



03 June 09 — Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo Hun Sen was conferred upon Honorary Doctoral Degree in Political Science by the Graduate School Committee of Korea University, Seoul.

**30 June 2009** (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)  
**Norton University Graduation: The Korko Soup Was Good**

... I am so happy to notice development made by the University and the contribution the University made in human resources development, which up to these days some 18,000 students have been studying in the university – 5,976 already graduated and 12,000 are in their studies ... I also congratulate the university of its forthcoming new building along with the opening of the 2009-2010 school year. I wish to also thank rectors, professors, management board members who have pooled their efforts, together with the Royal Government in human resources development, which has always been given a top priority since after we were liberated from the Pol Pot's regime ... We have come this far after the stage of those who know little teach those who know nothing, and those who know more teach those who know less ...

In some countries, for instance Kuwait, they allowed only 27

graduates per year and the rest will have to take up vocational training ... As the global financial crisis continues to hit hard, Cambodia is not alone in suffering the consequences, especially issue of unemployment. The United States of America has come to its worse time of highest ever rate of unemployment. I met some oversea Cambodians and they said that they had had their houses confiscated because they have borrowed money from the bank and could not pay them back, partly because they do not have jobs anymore ... Some Cambodians who are preparing to go live in the United States have come to say that they no longer go because Cambodians living there want to return to Cambodia ...

Financial crisis has brought to bear, first of all the major economies – heavy consequences with effect spreads to developing countries too.  
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**20 June 2009** (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)  
**Former Combatants Day: A Coincidence in Real Life**

... I have a story to recall for you. It is true that one man story could not have turned everything the way they are but some actors' life story involved in some parts of key evolution of society. As today is the anniversary of the June 20, 2009 and about 32 years ago we were in the most difficult situation and I had to make the most difficult decision in my life to start another fight in a region where I belonged ...

My life is full of tragedy and I had to make a decision on November 10, 1976 - which later has been proven to be the correct one – to control my anger at the time when my

first born child was aborted from hands of midwives and felt dead ... I was denied visiting and getting my child a proper burial and I was rebuked for asking their permission to attend to my wife in this time of need ... Because I had with me two short guns I could have killed the commander and I might not be able to have survived ... my child was already dead and my wife was in the post-delivery state - how to deal with this situation?

Patience was supreme and up to now I do not know where they buried or threw away my child ... I just symbolically  
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**25 June 2009** (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)  
**Asia Sajak Graduation: Welcome Thai Friends with Korko**

... In Cambodia there are over two thousand non-governmental organizations and about 1% of the numbers stated have taken unconstructive role ... as HE On Yenting said to the Rapporteur on Human Rights ... It is not without a reason that the UN Rapporteurs – Kirby, Hamberg, Pieter Leu Pretch and Yah Ghai had met and worked with the same organizations so I have decided not to meet the last Rapporteur because he made a statement even before he knows Cambodia ... So there is no need for me to see him ... They truly want to see Hun Sen not running again ... The way toward 2018 is certain as I will turn to be 66 ... and my

health condition is good ... but it is up to the people to decide if I will be given the chance in 2018 or not ...

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the efforts by students to make themselves educated persons in response to demand for social progress but I urge all of you to go on studying – by whatever means you have because study will go on and on ...  
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Cambodia is one of them, but because Cambodia has not been fooled yet by bubble economies – what worries them the most is to feed their children and not to make wealth from stock or get fabulous by modern and latest model cars, etc. We could still depend on agricultural production so as to achieve broad based economic growth ...

I would like to give you a food of thought about Vietnam ... We may ask why Vietnam has made a quick jump in its economic development? I have one example for you to sleep on ... In 1987 or 1988 I went to Vietnam, there was an engineer who learnt in former Czechoslovakia, who drove a car for our embassy in Hanoi ... He was sent to study abroad but upon his return he could not find a job because the country has not yet developed .. but when the country develop, he becomes one of the person who could do a lot for his country ... That is why I said we could not afford to wait until there is demand for jobs to start training them, but it is proactive to train people ... to be frank people who have education are hardly disadvantaged and/or die because of food inaccessibility ... because they are after all the ones with all the creativities ...

