturally takes us onto the question of green mobilities. At present, walking around the streets in the city centre is an obstacle course. The sidewalks are largely occupied, used by ground-floor dwellers for various purposes (parking, selling, workshops, etc.). As a municipality, therefore, we need to work with the local authorities and the inhabitants to return these spaces to community use, in order to make it easier for pedestrians to move around. At

present, there is a vicious circle: people will not travel on foot because of the congestion on the sidewalks, preferring to travel by motorbike or car, even over short distances.

In a city with already more than 2 million registered vehicles, and an annual rate of increase of 11%, travel and mobility are increasing preoccupations for the authorities. With the creation of the Transport Board in 2018, the Municipality was able to put fifteen bus lines into operation, improving mobility for everyone, in particular citizens with the fewest resources. In fact, unskilled workers, students and civil servants travel free of charge on these bus lines, and for everyone else there is a flat fare of 1000 riels, i.e. 25 US cents. The city is also working actively to develop its road system, and several new bypasses will be built by 2030.

#### Managing waste

The last big challenge that the Municipality faces is managing waste. In 2018, the city produced 2700 metric tons of solid waste a day, a quantity that has been increasing by 13% a year for ten years. The existing landfill site, opened six years ago, was designed to last for 10 years. However, it is already full, and will therefore close at the end of the year. The historical partnership between the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Phnom Penh Municipality, on the subject of drainage and water management in the city, led to the emergence of the first project for a wastewater treatment plant, on which construction will begin next year. Finally, with the support of AIMF, the Municipality has begun looking into the issue of sewage sludge and into ways of using it locally, in order to foster the emergence of endogenous economic dynamics. These are the areas in which innovative solutions need to be found.

### CONCLUSION

Phnom Penh is a resilient city which was able to arise from the ashes after 1979 thanks to the adaptability of its population and its capacity to find endogenous solutions, as well as to apply, adopt and reinvent mechanisms of adaptation that have proved effective elsewhere. Phnom Penh Municipality has always assigned great importance to operating through networks, so as to draw upon a variety of skills. It is therefore open to more active collaboration with civil society actors, developing the synergies needed to prepare for the future together. The Municipality has high hopes for its involvement in the Smart City project developed by ASEAN, which will help it to tackle all the problems described above by exploiting the possibilities offered by new technologies.



Vue panoramique de la presqu'île de Chruï Changvar depuis le Quai Sisowath, 2019.  
Panoramic view of Chruï Changvar peninsula from Sisowath Dock, 2019.  
ឯករាជ្យជាមួយកិច្ចបាតពីភីវិំពេះសុសុវត្ថិ ទៅប្រាកម្រិតខ្លួន ឆ្នាំ២០១៩

**បញ្ចប់ប្រយោជន៍ការអភិវឌ្ឍការធ្វើនីតិ៍ពេញ**

## សម្រេចកំណើនប្រជាសាស្ត្រយ៉ាងលើវា

ដើម្បីដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាប្រលម្មដែលបណ្តុាលមកពីកំណើនចំនួន  
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ទាំងអស់។

## ក្រុងរីកជំនួយប់

ដោយសារប្រពាណលជ្ជមានចំណាំនៃកើតឡើង ទីក្រុងកំកាន់តែកើតជំឡ៉ាង នៅទីខាងលើ ទាំងនេះជានាមក្រោម។ ទេសភាពព្យីកនឹងមិនមួយចំណុចយ៉ាងល្អជាប្រចាំឆ្នាំ។ ១០% នៃអគារសាន់សង់បច្ចុប្បន្ននៃមានកម្មស់លើសពី១០ជាន់ (៣១ពាក្យ និងចំណោមពាក្យ) ខាងក្រោមនេះដែលត្រូវនូវអគារខ្លួនយូរឡើយកាលពី ៥៧៨៩ អគារសំខាន់សំបុរិញ្ញាតបានសង់បច្ចុប្បន្នបន្ថែមទៀត។

ກາທະແດກມະນຸສັກເປົ່າຕາລຸຜູ້ຕົກເສົາຄຸງລົບບໍ່ນໍາກີ່ໄຊງ໌ນີ້ເຮົາ: ນີ້ກາ  
ຕຸກເຕືອນໃຈໆໃຫ້ຊາຍແພລມານສາບໍ່ກຸງລົບບໍ່ນໍາໄວ້ຄໍ່າງໆ

ម្យាឃីក្រឡេត សាខាករណានីភ្នំពេញក្នុងការអនុវត្តផែនក្នុងទីក្រុង។ តាមដឹងដែលយើង  
បានប៉ាធិមអនុវត្តនៅខ្លាំនេះ ដោយសហការដែលគឺជាមួយសាធារណមន្ត្រា (AIMF)  
និងសាធារណមន្ត្រាដីនៃអភិបាលក្រោនិយាយភាសាតាំង) និងសាធារណម  
តាំងការនៅតាមមូលដ្ឋានក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា សំដើរអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ទៅជូនសមារាប  
កម្មចូលរួមឱ្យសង្គារកំណើនលាងនានាផ្លូវប្រជុំ នូវប្រជាពលន៍ ដែលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ  
នៅក្នុងឆ្នាំ២០១៨ សំរួលដិនសុវត្ថម្ភ តាមបញ្ជាយលើស្ថិតិមានជូន នៅក្នុងក្រុង

ដោយសាសមត្តភាពបស់អាជ្ញាធរូបផ្ទាល់នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនឹង និង  
ការអ្នកលំដាប់នូវឱ្យបង្កើតទេសពីសាលាការជានិត្តពេញ លក្ខខណ្ឌសាប្តុកម្ម  
ឃុំមាមួយនៃសំណើថ្វីចុះទៅនេះ:ត្រូវបានដាក់បច្ចុប្បន្ន ហើយការរៀបចំតាំង  
ជាមុន:ត្រូវបានធ្វើឡើង ដើម្បីគារាយ សង្គមតែទៅនេះមានលក្ខណៈ:សុចិ  
ត្តភាគតែរៀបចំឡើងដែរ នៅកីឡិមូលូប្រជាពលរដ្ឋដែលសំនោះកុងសង្គមត្រូវឱ្យ  
នេះមានការរៀបចំបាន ត្រូវការតែកិច្ចប្រជាពលរដ្ឋកុងសង្គមតែរៀបចំឡើងដែរ  
យុទ្ធសាស្ត្រក្នុងបណ្តុះនៃការរាយនៅឯុបិលុយុប្បុរាណ ប្រាមទាំងទូលាបានការ  
គុរិចចុចប្រជាពលរដ្ឋរៀបចំឡើងដែរត្រូវកិច្ចជានិត្តពេញដោយ

## ក្រុមប្រឈមចំនួន៣ សម្រាប់អនាគត

តុលាក្រុងត្រូវដោរស្រាយបញ្ហាប្រមូលមធ្យំចំនួននៅក្នុងទិន្នន័យ និងមុខនេះហើយសូមតែជាបញ្ហាប្រមូលមធ្យំចំនួននៅក្នុងទិន្នន័យ អភិវឌ្ឍន៍។

## ប័គ្គងការបើប្រាស់ចាមណលនៅក្នុងទីក្រុង

ទីក្រោងក្នុងពេញចានបាប់ដើមិតាលិណាគាទ់សំណ្ងាត់ទាំងនេះហើយ។  
ក្នុងវិស័យបានធ្វើការជាមួយក្រុង Kitakyūshū របស់ជូន ដែលចង់សម្រួល  
គឺការណាមួយដូច្នេះក្នុងពេញចាន ព្រមទាំងជាមួយអង្គភាព GGGI (វិមានស្ថាន  
និងបែតងពិភាក្សាបាត)។ ភាពជាដឹកចូលនៃបានអនុញ្ញាតឡើយហើយតើ  
ទីសាស្ត្រទីក្រុងបែតង ព្រមទាំងហើយតើមួយទូទៅសាស្ត្រក្រុងដើម្បីប្រការយកជានី  
ក្រឡាយ ឬស្ថានមួយដូច្នេះក្នុងមួយមាននឹងភាព។ លំហ្បែតងដើម្បីដែលទីក្រុង  
បានក្នុងក្រឡាយនៃសំណើយោង: ពេលជាមួយយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រក្នុងបែតងហើយ ដោយ  
និងខ្សោនសាធារណៈនៅក្នុងទីក្រុង ទទាហេណី ឬបង្កាត់ការផ្តល់ជូល  
និងក្នុងជាមួយ។ គោលការណ៍ប្រើប្រាស់រឿងបែតងនៃបែតងបានទូទៅស្ថាន  
និងអនុញ្ញាតឡើងក្នុងវិភាគភាពរបស់រឿងបែតង។

គ្រប់គ្រងនឹងកែលមួចកាទុណីជូនដៃគោរក

## គ្រប់គ្រងការកសំណាល់

សេចក្តីសន្និដ្ឋាន

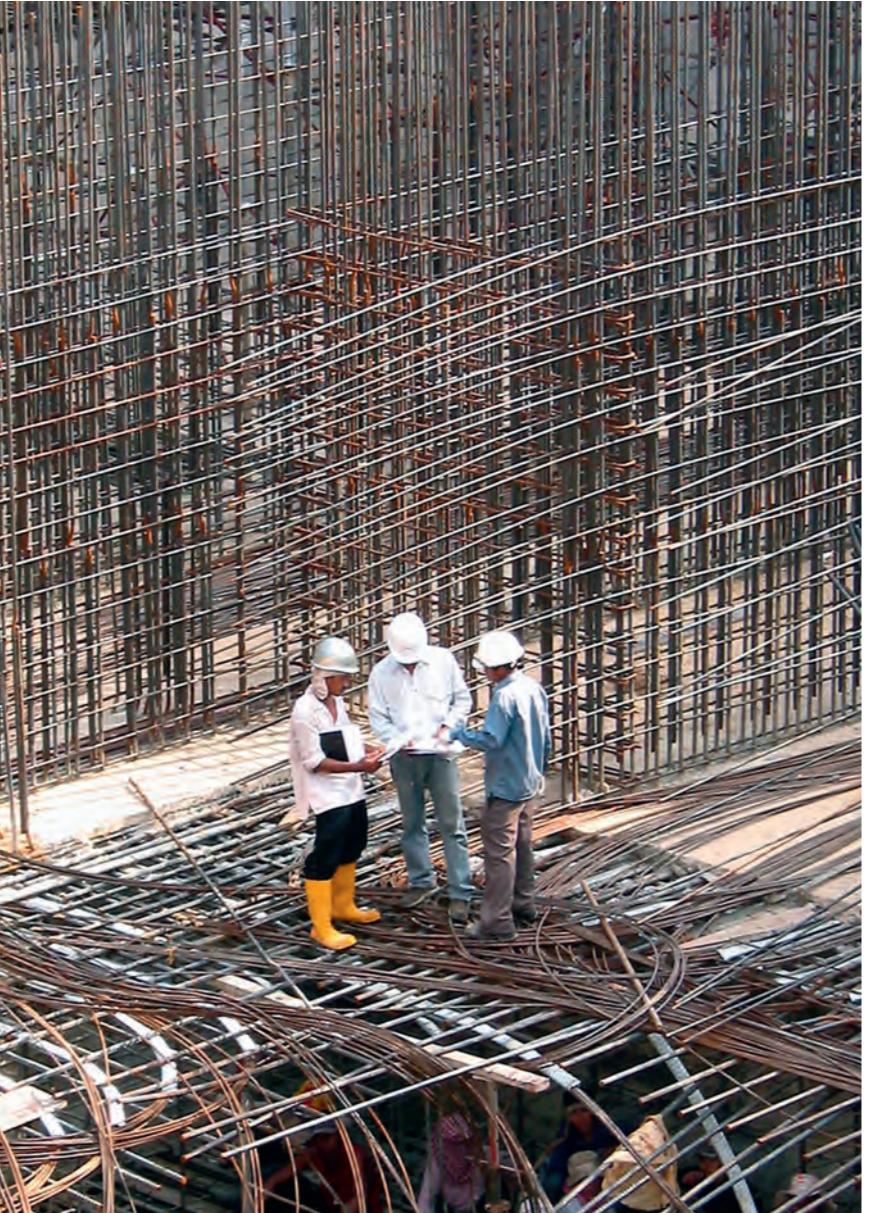
# Les économies urbaines dynamiques : un vecteur de progrès social dans les villes cambodgiennes

Quel est le premier marqueur du développement d'un pays ? La croissance de ses villes. L'expansion d'une ville, ses infrastructures et la transformation de ses services urbains sont les principaux indicateurs d'une économie croissante, alimentée par les investissements locaux et internationaux.

PAR NATHAROUN NGO

Les économies sont souvent uniquement analysées à l'échelle d'un pays (avec le PIB, la stabilité macroéconomique et fiduciaire, les flux commerciaux, les politiques de migration, etc.). Ce niveau d'analyse a dominé les analyses politiques et économiques dans les quatre dernières décennies. Récemment, dans les cinq à dix dernières années, des travaux d'analyse politique et de recherche académique ont utilisé les villes comme indicateurs mesurant la performance économique. Ce changement peut s'expliquer par la capacité grandissante de récolte et d'analyse de données ventilées au niveau local, combinée avec l'attention croissante portée aux villes. La croissance des taux d'urbanisation à l'échelle mondiale est devenue une force de transformation majeure qui doit être bien gérée par les gouvernements locaux. Ceci est d'autant plus important pour des économies en développement que ce sont dans les villes que cette croissance se concentre. Ceci a un effet direct sur les sources de revenu des habitants tout en déterminant la qualité de leurs conditions de vie.

Au Cambodge, la transformation et la croissance de Phnom Penh dans la dernière décennie sont comparables à celles des pays qui, dans le monde, connaissent la croissance économique la plus rapide. Le concept de villes comme moteur de croissance<sup>1,2</sup> est maintenant répandu puisque les gouvernements locaux essayent de maximiser les opportunités offertes par la croissance urbaine. L'intensification du phénomène de départ des usines (à forte intensité de main-d'œuvre) de Chine et d'autres pays asiatiques à cause de salaires plus élevés et la restructuration de chaînes d'approvisionnement régionales ont accéléré l'industrialisation, ce qui a ensuite accéléré le processus d'urbanisation de la région de Phnom Penh. Avec des capacités de fabrication à moindre



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coût et une main d'œuvre jeune, le Cambodge est devenu un des lieux de relocalisation privilégié de la région.<sup>4</sup>

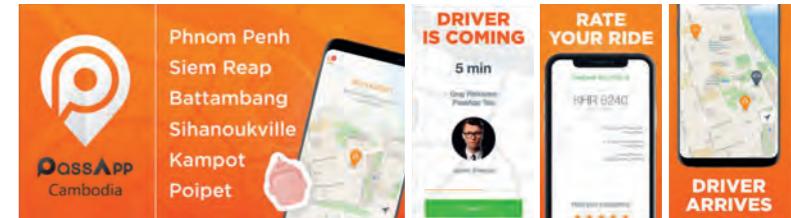
Le Cambodge suit la voie d'un développement économique classique : la part de la contribution au PIB du secteur agricole s'est réduite alors que l'industrie manufacturière et les services sont maintenant au cœur de la croissance de l'économie. La distribution spatiale de l'infrastructure économique du Cambodge tend à se concentrer dans des zones urbaines et péri-urbaines et le capital productif et la croissance des actifs est plus lente dans les zones rurales. Le concept d'économies d'agglomération<sup>5</sup> explique cette préférence géographique pour les villes : les biens et les services sont produits plus efficacement dans les zones les plus densément peuplées qui offrent un réservoir de main-d'œuvre qualifiée et un réseau d'entreprises aux activités complémentaires. Ces entreprises sont à la fois des producteurs et des créateurs d'une masse importante de clients. Leur concentration favorise aussi une compétition saine, engendrant une meilleure qualité et diversité de services, à des prix plus équilibrés. Au niveau mondial, les chiffres révèlent également que les zones urbaines génèrent 55% du produit national brut dans les pays à faible revenu et 73% dans les pays à revenu intermédiaire.<sup>6</sup> Phnom Penh est certainement l'une des villes qui contribue majoritairement au PIB national. Trois des quatre piliers de la croissance qui ont alimenté l'économie cambodgienne au cours des vingt dernières années (le bâtiment, la confection et l'industrie manufacturière, les services et le tourisme) concentrent la majorité de leurs activités à Phnom Penh et dans d'autres grandes villes secondaires.

## LES VILLES, LA TECHNOLOGIE ET LA TRANSFORMATION DES DONNÉES

La technologie permet une meilleure gestion du développement urbain. Les données générées par des individus et captées par de nouveaux moyens technologiques, tels que les réseaux d'infrastructures numériques, transforment la manière dont les villes sont gérées dans les économies en développement. Cette «révolution des données» a principalement lieu dans les centres urbains. A Phnom Penh, on remarque l'émergence de centres de données (il s'agit principalement d'entités privées qui collectent, directement ou indirectement et à des fins privées, les données de leur base de clients/consommateurs) gérés par des sociétés locales ou internationales. Peu de grandes entreprises d'analyse des données ont pénétré le marché cambodgien au cours des dernières années. Jusqu'à maintenant, le «big data» ne sert qu'à des fins commerciales, principalement pour mieux comprendre le comportement des clients dans des secteurs spécifiques (la banque, la finance, la téléphonie, les transports, etc.). Il est peut-être prématûr de parler d'une révolution des données au Cambodge<sup>7</sup> : la collecte et l'analyse des données en sont encore à leurs débuts puisque les infrastructures existantes restent limitées et que les systèmes de législation et de gouvernance sont en

Sur le chantier de la tour Canada, 2007.  
On the Canada Tower construction site, 2007.

ការរំភ្លាស់សំណង់អត្ថាគារ  
ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍  
ឆ្នាំ២០០៧



Phnom Penh :  
des transports  
collectifs  
informels à  
l'utilisation  
d'une application  
de son  
smartphone  
«PassApp» ou  
«Grab» pour  
commander son  
chauffeur.

Phnom Penh:  
informal public  
transport based on  
a "PassApp" or  
"Grab" application  
to book a ride.

ក្រុងព្រៃនេះ  
មានរៀបចំដែលបាន  
សារព័ន្ធដោយក្រុមហ៊ុន  
ផ្សេងៗទីផ្សារទូទៅដែល  
ធ្វើឱ្យបានការងារប៉ុណ្ណោះ  
ប្រចាំថ្ងៃ "PassApp"  
ឬ "Grab"

train d'émerger. Le potentiel des mégadonnées ne peut être exploité sans intelligence artificielle et la capacité d'exploitation des données combinées avec les dernières infrastructures de technologies numériques (l'IdO). Mais le concept de «villes intelligentes» deviendra vite une réalité omniprésente.

Des innovations technologiques majeures ont déjà été déployées et ont développé de nouveaux services urbains. Prenons l'exemple de Grab, une entreprise en Asie du Sud-Est qui a modifié le marché par l'apport d'une technologie nouvelle. L'entreprise a rapidement transformé l'accès des résidents de Phnom Penh aux services de transport. Avant Grab, peu d'acteurs-pionniers avaient pénétré le marché (il y avait notamment PassApp, l'entreprise cambodgienne de mise en contact d'utilisateurs avec des conducteurs) et leur accès au financement, aux technologies et à l'expertise était local et donc plus restreint.

De nouvelles plateformes d'échange soutenues par Facebook ont généré des réseaux additionnels de vente et de distribution à Phnom Penh.<sup>8</sup> Toutes ces innovations technologiques transforment les économies urbaines et les comportements sociaux en créant de nouveaux marchés et en devenant des solutions grand public accessibles à un large éventail de la population urbaine.

Des entreprises technologiques locales qui associent l'entrepreneuriat social aux innovations technologiques ont aussi fait leur apparition à Phnom Penh. Ces acteurs cherchent à résoudre des problèmes générés par la ville en améliorant l'efficacité d'un service déjà fourni (tel que la récupération des déchets ou les systèmes de transport en commun) ou en créant des services qui répondent à de nouveaux problèmes (tel qu'améliorer

# How much can dynamic urban economies be a vector for social progress in Cambodian Cities?

What is the first noticeable aspect that demonstrates the development of a country? Its cities' growth. The expansion of a city, its infrastructure and the transformation of urban services are prime visible aspects of a growing economy, fueled by incoming domestic and international investments.