Last week I have signed a sub-decree to annul the Tertiary Foundation of Sovanphum, formerly called Newton Thilay and its branches in the provinces ... To establish an education institution is one difficulty but to strengthen and sustain it is a major issue ... I will approve a number of measures concerning leadership in writing thesis ... we have to pursue this though of learning to know and not just to finish ... I would like to call

on all universities – both state and private – to continue to increase educational quality and those who have taken the studies must try to master your knowledge ...

My eldest son got his bachelor in West Point Academy in the United States of America – as the first Cambodia to have studied there. Now we have a Cambodian student, and female, who is doing her studies there. He is doing his Ph D in England and he was supposed to finish his work in April last year, but it was me who asked him to return for some urgent affairs ... He has prolonged his final work and will receive his Ph D diploma on July 16, and it is for this reason I wish to be with him ... As for my visit to France, if all goes according to plan, I will have a courtesy call on the President of the Republic HE Sarkozy on July 13 and attend the march on July 14 to commemorate the Bastille Day ...

All of you may wait to hear from me as to if the soup (korko) was good or not. I may tell you it was and I am Hun Sen, I am not the one who says one thing before meeting, and another in the meeting at all ... I have warned them already if they come to just explain about their intention of calling for a review of the Preah Vihear temple ... I assure them not to come ... But the Korko soup was good and they even took down the name of the soup ... As we are two neighboring countries, of course we have more to talk about ranging from how to develop overlap area in the sea and some other development projects, how to reduce tension and confrontation along the border ... and I would not allow a minute to pass without raising issue of Thai troops withdrawal ...

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Anyone can teach us something ... No matter how old you are you could go on studying ... reading an article or working through what is provided by the media would give us not only information or situation development but also knowledge in science and technology ... only if you watch movies that are not good according to our culture and values ...

I have learnt that there is this

In between 7:30 pm and 9:00 pm, some people, especially those who hates me, might have thought Hun Sen could have been killed already. But those who love me were very concerned about my fate and many have shown up at my house or called me ... I wish our people living nearby or in Takhmao area to forgive me for what had happened ... Carelessness while using lighter by soldiers had accidentally set a fully loaded truck of artillery ammunitions on fire ... The ammunitions were not wearing any warheads but they exploded ... I am sorry that the incident has caused our people fears ...

In the course of our discussion I also told DPM HE Suthep and Defense Minister Prawit that their pilots should be careful with their flight wheels ... because I could not control those on the ground ... Though we destroyed some 270 pieces but we have now rearmed our army with the one that is far more modern and I would buy them even if they are very expensive ... Cambodia does not have any fighters to intrude upon any country's airspace at all ... I told him my troops will not be withdrawn if the 30 Thai troops are not withdrawn ... In short, the Kokor soup was good ... ■

nasty movies showing again in Khan Daun Penh of Phnom Penh and I would warn again that the governor of the Khan has to act immediately ... I also learnt that there is a naked dance place and they maybe warned that I have proof and all Governors who are present here have to [pay heed to what I have said ... I warn that no one should talk of so and so being behind these illegal and unsocial activities ... The governor board and Khan council – should work together to find out these problems and take actions ...

Please remember that an economy that serves the people's demand will not have impact of over production whereas in 1987-88, then Ministry of Industry produced outer covers for bicycle but were not making any sales and they requested to the Council of Ministers to get rid of private shops that produced outer covers, which they saw as reason that they could not sell any ... I told them I would rather close the factory not the shop ... Who would use their products as the look is unattractive and the quality is low ...

Ion Cambodia we have just found recently one AHN flu inflicted case and as of today another three cases – which makes in all four cases. The flu was discovered among students coming from the US in their ages between 16 and 17 years old ... We do not hide information ... I would urge our people to be careful and I order for swift actions by the Ministry of Health in terms of precautionary measures and counter measures so that the situation could be contained ... I agree that HE Mam Bun Heng, Minister for Health work along with the

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World Health Organization to get information across and also to seek help with friends who promise vaccinations ...

We have resorted to wearing mask so that to prevent infected diseases from spreading to others ... but there was a strange case of mask wearing last Monday by a parliamentarian – which could be taken to mean that there is no freedom of expression or being shut up. But funnily enough, just as the mask was removed, the person speaks or speaks even with the mask on ... It is a strange mask case ...

People are waiting for my comments of the Prime Minister of Cambodia in relations to the visit of Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand Suthep Thaugsuban so that “to ease Prime Minister Hun Sen’s concern” ... Let me recall the who story ... DPM Suthep and Minister of National Defense HE Prawit – the two are quite friends with me ... Last April 5, 2009, when there was this armed clash on April 3, DPM Suthep and Minister of Defense Prawit came to see me before my trip to Pattaya for the ASEAN summit ... It was a short meeting that focused on preventing further armed conflicts along the border – it was unofficial meeting though ... but also some internal Thai issues and ASEAN affairs ... so as to address concerns about demonstration by red shirts in Bangkok, etc. Because I have close friendly relation with Thaksin they also sought out if I could appeal to Thaksin to call his supporters to stay clam for the summit ...

During the visit of Prime Minister Abhisit Vajirajiva to Cambodia on June 12, DPM Suthep did not make it as he

had not been healthy and also because of tensions in the far south of Thailand ... Three days after the Prime Minister’s visit. I received a request to visit again and to have lunch together which has been scheduled to take place on June 26 ... but because I have prior engagements so I suggested June 27 instead. The date was acceptable. The meeting will be informal, a meeting among friends and it will be at my house ... The transport means will also be my own cars ...

Prime Minister Abhisit on June 17 – two days after the meeting was arranged – talked about reviewing the registration in the World Heritage Committee of Preah Vihear in Bangkok Post, again on June 18 and on June 19, Prime Minister Abhisit was quoted in Bangkok Post to have said that he believes Hun Sen could be explained about Thai intention against the registration ... On June 20, also in Bangkok Post he said even to send DPM to explain me the Thai position ...

Now I have to make clear the principle positions of Cambodia which have also been announced by Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Hor Nam Hong – I cannot accept any explanation of DPM that I will be meeting on June 27, unless the explanation will be about the withdrawal of the Thai invasive troops ... I regret a great deal that our friends or partner or neighbor acted like signing an agreement with his hands but get his feet to clear it ... The meeting on June 12 was good ... I even said I understood the difficulties on the Thai side that any withdrawal of troops has to have approval from the parliament but Thai troops who came in on July 15, 2008 never got

permission from the Thai parliament, so there is no need to seek one for withdrawing ... both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Thailand kept silent ...

It was so disappointed that the Thai side has raised this issue of co-ownership that I have rejected long ago ... how could we accept that. Even Thai would allow us to do that on their territory. We could not accept Thai unilaterally developed map as Cambodia never recognizes it. Cambodia recognizes the France-Siam 1904 and 1907 map that was recognized by the International Court in The Hague. Cambodia heard this co-ownership a lot and it is not a new thing for UNESCO to consent as well ... That is why UNESCO approves the registration last year ... Tension at the border is not because UNESCO decision ... but it was because Thais sent their troops into Cambodian territory ... This statement that registration of the temple brought about conflict and tension is nothing true ... Cambodia will use peaceful means and bilateral forum to solve all issues whereas military means will be the last resort ...

More than that they said demanding for a removal of the temple ... is an issue between Thai and UNESCO and has nothing to do with Cambodia. What a comment? Has Thai become owner of the temple? How could they deny Cambodian rights? How could they say so? The temple is Cambodia’s and Thai cannot bargain about it with UNESCO without Cambodia. Is this what a civilized country should say or do? I do not insult you but I reserve the rights to explain my people and I just response to the Thai top leader’s remark ...

Having said so, on behalf of the Cambodian people, I wish to inform Samdech Ov that we will defend and protect achievements of Sangkum Reast Niyum ... If we were to look back in those days that Samdech Ov led the legal suit to international court in The Hague, we could imagine how brave Samdech Ov was that he was only 30 years old at that time and Samdech won the case in his fortieth’s. Cambodia won the case of Preah Vihear nine years after Independence in 1953. Taking into consideration, the regional context that SEATO considered Cambodia its enemy ... On July 7, which is a few days from today, we will celebrate the one-year anniversary of the registration by the World Heritage Committee of Preah Vihear temple ... The Phnom Penh Municipality will organize the event and the military commanders at the fronts will be called to present themselves and thank the people for their supports ...