BY NATHAROUN NGO

## WHY CITIES ARE DYNAMIC ENGINES OF GROWTH

The economic opportunities offered by globalization are much greater in cities, and this is particularly true in the context of developing countries such as Cambodia and cities such as Phnom Penh.

Economies are often analyzed at country-level only (GDP and business performance, macroeconomic and fiduciary stability, trade flows, migration policies, etc.). This level of analysis was dominant in most policy and economic analysis over the last 4 decades. It is only recently (past 5-10 years) that policy analysis and academic research has used cities as indicators to measure economic performances. Increasing capacity to collect and analyze disaggregated data at local level, combined with the growing importance given to cities may have paved the way. Increasing urbanization rates at global level have become a major transformative force that must be well managed by local government. This is even more critical in graduating economies, as cities in developing countries are places where growth concentrates. This directly impacts the livelihood opportunities of its inhabitants, while also predetermining the quality of their living conditions.

In Cambodia, transformation and growth in Phnom Penh over the past 10 years has clearly reflected one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The concept of cities as engines of growth<sup>1</sup> is now a recognized part of mainstream knowledge, as local governments try to maximize opportunities offered by urban growth.

The intensification of manufacturing facilities (using labor intensive production) relocating out of China and other Asian countries due to higher wages, and the restructuring of regional supply chains have further accelerated industrialization<sup>2</sup>, which has in turn accelerated urbanization processes in the Phnom Penh region. With low-cost manufacturing capacities and the presence of a young labor force, Cambodia is still among the preferred relocation sites in the region. Cambodia follows a classic economic development path: the share of its agricultural sector's contribution to GDP decreased, while manufacturing and services are now central to economic



Chantier de construction d'un borey sur la presqu'île de Chru Changvar.  
Borey construction site on the Chru Changvar peninsula.  
ការបច្ចេកទេសដីលើបុរីមួយកន្លែងនិងបាយច្បាស់

l'accessibilité pour les personnes en situation de handicap). Leur objectif n'est pas de remplacer le service public ou de concurrencer des exploitants privés. Ils opèrent dans des niches de marché pour résoudre des problèmes urbains spécifiques à un coût abordable en accord avec les principes de fonctionnement des entreprises sociales.

La technologie et les données sont en mesure d'avoir un effet sur les opportunités économiques et l'amélioration des services sociaux, contribuant ainsi directement aux économies urbaines dynamiques.

Si des nouvelles formes de vulnérabilité urbaine menacent le modèle de croissance économique de Phnom Penh, il faut présenter les grandes tendances qui résultent de cette transformation urbaine en cours.

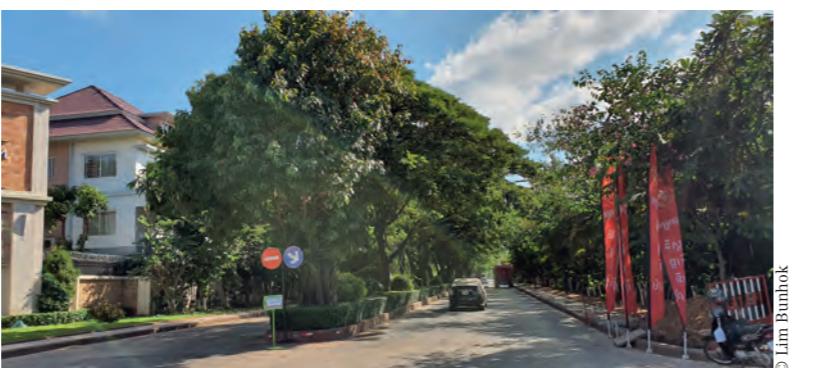
## LES TENDANCES DE TRANSFORMATION URBAINE

La construction des *borey* est une des forces motrices de l'expansion urbaine<sup>9</sup> de Phnom Penh depuis la fin des années 1990. Il s'agit de nouvelles formes de résidences péri-urbaines construites par des promoteurs privés, majoritairement cambodgiens. Certains *borey* permettent une nouvelle mixité sociale à l'intérieur de la ville. La densité de population et le l'augmentation du prix des terrains associées au développement d'une réelle classe moyenne urbaine engendrent la multiplication des résidences fermées, particulièrement à la périphérie de Phnom Penh. Certains de ces projets deviennent des mégaprojets, s'étendant sur de très vastes surfaces. Ces résidences fermées et privées construites dans des pays en développement sont souvent accusées de créer des « élites » et de rassembler les ménages les plus riches, menant ainsi à l'existence de « ghettos pour les riches ». A Phnom Penh, les résidences privées ont certaines de ces caractéristiques. Leur plan masse est celui d'un lotissement de maisons standardisées encloses de murs qui délimitent le terrain de la communauté, leur accès est sécurisé

Les *boreys* du groupe Peng Huoth ont fait le choix de donner une grande place à la nature.

*Boreys* built by the Peng Huoth group include extensive space for nature.

បុរីមួយទៃ ឱះ ហូរ ផ្តល់សារ៖ សំខាន់ជូន ការពិសោធន៍អាមេរិក ដើម្បី



et contrôlé et les services sont privés et gérés par une administration centrale privée. Mais les résidences privées cambodgiennes ne rassemblent pas forcément que l'élite. Le groupe Peng Huoth, promoteur immobilier, leader du marché, s'est attaché à la qualité des espaces de vie, de l'architecture intérieure des maisons et de leur environnement, des espaces extérieurs et de loisirs. Le plan initial prenait exemple sur des modèles réussis de résidences fermées en Asie du Sud-Est mais en les adaptant aux besoins sociaux et culturels cambodgiens. La diversité des types et des tailles de logements proposés aux résidents a permis de réunir dans un même espace géographique des classes socio-économiques différentes, allant de familles très aisées à des foyers de la classe moyenne. La diversité de profils, de métiers, de niveaux de revenu, d'âges, d'ethnicités et de types de ménage est unique et se doit d'être analysée et comprise davantage. Certains peuvent arguer que les disparités de revenu et de richesse perdurent dans la résidence fermée, mais la réussite de ses créateurs, dont l'intention et la vision étaient de garantir une meilleure diversité sociale et un environnement agréable avec une densité élevée d'espaces verts pour répondre aux besoins des cambodgiens, a été démontrée par l'expansion de leurs projets et de leurs résidences. La qualité des services fournis aux résidents est également différente, avec plus d'égalité d'accès et des prestations de meilleure qualité pour tous, quelles que soient la classe sociale et le statut. Les règles internes qui sont imposées ont une influence sur les comportements individuels et collectifs des membres de la résidence, ce qui a permis de définir ce qu'est une communauté respectueuse et sûre. Cela a peut-être permis de mieux comprendre collectivement ce que peut être un quartier cambodgien. Alors que des comportements de plus en plus individualistes se remarquent dans le centre-ville, tels que l'usage abusif de l'espace public pour satisfaire des besoins privés et la résolution de conflits via le pouvoir social et l'autorité), un véritable civisme émerge dans ces communautés.<sup>10</sup> Le défi sera de maintenir ou d'accroître la diversité sociale et la qualité des services dans le temps.

La deuxième tendance démontre que les économies urbaines des villes cambodgiennes peuvent accélérer l'égalité des genres. Puisque le premier

1. *Cities: Engines of Growth and Prosperity for Developing Countries?*, Gilles Duranton, 2008.

2. La Banque mondiale a également analysé ce concept en 1998.

3. *Relocating labour-intensive manufacturing firms from China to Southeast Asia: a preliminary investigation*. Chun Yang, 2016.

4. Les systèmes de préférences commerciales tels que le SGP aux Etats-Unis, les accords multilatéraux ou «Tout sauf les armes» dans l'Union européenne ont créé des conditions économiques très favorables pour les investisseurs qui ciblent des grands marchés d'exportation.

5. *How Cities Erode Gender Inequality: A New Theory and Evidence from Cambodia*, Alice Evans, CID Faculty Working Paper No. 356, July 2019

6. Nations Unies, Département des affaires économiques et sociales et Programme des Nations unies pour le développement, Rapport du forum mondial de la gouvernance locale et des services sociaux pour tous, 2000.

7. En décembre 2019

8. *Infrastructure as Creative Action: Online Buying, Selling, and Delivery in Phnom Penh*. Margaret Jack, Jay Chen, Steven J. Jackson. May 2017

9. *The Production of Urban Spaces in Phnom Penh*. Gabriel Fauveaud, 2015.

10. Ce paragraphe se réfère au projet Borey Peng Huoth Boeung Snour project sur la route nationale 1. Les données ont été recueillies lors d'entretiens réalisés par le Centre pour les études Khmer en 2019 auprès de résidents locaux de *borey* (échantillon d'environ 70 personnes sur une période de neuf mois) et avec l'un des fondateurs du groupe Peng Huoth.

11. *Agglomeration economies and evolving urban form*. Genevieve Giuliano, Sangkyun Kang, Quan Yuan, The Annals of Regional Science, 2019.

12. Cet acronyme désigne les personnes lesbiennes, gays, bisexuelles, transgenres, et queer. Le plus (+) se réfère notamment aux individus qui interrogent leur identité sexuelle actuelle ainsi qu'aux personnes intersexes et asexuées.

13. Salas V & Sriu S. *An Exploration of Social Exclusion of Lesbians, Gay and Transgender Persons in Families and Communities and their ways of coping*. 2014 Social Protection Coordination Unit, SPCU-CARD, Phnom Penh.

14. *C13. Cities: Engines of Growth and Prosperity for Developing Countries?* Gilles Duranton, 2008.

15. The World Bank also studied the concept in 1998.

16. *Relocating labour-intensive manufacturing firms from China to Southeast Asia a preliminary investigation*. Chun Yang, 2016

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION TRENDS

Southeast Asia, has been both a market and technology disruptor. The company has rapidly transformed the way Phnom Penh's residents access transportation services. A few other pioneer-actors entered the market before Grab (such as Cambodian ride hailing company Pass'App), but their access to funding, technologies, and expertise was local and therefore more restricted. Facebook supported new online trading platforms have created additional sales and distribution networks in Phnom Penh<sup>8</sup>. All these new technological innovations are transforming urban economies and social behaviors, by creating new markets and becoming mainstream solutions accessible to a wide range of urban populations. Phnom Penh has also seen the emergence of a local "tech scene" that combines social entrepreneurship and technological innovations. Those actors seek to address urban generated issues by either improving the efficiency of an existing service (e.g. solid waste collection, public transport systems), or by creating new services that address emerging issues (better access for disabled people). Their aim is not to replace public service capacities or compete with private operators. They



នៅក្នុងរយៈពេលទាំងមីនាទី ក្រុងតូចពេញនាយកដែលបានដោយសារសាកល  
កាលនូវភាពសេដ្ឋកិច្ចដែលរារកីទាមទេសចរណ៍នាយកដែលបានដោយសារសាកល  
ការប្រើប្រាស់ ពីជាមានប្រើប្រាស់នៅក្នុងទីក្រុង ហើយរឿងបែងទេសកំពុងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ដូចជាប្រើប្រាស់  
កម្មដោ និងក្នុងទីក្រុងនានា ដូចជាធិក្រុងតូចពេញនាយកដើម្បី  
ជាតុខេ សេដ្ឋកិច្ចត្រូវបានវាគារតែក្នុងកម្រិតប្រើប្រាស់តែបុណ្យណា៖  
ដោយពីនិត្យមិនដលិតផលក្នុងស្ថុកសុបុ សិរីភាពម៉ាក្រោសដ្ឋីក្នុង និង  
សិរីភាពជនប៉ាក្រ ហើយបានវិភូកមួយ និងនយោបាយទេសន្ទរប្រើសែនទៀតដើម្បី ទៅ  
ប្រើប្រាស់ជូនដែលបានបង្ហាញ ដោយការគោរពយោបាយសេដ្ឋកិច្ច នៅក្នុងរយៈ  
ពេលទេសស្សីបុងប្រាយនេះ៖ កាលពីពេលខ្លឹម ពេលតិចក្នុងរយៈពេល  
ពីថ្ងៃទៅថ្ងៃដែលបានបង្ហាញ ការងារការគោរពយោបាយ និងការងារសេវក្តី  
ស្រាវជ្រាវ បានយកទិន្នន័យជាសុចាងករសម្រាប់ការសែន្ទរប្រើប្រាស់ដើម្បីបង្ហាញក្នុង  
ការត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថុកសុបុនេះអារម្មណីរួមទៀត ដែលត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថុកសុបុនេះ ត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថុកសុបុនេះ  
នៃការប្រើប្រាស់ និងវាគាត់ទិន្នន័យបាន តាំងពីក្រុងតូចពេញនាយកដែលបានដោយសារសាកល  
ការដោយក្នុងកម្រិតពិភពលោក បានត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថុកសុបុនេះ ក្នុងតូចពេលទេសកំពុងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ដូចជាប្រើប្រាស់  
កម្មដោ និងក្នុងទីក្រុងនានា ដូចជាធិក្រុងតូចពេលទេសកំពុងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ដូចជាប្រើប្រាស់

សម្រាប់សេវាគិច្ចដែលកំពុងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ដោយសារថា កំណើននេះ តាមប្រើប្រាស់ គឺ  
មានទំនើប្រុងខ្លួនប៉ុណ្ណោះ។ កំណើននេះផ្តល់ជូនជាទ្វាក់ទៅលើប្រព័ន្ធបំណុលបៃស៊ប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ និងថែមទាំងជាក្នុងក្រុងកំណត់គុណភាពនៃដីភាពសំ  
នៅបែបសំប្រជាពលរដ្ឋឡើងដែរ។

នៅក្នុងជាតិ ប្រហភន្ធសាស្ត្រ និងកំណើនរបស់ជាតិនឹងត្រូវ នៅក្នុង ទសកម្មចុងក្រោយនេះ គឺគោលព័ត៌មានខ្លួនដែលបានអនុវត្តន៍ឡើង ប្រទេសផ្សេងៗទៀត គឺជាបានដែលឆ្លើយតប កំណើនសេដ្ឋកិច្ច លើវិស័យ។ ទស្សនាទានា ដែលយកទីក្រុងជាតិក្នុងប៉ាងបុីន្តែកំណើន ១២ បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ត្រូវ បានគោលព័ត៌មានដោយទូទៅ ដោយ ពីរបានគោលទិន្នន័យ និង ឱ្យបានអប្បែរនៅក្នុងក្រុងប៉ាងបុី។

បាតក្រុងដែលនៅចក្រ (ជាន់សំយប្រើកម្មណ៍ពលកម្មប្រើប្រិន) តាកេហ្យការតែក្រុងពីប្រទេសចិន និងពីបណ្តុះប្រាយទេសអាសុីធ្លឹងទៅតែដោយសារតែប្រាក់ខកម្មករនៅប្រទេសទាំងនេះការតែក្រុង និងការរៀបចំចនាសម្បន្ទូលើដំឡើងនៃខ្សោយបានរួចរាល់ខ្លួន និងការរៀបចំប្រព័ន្ធដែលត្រូវនឹងខស្សាបកម្មភាពីរិយកម្ម<sup>3</sup> ហើយបន្ទាប់មក បានពាណីជីជុំណែនការសុប្តិឈម្យកម្មណុញ្ញនៃបំបាត់ជាយទិន្នន័យពេញ។ ដោយមានសមត្ថភាពដលិតក្នុងតំបន់ថ្មីបាន និងមានកម្មណ៍ពលកម្មយ៉ាង្វួន ប្រទេសកម្មជាបានត្រាយជាគោលដៅនៃការប្លូយករបស់គ្មាន ចក្រវិនិយោគ ដែលគេចូលចិត្តជាងគេនៅក្នុងបំបាត់<sup>4</sup> ។

ប្រទេសកម្មដានដើម្បីអនុវត្តសេដ្ឋកិច្ចតាមរបៀបដឹងត្រូវ  
មាននយោបាយ តារាងនៃការងារចំណែកដល់ការបង្កើតដល់តម្លៃត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថិតិភាព និងសំណង់សំណង់  
កសិកម្មត្រូវបានកាត់បន្ទាយ ឧបាណ: ខសុយហកម្មដឹកថ្មី និងវិស័យសេវាកម្ម  
បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ស្ថិតិនៅចំណែកដល់ការបង្កើតដល់តម្លៃត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថិតិភាព ការអភិវឌ្ឍហេត្តុរបាយ  
សម្រាប់សេដ្ឋកិច្ចនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្មដា ហើយនៅតែផ្តល់ទៅលើការបង្កើតដល់ក្នុង និងតាំងបន្ទាយ  
ជាយក្រឹង និងមូលដ្ឋានដល់តម្លៃ និងការបង្កើតទ្រព្យសកម្ម នៅតាមតាំងដែនបទ  
មិនស្ថិតិរបស់ខ្លួនទេ ទេស្ថិតិទានសេដ្ឋកិច្ចត្រួតពិនិត្យស្ថិតិភាពនៅរបៀបតិច  
ចំណែកចំណូលបិទ្ទូនៃការវិនិយោគនៅក្នុងទីក្រុង មាននយោបាយ ដលិតកម្មទ្រព្យ  
សម្រាប់ និងសេវាកម្មនៅទីក្រុង គឺមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពជាងនៅទៅ ដែនបទ ហើយ  
ក្នុងដែលមានប្រធានាដែនរំលែកប្រើប្រាស់ គឺជាយក្រឹងដែលក្នុងក្នុងពាណិជ្ជកម្មប្រកប  
ដោយគុណភាព និងខ្សោយបណ្តាញសហគ្រាស ដែលប្រកបអាជីវកម្មបំពេញត្រួត  
ទៅក្នុងទីតាំង សហគ្រាសទាំងនេះ អាចដើរការឱ្យបានទៅតាមដឹង ជាប្រភពបង្កើតអគ្គិភ័ន្ធដែលបានបង្កើតឡើង ការប្រមូលដឹងបំផុតនៃប្រើប្រាស់ ការប្រមូលដឹងបំផុតនៃប្រើប្រាស់  
ទាំងអស់នៅក្នុងត្រួតពិនិត្យសកម្ម ក្នុងដែលប្រកបដោយគុណភាពនៃសហគ្រាស  
ត្រួតពិនិត្យអគ្គិភ័ន្ធ តាំងក្នុងនៃសេវាកម្មប្រកបដោយគុណភាពនិង សម្រាប់បែប ក្នុងត្រួត  
ការងារដែលមានតម្លៃត្រួតពិនិត្យអគ្គិភ័ត្តិ

នៅក្នុងកម្មិតកិត្តលោក ត្រូវបានបញ្ជាផ្ទៃដែរថា តំបន់ក្រុងបង្កើត ៥៥%នៃផែតផលជាតិសុប នៅក្នុងបណ្តុះប្រទេសដែលមានប្រាក់ចំណួល ទាំង និងណាម%នៅក្នុងបណ្តុះប្រទេសដែលមានប្រាក់ចំណួលមួយច្បាស់។ ត្រូវពេញ ប្រាក់ជាតិទីក្រុងមួយភ្នាក់ប៉ាណេមបណ្តុះប្រាក់ទីក្រុង ដែលស្មើរបស់ក្រុមហ៊ុនទៅ ក្នុងផលិតផលជាតិសុប។ សសាស្ត្រូមួយក្នុងចំណោមបសរាស្ត្រូមទាំងបូននៃ កំណើនសេវាក្នុងក្រុមអ្នក ភ្នាក់យេះពេលខែច្បាស់បានក្រោយនេះ គឺមានវិស័យ សំណង់ វិស័យការដែរនិងខស្សាបក្នុងក្នុងត្រូវ វិស័យបេរាកម្ម និងឈើយ ទេសចរណ៍។ វិស័យផ្តល់កំណើនទាំងនេះដោយក្រុមហ៊ុនទៅបីសកម្មភាព ធ្វើកិច្ចនៅទីក្រុងក្នុងត្រូវ និងនៅតាមបណ្តុះប្រាក់ទីក្រុងជំបន់បន្ទាប់ដោយទៀត។