What they wish to explain to me is perhaps what I have understood to be that DPM HE Suthep may have to recall that my (Thai) Government had to do so and so because we were in the opposition with the support of the yellow shirt (PAD) and the ones who demanded the removal of Foreign Minister Noppadon Pattama and sued the Government of Samak, whom the (Constitutional) Court (of Thailand) had issued injunction, which suspended supports for the Cambodian request to register the Cambodian Preah Vihear temple as the World Heritage ... So it is important to keep to original position when coming to power ... Well at last that is how I understand it to be ... It is even clearer that as long as

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in the mission for advancement of public positions by mean of human resource development. We also have students as Buddhist monks, who could also provide great help for religious administration. They learn computing, economics, diplomacy, etc. in addition to their knowledge of religious or Buddhist teachings ...

### For Good Public Service

**Secondly**, I would like to offer my sincere appreciation for all graduates for their efforts to take strict disciplines and their performances will be kept and sent as records back to their ministries or institutions ... Also some have been doing to duties – swapping time between work and study – and also I would like to thank those professors for sharing experiences except those matters involved military intelligence and defense matter, which could not be at disposal of any kind.

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the Democratic Party is in power in Thailand, the issue of Preah Vihear will not soothe easily ... Even a number of Thai media also made comments on this already ...

Well that is what I have to explain to the Cambodian people in relations to events that were caused by the Thai side and its top leader ... In defense of Cambodian sovereignty I have every rights to interpret facts for my people, command my army to defend our territory and I made it clear that Cambodia is not in favor of using forces to resolve bilateral issue at all, unless we could not avoid it as the last option ... We are working to lessen conflict and broaden cooperation in accordance with the MOU 2000, which is supposed to be im-

plemented by current Prime Minister Abhisit Vijiaviva – then Minister in charge of the Office of the Prime Minister – who was also involved in preparing this MOU as well ... To be frank, I think Abhisit and I could have made progress in preventing conflict from growing to other areas or sectors, why would matters as such be raised?

On behalf of people who have enjoyed public services, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and would like to take this moment to give a message to HE Nhek Bun Chai that from now on in public administration, there would not be any political decision involved. I wish HE Nhek Bun Chai understands as in the recent past some names proposed by the Party were not matching with those of the Ministry of Interior. To conclude the painstaking issue I called HE Sar Kheng to end the issue and the Ministry of Interior has to take position that the Ministry is the one to inspect those officials and to make appointments ... if they have met all criterions to be qualified staffs ...

### No Party Quotas Anymore

As of now there would not be any suggestion from Political parties, CPP also included, so that we could advance our efforts of neutralization of the armed forces and civil admini-

stration ... As of May 29, 2009 quota of political parties in public functions had to be inapplicable ... Officials in public functions are not tended to be from so and so parties. Capacity is key principle and as to which party you vote for is your problem. I therefore declare cessation of such proposal and I would expect no suggestion for appointment of officials in public functions in civil and/or military/police listings ... the same will be applied to request to change So and so Generals or move so and so from here to there, etc. If we allow this to go on we will continue to be frustrated by nepotism within the Governing system.

We still wish – and we truly do – to shake hands as equal partners but not to have our feet stepped on ... I have faith in what I wish to do ... I will welcome my friends DPM Suthep and Defense Minsiter Prawit with Korko soup (a Cambodian soup with many ingredients and vegetables), however, if they think they could not fulfil their wish, it is up to them to decide if they would come or not ... ■

Officials from the ranks of General Directors and below in all institutions will not be allowed to be distinguished by political party affiliations at all except those in political positions from the rank of Under Secretary and above ... This has to be taken seriously otherwise we might not be able to achieve total reform. I have in some occasions instructed on the list that HE Sar Kheng should in fact review the list as the Royal Government has also prepared a list of officials to be appointed at district and provincial levels already. I noticed that some names are different. Worse still in the case of Funcinpec officials, whom their party proposed to the ranks, have been denied by own party.

Those who have taken positions in public functions should just follow rules stipulated in the civil codes for government civilian officials whereas the armed forces should just abide by those of the army and police, which will be fantastic. Party affiliation should not be applied in public duty ...

The year 2009 is the time when we end all political quo-

tas in public functions and armed forces ... we have to strictly follow processed of recruitment and promotion ... the same would be applied for the case that promotion because of nepotism and family relations are also be at their ends ...

**Decentralization, not Centralization**

### Decentralization, not Centralization

What we want out of this effort is to achieve a good public service and out people to benefit from that. Everyone should know that they are the servants of the people and the faithful ones. Our tasks is to serve and protect the people ... we should all be loved when we are in positions and be missed when we are no longer there. Officials who have the duty to review and make decision have to speed up the process ...

Taking this matter into consideration I might just raise an example from the Ministry of Transport and Public Works – they have proposed a decree and sub-decree for all ships and engine boats throughout the country to get registered in Phnom Penh and its registration validation will be three months ... How come when the whole country is working towards decentralization why the Ministry is working to centralize it ... I rejected it.

### Tonle Sap Basin Authority

Let me explain why I reject the one about the Tonle Sap basin ... Upon my return from Korea, the Cambodia Daily run an article “why the cabinet rejects the Royal Decree on Tole Sap Basin” ... The story is the border of Tonle Sap lies at the border with Thailand, even the temple of Prea Vihear is also conscripted in the Ton Le Sap Basin ... I am the one to propose the establishment of the Tonle Sap Authority  
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and we have used the word “basin” ... which has created misunderstandings ... I have resolved to two options either to scrap off the authority or to leave off the term “basin” and keep only “Tonle Sap” ... It should be inapplicable to measure the size according to water encroachment ... because in the past there is this issue concerning fishing zone and the way it was measured was to define by flood water encroachment ...

It was because of this reason that HE Tia Banh, Cham Prsaih, Sieng Nam and I have discussed and redefined the fishing zone in Siem Reap, which trimmed about 56% or about half a million hectares for our people usage ... I had sought our people understanding and accepting my apology. How could we also include Preah Vihear in the Tonle Sap Basin because about 45% of the country’s territory is listed as the Tonle Sap basin ... Now they have to get their plan back and change or I will have to issue a nullification of the Decree ... The newsman said they could not seek for comments from any person. Now you have the Prime Minister’s comment.

### Anti-Corruption Law

I would urge our officials to disturb no people but to offer them help. Fighting against corruption starts at personal level because strengthening institutional capacity has to start with individual because it is individual that acts ... We have the law on anti-corruption on the way ... It was incredible that some came up with a figure of 500 million dollars per year in terms of corruption ... With this figure, an extrapolation of ten years Cambodia have lost a sum of about 5 billion US dollars – has Cambodia that much money? It is even bigger than the amount

provided by Japan ...

That I do not mean we do not recognize corruption existence but on contrary we have a fight going on ... It is the figure is just too much? Whose figure is it anyway?

Democracy in Cambodia must be in conformity with rule of law and any way contrary to that would not be allowed and it is so childish that stripping off parliamentary immunity of a member of parliament and suing those media for exaggerations are being interpreted as taking away rights. The issue of Angkor Watt too, if we were late the issue could have brought about more sophisticated development ...

How could they discredit others while those discredited could not return their favors? I will meet the rapporteur of the UN on Human Rights tomorrow and we might have this to discuss ...

They have threatened us of mobilizing people’s power demonstration and I told them in 2003 that we had our supporters ready ... How could they talk about that when the people’s power had already exercised though the elections ... So those who thought of people’s power as a mean to seek for power of their own must be well aware that supporters of the Royal Government also have the rights to do the same ... I do not want the two sides to clash but those people have to think of others’ right too.

What on earth could they said that we had neutralized their rights of expression when we were to examine the issue by legal mean ... or freedom of expression is to be conducted without anyone to fight back or sue? We have to strengthen both democracy and rule of law, not one but not the other...■

### 22 June 2009 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments) Kraing Yov: A Model of Rural Development

... My wife and I are so happy to return once again to Kraing Yov to put into official use the Secondary School in the commune of Samraong and also to answer to some other requests for our people in the district of Sa Ang of Kandal province. When I first came here, I noticed that we had only oxcarts and pulling tractors. As I can see now we have trucks running to and fro thanks to the fact that we have accomplished our plan of building roads and bridges for this part of the province and country. Some of you might have thought that Hun Sen already forget about Kraing Yov but here I am ...

How could I forget? At the very least the racing boat “Srey Mao Kraing Yov” appears once a year in race before the Royal Palace. We also have many songs about Kraing Yov that it will be hard to forget about it though I have not been here about ten years in a row ... However, my representatives, especially my son, are here to help ... Before we had a committee that I was its head but as a Prime Minister I should not be heading only one committee in one commune as the whole country we have more than one thousand communes ... It is not an excuse. I also rarely visit my native village ... As I have seen through everything seems to be developing ...