## ទីកន្លែង បចេកវិទ្យា និងរបៀបវាតននៃទិន្នន័យ

បច្ចេកវិទ្យាអនុញ្ញត្តការក្រោមគ្រប់គ្រែងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធឌីជាន  
ប្រសើរជាន់មុន។ ទិន្នន័យខ្លួនដែលបង្កើតឡើងដោយបុគ្គលិកនឹងប្រមូលទានដោយ  
មធ្យាបាយបច្ចេកវិទ្យាដើរ ដូចជាបណ្តាណក្រោមហេត្តូរបែនពាណិជ្ជកម្មខ្លួនដើម្បីបាន  
ការផ្តល់ប្រាប់ប្រកបនៃការក្រោមគ្រប់គ្រែងទិន្នន័យ នៅក្នុងសេវាក្នុកចក្ខុកចាំងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍។  
"បង្កើតនិន្នន័យ" នេះ តើត្រូវដាក់តិះសែល នៅក្នុងតំបន់ទិន្នន័យ។ នៅ  
តួនាទី គេសង្គតមិនបានមានមុន្តុលទិន្នន័យ ( តារាងប្រើប្រាស់ជាប្រព័ន្ធ )  
ឯកជន ដែលប្រមូលយកដោយតាមលក្ខ បុរាណប្រយោជន៍ បុសប្រាប់ប្រយោជន៍  
ឯកជន នូវទិន្នន័យពាករក្នុងនឹងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ បុគ្គលិកប្រើប្រាស់របស់ខ្លួន ) ដែល  
ក្រោមគ្រប់គ្រែងដោយក្រោមពីរបានក្នុងស្ថិតិយាល័យ និងក្រោមពីរបានក្នុងស្ថិតិយាល័យ និង  
ទិន្នន័យជាកំរាពិរាស់ ដែលបានរៀបចំបញ្ជីដើម្បីក្រោមពីរបានក្នុងស្ថិតិយាល័យ និង  
បុគ្គលិកប្រើប្រាស់ ហើយក្នុងស្ថិតិយាល័យ និងក្រោមពីរបានក្នុងស្ថិតិយាល័យ និង

នវភាគត្រួតពលចេញដំឡើង ត្រូវបានបើយប្រចាំសប្តាហ៍ហើយ និងនាន  
ដីជីតិសេវាកម្មក្រុងចិនទេរទេតង់។ ជាទាបាអណិត ក្រុមហ៊ុន Grab គឺជា  
មេបុរណនមួយនៃការសិក្សាថ្មីយ៉ា ដែលបានធ្វើឲ្យទីផ្សារដីក្នុងពួនមានការ  
ប្រឈប់ តាមរយៈការទាំងបុរណនខ្លួនបែបចេញដំឡើងមួយ។ ក្រុមហ៊ុននេះបានធ្វើឲ្យ  
ប្រឈប់ទូទៅលាការសេវាកម្មដីក្នុងពួនមានបែបប្រាកាសដែរដែលសំនួរត្រួតពីក្រុង<sup>1</sup>  
ពួន បានផ្តាល់បុរណនត្រូវកត់សម្រាប់។ មុនក្រុមហ៊ុន Grab ចូលមកជំនួយ  
នៅក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធបាប់ដើម្បីកសិក្សាថ្មីយ៉ា និងសំរាប់បានបើយប្រចាំសប្តាហ៍ (មាន  
អនុវត្ត ក្រុមហ៊ុន PassApp ជាក្រុមហ៊ុនខ្លួនមួយ ដែលត្រូវបំពេញបាន ហប្បប្រឈប់  
ប្រចាំសប្តាហ៍ និងអ្នកបើកបាន) ហើយការទទួលបានហប្បប្រឈប់បាន ហប្បប្រឈប់  
ដែលត្រូវបានបើយប្រចាំសប្តាហ៍ និងអ្នកបើកបាន PassApp នេះ មានកម្រិតក្រុមត្រួតពីស្ថុក ដូចដែលក៏  
មានកម្រិតដោយ

ដែលបានប្រើប្រាស់ទាំងនេះ នានាដែនដុំស្ថិតិយោប់បានរហូតដែរ មួយក្រុងពីរ  
ដែលជាមួយក្រុមហ៊ុនអនុវត្តន៍ទៅក្នុងនៅទៅ ប៉ុន្មានក្រុមហ៊ុនទាំងនេះ ប្រតិបត្តិភាពនៅ  
នៅចំណោកណាមួយនៃទីក្រុង ដើម្បីដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាពីសេវាឌែក្ខុងក្រុង  
នៅត្រូវបានប្រើប្រាស់ដោយអនុលាយខ្លួនគ្នាទៅតាមគោលការណ៍នៃក្រុមហ៊ុននាន  
នូលខុលត្រូវសង្គម។

បច្ចេកវិទ្យានឹងទិន្នន័យកំពុងនៃការចូលរួមដែលដោះស្រាយការណាមួយត្រូវ  
បានសេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងការកំណត់លក្ខណៈសេវាកម្មសង្គម ដូចដូច កំណត់ចំណោកដោយឆ្នាំរួម  
ក្នុងនេសជ្រើនក្នុងក្រុងប្រកបដោយបាយចាមាតជងដែរ។ ប្រសិនបើទម្រង់ចិត្តនៃ  
នីមួយភាពក្រុង តាំងកំហែងដល់ក្រុកណើនីសជ្រើនក្នុងក្រុង ត្រូវ

ပြည်သူမှု နိုင်ငံတော်လွှာ

ក្រុមហ៊ុនអភិវឌ្ឍនេរបាលនទ្រព្យ យោង ហ្មត ដែលទាមទីគេនៅក្នុង  
ទីផ្សារ បានដោះស្រាយជូនឯកភាពនៃលំហាត់ប្រាប់រាយសេវា ស្ថូបត្រួត<sup>១</sup>  
កម្មុត្រូវដឹង: និងបិន្ទុស្ថានជូនឯក ព្រមទាំងលំហាត់ប្រាប់និងសុវត្ថិភាពដី។  
ប្រជាក់ដើម្បីយកតាមគម្រោះដែលទទួលបានដោតជូនឯក ការសារឱសង្គមឱ្យបាន  
បង្ហិទជីត នៅក្នុងនៅរដ្ឋុងទៀត នៅក្នុងសុវត្ថិភាព បុំណុំដោយសម្រាប់ទៅតាម<sup>២</sup>  
តម្លៃការសេវាអ្នកនិងប្រុងចិត្តខ្លួន តាមទុលាត្រូវប្រកែដ និងទាំងបំបាត់: ដែល  
ដូចជាផ្លូវនិងអតិថិជន បានអនុញ្ញាតឡើងក្នុងដែលសិតិវេសនៅក្នុងណ្ឌែ: សង្គម និងមាន  
ដីរាជទុលាត្រូវបានអាចរំលែកបានឡើងទៅក្នុងទីតាំងតំបន់មួយបាន មាននំបាតា នៅក្នុងបុំណុំយ  
មានទាំងត្រូវសាម្រួលការណានខ្លះ ហើយជាប់ត្រូវសាម្រួលការណានបានមធ្យម។ តាម<sup>៣</sup>  
ខ្លួនឯកនៃមុខមានត្រូវសង្គមបែលសំខ្លោស់ដូច: មុខហើយ កម្រិតចំណុល អាយុ  
ជាតិសាសន៍ និងប្រកែត្រូវសាធារណៈ គិតមួនសុច្ចាញទៅ គិតបុំណុំយុទ្ធបុំណុំយ ហើយ  
លក្ខណៈនេះ តម្លៃទៅមានការពិភាក់ត និងសិល្បោះយល់ទៅបានសិជ្ជម៉ោងមន្ត្រី។

អុកខ្លះអារម្មណលំអណ្ឌាប់សំណង់ចា តាពិធីសាស្ត្រនៃព្រៃក់ចំណូល និង  
ទ្រព្យសម្បូរ គើនវិកដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ ក្នុងចំណោមត្រួសារ និងក្នុងបុរី បុរី  
ពេជ្រជើយបស់ក្រុមហិរិនដែលអភិវឌ្ឍបុរីទាំងនេះ ត្រូវបានបង្ហាញឡើង  
តាមរយៈការពិច្ចកកពេជ្រ និងលេនវិភាគនៃជាបន្ទូនបញ្ជាប់ បុរីនេះ មាន  
ចែកនានា និងបញ្ជីសិល្បៈ ជាពាណិជ្ជកម្មភាពចម្លួយៗសុម្រួលភាកេនតែប្រសើរ  
ឡើង និងផ្តល់បិសាលនប្រកបដោយជាសុកភាព រួមនិងលំហ៊ូបែនិនបី ដើម្បី  
ផ្តើមយកលាថីនិងត្រូវការបរិស្ថាប្រជាធិកម្មជាតា គុណភាពលេកកម្មដែលផ្តល់  
ជូនម្នាល់ផ្តល់កំណើនបាននៅក្នុងទីក្រុងដើរ ពេលតី នៅក្នុងបុរី មានភាពស្អីក្រុ  
ជាតី សេវកម្មធម្មុណាតី ប្រកបដោយគុណភាពសម្រាប់គ្រួសារ ទៅបីជាតា  
ម្នាល់ផ្តល់មេនាប់ខ្លះ ដើម្បីកួនុងសង្គមក៏ដោយ។ ច្បាប់ទៅបានបុរីឡើង ដែលត្រូវ  
ម្នាល់ផ្តល់កោរពាណាពិធី ពិតាបានដែលត្រូវការបង្ហាញឡើង និងកិរិយាបទ  
បស់ម្នាល់ផ្តល់ជាតូរធម៌ ទៅកិច្ចជាតីដែលអនុញ្ញាតឡើងគេកត់សម្បាល់ឡើងចា អុក  
សេវក្នុងបុរីគិតិជាសហគមន៍ដែលមានការគោរពត្រូវការិក្សាទីក្រុ និងមាន  
សុវត្ថិភាព។

សក្ខណ៍: នេះប្រព័លជាតានអនុញ្ញាតឡើតេយល់កាន់តិចច្បាស់  
ជាងមុនអំពីដែលជាសង្កាត់ខ្លួន ខណៈដែលនៅក្នុងទិក្រាង គេសង្គតាយើល្អ  
កាន់តិចឡើនឡើងនូវកិរិយាបទបែបអត្ថតម្លៃបុគ្គល ដូចជាការប្រើប្រាស់នឹង  
រំភាគលើទីតាំងសាធារណៈដើម្បីប្រាយយោងនៃកែងដែន និងការងារស្រាយ  
ជម្លោះដោយប្រើអំណែក និងបុណ្យសំភិត ផ្សាយទៅក្នុងបុរី នៅក្នុងបុរី គេបំបាត់  
ជាសង្គតាយើល្អបែបឡើងនូវកិរិយាបទយោគយល់ទៅក្នុងទៅមក គឺតិចប្រ  
យោងនៃសាធារណៈនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍ទៅក្នុង<sup>10</sup> បញ្ហាប្រឈម គិតការក្រោម ឬ  
ហើយនិតិវិធីប្រាយដែលបានបង្ហាញឡើងនូវកិរិយាបទយោគយល់ទៅក្នុងទៅមក

ទៅនៅទីបង្ហាញ សេដ្ឋកិច្ចទីក្រុងខ្នាតបាស្ទើសមរាកពេល  
ខ្លាំ ដោយសារកត្តិទីទៅនេះសង្គមប្រជុំសំបុត្រិតចំណុចសំដោទៅ  
តាំបន់ទីបង្ហាញ គឺការងារ ដូចខ្លះ ទីក្រុងកម្ពុជា និងក្រុងដំបង្ហាញប៉ះប្រើន  
ផែងទេរ៉ាត ពិតជាតាក់ទាញបាត់ប្រើនេះប្រជាដុំនៅតាមដឹងបទ ទាំងប្រុស  
ទាំងប្រើ។ ការសិក្សាប្រាក់ប្រាក់ដើម្បីមួយ<sup>1</sup> នានាប៉ះហាប់អំពីកត្តិផែងប្រើនទៀត។  
ការសំនេះក្នុងទីក្រុង ហើយប្រើប្រាក់នឹងការសំនេះតាមទីផលបទ ពិតជាតាក់  
ព្រមទាំងបំណាយខែសំដាន ដូចជាប៉ះផ្លូវលក្ខណៈ និងប៉ះផ្លូវដំណើរ ព្រមទាំង  
ចំណាយកំពាំងមួយជាតិប្រើនេះផែងទេរ៉ាត ដូចជាថ្វីអគ្គិសនី និងសុខភាព។  
បើនឹងទីនីមួយៗនៅក្នុងប្រាក់បំណុលដែលអារក្រាសាត ក្នុងសំខែតាមនោះដែរ ទាំង  
ឯកសារការងារផ្តើ និងប្រាក់បំណុលប្រចាំថ្ងៃ ប្រើប្រាក់ទៅ។ កាលណាន្តុក្តាត់  
សេដ្ឋកិច្ចប្រាក់ស្តី ដែលសំនេះក្នុងបំបាត់ក្រោង ហើយដែលមិនធ្វើតាមទេរ៉ាត  
ការងារណាមួយក្នុងប្រាក់បំណុលប្រើនេះជាគេត ពិតជាថ្វីបំណាយខ្លះសំដាន  
នៅតាមទីផលបទ ដូចខ្លះ លក្ខណៈនេះប៉ះទេរ៉ាតតាំងមួយនាការឆ្លាត់សំបុត្រិ  
បាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងបំណើរ ប៉ះការងារទៅតាមដឹង យ៉ាងឆ្លាត់សំខែក្នុងប្រាក់បំណុល

**1.** *Cities: Engines of Growth and Prosperity for Developing Countries?*, Gilles Duranton, 2008

## ២. ធនាគារពិភពលោកកំបានវិភាគទស្សនាទាន់ដៃ នៅតាំងទេសចរណ៍

**3.** Relocating labour-intensive manufacturing firms from China to Southeast Asia a preliminary investigation. Chun Yang, 2016

**5. Agglomeration economies and evolving urban form.** Genevieve Giuliano, Sangkyun Kang, Quan Yuan, *The Annals of Regional Science*, 2019.

6. អង្គភាសាំរបាយការណាតិជាតិ នាយកដ្ឋាននគរបាយការណាតិច្បាប់រាជរដ្ឋបាល និងកម្មិតអង្គភាសាប្រជាតាតិដើម្បីរាជរដ្ឋបាល នាយកដ្ឋាននគរបាយការណាតិការព័ត៌មានកសិក្សាកិច្ចបាលកសិក្សាកិច្ចបាលកសិក្សាកិច្ចបាល

នគរបាល សាស្ត្រ

#### **8. Infrastructure as Creative Action: Online Buying, Selling, and Delivery in Phnom Penh**

Penh. Margaret Jack, Jay Chen, Steven J. Jackson. May 2017

## **9. The Production of Urban Spaces in Phnom Penh.** Gabriel Fauveaud, 2015.

10. កែបានភាគនៃគីឡូយាយសំខែទៅគេបង្ហាញបើដោះបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ។ ចិន្ទីនឹងរាយព្រៃតាមប្រជុំបានយើដែលបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ។ ទៅឯណីជាប្រជុំមួយក្នុងសហគមនាក្នុងក្រុងក្រោមបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ។ នៅក្នុងក្រុងក្រោមបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ នឹងធ្វើជាប្រជុំបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ។ ទៅឯណីជាប្រជុំមួយក្នុងក្រុងក្រោមបានភាគបើដោះបានភាគ។

11. *Urban Cities Reduce Gender Inequality: A New Theory and Evidence from Cambodia*

<sup>19</sup> ດັ່ງນີ້ແມ່ນເປົ້າຫວັດທີ່ເຄີຍເຫດຜົນໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດຕື່ມີ້ແລ້ວ ແລະ ດັ່ງນີ້ແມ່ນເປົ້າຫວັດທີ່ເຄີຍເຫດຜົນໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດຕື່ມີ້ແລ້ວ



à mettre en œuvre une approche participative qui reconnaît la résilience, les capacités, les compétences et les ressources des personnes vulnérables afin de co-créer, d'apporter et de maintenir des solutions pour la collecte des déchets plastiques. L'aide financière et l'encadrement apportés par des agences de développement et des incubateurs de start-up jouent également un rôle crucial en permettant l'acquisition de véhicules, l'installation de machines de recyclage, la mise en relation avec des acheteurs de plastique recyclé et la résolution de problèmes opérationnels. Enfin, les entreprises de fabrication locales fournitissent leurs déchets industriels plastiques gratuitement.

#### Vishuddh Recycler en Inde : restaurer la dignité de la communauté des migrants ramasseurs de déchets de Bangalore

En Inde, les chiffonniers vivent de la collecte et de la revente de déchets recyclables trouvés dans les rues ou dans les décharges. Ce type d'activité informelle de collecte de déchets est largement pratiqué par les Dalits (les Intouchables) et d'autres communautés de caste inférieure qui constituent les populations les plus stigmatisées en Inde. À Bangalore, les chiffonniers sont souvent des migrants économiques du Bengale-Ouest, une région distincte du nord-est de l'Inde, qui ont trouvé refuge dans des quartiers informels temporaires. Les principaux facteurs

Entreprise Vishuddh Recycler en Inde, transformation des déchets collectés par les chiffonniers en emballages. Vishuddh Recycler company in India, converting waste collected by ragmen into packaging.

ក្រុមហ៊ុន Vishuddh Recycler តែប្រឡាយ សកម្ម កំណត់សំណង់ដែល ប្រើប្រាស់រូបរាង ដែល ជីវិត ឱ្យរាយ ប្រើប្រាស់ ប្រុងប្រយ័ត្ន



de cette migration ont été climatiques (inondations, tempêtes cycloniques comme le cyclone Sidr en 2007). Malgré la contribution des chiffonniers à l'amélioration de la santé publique et de l'environnement urbain de la ville, ils restent au bas de l'échelle sociale et économique.

*Vishuddh Recycle* est une entreprise sociale dont la mission est d'acheter et de recycler les déchets plastiques collectés par des organisations travaillant avec des chiffonniers vulnérables afin de formaliser leur profession, d'assurer leur bien-être social et de leur donner la reconnaissance publique qu'ils méritent. Ce social business a été lancé en 2018 par Cofresco, une entreprise multinationale de premier plan spécialisée dans la fabrication et la vente d'emballages alimentaires. Leur modèle économique adopte les principes de l'économie circulaire : les plastiques collectés durant le processus de production de Cofresco sont recyclés pour devenir une matière première pour la fabrication d'emballages respectueux de l'environnement. Tous les bénéfices réalisés par cette entreprise sociale sont réinvestis dans des initiatives visant à améliorer la santé et l'éducation des familles des chiffonniers.

*Vishuddh Recycle* a pour double objectif de soutenir 2 000 chiffonniers en tant que fournisseurs de déchets plastiques et de recycler 3 000 tonnes de plastique par an en Inde. Ce social business est né d'une initiative d'« intrapreneuriat social d'entreprise » au sein de Cofresco. Il s'agit d'un nouveau type d'activité commerciale initié par les employés d'une entreprise au profit d'une cause sociale et/ou environnementale. Ces employés appelés « intrapreneurs sociaux » bouleversent les procédures internes d'innovation de leur entreprise pour développer des produits, des services, des processus ou des modèles commerciaux innovants qui répondent à des questions sociétales importantes ou qui aident à atteindre des marchés négligés. Ils utilisent les infrastructures et les capacités organisationnelles existantes de leur entreprise comme leviers pour promouvoir, concevoir et mettre en œuvre des

solutions pratiques aux défis sociaux ou environnementaux urgents tout en créant une valeur économique à long terme pour leur entreprise. Le soutien financier et l'expertise technique fournis par la société ont été la clé du succès de la création de *Vishuddh Recycle*.

#### **CRÉER UN ENVIRONNEMENT FAVORABLE AUX ENTREPRISES SOCIALES**

Voici des recommandations pour soutenir la création d'entreprises sociales dans les villes cambodgiennes :

1. Soutenir davantage les programmes de *social business* dans les universités afin que les étudiants puissent créer et tester des modèles d'entreprise qui aborderont les questions sociales, et afin de former une nouvelle génération de responsables plus conscients des défis sociétaux et environnementaux urgents à travers le monde.
2. Soutenir la mise en place d'incubateurs et d'accélérateurs d'entreprises sociales afin de stimuler la création de nouvelles entreprises dans tous les secteurs et toutes les régions et de fournir aux innovateurs et aux entrepreneurs sociaux une aide financière, un accès aux réseaux ainsi que d'autres ressources essentielles.
3. Fournir aux entrepreneurs sociaux de nouveaux outils et instruments financiers adaptés à leurs contraintes sur le terrain pour les assister dans la création de nouvelles formes d'entreprises dans des zones géographiques négligées et vulnérables pour apporter des produits et services de base aux communautés les plus pauvres.
4. Encourager les politiques de soutien pour s'assurer que la réglementation nationale soutienne directement les objectifs du social business ; récompenser par des incitations et des avantages économiques les externalités positives produites par les modèles d'entreprise sociale.
5. Créer un nouveau statut juridique pour les entreprises sociales car il manque encore un cadre juridique approprié pour stimuler et amplifier le développement des entreprises sociales, définies comme des organisations hybrides à mission sociale qui utilisent des approches commerciales pour atteindre leurs objectifs.
6. Promouvoir l'intrapreneuriat social dans tout type d'organisations : l'intrapreneuriat social est basé sur une approche ascendante (bottom-up) au sein d'une organisation publique ou privée. Contrairement à une approche descendante partant des responsables, l'intrapreneuriat social débute avec les employés. Pour créer les conditions permettant aux intrapreneurs sociaux de prospérer, il faut mettre en œuvre de nouveaux processus qui soutiennent, encouragent, récompensent et reconnaissent les attitudes entrepreneuriales au sein d'une organisation.