I have a memory of November 19, 1994, I sat at O Andong and I was so disappointed to see that our people who farm not far from the Lake of Joeung Lok could not fetch water to irrigate their rice fields ... I reviewed mistakes in leadership and I discovered that we made a mistake that once we took the approach of free market economy, we also abandoned abruptly and com-

pletely state interventions which provide help to farmers – that I call a big political mistake ... It was at the beginning of a new term Government after the State of Cambodia (SoC)’s focus of building main canals and providing big water pump services ...

Abandoning state intervention providing help to farmers because it was thought to be communist style economic model ... But now the planned economy that was a model in use under the SoC seemed to have proven that it is effective and will continue to be effective for many years ahead ... I took that matter in hands and declared that 1) restore main canals and reequip water pumps; 2) we have to have rice to cultivate even under rain condition, which is better than we have no rice to harvest ... As of now according to efforts we have made so far, Kraing Yov, whose people depended on 130 kilograms of rice per year has now reached 500 kg per year and got out of the most difficult state ...

Before development project, if we were to look back, the rice yield for rainy season rice was some where 1.7 tons per hectare and for dry season rice was at 3 tons per hectare. By 2008, the rainy season rice yield has improved to be 2.2 tons per hectare and 5 tons per hectare for dry season rice. Also, aside from rice, people in Kraing Yov also do more with other crops and vegetables ... we came to Kraing Yov at the time with three priorities – irrigation, roads, and human resources development. We later think of health-care service and tree nursery ...

Credit also was established for our people in Kraing Yov to

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 built a tomb for him ... That was the biggest tragedy but my decision not to use weapon to confront that commander who rebuffed my attempts ... It was the most intriguing tragedy ... I have built a symbolic tomb for my child and named him “Sen Kamsat” or (very unfrotunate) ...

Again on June 20, 1977 I made two correct decisions ... my comrades in arms were called for a political review session and I was sure that they were tricked to be arrested ... though I had forces with me that can be mobilized to save the situation but such a fight would not lead to any settlement of the situation ... I then decided to save a few with me ... and I would like to recall this for you ... I started writing a letter to my wife. I did not know how to start it and I was not aware where I would end up ... I told here once she had the letter in her reading, I could have been away that I myself would not know where it was ...

As I decided to go against Pol Pot's regime, I agreed to let the paddy reserve for our soldiers while we had to wait four other people to join us () Nhek Huon, Nuch Than, Pao Ieng, Su Kimseang) ... One of my soldiers, who is a frank messenger and still alive, was ordered to get the letter, together with honey and herbs in rice wine, to my wife, who had given birth to Hun Manet, my second child. If that particular soldier or messenger was not frank and sincere with me, my wife would not have been alive or my deliveries would not have reached her and my son ...

There was a phenomena – which for some is believable

and not for other – but I am sure that every human being might have some spirit to protect – that I was woken by a strong voice to get out of a large tree under which I had my sleeping place made. I sat and got the lighter on to light up the kerosene lamp. Even before I could do that fire set around me and I shouted for the guards but no one seemed to have seen anything of that sort. Later on I found out that the tree was known to be a residence of a spirit. It was when I was single only engaged to my wife already ...

One other time I took a nap at the commander of telegraph and I dreamed of being given a silk sarong (long skirt commonly used as casual wear in Cambodia) ... Two days later I was called to get married ... To and from the big tree – as was noticed by many – there usually was a big light and one time the light came in coincidence with Manet's conception ... I leave it at that with you but there was truly this phenomena at the time of Manet's conception ... As I was woken from that voice from the tree and the fire – the four guys we had been waiting for arrived and I called them all to see me – I dared the four top go against the regime and leave with me and I had my soldiers ready if the four refused they would be arrested and tied up ... and I would get the rest and leave the place ...

A question arose as to why did not I take most of the forces with me? I asked the four and each one of them said he was faithful to Angkar (i.e. the Pol Pot's organization) and would dare sacrifice their lives ... My counter analogy was that (Pol Pot) betrayed the people, committed genocide and we had to leave so as to observe the

situation for eventual return ... I told them if you all agreed we leave together otherwise you could go for the political review as was deemed by Angkar ... Finally we all agreed but we had to leave without the knowledge of our soldiers on an excuse that we all had to leave for a study ...