## **Social Entrepreneurship can build Urban Resilience**

Promoting Social Businesses is a powerful means to help urban communities coping with/recovering from adverse events while supporting the emergence of a more inclusive economy leaving no one behind.

BY HASSAN HAJAM

Trickle-down economic programs and profit centric businesses have shown their limitations in addressing long standing issues such as Climate Change and Poverty.

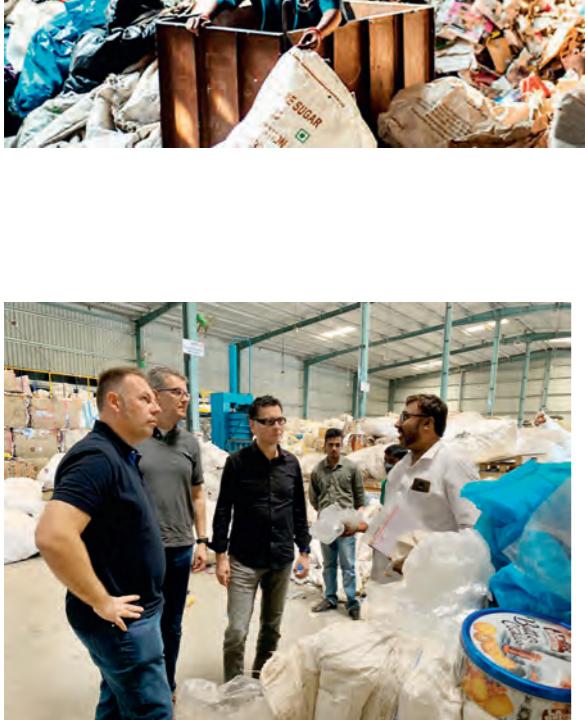
The need to better address income distribution, the loss of welfare resulting from environmental degradation, as well as the health, life expectancy, education, and standard of living of citizens is not well enough captured with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) focused measurements.

We need to give more space to principles of accountability, inclusivity, and sustainability that are central to balance any economic systems.

#### **SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: A MEANS TO REWIRE THE ECONOMY IN CAMBODIA AND BEYOND**

A Social Business is a financially self-sustaining organization with a clearly defined social and/or environmental mission. Unlike traditional businesses, social enterprises do not aim at maximizing profits for their shareholders but strive to tackle a societal problem (poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, environmental degradation etc.). Unlike a charity organization, a social enterprise does not rely exclusively on donations and will grow revenue streams generated through its programs.

By essence, Social Businesses innovate by considering the poorest communities as suppliers, employees, distributors, or customers, known as people at the base of the economic pyramid,<sup>1</sup> in the company's core strategy and value chain. Recognizing that the poorest communities are often the principal victims of natural disasters, economic shocks and environmental issues, promoting Social Businesses is acknowledged as a powerful way to strengthen the capacity of a society to cope with, adjust, or recover from adverse events while supporting the emergence of a more cohesive, equal and inclusive economy leaving no one behind. As Social Businesses find innovation opportunities in the most pressing social and environmental problems faced by the underserved, supporting their establishment in Cambodia is particularly relevant as 14 % of the population



1. The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid (2004), C. K. Prahalad

2. Poverty Data: Cambodia (2019), Proportion of Population Living below the National Poverty Line, Asian Development Bank

3. The World Bank (2017), Access to electricity (% of population) - Cambodia, World Bank Open Data

4. UNICEF; <https://data.unicef.org/topic/water-and-sanitation/drinking-water/>

5. Habitat for Humanity; <https://www.habitat.org.au/cambodia/>

(2.28 million people)<sup>2</sup> is living below the national poverty lines, 10.9 % of the population (1.77 million people)<sup>3</sup> don't have access to electricity, 6% of the population (0.97 million people)<sup>4</sup> don't have access to safe water services, and in Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital and largest city, about 140,000 people are living in more than 500 slums<sup>5</sup> characterized by overcrowding, poor housing and insecure tenure, and where access to basic amenities is a daily battle.

## A FOCUS ON BUILDING URBAN RESILIENCE BY BETTER ADDRESSING WASTE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Solid waste management is a universal issue affecting every single person in the world. Individuals and governments make decisions about consumption and waste management that affect the daily health, productivity, and cleanliness of communities. Poorly managed waste is contaminating the world's oceans, clogging drains and causing flooding, transmitting diseases via breeding of vectors, increasing respiratory problems through airborne particles from burning of waste, harming animals that consume waste unknowingly, and affecting economic development such as preventing tourism growth. Waste management issues requires urgent action at all levels of society.

Solid waste management is critical - overlooked piece for planning sustainable, healthy, inclusive and considerate for all.

Most impacted are society's most vulnerable—losing their lives and homes from landslides on waste dumps, working in unsafe waste-picking conditions, and suffering profound health repercussions.

Solid waste management is a critical—yet often overlooked—piece for planning sustainable, healthy, and inclusive cities and communities for all. Below are some sustainable examples of Social Businesses operating in the waste management sector that could be replicated in Phnom Penh and any cities in emerging economies.

## Haiplast Recycling: Empowering earthquake victims from marginalized communities through waste management entrepreneurship in Haiti

A limited legal framework regulating solid waste management (only 12% of the solid waste collected in Port-Au-Prince), 1.5 million economically excluded individuals, forced to live in makeshift internally displaced person camps after the 2010 earthquake led to the creation of Haiplast Recycling, a Social Business founded in 2012 by Duckencia F. de Bourdier. The organization collects bottles/plastics waste and transforms them into flakes or granules, which are migrants from West Bengal, a distinct region in the Northeast of India, who found refuge in temporary squatter settlements. The major push factors have been climatic events such as floods and cyclonic storms (e.g. cyclone Sidr in 2007). Despite the contributions rag pickers made to improving the city's public health and urban environment, they remain at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.

Vishuddh Recycle is a Social Business

then supplied to both local and international off takers for use in the manufacture of various polymer/polyester products.

*Haiplast Recycling* organizes education and training campaigns on plastic waste management and provides proper assistance to turn individuals severely affected by the earthquake into microentrepreneurs able to generate stable and sufficient incomes from plastic waste collection activities to fulfil the basic needs of their family while contributing to a greener and healthier environment for Haitians. The whole recycling plant relies on local labor rather than sophisticated machinery to avoid expensive maintenance costs, while enabling the development of jobs and local competencies.

Solid waste management is a critical—yet often overlooked—piece for planning sustainable, healthy, and inclusive cities and communities for all.

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and resources of the  
vulnerable persons to co-create, deliver  
and sustain solutions for plastic waste  
collection. Financial and mentoring  
assistance offered by development  
agencies and start-up incubators to  
acquire a transportation vehicle, install  
recycling machines, connect to recycled  
plastics buyers, and solve operational  
issues is also critical. Lastly, local  
manufacturing companies provides their  
plastic industrial waste free of charge.

## Vishuddh Recycle: Restoring the dignity of Bangalore's migrant waste-picking community in India

In India rag pickers make a living from collecting and reselling recyclable wastes

collecting and reselling recyclable wastes found on the streets or in landfills. This type of informal waste collection activity is largely done by Dalits ('untouchable') and other lower-caste communities, who are amongst the most stigmatized populations in India. In Bangalore, informal rag pickers are often economic migrants from West Bengal, a distinct region in the Northeast of India, who found refuge in temporary squatter settlements. The major push factors have been climatic events such as floods and cyclonic storms (e.g. cyclone Sidr in 2007). Despite the contributions rag pickers made to improving the city's public health and urban environment, they remain at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.

Vishuddh Recycle is a Social Business

Cambodian cities:

1. Further support the Social Business curriculum within Universities, for students to create and test business models that will address social issues, and train a new generation of managers, more aware of the world's most pressing societal and environmental challenges.
2. Support the establishment of Social Business Incubators and Accelerators, to spur the creation of new ventures across sectors and regions, and provide social innovators and entrepreneurs with financial assistance, access to networks and other key resources.
3. Provide Social Entrepreneurs with new financial tools and instruments geared to their constraints on the ground: as they create new forms of business in underserved and vulnerable

that purchases and recycles the plastics waste collected by organizations working with vulnerable rag pickers to formalize their profession, secure their social welfare and give them the public recognition they deserve. The Social Enterprise was initiated in 2018 by Cofresco, a leading multinational company specialized in the manufacture and sale of food packaging products. Their Social Business model embraces circular economy principles by recycling plastics collected into Cofresco's production process as raw materials for the manufacture of environmentally-friendly packaging solutions. All the profits made by the Social Business are reinvested in initiatives to improve the rag pickers' family health and education. *Vishuddh Recycle* aims to support 1000 rag pickers as empowered suppliers of plastic waste and to recycle 1000 tons of plastics per year in India. The Social Business originated as a "Corporate Social Intrapreneurship" initiative at Cofresco, which is a new breed of business activity triggered by the employees of the corporation to create social and/or environmental good. These employees called "Social Intrapreneurs" disrupt the internal innovation procedures of their corporation to develop innovative products, services, processes or business models that address important societal issues or help to reach underserved markets. They use the existing infrastructures and organizational capabilities of their corporation as levers to promote, design and implement practical solutions to pressing social or environmental challenges while creating long-term economic value for their company. The financial support and technical expertise provided by Cofresco was key to success for the establishment of *Vishuddh Recycle*.

geographies to bring basic products and services to the poorest communities.

4. Encourage supportive policies to ensure that domestic regulations directly support Social Business objectives, Reward with incentives and economic benefits the positive externalities produced by Social Business models.

5. Create new legal status for Social Businesses as appropriate legal frameworks are still missing to stimulate and scale the development of social enterprises, defined as hybrid organizations with a social mission that use business approaches to achieve their objectives.

6. Promote social intrapreneurship in any kind of organizations: Social intrapreneurship is a bottom-up approach in a public or private organization. Rather than a top-down approach starting with management; social intrapreneurship begins with employees. The successful implementation of new processes that support, encourage, recompense and recognize entrepreneurial attitudes inside an organization is key to create the conditions for social intrapreneurs to thrive.

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Favela de l'écart entre Paraisópolis et São Paulo  
សង្កាត់ Favela នៃក្រុងរាជធានី

# សហគ្រឿនភាពសង្គមដើម្បី ភាពធនទេក្រុង

ជួយលើកស្សឹងក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គម គឺជាការដ្ឋាយសហគមន៍  
សំនេរក្នុងទីក្រុងឡាតាំងនៃវត្ថិក្តីការណែនាំបានទាំងឡាយ  
និងធ្វើបញ្ជីនៅក្នុងប្រទេស ទន្លេមិននោះ ក៏ដ្ឋាយដល់ការកសាង  
សេដ្ឋកិច្ចមួយដែលមានលក្ខណៈបរិយាបន្ទាងមុន និងមិន  
ជាក៏អ្នកណាម្នាក់ចេញឡើយ។

ជោយលាក HASSAN HAJA

កម្មិដើសដ្ឋានកិច្ចដល់តាមទេនីសី “ស្រែងឆ្លាក់” និងកម្ពុជា  
ផ្តាគលើប្រាក់បំណោញ នានបង្ហាញកម្រិតនៃសមត្ថភាពរបស់វា គុងការ  
ដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាផុងរយៈពេលដឹង ឬចងចាំបញ្ហាបៃប្រឈមួលអាកាសធានាតុ និង  
ភាពកិច្ច។

វិធានការផ្តោតលើសមិទ្ធសល់ដូចជាស្រុកសាមុប មិនគឺត្រួយចាន  
គ្រប់គ្រាន់ដល់ភាពចាំបាច់ដែលត្រូវបានតែចំណេះលើការងារដែកប្រាក់ចំណោញ ការ  
ឆ្លាក់ចុះនៃសុខាលកភាព ហើយត្រូវដោយភាពចុះខិនចំណេះដឹង ព្រមទាំង  
សុខាលក អាយុរបស់មនុស្ស ការអេបំ និងកម្រិតដីភាពបេស់ប្រជាតិលាភផ្ទាយ។  
យើងត្រូវផ្តល់លទ្ធផាត់ចំណុចលើទូលាយដល់គោលការណ៍នៃទំនួនសុខ  
ត្រូវ នៃបិយាប័ន្ទុភាព និងការអភិវឌ្ឍប្រកបដោយនិរន្តរភាព ដែលសម្រួលតែជា  
ឱ្យសំខាន់ៗ សម្រាប់បានចូលរួមការប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីថាមូល។

សហគ្រិនភាពសង្គម៖ ជាមធ្យរាជយម្យយដែលជួយឱ្យមានកំណើនសេដ្ឋកិច្ច នៅក្នុងប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ

ក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គមគឺជាអង់ការហើយត្រូវក្នុងយោទ័រយ បេសកកុម្មសង្គម និង/ប្រើប្រាស់នៃក្រុមហ៊ុននៅក្នុងពាណិជ្ជកម្មសំខាន់ខាងក្រោម។

Favela de Paraisópolis à côté de son riche voisin, Morumbi, devenu le symbole de l'écart entre les riches et les pauvres de São Paulo, 2004.

Paraisópolis favela next to its wealthy neighbour Morumbi, which came to symbolise the gap between São Paulo's rich and poor, 2004.

ສະຖາກ Favela de Paraisópolis ໂກງຽມສັກໜູນທາງເລຸພະ: Morumbi ດາວໂຫຼວງນາຍົນມືສູລັບຕູ້ໄວ້ຄູ່ມານ  
ກຳນົດຊັບຊີ້ວິວກຳນົດຊັບຊີ້ວິວ ເຊິ່ງໃຈໂຮງໝາງ São Paulo ສິ້ນເມສີ້ນ



ធម្មតា ក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គម មិនធ្វានទៅបើការសំរែកក្រោក់ចំណេញឡាតាមបច្ចុប្បន្ន អតិថិជនដែលយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រប៉ុណ្ណោះត្រូវបានពិនិត្យ បើត្រូវកិច្ចិត់ខ្លះដោយ បញ្ហាសង្គមណាមួយ ដូចជា បញ្ហាពាណក្រឹកក្រ អ្នកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ដើម្បី ក្នុងការបារាំងត្រូវ តាមចុះឱនចំណេញបិស្បែន។ ផ្សាយពីអង្គភាពការឈុសុដ្ឋិជ្ជ ក្រុមហ៊ុន សង្គមមិនពីរដែកទាំងស្រួលដែលទៅបើការសំរែកយោងទៅបាន និងខិត្តចំបងគ្នា ក្នុងរំហូង ក្រោក់ចំណុចដែលបានមកពីក្រុមហ៊ុនខ្លួន។

នៅក្នុងរដ្ឋមិនបានពិនិត្យសង្គមធ្វើនៅក្នុងភាព ដោយគិតគូសល់សហគមន៍ព្រៃក្រុងគេ គឺគិតគូត្រូវគេក្នុងនាមជាអ្នកផ្តល់ជូន ជាបុត្រិតិក ជាអ្នកកំហកចាយ បុណ្ណាគតិថិជន មានវេយ្យជាអ្នកដែលស្ថិតនៅក្នុងខាងក្រោមគេ នៅពេលដីលេសដ្ឋាកិច្ច<sup>2</sup> គឺជាគារបេងដាក់ជាងគេនៃសង្គកិច្ចនិងចង្វាក់តួលូបស់ក្រុងបុរុញ។

ເພົ່າຍສາເຫຼືອ ສະຫຼັກຄະນະກີໂກຕັ້ງທີ່ເຕີມ ດັບຕັ້ງກ່ຽວຂ້ອງບໍລິສັດ  
ເປົາຈະຊຳເນັດເຄີຍເປົາຈະມະຫຸດພູມນັດຕີ ໃນສູ່ເສັ້ນສູ້ກີດຕູ້ ລື້ນບញ້າທີ່ສຳ  
ຜູ້ເຊື່ອ ດາວເຫັນກີບສູ່ພູມທີ່ໃຫຍ່ຕະຫຼອດສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່ຫຼັກແງ່ງຕາຍ  
ມູນພື້ນຂໍ້ມູນ ດຸນການເຫຼືອໃໝ່ສະຫຼັກຕະຫຼອດສູ່ມູນພູມ ຜູ້ຜົນຮັບກີໂກຕັ້ງການດັກ  
ລົບຕາກງານທີ່ຈະໄດ້ຮູ້ພູມ ສະບັບຂອງເຄີຍເປົາຈະສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່ບົກໍ່ເປີບພູມເຊື່ອໃໝ່  
ເປົາຈະຕີ່ເປົາຈະເທີ່ມ ອົງຮູ້ຮັບກີໂກຕັ້ງການເຄີຍເປົາຈະສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່  
ໃໝ່ເປົາຈະການການສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່ມີມູນພູມ ສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່ມີມູນພູມ  
ເພົ່າຍມື້ນີ້ເປົາຈະຕີ່ມູນພູມທີ່ເຫັນສູ່ລົບສູ່ຫຼັກທີ່ມີມູນພູມ

ເພົ່າຍເກົດຕູ້ ບញ្ចາສັງລະນີຮິນບໍລິສັດລາວໃໝ່ລັດຖະບວກເທົ່ານຳສາຍບ  
ຫຼາກ່າຍເກົດຕູ້ ອີ່ໃໝ່ຕັ້ງບໍລິສັດຜົນກົງປົງແລ້ວມີຄວາມມຸຂ ຕື່ຕັ້ງ  
ກາລາຊີຖຸຄາດ ໃ້ລັດຖະບວກສັງລະນີຮິນບໍລິສັດເບໍ່ພົກ ເພີ້ມີເງື່ອງຫຼາກ່າຍເກົດຕູ້  
ກາຜູ້ເພົ່າຍເກົດຕູ້ ໂດຍມີຜົນຜ່ານການເພົ່າຍເກົດຕູ້ ສັງລະນີຮິນບໍລິສັດ  
ຕື່ຕັ້ງທານາຄານຮັດໜ້າຍລຸ່ມທີ່ສົສ ເຕີໂປກະຕູ້ ۱۴%ໄໝຮັດຜົນ ( ۲,۲۵ ລາຍ  
ນາກ )<sup>۳</sup> ສົ່ງ  
ເສີຖາກພົງຫຼຸດລ່ວມກາທີ່ກົງບູ້ກ່າວຕົກລິ ۱۰,۵%ໄໝຮັດຜົນ ( ۱,۷ ລາຍ  
ນາກ ) ຊາວເຫັນເຖິງອັດສີສິນທີ່ເປົ້າປາສ ۶%ໄໝຮັດຜົນ ( ۰,۱ ລາຍນາກ )  
ຄູ່ຮັດຜົນທີ່ກົງບູ້ກ່າວຕົກລິ ເບີຍເກົດຕູ້ແຕ່ງໆ ໃ້ລັດຕັ້ງຜົນກົງປົງແລ້ວ  
ຜົນຜ່ານເຄື່ອງເປົ້າໂຄສະນູ້ຕູ້ ທານບໍລິສັດລະບົບເມານາດັ່ງແມ່ນນາກ ເລື່ອກ່າ  
ຕາມທີ່ບໍ່ຮ່ວມມືດີບເຕັມຢູ່ຕັ້ງແມ່ນ ۴۰,۰ ກໂຮງ ໃ້ລັດຖະບວກໃໝ່ຮິນບໍລິສັດ  
ຕົວຜູ້ຮ່ວມມືເຕັມຢູ່ຕັ້ງແຕ່ກູ່ສໍາໝັ້ນຈຸດທາງ ຊາວເຫັນວ່າມີຜົນກົງປົງ  
ລະດານເສັກມູ່ສໍາຂ່າວ່ານີ້ມີຄວາມຄື້ນຕື່ຕັ້ງທີ່ກົງປົງລົບດັກກົດໃໝ່ຢ່າ

ព្រៃនកាត់ទីក្រោង ដោយនាក់ទៅដោះស្រាយបញ្ហានៃការត្រួតព្រឹង  
ការសំណល់

ការក្រុបគ្រែងការកសំណល់នឹងគីជាបញ្ហាសកល ដើម្បីបោះពាល់  
ដល់បុគ្គលម្នាក់វេនត្រូវដិតធនការទាំងមួល។ បុគ្គលនិងផ្ទាតីបាល ធ្វើ  
សេចក្តីសម្របចរាក់ថ្មីនឹងការរួម្រាល់ និងការក្រុបគ្រែងការកសំណល់  
ដើម្បីបោះពាល់ដល់សុខភាព និងភាពព្រឹករបស់សហគមន៍ នៅក្នុង  
ជិតិការសំនៃក្រុបចាំថ្ងៃ។ ការក្រុបគ្រែងការកសំណល់មិនទានលួយធ្វើឡាគ្នុង  
ថ្ងៃដល់ទីកន្លែមទេត្រូវដិតធនការ ធ្វើឡើងស្មើ និងបណ្តុាលូម៉ោងមានទីក  
ដីនៃ ប្លង់ដីដើរយកការកេកិតានីដីក្នុងក្រុងការកសំណល់  
ផ្លូវដីមិនបានបានការកេកិតានីដីក្នុងក្រុងការកសំណល់  
សំរាប់បោះពាល់ដល់សត្វដិតធនការ ដើម្បីបោះពាល់ដីដីក្នុងក្រុងការកសំណល់  
ដើម្បីបោះពាល់ដល់សុខភាព និងភាពព្រឹករបស់សហគមន៍ នៅក្នុង

ប្រធានលោម្បក្រដាតនេគនៈក្នុងសង្គមយូ តីអ្នកទទួលដល់  
ប៊ែនាល់ខ្លួនជាងគេ ពេលគឺប្រជាពលរដ្ឋចាំនៅអាជីវកម្ម និង  
ផ្ទៃសម្រេចបសិន្តុកគេ ដោយសារការពាក់ដីថែក្នុងក្លឹងបាក់សំរាប់ ការ  
និសសំរាប់ជើងទៅក្នុងស្ថានភាពប្រកបដោយរោច្រាវ ឆ្លាក់ និងប៊ែនាល់  
យ៉ាងរលន់ជូនដល់សុខភាព។

ការគ្រប់គ្រងការសំណាល់ដី គឺជាផ្លូវការមួយដឹកសាំខាងក្រោម បុន្ណោះជាពិភពត្រូវបានគេធ្វើប្រហែល មិនបានឡាតាំងដែលការកម្មប្រកប

ជាយសិន្តរភាព លូ និងមនេបិយាប់នុភាព សែសិទ្ធិក្រោនឱនសហគមន៍មនុស្ស នានាទេ។ តាមឯវិវេស់ សម្បត្តិភាគអំពីខាងក្រោមឯមិត្តធម៌នឹងក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គមនាន និងនូវភាព ដើម្បីប្រតិបត្តិការនៅក្នុងសំណើនៃការប្រចាំឆ្នាំក្នុងការសំណល់ ហើយ អាមេរិកឲសកម្មភាពការងារបែលសំក្រុមហ៊ុនទាំងនៅ៖ ជូនប្រតិទេនីតិ៍ក្នុងត្រូវព្រមទាំងនៅក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន។

ក្រុមហ៊ុន Haiplast Recycling នៅប្រទេស ហេតិក សៀមរាបនឹងសមាជាលក្ខណៈកំឡុងដែលបានផ្តល់ជាផ្លូវការដោយសារព័ត៌មានពីក្រុមហ៊ុនខាងក្រោម។

ក្រុងក្រឹង Haiplast Recycling ដូចជាប្រព័ន្ធដែលបានរៀបចំឡើងដោយត្រួតពិនិត្យថាអ្នកប្រើប្រាស់សម្រាប់ប្រើប្រាស់នូវក្រុងក្រឹង។ ក្នុងក្រុងក្រឹងនេះ អ្នកបានរៀបចំឡើងដោយត្រួតពិនិត្យថាអ្នកប្រើប្រាស់សម្រាប់ប្រើប្រាស់នូវក្រុងក្រឹង។

ក្រុង Vishuddh Recycler នៃប្រពេទសត្វានេះ ផ្តល់  
សម្រាប់ក្លឹមថ្មីដើរឡើងវិញដូចសហគមន៍ចំណាតកស្ថុកដែលដឹសកាកសំណាល់  
នៅ Bangalore នៃប្រពេទសត្វានេះ អ្នកដឹសសំរាប់ដោយសារការដឹស  
បំរុញនៅតាមច្បាប់និងនៅក្នុងថាក់សំរាប់ និងលក់សំរាប់ដែលគេរាយក  
ទៅកើតឡើបាន។ សម្រាប់ការបង្ហាញនៃការដោយសារការដឹសកាសំណាល់បែបនេះ គឺតែ  
យិន្យាទាន់បច្ចុប្បន្ន ឡើងប្រជាធិបតេយ្យនូវការដោយសារការដឹសកាសំណាល់ដែលទទួល  
ដែលមានវិធានៗគ្នា។ គ្នាកៅតិចជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យដែលទទួលបានដោយ  
មិនត្រូវបានយកចាត់ដោយសារការដឹសកាសំណាល់នៅ Bangalore អ្នកដឹស

ក្រុមហ៊ុន Vishuddh Recycler គឺជាក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គមមួយ ដែល  
មានបេតកកម្មឱ្យរាន់ដែលផ្តល់ជាស្ថិក ប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធបានដោយ  
អង្គភាពផែនការដោម្បីអ្នកក្រុមហ៊ុន និងបណ្តុះបណ្តាលពួកគេទូទៅ  
មានជាព្យាយុទ្ធការ និងជាទាមឱ្យពួកគេមានសុខបាលភាពសង្គម និងសង្គមឱ្យ  
ពួកគេទូទៅការទូលស្ថាប់ជាសាធារណៈដែលពួកគេសម្រេចនៅទូលបាន។  
ជូនកិច្ចសង្គមនេះ ត្រូវបានបាប់ដើម្បីបង្កើតឡើងនៅឆ្នាំ២០១៧ ដោយក្រុម  
ហ៊ុន Cofresco ដែលជាក្រុមហ៊ុនពាណិជ្ជកម្មដើម្បីលើ ជីវិតក្រុងសង្គម  
និងលក់ប្រអប់ខ្ពស់បញ្ហាបាយ។ គ្រប់សង្គមកិច្ចបែល់ក្រុមហ៊ុននេះ អនុម័តយក  
គោលការណ៍ឈេសដូកឯុទ្ធបែតង មាននឹងបាន ជាស្ថិកប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធដែលនៅក្នុង  
ជីវិតក្រុងសង្គម ដែលក្រុមហ៊ុន Cofresco ត្រូវបានយកទៅក្នុងឡើងវិញ  
ដើម្បីត្រួតពិនិត្យរបស់ក្រុមហ៊ុន ត្រូវបានយកទៅក្នុងឡើងវិញ ដើម្បី  
ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន និងក្រុមហ៊ុន ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន  
ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន និងក្រុមហ៊ុន ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន  
និងក្រុមហ៊ុន ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន និងក្រុមហ៊ុន ដែលបានការពិនិត្យក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន

## បង្កើតបរិសានលម្អិតយសម្រាប់ក្រោមហិរញ្ញសង្គម

ខាងក្រោមនេះគឺជាអងីសាសនីមួយចំនួនដើម្បីផ្តល់បញ្ជាមីត្រូវនៃជំនួយដល់ការបង្កើតក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គម នៅតាមការការណ៍ទាក់ទងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា៖

១. ការប្រព័ន្ធគារការណ៍ដែលបង្កើតឡើងដូចជាប្រព័ន្ធផ្លូវការរាជការ សាកលវិទ្យាល័យនានា ដើម្បីធ្វើឱ្យស្ថិតអារម្មណភី និងសាកលវិទ្យាប្រចាំឆ្នាំ ក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនដែលផ្តល់ជូនរាជការកៅដៃនឹងបញ្ហាសង្គម និងដើម្បីបង្កើតសាខាបណ្ឌាបាយ អ្នកទទួលខុសត្រូវដែលបានចិត្តឲ្យយូរ ដែលយល់ដឹងការការណ៍ដែលខ្លួនជាបង្គមនៃពីរបញ្ហា ប្រយោជន៍នៃក្រុមហ៊ុនបន្ទាន់នានាដោយគ្រប់គ្រងពិភាក្សាកក

២. ការចែងចាំបំផុតនៃប្រព័ន្ធទីរដ្ឋបាលសម្បទ័រ ហើយនិងបាននូវការបង្កើត ក្រុមហ៊ុនប្រព័ន្ធ ក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនប្រព័ន្ធឌីជីថេល នៅក្នុងគ្រប់គំបន់ទាំងអស់ និងផ្តល់ពេលវេលាក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនប្រព័ន្ធនឹងដំឡើង ក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុន សង្គមនូវឱ្យបានប្រព័ន្ធទីរដ្ឋបាលសម្បទ័រ ទាំងនេះមកប្រើប្រាស់ ព្រមទាំងបានសំខាន់រាយដើម្បីទៅតុក ការទទួលបាននូវប្រព័ន្ធទីរដ្ឋបាលសម្បទ័រ ទាំងនេះមកប្រើប្រាស់

៣. ផ្តល់ជូនសហគ្រីមសង្គមទូទៅក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធសម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ សម្រាប់ទេសចរណ៍ការលំបាកបេស្ខែកគេនឹងមួលដ្ឋាន ដើម្បីធ្វើឱ្យក្រុមហ៊ុនទាំងឡាយក្នុងការបេង្ញើតទម្រង់ដីនៃក្រុមហ៊ុន នៅក្នុងតំបន់ដែលមិនទាន់បានទទួលការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់និងកំបងក្រីក្រ ដើម្បីផ្តល់ជូនសហគ្រីមក្រីក្រដាក់នៃគ្មានទូទៅដូចជាពេតេជនិងសេវាកម្មមួលដ្ឋាន

៤. លើកទីកិច្ចដល់គោលនយោបាយតាំង ដើម្បីធានាថា ក្នុងជាតិកិច្ចដែលរាយជាក្រុងការបែងប្រើប្រាស់សូន្យ ទទួលបានការបែងប្រើប្រាស់ មកវិញ្ញុវិកាបេក្ខទីកិច្ច និងផលប្រយោជន៍សែដ្ឋកិច្ច ព្រមទាំងផលិតផ្តើមនៃក្រុងការបែងប្រើប្រាស់សូន្យ ដែលបានត្រួតពិនិត្យដោយកម្មក្រុងក្រុងក្រុងការបែងប្រើប្រាស់សូន្យ

៥. បង្កើតលក្ខណ៍និភ័យ: គឺជាបច្ចុប្បន្នសម្រាប់ក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គម ពីក្រោះ  
ថា នៅខ្ពស់ខាងមិនទាន់មានក្រុមខំណួនដូចជាបច្ចុប្បន្នសម្រាប់នៅក្នុងរដ្ឋបាល  
ដូចជាមួយក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនសង្គម ដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុន  
ដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុន  
ដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុន  
ដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុនដើម្បីក្រុមហ៊ុន

ၬ. លើកស្តូយសាលាគ្រិនភាពសង្គមក្រុមហ៊ុនមួយ សញ្ញាប់ក្រុមហ៊ុន  
គ្រប់ប្រភេទទាំង សហគ្រិនភាពសង្គមក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនមួយ ដើម្បីលាងស្ថិតិ  
ពីក្រាមមើលីនេលិ នៅក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនដែរ ប្រក្សាប៊ុននកជនណាមួយ។ ផ្ទុយពី  
វិធីសាល្តិតិលីចុះក្រាម ដោយធ្វើមកតិចខ្លះដូចខ្លួនខ្ពស់ត្រូវបានកៅលី  
សហគ្រិនភាពសង្គមក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនមួយ បាប់ធ្វើមកតិចផ្ទុយពីបុគ្គលិក  
ឡើងទៅ ដើម្បីបង្កើតតុលក្នុងក្នុងសម្រាប់អនុញ្ញាតរួមសហគ្រិនសង្គម  
ក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនមួយ ដើម្បីការប្រើប្រាស់ការងារ កៅត្រូវអនុវត្តដោយការងើរដែល  
ផ្ទុយព្យាយាយថ្មីជាផ្លូវការ លើកទីកិច្ចតិច ផ្តល់ការប៉ែបូរី និងទទួលសាច់កិរិយាបទ  
សហគ្រិនភាពនៅក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនណាមួយ។

១. ជាតិក្នុងសង្គមថ្មីចិត្តសិល្បៈ ដែលគេគឺតិចា ប្រាក់ខ្លួនបានសរុបអាណាព្យាបាលទៅបានចាត់បាបុលេខាងក្រោម សេស្សក្នុងថ្មី ពាយឃើញ:ភាពិចំណាយ បុរីធនិយាយសំបុត្រកេត ឱ្យបាន តិចតាមការប្រើប្រាស់ម៉ាយបានតាមតំបន់ បុរីធនិយាយបាល ដល់សកម្មភាពសម្រួលទូទៅ និងការបង្កើតការងារផ្លូវការក្នុងសង្គម។
  2. The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid (2004), C. K. Prahalad
  3. Poverty Data: Cambodia (2019), Proportion of Population Living below the National Poverty Line. Asian Development Bank

# Architecture : guider le développement social et économique de Phnom Penh vers plus de résilience

Réinventer l'architecture contemporaine en prenant appui sur sa propre culture permet de concevoir des villes durables adaptées à leur environnement et aux modes de vie de leurs habitants, loin des modèles importés et inadaptés. **PAR CHANSAN HUN**

## L'ARCHITECTURE CAMBODGIENNE AUJOURD'HUI

Historiquement, Phnom Penh est une ville moderne dont l'architecture emblématique incarne les changements patrimoniaux, culturels, sociaux et économiques. Les périodes les plus riches de l'histoire architecturale et de la modernisation du Cambodge se perçoivent dans l'architecture angkorienne, l'architecture en bois, l'architecture coloniale, la nouvelle architecture khmère etc. Les apports de la tradition, des influences étrangères, de la géographie locale et de la modernisation amenée par les activités commerciales et humaines ont conféré à l'architecture un rôle particulier, à la rencontre des populations et des lieux où ils vivent.

Tout au long de l'histoire du Cambodge se trouvent certains des meilleurs exemples des architectures nées de la nécessité de construire collectivement des espaces pour une communauté humaine. Les rois khmers ont construit des monuments sacrés, l'ère coloniale a imposé un nouveau style de vie autour de la liberté d'expression et le *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*, après l'indépendance du pays, a bâti des lieux de travail, des parcs et des universités.

Puis, le régime khmer rouge a pris le contrôle du pays et de nombreux artistes et professionnels qualifiés ont été tués. Ainsi cette nation, autrefois en plein développement, a été transformée en société agricole. Aujourd'hui, les Cambodgiens reconstruisent la nation par le biais du commerce et des échanges, mais il est aussi temps de tirer les leçons de notre histoire et de nous en inspirer pour créer une architecture qui puisse améliorer les espaces destinés aux populations et à la vie en société.

**LA VISION DES ARCHITECTES QUI NOUS ONT PRÉCÉDÉS**  
De nombreux jeunes architectes cambodgiens sont inspirés par les travaux de Vann Molyvann. Il est considéré comme le père de la nouvelle architecture khmère et a participé à la construction du *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*, conçu par le prince Norodom Sihanouk dans les années 1950, comme

une expérience sociale, politique et économique qui a permis à l'art et à un style architectural particulier de rayonner et d'améliorer la façon de vivre de la population.

Traduite par «Communauté socialiste du peuple», la période du *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* a encouragé la formation à l'étranger, dans des pays comme la France et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de nombreux architectes cambodgiens comme Vann Molyvann, Lu Ban Hap et Mam Sophana. Ce groupe, à son retour, a façonné le Phnom Penh moderne des années 1950 et 1960; ces architectes sont les principaux concepteurs de la ville que nous connaissons aujourd'hui. Cette période de transformation sociale et économique a été bénéfique au bien-être de la population en poussant les Cambodgiens à mettre de côté leur mentalité d'agriculteurs pour se tourner vers l'éducation, l'art, la musique et l'industrie manufacturière. Phnom Penh était connue comme la «Perle de l'Asie» et accueillait également des événements sportifs nationaux et internationaux. Certains bâtiments institutionnels comme le stade olympique et de nombreuses universités ont été conçus en combinant influence occidentale et contexte local.

La conception des bâtiments prend en compte le lien entre l'espace et son environnement, notamment le rôle de la lumière naturelle, du vent et de l'ombre pour la protection contre le soleil.

Le terme «Nouvelle architecture khmère» désigne un dessin des édifices qui intègre une influence moderne venue des modèles architecturaux occidentaux et des éléments khmers locaux. Ces éléments proviennent de l'architecture vernaculaire caractérisée par son adaptation au climat tropical du pays. Ces architectures utilisent les colonnes comme outil pour décoller le sol des bâtiments du sol naturel en créant des pilotis qui permettent d'avoir un grand espace ouvert pour les ac-

tivités collectives et de protéger les constructions contre les inondations durant la période de la mousson. La surélévation de la structure permet aussi d'éviter l'accumulation de chaleur par contact avec le sol pendant la saison chaude.

L'Institut des langues étrangères de Phnom Penh est un exemple parfait d'une conception novatrice inspirée par l'*«architecture de la nouvelle vague»*. Les façades du bâtiment de la bibliothèque ont été conçues pour ressembler à un chapeau de paille traditionnel de fermier, marqué par sa forme concentrique et ses colonnes de béton tridimensionnelles nervurées. L'influence occidentale se perçoit notamment dans l'utilisation du béton apparent comme matériau de finition. Le stade Olympique, avec sa structure évasée, semble voler. Une autre influence notable est perceptible par l'application de règles de proportion et de modules répétitifs qui sont des outils utilisés dans la conception des constructions en Occident et notamment par Le Corbusier, considéré comme le père du modernisme, a changé l'architecture en la rendant accessible à toutes les classes sociales. La philosophie du mouvement moderne (*«moins, c'est plus»*, le *less is more* de l'architecte Mies Van Der Rohe) a débarrassé l'architecture des ornements excessifs et inutiles qui caractérisaient le style de vie de l'élite. Le mouvement moderne a été une période axée autour de projets pour la vie collective et les équipements (immeubles d'habitation, universités, bibliothèques municipales, etc). Au moment où le mouvement moderne est à son apogée en Occident, Vann Molyvann a été l'élève de Le Corbusier. Cela montre que durant l'époque post-coloniale, Phnom Penh a été encore influencée par le mouvement architectural français et que l'architecture n'a pas de frontière et a un rôle important, celui de rassembler les hommes et les lieux où ils vivent.

L'Institut des langues étrangères, architecte Vann Molyvann en 1962.

The Institute of Foreign Languages, architect Vann Molyvann in 1962.

ឯកសារនៃសាលាបន្ទូល  
សាស្ត្ររបស់ខ្លួន  
និងទំនាក់ទំនង



© M. Ravaux

Le marché central après sa rénovation et son extension

The central market after renovation and extension.

ស្រុកដំបី  
បន្ទាប់ពីពាក្យកនឹង  
ផ្តល់អុលាងបានយើ



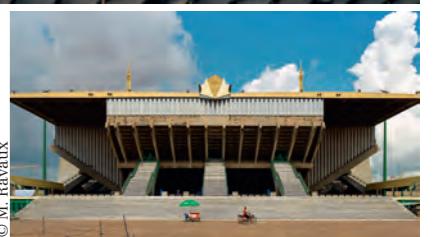
Ci-contre : La salle Chaktomuk, quai Preah Sisowath, architecte Vann Molyvann, 1961.  
The Chaktomuk Hall, Preah Sisowath Bank, architect Vann Molyvann, 1961.



Ci-dessus et ci-contre : Le Stade Olympique architecte Vann Molyvann, 1964.

Above and right:  
The Olympic Stadium, architect Vann Molyvann, 1964.