Half way in the barrack – it is a huge place with all sorts of military units ranging from military intelligence to radio and communication, I was taken by surprise by a dog belonged to Sbaong Sarat - I was once bitten by the same dog leaving me a mark to today and on June 20, 2009, again the dog barked so loud ... we decided to cut off telephone lines ... Many armed units along the border with Vietnam had been mounting attacks in many occasions on Vietnam but my region we had yet to engage with Vietnam ... There was a clash though when we accidentally moved the marker on to Vietnam side ...

Therefore, by cutting off the telephone line, we had secluded the frontline ... about ten kilometers to the border with Vietnam - under not too intense of rain, the four comrades aid to me that we had better get back to get my wife and they even accepted to carry her ... I reasoned it is impossible because between where we were and the hospital where my wife stayed is between 30 and 40 kilometers – the trip there would be extremely dangerous ... We then decided which direction were we to take as it is so important that it is closely related with failure or success in what we were doing?

One suggestion was to rejoin with our troop at the combat line but the question is

whether the chief officer Den could send his order in time or not, or if we were to rejoin them we would have to bring the whole armed forces with us to Vietnam and about 3 to 400 forces into Vietnam, doubted if we would not get a fight with Vietnam because we never informed Vietnam of any intention we had ... We finally decided to cross mine field because area where there were no military presence or patrol were normally mined ... We then had two in front two at the rear and I was only one in the middle ...

About 2 am we crossed the border about 200 meters and I gave order to rest ... We could not move further because we did not know where the Vietnamese might station ... It was even foggy by early morning ... after inspecting the map, we then moved on. That was what happened with me on June 20, 2009 or 32 years ago ... our trip led us learned that according to what Pol Pot had told us, Vietnam moved soldiers in large number ready for infiltration ... but traveling along the border until we reached the village of Thu Leu in Loc Ninh – we found nothing not even people. We walked and walked until we saw a village and I urged my travel partners to release and relax before entering the village ...

Once we were in the village's house, we could not communicate but later there was a former Vietnamese rubber worker who came in and helped us talk ... We were taken to the village headquarter only to get gun-pointed by their militia ... we were seated around a table and they started asking us questions ... I must confessed that Cambodia at that time fought Vietnam and they did  
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 not arrest and tied us then ... After relieving them of their suspicions that we were intelligence gathering spies they move out the table and chairs and placed in a jug rice and soup of pork leg with beat root. Having filled our empty stomach, we were told to take our things and follow them to the Village Lam Jin (Number 9 Village) ... I was shaken by strange cold temperature and the Vietnamese militia helped me with my sack and we walked across a rubber plantation ... it was then June 21 and the Day of Former Combatants is accidentally picked on this day, nothing to do with my story only it is a coincidence.

After a long walk across rubber trees, we arrived at the village and senior military officers came by to see. Through an old-person interpreter I was asked to work through a map ... all of a sudden they rose angry and said that we told a lie as they felt that I know more than the rank that the interpreter told him I was ... A truck arrived and took us to Loc Ninh ... We were fed again ... I was taken away for interrogation. I was questioned this time by head of the regiment 205 who is also one eye crippled too. Question after questions, until 11 pm again I heard “noi lao” or “it’s a lie” but because I know the French words for military hierarchy, I had a doubt that that he misunderstood or misinterpreted my answers – I told him the number of my troops. I saw doubt in his eyes so I tried with my limited French words – starting from group, section, company, battalion, regiment and I affirmed that I am head of the Regiment. We later found out that I was misinterpreted to be lower in rank than the regiment head, which is why the

misinformation caused trouble.

I always carried with me a pack of 12 needles and I brought them back for my wife when I came back to Phnom Penh ... I kept them for suicidal purpose in case of need. But Vietnam did not touch us ... The needle was a precautionary measure in case they send us back to Cambodia for Pol Pot - as at that time Vietnam exchanged Khmer hostage for pigs with Cambodia ... which was a local policy though, not that by the central command/level ... Those exchanged were exterminated right at the border ...