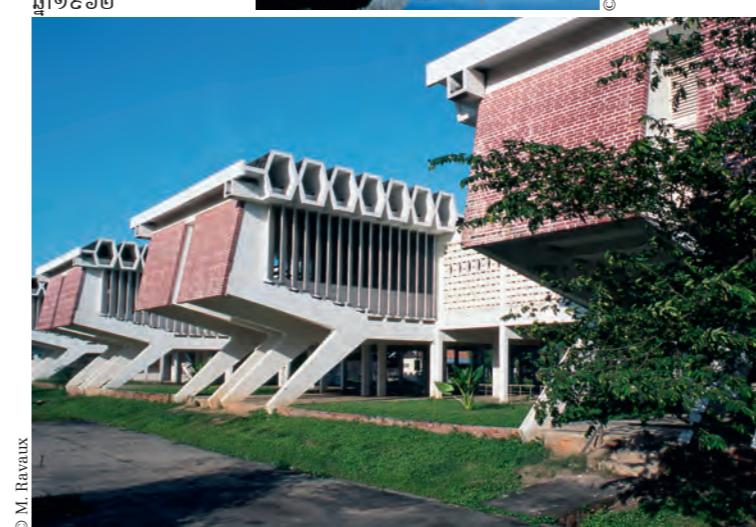
ខាងលើនេះ: សាលា  
អច្ចកិក សាងសង់  
ដោយ សាស្ត្ររបស់ខ្លួន  
និងទំនាក់ទំនង



Ci-contre à droite,  
l'institut de technologie du Cambodge, 1963.

Right, the Cambodia Institute of Technology, 1963

ខាងក្រោមនេះ: ឯកសារ  
បច្ចេកវិទ្យាអន្តោះ  
និងទំនាក់ទំនង



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L'architecture n'a pas de frontière et a un rôle important, celui de rassembler les hommes et les lieux où ils vivent.



## LE DÉCLIN DE L'URBANISME

Puis le terrible carnage du régime khmer rouge a détruit l'urbanisme naissant du pays. Une partie des projets architecturaux qui faisaient de Phnom Penh la ville d'avant-garde de l'Asie du Sud-Est ont été détruits.

Après cette destruction des arts, de la science et de la technologie, la génération suivante des architectes cambodgiens a eu un énorme vide à combler. Les dommages causés à l'espace urbain et la perte de ressources humaines ont laissé le pays dans la misère jusqu'à ce que la nation commence à se reconstruire au début des années 2000. Avec les Khmers rouges, le peuple cambodgien a dû lutter pour sa survie au lieu de continuer à construire une nation à l'image de ses ancêtres. Quarante ans plus tard, l'architecture cambodgienne est sur le point de renaître. Cependant, les jeunes architectes sont confrontés à des choix difficiles : continuer à intégrer un certain langage architectural dans leur travail ou adopter l'esprit des affaires du monde de la finance des promoteurs immobiliers.

Bien que la ville de Phnom Penh soit devenue une ville moderne, il n'existe pas de conception cohérente de l'urbanisme. Les demandes actuelles pour plus de logements privés ont pour conséquence que la majorité des nouveaux projets urbains sont conçus par des promoteurs dans le cadre d'un processus de privatisation. Les résidences privées et fermées appelées « Borey » coupent les voies publiques et l'accès aux infrastructures, ce qui provoque des embouteillages et des crues soudaines lors de la mousson. Cependant, le gouvernement tente de résoudre ce problème et de s'adapter à l'évolution du paysage urbain, et s'efforce de reconstruire les infrastructures publiques et d'imposer des lois sur le maintien des espaces verts dans chaque projet.

Bien que l'urbanisme soit progressivement pris en compte par le gouvernement, de nombreux jeunes architectes continuent de concevoir des bâtiments pour des promoteurs et non pour le peuple ou leur communauté. En ce moment, la tendance la plus lucrative est de concevoir des bâtiments qui singent

les villes anciennes françaises, comme c'est le cas des récents projets de Koh Pich et d'Euro Ville. La multitude de projets immobiliers en ville stimule l'économie du pays, mais les bâtiments ne sont que des façades conçues sans créativité ou très peu, sans planification ni nécessité fonctionnelle.

## ALLER DE L'AVANT

Les bâtiments patrimoniaux tels que la Poste centrale, la Maison chinoise, l'Institut des langues étrangères, le Théâtre Chaktomuk et le stade olympique sont des échos du passé, un rappel immuable de l'ingéniosité des années 1950, 1960 et 1970, et un témoignage de l'histoire. Pour concevoir le futur du grand paysage de Phnom Penh, les architectes actuels devraient tirer les leçons des architectures historiques. Non pas pour leurs images traditionnelles, mais plutôt pour inclure la même vision de l'urbanisme, les références et les concepts de nos prédecesseurs. La préservation des bâtiments historiques a prouvé qu'elle engendrait une valeur commerciale et renforçait « la ville durable » dans la plupart des pays développés et des villes du monde comme Singapour, l'Italie et la ville patrimoniale de Siem Reap.

Dans des villes telles que Phnom Penh et Siem Reap, les bâtiments historiques alimentent la fierté nationale : ce sont des références patrimoniales et culturelles pour tous, qui inspirent les gens pour travailler ensemble à un avenir meilleur. Quand j'étais enfant, il y avait des jardins et des espaces verts devant le marché le plus célèbre de Phnom Penh, le marché central. Aujourd'hui, le marché est entouré de commerces, qui remplace les espaces verts, et bloqué par des trottoirs en béton qui provoquent des inondations, des embouteillages et d'autres types de pollution urbaine. En reconstruisant ces espaces verts, nous pourrions rouvrir une ancienne place publique pour que la population l'utilise pour ses loisirs et pour compenser les nuisances de la densité du trafic par de l'air respirable. Nous pourrions aussi créer davantage de jardins de pluie dans la ville pour absorber les eaux de ruissellement qui causent des inondations problématiques pendant la saison des pluies.

En s'attaquant à des problèmes tels que le manque d'espace public, d'infrastructures routières et de transports publics, et en donnant la priorité à l'urbanisme, nous pourrons équilibrer les impératifs de l'économie et les besoins pour la qualité de la vie urbaine pour guider Phnom Penh vers la résilience.

Alors que Phnom Penh continue de se construire et de devenir une métropole, les jeunes architectes cambodgiens ont aujourd'hui la possibilité de concevoir des villes mieux structurées dans un contexte de commercialisation et d'internationalisation croissantes. Nous devons prouver que nous sommes en mesure d'utiliser la planification urbaine et de construire comme nos ancêtres en résolvant les problèmes urbains actuels auxquels nous faisons face. Nous pouvons rendre sa grandeur à l'architecture. Ensemble, nous pouvons à nouveau faire de Phnom Penh une ville unique, grâce à la préservation, à l'urbanisme et à la conception des espaces publics pour la population.

# Architecture: the guide for Phnom Penh's social and economical development into a more resilient city

Reinventing contemporary architecture from its own culture makes it possible to design sustainable cities adapted to their environment and the lifestyles of their inhabitants far from imported and unsuitable patterns. **BY CHANSAN HUN**

## CAMBODIAN ARCHITECTURE TODAY

Historically, Phnom Penh has been a modern city which holds iconic architecture that embodies the changes in heritage, culture, people, and the economy. Cambodia's rich layers of architectural history and modernization can be seen in the "Angkorian Architecture", "Wooden Architecture," "Colonial Architecture," "New Khmer Architecture," and so on. The influences of tradition, foreign ideology, geographic location, and modernization through trade and human activities, have catapulted architecture into a role which brings people and places together.

Some of the best examples of architecture that stem from spaces that are collectively built for the community can be seen throughout Cambodia's history. Khmer kings built sacred monuments, the colonial-era imposed a new lifestyle of freedom of expression, and the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* after gaining the independent from French Colonization built workplaces, public parks and universities.

Then, the Khmer Rouge regime took over the country and many artists and skilled professionals were killed, turning a once developing nation into an agricultural society. Today, Cambodians are rebuilding the nation through commercialization and trade, but it's time to learn from our history and be inspired to create architecture that can enhance spaces for the people and the community.

## THE FORESIGHT OF OUR ARCHITECTURE FOREFATHERS

Many of Cambodia's young architects have been inspired by the works designed by Vann Molyvann. He was considered the father of "New Khmer Architecture" and he helped build the Sangkum Reastr Niyum founded by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the 50's as a social, political and economic experiment that allowed art and selected architecture to shine and prosper among the livelihood of the people.

Translated as "People's Socialist Community", the Sangkum Reastr Niyum period trained many local architects like Vann Molyvann, Lu Ban Hap, and Mam Sophana

abroad in countries like France and America. After their return, this group started shaping the modern Phnom Penh during the 50s and 60s and are the backbone designers of the city we see today. This era of social and economic transformation was impactful to the social wellbeing of its people, by pushing Cambodians from a rural agriculture mindset into embracing education, art, music, and developing the manufacturing industry. Phnom Penh was known as the "Pearl of Asia" and also hosted both national and international sports events. Institutional buildings like the Olympic stadium and many universities were designed with western influences and local context in mind. Each design of any building utilized the space with its environment through natural light, wind and shade from the Cambodia sun.

The term "New Khmer Architecture" incorporates modern design influenced by Western civilization with local Khmer elements. Those elements are the style of vernacular architecture characterized by the country's tropical climate. The design uses columns as tools to raise the floor from the ground, raised, allowing wide-open space for communal activities and to avoid seasonal flooding during the monsoon season. By raising the structure from the ground, this prevents direct heat gain from ground contact during a hot day.

The Institute of Foreign Languages in Phnom Penh is a prime example of the innovative designs inspired by "New Wave Architecture."

The exterior of the library building was designed to look like a traditional farmer's straw hat, seen through its ribbed three-dimensional exposed concrete column in the radial form. Notes from the Western influences are etched in by the extensive use of exposed concrete as finishing materials. The reinforced structure that allows the flying effect that can be seen at the Olympic Stadium.

Another notable influence is the use of modularity proportion rules that were used as a designed tool in the West and in particular in Le Corbusier's works. Le Corbusier was considered the father of Modernism, the movement that made architecture accessible to all classes of people. Modernism's philosophy is that "less is more", expression invented by the architect Mies Van Der Rohe, and architecture was stripped off from excessive unnecessary ornaments that were seen in elite lifestyle. Modernism was an era for collective living and communal projects such as apartment blocks, universities and city libraries etc. At the height of Modernism in the West, Vann Molyvann was the student of Le Corbusier. This showed that even in the post-colonial era, Phnom Penh was still influenced by architectural movement in France. Proving that architecture has no boundary and has an important role which brings people and places together.

## THE FALL OF URBAN PLANNING

Then the horrific carnage of the Khmer Rouge regime turned the country's emerging urban planning into ground zero. Some architectural designs which once held

Phnom Penh city as the forefront of the Southeast Asia region were destroyed. The destruction of the creative arts, science, and technology, left a huge gap for the next generation of Cambodian architects to fill. The damage to the city space and the loss of human resources, left the country destitute until the nation started to rebuild itself in the early 2000s. The Khmer Rouge had left the Cambodian people struggling in balancing survival rather than to continue to build the nation in the image left from our forefathers. Forty years later, Cambodian architecture is now on the brink of revival. However, young architects are facing hard choices of continuing to incorporate architectural language into their work or to walk the path of a business mindset amidst the developers' financial world.

Although the city of Phnom Penh has developed into a modern city, there are no cohesive designs for urban planning. Modern demands for more private housing lead to the majority of new urban projects being designed by developers through a privatization process. Gated housing developments called "Borey" block public roads and infrastructure access, which causes traffic jams and flash floods from monsoon rains. However, the government has been tackling this problem and adapting to the changing landscape by making efforts to rebuild public infrastructure and has imposed laws of maintaining green spaces within each development.

Although urban planning is slowly being taken into consideration by the government, many young architects are still designing buildings for developers, not for the people or their community. The most lucrative trend at the moment is to design buildings that imitate old French cities in recent developments in Koh Pich and Euro Ville. The slew of developing real estate in the city is a great boost to the country's economy, but the buildings are just façades designed with little or no creativity, planning and functionality.

## MOVING FORWARD

The historical heritage buildings such as the Post Office Square, the Chinese House, the Institute of Foreign Languages, the Chaktomuk Theatre and the Olympic Stadium are echoes of the past, an enduring reminder of the ingenuity from the 50s, 60s and 70s, and a testament to time. Current architects should take note for their future designs of the Phnom Penh skyline from the historical structures of architecture. Not for its traditional looks, but rather include the same foresight of urban planning and design references as our forefathers. Preserving historical buildings has demonstrated its commercial value and sustainability in most developed countries and cities in the world like Singapore, Italy and Siem Reap's heritage town.

In cities such as Phnom Penh and Siem Reap historical buildings promote national pride through heritage and cultural reminders to everyone, inspiring the people to work together towards a better future.

When I was a child, there were green gardens and spaces in front of the most famous market in Phnom Penh, the Central Market. Now, the market is surrounded with retail activities that replace green spaces and blocked by concrete pavements that cause flooding, traffic and other sorts of urban pollution. By rebuilding this green space, we will be able to open up a former public square for the community to use for leisure, offsetting the nuisance of busy traffic with breathable air. We will also have more rain gardens in the city that can absorb rainwater runoff that causes problematic flooding during heavy rain season. Addressing issues such as limited public space, road infrastructure, public transportation, and prioritizing urban planning can balance the economic imperatives and the needs for the quality of urban life in order to guide Phnom Penh toward resilience.

As Phnom Penh continues to build and evolve into a future metropolitan city, young Cambodian architects today have a chance to design better-structured cities amid the growth of commercialization and internationalization. We must prove that we can utilize urban planning and build like our forefathers by solving the current urban issues we face now. We can make architecture great again. Together we can restore Phnom Penh's uniqueness through preservation, urban planning, and by designing public spaces for the population.

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ស្ថាបត្រកម្មខ្លួននាពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ន

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នៅក្នុងដំណឹងប្រភពិសាស្ត្រអូជាតា គេអាចយកព្រមទាំងលួចរាល់  
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បន្ទាប់មក ឈប់ខ្លួនក្រោមបានឡើងការតាំងប្រធែសាច់មួល ពេល  
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## ចក្ខុវិស័យនៃស្ថាបត្រករណមច្បង

យុស្សបញ្ជាក់ថ្មីជាប្រើប្រាស់នានាទូលតទិពលពីស្ថាដែលបានក្នុងមុខីណ្ឌ។ ហេកាគត្រួវបានចាត់ទុកដាប់បិតានីស្ថាបញ្ជាក់ម្ខិត និងបានរួមចំណាត់ការ ក្នុងការកសាងសង្គមភ្លើយ ដែលជាសម្ព័យការលួយបង្កើតឡើងដោយ ព្រះអង្គម្ពាស់ នាគកុំ សិហនុ នៅក្នុងទស្សនក្នាំទី១៩៨០ ជាបច្ចុប្បន្នមួយ នឹងសង្គមនៃយោបាយនិងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច ដែលបានអនុញ្ញាតឡើងសិលិំ និងសុខសុបញ្ញ ក្នុងពីសសម្បយ មានភាពអុងរឿង និងធ្វើឲ្យរួមរាល់នៃការសំនេះសំប្បែរភាពក្នុង មានភាពប្រើប្រាស់ឡើង។

សង្គមក្រសួងឱយបានជំរូញមានការហេតុដីបណ្តុលសក្ខុក ខ្លួនជាបើនុយបន្ទាន់ខែស ក្នុងបណ្តុលប្រទេស ដូចជាតាកំង និងសហដ្ឋាមេរិក ក្នុងនោះមាន លោក នូវ មុនីជ្រុន លោក លុ បានហាប់ និងលោក ម៉ែ សុជាន់ ណាយ ជាមីមា ពេលត្រួតបែកក្រោម ក្រុមស្ថិក្សក្នុងទាំងនេះបានផ្តល់បច្ចុប្បន្នក្នុង ភ្នំពេញទៅនឹង នៅក្នុងទសក្សូច្បាប់ទៅខែក និងច្បាប់ទៅខែមី ពួកគោកសុទ្ធគេង សក្ខុកសំខាន់ៗ នៅក្នុងការផ្តល់បច្ចុប្បន្ន ដែលយើងត្រូវបង្ហាញនេះ។

សម័យកាលនៃឈ្មោះបីត្តិក្នុងសង្គម និងសេសភីចូលទៅ បានការប្រយោជន៍  
ជាប្រើប្រាស់នូវប្រព័ន្ធផ្លូវដែលដាក់ខាងក្រោមក្នុងសុខមាលភាព ដោយជាមួយត្រួតពិនិត្យក្នុងសិក្សាយេត្តិនិង ហើយបេរិចករកការអេបំសិល្បោ ត្រូវត្រឹមនិង  
ខស្សាបាករកពីក្នុង សម័យនោះ ត្រូវពិនិត្យបានគេដាក់ណែនាំថា តីត្រូវគឺជាអ្នក<sup>ទ</sup>  
អាសុយ ហើយដឹងពីក្នុងផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនផ្សេងៗដែលដាក់ឡើងទៅត្រូវការណែនាំក្នុងតិនអនុវត្ត  
ជាតិជំរើ សំណងអាណាព្យាប់នូវមួយចំនួនដូចជាសាធារណៈអូក្រោមពិក និងសាកលវិទ្យា  
លីយជាប្រើប្រាស់ ត្រូវបានកសាងឡើង ដោយបញ្ចប់គ្នាដើម្បីពិនិត្យបញ្ហាប្រកបឱ្យឈូម  
លោក និងបង្កើចក្នុងស្រុក។ ទស្សនាទានកសាងសំណងអាណាព្យាលម៉ែយកាល  
នោះ គិតគុណដល់ទំនាក់ទំនងរារិកតាំង និងបង្កើត្រូវជាប្រធ័ណិត ត្រូវបានការពារ និងបេស់ពន្លឹះ  
ជាមជាតិ ខាងលើ និងមប់សំរាប់ការពារប៉ែបានដើម្បី

ຕາງ່ານ ສູນບຄງກມບັນຍືຂຶ້າ ຕີ່ສຳເນົາໄສຜລ່ວໍ່ສຳຜັນໜ້າຄານີ້ຜລະອຸບັດ  
ຕີ່ອຸດຫລຸທ່ານີ້ບ ກຳບູລຕີ່ຄູ່ມູນສູນບຄງກມບັນຍືແບກ ອີ່ນເປັນລົງດູດາ:ສູນບຄງກມ  
ຂຶ້າຖຸກງົງສຽງ ລົງດູດາ:ສູນບຄງກມຊຸ່ມງົງສຽງຕຳ່ນເຈັດ: ພກຄົ້ນເປັນຕິເປັນຕິສູນບຄງ  
ກມບໍ່ຫຼັດາ ເພີ່ມສະພາບໃຫ້ຮັບການສັດຖາຕູ້ຕົກບ່ານໆເປົ້າໂຮສັກນຸ້າໆ  
ຕັກ່າດີເສີ່ງ ສູນບຄງກມຊຸ່ມງົງເປົ້າສະພາບ ດັບກວດດີເລີກສົ່ມດັກ໌ເງົ່າຕົກຕື່ອື່ນ  
ຜູ້ນັດຕີ ເນັ້ນບໍ່ເຫັນວ່າກ່າວົງນີ້ແບ່ນທີ່ມີມູນເກຣະຂາຍທຸກມະສຳຜັນໜ້າ ສູນບໍ່  
ການເປັນຕິເປັນຕິສູນບຄງກມ ອີ່ນການເກຣະເນັດຜັນໜ້າຕົກບ່ານໆເປົ້າໂຮສັກນຸ້າໆ ແລີ່ສ  
ຕີ່ເຈັດ:ເງົ່າຕົກ ການເບີກສົ່ມດັກ໌ເງົ່າຂຸ່ສົ່ມຜູ້ນັດຕື່ອື່ນເນັດຜັນໜ້າ ດັກການເຜົ້າເງົ່າສົ່ມດັກ໌  
ຜູ້ນັດຕີ ເນັ້ນບໍ່ເຫັນວ່າກ່າວົງນີ້ແບ່ນທີ່ມີມູນເກຣະຂາຍທຸກມະສຳຜັນໜ້າ

## ការធ្វើកំចុះនៃនគរូបនីយកម្ម

ເທະບີດານຄູບຮີຍກມະໄຫຼາດຕົກສັງເປົາບໍລິກິອງເພົາຍກຜົນສູງ  
ກີດາລະເທິຍກີ້ວ່າ ບັນລຸ້ມຍຸ່ນສູນບຄູກແຫຼື້ນຢູ່ເສົ້າຕົບຮູກສານຂອງເສົາສູນຢາບໍ່  
ກຽມທຶນອະບັນຍາໂຮງງານ ຕື່ມີນໍ້າໃນສູນຢາບໍ່ບັນດາລະບຸ ພູສຢາບໍ່ສທລະນີເປັ່ນ

ជីវិោេស្សាជនៅក្រុង

ເພົ່າຍະບຽນມູນເຫັນວ່າສາງຍິນີ້ແບຕູ ຜູ້ລັດຖະບານໄສ່: ສົນສາດາເດັກ: ບາງຄຸນເປົາສາມື່ອງມື່ອງ ອີ່ ຮີ່ ພົມບົດຕູ ເຊີກຜົນຕູນສາດາເດັກ: ປະເທດສຳຜູ້ລົບກາໂຄກຕົກຕາດ ໄດ້ບໍ່ຮ່ວມມື່ອງມື່ອງ ເພື່ອຮັບຮັດການ ອີ່ ອີ່ ຖຸລູກຕາດເກີ່ມຕົ່ງກາຍເຂົ້າເພີ້ງກ ສັນສົ່ງຕົກຕູນ ອີ່ ອີ່ ຕົ່ງກາຍເສັ້ນມະບຸກບໍ່ເກີ່ມຕົ່ງກາຍເສັ້ນເກີ່ມຕົ່ງກາຍເສັ້ນ ເຊີກຜົນຕູນຕົກຕາດ ເຊີກຜົນຕູນຕູນຕູນຕູນ

ឧបាទ់ដែលទីក្រុងត្រពូលអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ និងត្រូវយេទ្ធនាំចិត្តក្រុង យុទ្ធសាស្ត្រក្នុងខ្លួនបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះនៅមេនាលទ្ធភាពពីរបច្ចុប្បន្ន និងជាមានបំនានសម្រាប់ប្រើប្រាស់ដោយបានបង្កើតឡើង នៅក្នុងបិទិយុទ្ធផ្លាមូលិនិយកម្ម និងនូវផ្តាសារពីក្រុងឱ្យឈរយកម្មការនៃតំបន់ខ្លួន។ យើងត្រូវតែបង្ហាញរូបរាងយេងរាជាណ និងការលួចតាមបច្ចុប្បន្នដែនការក្រុង និងកសាងដូចបច្ចុប្បន្នសាយដែនការតិមនុ ជាយោធាន់ក្រោមបញ្ហាក្រុងបច្ចុប្បន្នដែលយើងកំណុងប្រុយមុខ។ យើងការបង្កើតបានអស្សរុយបំផុតក្នុងជាមួយនឹងថ្វីទៅ។ យើងការបង្កើតបានអស្សរុយបំផុតក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នដែលបានបង្កើតឡើង នៅក្នុងត្រពូលអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ និងទស្សនាទាន់នៃការកសាងស្នូលាតារណ៍ ដើម្បីជាបង្រៀនរបស់បានបានបានដូរដី

# Nous devons apprendre à devenir résilients

En conclusion des débats de la conférence, cette synthèse revient sur la façon dont nous pouvons œuvrer dans un monde incertain pour reconstruire un environnement sûr et redonner sens à la citoyenneté après les catastrophes. **PAR LIONEL PRIGENT**



1

## Nous vivons dans un monde de l'incertain

Nous vivons dans un monde de l'incertain, balotté par les événements et sommés de nous en accommoder. Les crises, quelle que soit leur violence, ne sont jamais des fins. Le temps s'écoule, les populations s'adaptent, les causes de la crise s'éloignent et il faut bien alors continuer à vivre. Nouakchott, Port-au-Prince, Kigali et bien sûr, Phnom Penh. Toutes ces villes, de différentes manières ont vécu des crises majeures, à différents

Port au Prince : la cathédrale effondrée après le séisme.

Port-au-Prince: the collapse cathedral after the earthquake.

ពីរិន្កេ ក្រុង វិហារកាតុលិក ចាក់លុបបញ្ចប់តិចឡើយដឹង



Kigali, patrouille en 1994.

Kigali, patrol in 1994.

ទីក្រុង Kigali: ការដឹងឈ្មោះ នៅឆ្នាំ១៩៩៤

moments de leur histoire: inondations, tremblements de terre, assassinats de masse, génocide. Mais ces villes ont aussi le pouvoir aujourd'hui de porter témoignage des conditions par lesquelles elles ont commencé à écrire une nouvelle page de leur histoire, elles ont appris de la catastrophe. Ces expériences nous ont aidés au cours de cette journée à envisager «la ville résiliente, pour penser les défis de la reconstruction urbaine».

Le sujet est d'importance.

En effet, malgré l'amélioration de nos connaissances, malgré les efforts portés pour le développement, partout dans le monde, les possibilités de crises se dressent devant nous :

- crise environnementale bien sûr, sur le climat, la biodiversité, la gestion de l'eau;
- crise sociale et menaces économiques;
- crise technologique enfin... autour de la circulation des données...

Aucun pays ne peut prétendre aujourd'hui être certain d'échapper à l'une de ces crises. Nous en avons eu le rappel ce matin : déjà 1,5 milliards d'habitants sont soumis à au moins un risque naturel majeur.

Nous devons apprendre à devenir résilients!

history: flooding, earthquakes, mass killings, genocide.

But these cities now also have the power to bear witness to the conditions in which they began writing a new page of their history; they have learnt from disaster. Such experiences have helped us consider “the resilient city, to think about the challenges of urban reconstruction.”

It is a weighty subject.

Although we have gained much insight and despite the efforts invested in development, potential crises are

everywhere in the world:

- Environmental crises that relate to climate change, biodiversity, water management;
- Social crises and economic threats;
- And, finally, technology crises involving data flow.

No country today can claim to be safe from one of those crises. We heard it this morning: 1.5 billion people are already threatened by at least one major natural hazard.

We must become resilient!

## 2

## Qu'est-ce que la résilience ?

Gabriel Fauveaud a défini, dans son introduction, la résilience comme la capacité des villes et des habitants à se relever d'un événement traumatique.

Les traumatismes provoqués sont forts et restent présents très longtemps.

Ce sont les populations les plus fragiles qui souffrent le plus mais ce sont elles aussi qui doivent le plus faire preuve de résilience. C'est donc aussi une qualité qui doit habiter les plus vulnérables.

Car après la catastrophe, il faut retrouver un rythme plus normal de la vie. Reconstruire.

«Faire renaître une ville morte», comme l'indiquait Pa Socheat Vong, la résilience est une force de vie, celle qui permet de surmonter la catastrophe pour redonner espoir.



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Phnom Penh, 1979.

ឯកសារ ថ្ងៃទី១៩៨៩  
Phnom Penh, 1979.

Pour renaître, mais pas à l'identique. La résilience, ce n'est pas un retour à un état antérieur. C'est bien un accès à un nouvel état, un nouveau commencement qui définit un environnement inédit, social, économique, environnemental.

Fabienne Luco nous en donne l'illustration à Phnom Penh. Les bâtiments de la ville ont continué d'exister, mais leurs usages ont changé : l'église des sœurs de la Providence, ancien orphelinat, devenue habitat collectif.

Cette qualité nous permet donc de mieux gérer le risque et d'apprendre des expériences passées pour mieux anticiper l'irruption de problèmes, qui seront chaque fois inédits. Il s'agit bien de nous préparer, en veillant à entretenir les capacités d'adaptation et à penser la reconstruction vers moins de risque...

C'est pourquoi la gestion du risque a une dimension politique, sociale et économique, dont les objectifs majeurs sont de réduire la vulnérabilité et d'anticiper les capacités de résilience...



Phnom Penh, 2019. / Phnom Penh, 2019. / ឯកសារ ថ្ងៃទី២០១៩

## We must learn to become resilient

This synthesis concludes our conference discussions by looking at how we can work in an uncertain world to rebuild a safe environment and restore the meaning of citizenship after disasters. **BY LIONEL PRIGENT**

### 1 We live in a world of uncertainty

We live in a world of uncertainty; we are shaken up by events and forced to come to terms with them. Crises, however violent, are never ends. Time passes, people adapt, the causes of the crisis move away and we must continue to live. Nouakchott, Port-au-Prince, Kigali and, of course, Phnom Penh. All of those cities have, in different ways, experienced major crises at different times in their

## 2

### What is resilience?

Gabriel Fauveaud proposed a definition in his introduction. Resilience is the capacity of cities and their citizens to bounce back from a traumatic event. Trauma can run deep and last a very long time.

The most vulnerable people suffer the most, but they are also the ones who must be most resilient. It is therefore a quality that the most vulnerable must develop.

Once the disaster is over, one has to return to a more normal pace of life. Rebuild.

“Bringing a dead city back to life,” was how Pa Socheat Vong put it. Resilience is a life force, enabling a person to overcome disaster and rekindle hope. Coming back to life, yes, but not to the exact same life. Resilience is not a return to a previous state. It is actually a move forward, into a new state, a new beginning in an environment that is new socially, economically, and environmentally.

Fabienne Luco depicts this phenomenon in Phnom Penh. The city's buildings continued to exist, but they were put to different uses. The Church of the Sisters

of Providence, previously an orphanage, was turned into collective housing. Resilience empowers us to better manage risk and to learn from past experiences to better anticipate problems that were never seen before. We have to prepare for them, maintain our adaptability, and think of reconstruction as risk reduction. Risk management therefore has a political, social, and economic dimension. Its aims are to reduce vulnerability and anticipate the capacity for resilience.



Foule à l'entrée de Phnom Penh, 1979.

Crowd at the entrance to Phnom Penh, 1979.

មនុស្សរាជនៅលាត់ប្រកបដូចជាកម្មសាធារណៈ  
ជាបីត្រីក្រងកំពេញ  
ឆាំទេស

© Fond Khieu Kanharith

### 3

## Le temps qui suit la catastrophe est une affaire humaine.

Ce que nous retenons des témoignages sur le désastre qui est intervenu à Phnom Penh, c'est à quel point la catastrophe est incommensurable. Alors que Phnom Penh était peuplée de 2 millions d'habitants en 1975, il ne restait que 60 habitants dans une ville fantôme à la fin de 1978. Pourtant, dès janvier 1979, les populations sont arrivées peu à peu.

Fabienne Luco est revenue, comme anthropologue, sur l'arrivée des habitants, les conditions de leur retour. La résilience est le fait de la popu-

Kigali, travaux communautaires.  
Kigali, community work.

ទីក្រុង Kigali  
ការងារសហគម្យ



lation, qui s'est installée, qui s'est arrangée avec les conditions qu'elle rencontrait, pour trouver un abri, accéder à un peu de sécurité, pour reprendre des forces.

Chandevy Men Sisowath nous a confié son émouvant souvenir. « Être jeune à Phnom Penh, dans les années 1980 » ne ressemblait en aucune façon aux conditions rencontrées ailleurs. Elle nous a fait le récit d'une vie quotidienne de la survie, d'un retour dans des conditions précaires, avec en mémoire le conflit et les deuils qu'il avait provoqué dans toutes les familles.

Ce sont aussi les pénuries alimentaires, les difficultés pour acheter des provisions et mobiliser les personnes pour réorganiser les services.

Décidément, dès après la catastrophe, reconstruire est avant tout l'affaire de femmes et d'hommes.

### 3

## After the disaster: a human affair

Our takeaway from the accounts of the disaster that hit Phnom Penh is that such a catastrophe is simply incommensurable. While Phnom Penh had a population of 2 million in 1975, the ghost city that it had become by the end of 1978 had only 60 inhabitants. But as early as January 1979, people slowly started coming back.

Fabienne Luco has analysed, from an anthropological perspective, the residents' arrival and the conditions of their return. Resilience was embodied by the people who settled back and dealt with the situation to find a shelter, a bit of safety, and recuperate. Chandevy Men Sisowath shared a touching memory with us. To be "Young in Phnom Penh in 1979" was radically different from the conditions anywhere

else. She recounts her daily life of survival, the precarious conditions of her return, with the conflict in mind and the bereavements suffered by every family. There were stories of food shortages, difficulties in buying supplies and mobilizing people to get services back up and running. In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, rebuilding is first and foremost a human affair.

### 4

## La vie et rien d'autre ?

La vie reprend ses droits, toujours!!! Toutes les histoires de l'humanité nous instruisent sur le renouveau impératif qui suit les catastrophes.

Mais la résilience n'est pas une assurance de permettre de meilleures conditions d'existence à termes.

Dans le premier atelier, Jean-Marie Théodat, à partir de son expérience de Port-au-Prince, nous a rappelé les nombreuses menaces qui pèsent encore après la catastrophe.

Pour sa part, Fabienne Luco explique la difficulté à réinventer la vie quotidienne, à gérer les parties communes des immeubles, les espaces publics, qui sont régulièrement accaparés.

Il faut un effort d'organisation pour pouvoir dépasser le moment de la survie...

Et c'est là que la place des institutions, sous quelques formes que ce soit, devient nécessaire pour organiser le long terme...

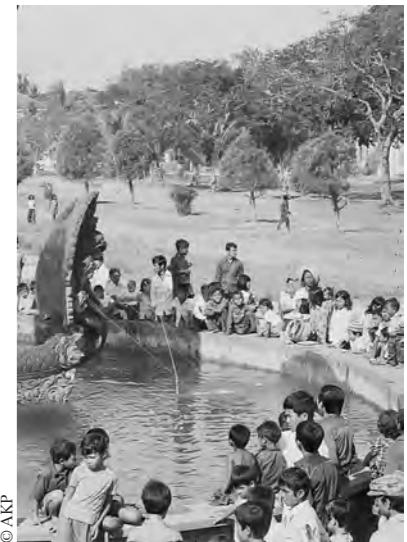
Jean-Marie Théodat expose en effet à quel point la résistance face à l'État, l'absence de capacité de régulation compromet toute possibilité de dépasser l'après-crise.



Orphelinat installé dans une ancienne chapelle.

Orphanage settled in a former chapel.  
មណ្ឌលសកម្មកំព្រោះក្នុងវិហារកតុលក  
បុរាណមួយ

Enfants à Phnom Penh, 1982.  
Children in Phnom Penh, 1982.  
កម្មនៃវិជ្ជក្រងកំពេញ  
ឆាំទេស



Population au bord du Tonlé Bassac après l'incendie du quartier.

Population on the edge of the Tonlé Bassac after the neighbourhood fire.

© AFP



Jean-Marie Théodat pointed out how resistance to government and the absence of regulatory capacity undermine any possibility of going beyond the post-crisis state.

### 4

## Nothing else but life?

Life takes its course, always! All of humankind's stories tell us about the absolute need for renewal after a disaster.

But resilience does not guarantee better living conditions in the long run. In our first workshop, Jean-Marie Théodat spoke of his experience in Port-au-Prince, reminding us of the many

threats that loom after the disaster. Fabienne Luco explained how hard it was to get back to normal daily life, to manage the shared spaces in buildings and public spaces that are often monopolized. To get beyond the moment of survival, an organizational effort is required which stresses the necessary role of institutions, in their various forms, in providing long-term organization.



Borey de la compagnie Peng Huoth.  
Borey of the Peng Huoth company.  
បុរីក្រោមហួតប៊ែងហួត  
© Lim Bunhok



Logements neufs pour relogement.  
New housing for rehousing.  
ផ្ទះសំឡើងស្រាប់អ្នកជនទៅ



Pose de canalisation d'eau PPWSA/JICA  
Laying of the PPWSA water main.  
ការចាប់ផ្តើមគម្រោងទឹកសាធារណៈភ្នំពេញ  
សម្រាប់ក្រុងតំបន់

## 5 Les conditions d'une vraie reconstruction

Il faut donc l'effort des hommes et des femmes. Il faut aussi du temps.

Christiane Blancot le rappelle : Phnom Penh a attendu 20 ans pour connaître les vraies conditions de la reconstruction. Si bien que les bâtiments ont été très abîmés par les 20 ans qui se sont écoulées après le départ des khmers rouges. Il aura fallu encore une génération pour qu'apparaisse à Phnom Penh les ferment d'une nou-

### 5

## The prerequisites for a true reconstruction

Effort is therefore required from men and women. And time is needed.

Christiane Blancot reminded us that it took Phnom Penh 20 years to understand the prerequisites for reconstruction, which meant that buildings were left to decay during the 20 years that elapsed after the Khmer Rouge left.

It took another generation for a new urban culture to take root in Phnom Penh, including in the ways of dwelling. Rebuilding a city involves giving it back all its functions, by means of agglomeration economies, an economic

term used by Natharoun Ngo. These functions include:

- being a haven in which one finds protection, a place to live, a job, a future;
  - being a marketplace in which people and businesses can find the resources and services they are looking for;
  - being a place where one can move around, which requires a transportation infrastructure;
  - being a place of production of trade-related goods and services;
  - finally, being a place where education, health, culture, etc. are provided.
- To begin with this true reconstruction effort, these structural, economic, and social aspects are necessary.

### STRUCTURAL ASPECT

Mareth Mok spoke of the post-crisis period, while His Excellency Kep Chuktema highlighted the need to rebuild infrastructure.

"A city without water or electricity is like a life without love."

More concretely, His Excellency Ek Sonn Chan talked about getting the clean water network back into operation. He also highlighted how the reconstruction effort was undermined by a growing number of illegal hookups. Receipts and invoices were also a problem as some bills could not be collected due to misattribution, corruption, etc.

There is a power balance between

Dans un exemple concret, son excellence Ek Sonn Chan a insisté sur les conditions de remise en œuvre des réseaux d'eau potable. Mais il a souligné aussi comment les efforts de reconstruction étaient compromis par les branchements illégaux qui se multipliaient... Les recettes des factures étaient elles aussi problématiques car une partie des factures n'était pas recouvrée en raison des erreurs d'attribution, de la corruption, etc.

Il y a ici la compréhension d'un rapport de force qui se noue entre les dynamiques institutionnelles qui doivent être garantes de la mise en œuvre d'un service pour tous et les captations individuelles, dont chacune semble sans conséquence mais la somme compromet les efforts de reconstruction...

### DIMENSION ÉCONOMIQUE

La dimension économique ne doit pas être négligée. Dans la résilience, l'économie est aussi un facteur de risque.

Nous l'avons entendu de plusieurs façons au cours de cette journée : cela veut dire disposer d'un outil productif, pouvoir occuper des travailleurs dans cette activité et ne pas seulement faire commerce ! C'est ce que nous a été rapporté ce matin en rappelant que le Cambodge était devenue une nation privilégiée par ses partenaires du point de vue économique, permettant de participer aux échanges mondiaux, à la chaîne de fabrication des richesses.

Lorsque les réfugiés rentrent progressivement, il leur faut trouver du travail pour gagner leur vie. En 2004, Phnom Penh accueillait 300 usines, 200 000 ouvrières. Et à l'échelle du pays, le contrat de bonnes pratiques signé avec l'Organisation internationale du travail était un gage nécessaire pour rassurer sur le respect des standards de condition de travail et de rémunération des ouvrières.

Mais d'autres formes d'économie, porteuses d'innovation, ont aussi été portées autour : de l'économie circulaire, des start-up et des investisseurs sociaux. C'est toute l'expérience proposée par Hassan Hajam.

Branchement des habitants au réseau d'eau potable PPWSA.  
Connecting the inhabitants to the PPWSA drinking water system.

ការគ្រឿងរំលែក  
ប្រជាផល ឱ្យដោយប្រព័ន្ធបាយ  
បណ្តុះប្រើកសាល់សំខាន់  
ក្រុងតំបន់



© PPWSA  
Recensement des habitants à reloger.  
Census of inhabitants for rehousing.  
ការប្រើប្រាស់ស្ថាប័ណ្ឌទិន្នន័យ  
ដើម្បីជួលឱ្យប្រជាផលទៅ  
សំខាន់ក្នុងតំបន់

## 6 La dimension sociale est essentielle

Il faut donc un changement de culture et une compréhension des attentes... collectives.

Faire cohésion... Ce que nous rappelle Nadine Umunoti Gatsinzi à propos de Kigali.

Pour pouvoir mener correctement une reconstruction, il faut avoir fait la paix avec le passé. Et les expériences servent. Celle de l'Angola a été utile pour éclairer les conditions de la pacification et la réconciliation que le Rwanda a dû mettre en œuvre dans tout le pays.

### 6

## The social dimension is essential

A culture shift was required as well as an understanding of collective expectations.

Building cohesion, as Nadine Umunoti Gatsinzi puts it when referring to Kigali.

A properly led reconstruction effort means making peace with the past. Experience is valuable: take Angola's, which shed light on the conditions for peacemaking and reconciliation that Rwanda had to implement throughout the country.

Pacifying, reconciling, building a more serene climate and stability are all prerequisites that can be illustrated

institutions, responsible for implementing a service for all, and individual collections, seemingly inconsequential but which, as a whole, threaten the reconstruction effort.

### ECONOMIC ASPECT

The economic aspect must not be overlooked. Economics is also a risk factor when it comes to resilience. We have heard it a number of times today: what is needed is a production capacity so that people have jobs to go to rather than just doing business ! It was brought up this morning: Cambodia has become a nation favored by its partners from an economic standpoint, opening

the way for involvement in world trade, in the chain of wealth creation. As the refugees trickled back, they had to find jobs to earn a living.

By 2004, Phnom Penh was home to 300 factories employing 200,000 workers. Countrywide, the good practices agreement signed with the International Labor Organization was a basis for complying with standard working conditions and worker wages. But other forms of the economy tied to innovation also came on the scene: circular economy, start-ups, and social investors. Hassan Hajam covers this in depth.

Pacifier, réconcilier, engager un climat plus serein, une stabilité... sont autant de conditions nécessaires qui ont des traductions concrètes: droit à la sécurité, droit au commerce, droit au logement... et droit à des services, mais non sans contrepartie acceptée: il faut pouvoir fournir le service mais faire accepter aussi son paiement. C'est ce que nous a rappelé M. Ek Sonn Chan sous une forme très concrète:

- lutte contre les raccordements illégaux,
- travail sur la régularité du paiement des factures,
- utilisation d'outils informatiques pour améliorer la connaissance de la situation.

Dès la fin des années 1990, la situation s'est améliorée: toutes les factures sont désormais honorées.

Mais il faut aussi veiller à ce que soient respectées toutes les formes d'égalité, en particulier les égalités de genre dont il a été question tout au long de cet après-midi. Un autre enjeu est de garantir que les familles les plus pauvres puissent avoir accès aux services... Veiller à bien engager les interrelations entre la population et l'administration, selon l'expérience apportée par son excellence Mann Choeun.

Le risque majeur est d'observer, comme cela fut présenté pour Port-au-Prince, qu'une partie de la population n'ait pas droit «de cité». Le risque est grand alors que naîsse une résistance à l'exclusion. Et que la ville réelle se développe contre la ville institutionnelle, sans infrastructure.

concretely: the right to security, the right to do business, the right to have a home and the right to services, which require something in return. The service needs to be supplied but one's payment must also be accepted.

That was very concretely illustrated by Ek Sonn Chan who mentioned:

- the prevention of illegal hookups,
- a focus on the consistency of bill payments,
- the use of software tools to improve knowledge of the situation.

By the late 1990s, the situation had improved greatly: all bills were now paid.

All forms of equality must be respected, particularly gender equality, which we discussed throughout the afternoon.

Another challenge is to guarantee the poorest families access to services which requires, according to the experience shared by His Excellency Mann Choeun, proper relations between the population and administration.

As highlighted in the Port-au-Prince account, the major risk is that people could be deprived of the “right to a homeland.” This brings about the risk of resistance to exclusion which could lead to development of a real city, with no infrastructures, in parallel to the institutional city.

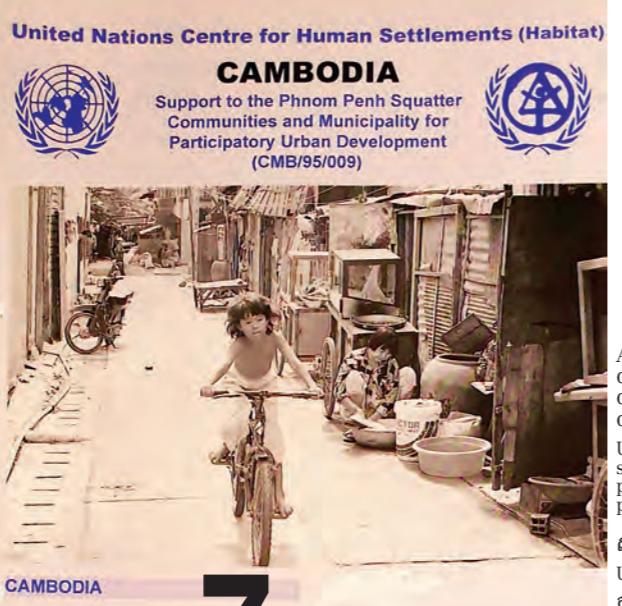
## 7 We're no longer off on our own in the world

Our last lesson, without a doubt: the experiences presented show how important international support is (backers, support from other countries). International aid makes investment in infrastructure possible, getting it up and running.

Distribution de matériel aux sinistrés.

Distribution of equipment to victims by Phnom Penh municipality.

ការចំណុចយស្សារ  
ដល់ជនអង្គភាព  
ដោយសាលាការដ៏  
ខ្ពស់ពេញ



Affiche PNUD du programme de réduction de la pauvreté. UNDP poster, support for the poverty reduction programme.

សាកសម្បាយសំអង្គការ  
UNDP ត្រួវបានកម្មវិធី  
ការបន្ទយគត់ក្រើក្រុង

7

## Nous ne sommes plus isolés dans le monde...

C'est sans doute le dernier enseignement: les expériences présentées nous ont montré l'importance du soutien international: bailleurs, soutien de pays tiers. L'aide internationale permet l'investissement dans les infrastructures et le démarrage de leur fonctionnement.

Dans chacun de nos exemples favorables, ce sont les partenariats qui ont permis les meilleurs progrès. Pour Christiane Blancot, c'est bien l'association de toutes les échelles, le partenariat international, local et la place accordée aux habitants qui a été la condition pour régler en grande partie le problème du logement.

In all of our positive examples, partnerships have led to progress. For Christiane Blancot, it is the combination of multiple scales (international and local partnerships and the role assigned to the people) that was the condition for settling much of the issue around housing.

## 8 Et demain ?

Aurons-nous besoin d'une nouvelle résilience? À Phnom Penh, malgré la croissance, différentes questions commencent à se poser: la ville jardin se transforme en une ville dense et minérale, le remblaiement des lacs permet d'étendre la ville mais réduit les zones naturelles. De fait, en compensation, le dispositif naturel de régulation doit trouver réponse dans des solutions technologiques.

Partout dans le monde, les défis qui se posent à nous exigent des réponses inédites et une capacité d'adaptation, une lutte contre notre fragilité. Et l'échelle urbaine pourrait bien être la bonne échelle d'action, nous enseigne Natharoun Ngo. Ne nous y trompons pas, la ville de demain, c'est d'abord la ville d'hier et celle d'aujourd'hui qui sera laissée en héritage. Elle constitue notre patrimoine qui nous interroge sur les solutions que nous mettons en avant.

La ville de demain doit être celle qui saura prendre la mesure des problèmes d'approvisionnement et de gestion des déchets, de sobriété, de confort mais aussi de cohésion et de solidarité. Comment accueillir toutes les populations tout en offrant un bon cadre de vie, respectueux de la planète?

Il ne suffit plus seulement de rendre des services, ni de satisfaire ponctuellement des besoins, il s'agit aussi de redonner sens, de refaire citoyenneté pour les habitants, de mobiliser leurs capacités: participer à la ville, y vivre et s'y investir, comme l'a déclaré M. Vannak Seng, il y a quelques instants.



Nouvelles technologies, et grands équipements à Kigali.

New technologies and large amenities in Kigali.

បច្ចេកទេសទីនេះ និង  
ក្រុង ដឹកជញ្ជូនរៀង  
ទៅក្នុង Kigali



Un tel agenda implique non seulement une prise de conscience mais aussi une transformation des pratiques... dont nous devons mesurer davantage les implications globales.

Quelles que soient les formes, publiques, privées, l'inclusion sociale et solidaire, les initiatives impliquent de pouvoir mieux discuter de leur but et de leurs impacts.

Les villes doivent apprendre à appréhender simultanément les problèmes et leurs effets présents et futurs. Elles ont donc intérêt à imaginer de nouvelles gouvernances, à expérimenter les moyens de leur transformation, mais aussi (peut-être surtout) à les partager.

Application mobile pour se déplacer en moto-taxis.  
Mobile app for moto-taxi rides .

កម្មវិធីទូរសព្ទដែលមាន  
លក្ខណៈបច្ចុប្បន្ន

is first and foremost yesterday's city. Today's city is the legacy that will be passed on. It is our heritage that is raising questions about the solutions we are putting forward.

Tomorrow's city will have to resolve issues of supply, waste management, design simplicity and comfort as well as cohesion and solidarity.

How can the city be the home of all peoples, offering a good, sustainable quality of life?

It is not simply a matter of providing services nor meeting needs as they arise. It is also a matter of restoring meaning, of rebuilding citizenship for the people, of mobilizing their abilities: getting involved

in the city, living in it, and investing in it, as Vannak Seng stated a moment ago. Such an agenda implies not only an awareness but also a transformation of practices whose global implications we will have to consider.

Whatever form they take—public, private, solidarity-based social inclusion—initiatives imply the need to discuss their purpose and impacts more holistically.

Cities must learn to simultaneously address problems and their present and future effects. They must imagine new forms of governance, experiment ways of transforming them, and (perhaps most importantly) share them.

# យើងត្រូវរៀនសុត្រូច្បាយជាអ្នកមានភាពជន

ជាលេបក្តីសន្តិដ្ឋាននៃកិច្ចពិភាក្សានៅក្នុងសន្តិសិទ សេបក្តីសំយោគនេះត្រឡប់មកនិយាយអំពីរៀបផលយើងអាចធ្វើឱ្យបាននៅក្នុងពិភពលោកដប្រជាបីមួយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រនូវមួយដែលមានសុវត្ថិភាពជាងមុន និងផ្តល់អត្ថន័យឡើងវិញដូចនេះបានដែរ បន្ទាប់ពីដឹងបញ្ជារោងមួយ។

ជោយលាក់ Lionel Prigent

9

## យើងស់នៅក្នុងភាពមិនប្រាកដប្រជាមួយ

ទីក្រោងនៃសុត ទីក្រោងពាយឃ្មាន់ស ទីក្រោងឲកាសិ ហើយទីក្រោង  
ក្នុងពេញធម្មជាមួយ ទីក្រោងទាំងអស់នេះសូឡើតែបានផ្តល់កាត់ឱ្យតួនាទី តាមលេខ  
ខ្លួនគ្នា តួនាទីរាល់ដាច់ខ្លួន នៅតួនាទីប្រភិតិសាស្ត្របស់ខ្លួន ពេលវិបត្តិ  
បណ្តុាលមកពីទីកន្លែងនៃ ពេញឃី ការសេស្អាប់រៀលជាព្រៃងព្រោយដី បុរីពី  
ប្រលប់យោបាយសាសន៍ជាមួយ។

បុគ្គលូបច្ចុប្បន្ន ទីក្រោងទាំងនេះក៏មានសមត្ថភាពផ្លូវជាសាស្ត្រិកមួយអំពី ស្ថានភាពដែលខ្លួនបានបានប៉ុមសាល់សេវាទំនើនប្រាកិតិសាស្ត្របស់ខ្លួនដៃនៅ អំពីរឿងដែលខ្លួនបានរៀបចំសុគ្រិតិក្រការ៖ មហាផ្ទករយទាំងនេះ។ ទទួលិតសោចនី ទាំងនេះបានជួយខ្សោយឱ្យយើង នៅក្នុងរយៈពេលពេញរួមឱ្យចូលរួមនៅក្នុង “ឯកសារការពារក្រោម” ឬឯកសារការពារក្រោមដែលបានរៀបចំឡើងនៅក្នុងវិថីនីវិកា”។

- នេះបុណ្យក្រោមគ្មានទៅ...ដូចជាបានបានដោយខ្លួន...  
បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ត្រូវប្រើប្រាស់ណាយអភិប្លាយដែលមានចំណាំ ខ្លួនការងារផ្លូវស  
ធនការនឹងបក្សិម្យយក្តីដែលការិយាល័យត្រូវតាំងនេះទៀតឱ្យ។ យើងបានរួចរាល់ការការពាណិជ្ជការ  
ព្រៃកិច្ចិកនេះហើយ ប្រជាធិថុន ១,៥ពាន់លាននាក់ ត្រូវបានផ្តល់ការ  
ការងារនៃក្រសួងនេះជាបានបានដោយខ្លួន

យើងត្រូវជួនឱ្យការយុទ្ធសាស្ត្ររបស់ខ្លួន !

1.

## តើអ្វីទៅជាការធន់ ?

លេកស្រី ហ្មាបីយេន ឈុយកុ បានផ្តល់ជាភាសាល្អៃដូចខាងក្រោមនេះ

ជីថ្យេះ សមត្ថភាពនេះនឹងអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យយើងគ្រប់គ្រងហានិកយុទ្ធនា  
រូបជាងមុន និងវិច្ឆិកបទពិសោធន៍អតិថិជាល ដើម្បីប្រើប្រាស់ឈឺលិលឱ្យបាន  
ប្រសើរដាក់ខ្លួន ដល់សញ្ញាចាំងខ្សោយដែលប្រាប់បាបញ្ញានឹងកើតឡើង នៅ  
តីសុទ្ធដែបញ្ញាដែលមិនធ្លាប់កើតមានឡើយ។ ការប្រើប្រាស់ឈឺលិលយើងត្រូវការ  
ការងារខ្លួនយើងដោយយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ទៅបែកការក្រសមត្ថភាពសម្របខ្លួន និង  
តិចតិចណែនាំសារណ៍ទីផ្សេងៗ សំដែរដោយការងារទីផ្សេងៗទៅតិចជាមួយ

ເທິງຜູ້ເຊື້ອກະຕືບຕົວຢ່າງດີເລີຍຕົວຢ່າງດີເລີຍ ເພື່ອສະຫຼຸບມີຄວາມ  
ຮັດຕະກຳໃຫຍ່ ເພື່ອສະຫຼຸບມີຄວາມຮັດຕະກຳໃຫຍ່

m.

## ក្រសួងពេទ្យ

អ្នកដែលយើងចងចាំពីតិចតុក្ខុស្តីពីមហន្តរាយយើងឡើង  
នៅត្រីក្រង់ពេញ គឺថា មហន្តរាយពីតិចាននឹងសាលាការដំណឹង មិនអារម្មណសំដីនៅ  
បាន។ ឧបាឌ៖ដែលត្រូវពេញមានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ២លាននាក់ នៅត្រាំងទំនួរ  
នៅសល់តែប្រជាពលរដ្ឋ ៦០នាក់ប៉ុណ្ណោះនៅក្បែងទីក្រុងខ្សោយចុច នៅដីណាប់  
ត្រាំងទំនួរ។ បុង្គាទាប់ពីខែកក្រៅ ត្រាំងទំនួរមក ប្រជាធិបាលត្រូវបាយកវិញ  
ជាបណ្តុះរៀប។

ເລາກສົ່ງ ທຸບັນຍັດ ດຸແກ້ກູ ດາວໂຫຼດບໍ່ມະກີຕີ ປິຈຸນິກຳຕື່ແຕງ  
ດຸນຄາຍຕາໄວ້ຊື່ສົ່ງກົມໍາທີ່ຕາກໃບລົດບໍ່ມະກີຕີເງົາບສ່ວນພາຕາລາຜູ້ ອີ່ນິກຳ  
ລົດຂັ້ນແລ້ວກາໃບລົດບໍ່ບໍລິສັດເຄເຕເຕະ: ຕາດຜົນຮຶດຢູ່ຕາກດັ່ງນີ້ແລ້ວ  
ປະຕົວຜົນພື້ນດາວຕົ້ນທີ່ບໍ່ເກີດເຫັນ ດາວ໌ເປັນບໍ່ຕົ້ນສູງສາດພື້ນຂອງ  
ຜູ້ບໍ່ອະນຸ: ເພີ່ມີກິດຜູ້ມະກີຊີ່ເຫັນສູງກີດຄົກ ອີ່ນິກຳບໍ່ມະກີຍັດມໍານີ້ເຖິງໃນຕາງ

អ្នកម្ចាន សីសុត្រិ ដែល ចេញទៅ ពាណិជ្ជកម្មប្រកបដោយភាព  
គ្នាក្នុងអំពីអនុសាប្តូរបៃសអ្នកម្ចាន ថា “ជាក្រុងសីឡាក់នៅទីក្រុងត្នោតពេញ  
តុងទសវិញត្រូវចាប់ចុះទៅ” មិនជួយការសែវកែនឹងធ្លើដើរទេ អ្នកម្ចានបាន  
ជៀវកម្មប៉ាប់ដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ  
មកត្នោតពេញត្រូវក្នុងស្ថានភាពដើរបានបិន អ្នកម្ចាននៅថ្ងៃនេះទៅធ្លើយឱរិលី  
ដែល និងពីទុក្សលេកដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ  
ទាំងអស់។ ការលើបាតកក់ពាក់តែទូទៅដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ  
លើបាតកក្នុងផ្លូវកែវិញបាន និងការលើបាតកក្នុងការកែវិញសូម្រោះ  
ដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ  
បាត់ពីពេលគ្រោះមហនុរាយ  
បានបញ្ចប់ទៅ ការកែវិញដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរដើរ

2

ជីវិត ហើយគ្នានអីធ្វើនៅទេបុ ?

ជីវិតកែងកែបាប់ដើម្បីសារធ្វើ!!! ប្រភពិសាស្ត្របស់មនុស្សជាតិ តែងតែបាប់យើងអំពីការកសាងឡើងវិញមិនអាចអាកទានបន្ទាប់ពីបាន ផ្លូវកាត់រួមទៅលក្ខណៈយកឱ្យយា បើក្នុងភាពដុំមិនមែនអាចនឹងយុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ មានលក្ខណៈការសំឡេចក្រួលមួយទេនៅក្នុងអន្តរគត់។

នៅក្នុងកិច្ចប្រជុំក្រុមទី១ ដូមេច្បាតិបទពិសោធន៍របស់ណាក  
នៅទីក្រុងតែអ្នកប្រាំងសំ លោក ហ្មីដៃម៉ោង នៅថ្ងៃក្នុងកិច្ចប្រជុំក្រុមទី១ ដូមេច្បាតិបទពិសោធន៍របស់ណាក

ចំណោកដុលភ្លែង ហ្មាបីយេន លុយក្នុងវិញ លោកស្រីបានពន្លូល់  
ពីការលំបាតក្នុងការរំលែកជាប្រើប្រាស់ដើម្បីត្រួសដឹងពីភាពប្រចាំថ្ងៃ នូវការប្រប់គ្រីនដូរក  
រួមទៅក្នុងអគារ ក៏ដូចជាក្រុងប៊ូតិកទំនំសាធារណៈណែន: ដែលគេតែងតែប៉ែនាន  
យកជាពិភ័យក្នុងប៉ារ៍ គេត្រូវខិតខ្សែពីប្រើប្រាស់ការងាររបៀបចំ ដើម្បីផ្តល់ខ្សែងខ្សែតិត  
ពីដំណាក់កាលប្រតិបត្តិសំណង់... នៅពេលនោះហើយទីប៊ូតិកទំនំបានរៀបសំណូលប៉ានា  
ឡាយៗនៅក្នុងទីមួយណាក៏ ការយាយជាផង់ចាំបាច់ ដើម្បីធ្វើប៉ាប់សំណូលយោះពេលដែង...

លោកសាស្ត្របាយ ហ្មង់ម៉ៅ តែមុនា បានបង្ហាញពីភាពចម្លង ចម្លាស់ជាមួយដ្ឋីតិតជាថ្វាបំងដល់កម្រិតណា ពីអេត្តមានសមត្ថភាពនិយ័តកម្ម ធ្វើឱ្យបែបៗបាល់ប៉ោងណាមួលលទ្ធផលផ្លូវការ ឱ្យមុនុតពីដំណាក់កាលបន្ទាប់ពីមាន វិវិតិវិញ





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## Phnom Penh/ Habitat

- Résilience des villes après les catastrophes 147



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