I was brought to see Van Tieng Dung on July 27, 1977. He was chief of staff and a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam. I was taken back to prison for another twenty two days. I was taken out of prison for malaria. Then there was that first assault into Cambodian territory by Vietnam, as is narrated by Nayan Chanda. That is why I always wonder when someone claims himself to be the father of “December 2” or “7 January” – where was he? Here is HE Meas Kroach who was in the fight with me all along ... I came with the Vietnamese forces and when they reached Khtum, Smach and a number of other regions, I went to look for my wife, but she was no longer there ...

As I arrived at my headquarter, I collected a number of papers, which also included an order to search and exterminate me on the spot ... I have purchased the spot of land and built a house on the spot that my wife gave birth to my child ... The Vietnamese forces intruded deeper along the national road 7 from Kratie province through to

nearby Suong ... Suddenly Vietnam announced its withdrawal and started negotiation. They gave no consent to our protest. HE Meas Kroach here could have remembered that it was so lucky that we were able to ask Vietnam for a delay in troop withdrawal that we could gather our people and moved them into the Vietnamese territory. If they were to be left after our withdrawal, Pol Pot might order them all killed ...

HE Meas Korach was to go with the Vietnamese forces and he was saved from a mine explosion as the jeep of the Vietnamese Lieutenant Colonel, which was in front, went over it and HE Meas Kroach was in the second one. The Pol Pot leadership made use of this incident to falsify information that I was killed once again and my sister went all the way to see the leg that was blown up and got hung up on a rubber tree if it was mine ... Because of their judgment and evaluation of my death, monitoring of my wife by lower level Khmer Rouge intelligence reduced ... though there was still observation from Pol Pot’s high level command ...

That is why I said there is no one who could have been bigger than Hun Sen at all in that process or people can ask Ung Sam Khan, Saom Chen, Hul Savoan, Neo Sam, etc. How could a liar from anywhere say he is the father of December 2 and January 7? In those days we had this problem that Meas Kroach, Meash Huon and Ngo Min (?) fought one another and would not conceded to anyone to be a leader ... because of the situation I was then burdened with the tasks of being commander, political commissioner and chief of staff as well ... Meas Kroach

was then given a responsibility in military conscription, for which task he had gone to raise an army in Ben Saing, Taing Chov ... Meas Huon was put in charge of military tactics, which brought Ung Sam Khan to the border between Memot and Kratie ...

When there was this rebellions by Samdech Chea Sim and Samdech Heng Samrin, my force became quickly a force to work together ... HE Soeui Keo, Bu Thang, Bun Mi had about two battalions ready in the northeast, HE Tia Banh and Sai Phu Thang in Koh Kong, together with the eastern zone forces led by Samdech Heng Samrin and Samdech Chea Sim – a national front was created. That is why as we see here we have soldiers from various factions but they have united into one armed force ... The source of different factional forces originated from the March 18, 1970 event which overthrew our lawful head of state Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, causing decisive war, which brought the genocidal clique to power. It is so fortunate that our nation lets bygone be bygone and forces from all factions could live together ... thank to peace that we have achieved with great difficulties ...

The other day I met the UN Special representative about the Rapporteur on Human Rights in Cambodia, who actually intends to evade Duch (Kaing Kek Ieu), the Head of Security House S21 (Tuol Sleng Prison) via Thailand and on to Belgium ... What is behind this motivation? Is he a suitable candidate to go on staying in Cambodia? We were at that time in the process of discussing with the UN about bringing the Khmer Rouge leaders to justice  
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**17 June 2009** (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)  
**RSA Graduation & New School Year 2009-10**

... I have a great pleasure to return to the Royal School of Administration (RSA) today to preside over the graduation of its students and to officiate the opening of its school year 2009-2010. I am so pleased to have noticed that the school is in its smooth process with less difficulty. The Royal School of Administration (RSA) is responsible in providing training for selected high and medium-level officials, and partly, those who took the entry exam for a period of one year. Please allow me to raise a few issues concerning the matter:

### 53 Long Years

**Firstly**, I wish to share with RSA my congratulation and positive evaluation on progress made in general. The school has indeed been noted to have established for 53 years since 1956. But RSA had not functioned regularly because it was closed during the regime of genocide of Pol Pot. No matter what is said by some but this part of our history could not be ignored. The same is true for the Capital Phnom Penh as it is noted to have been established 575 years but its functioning was interrupted by war and destructions ...

Phnom Penh was built under HM the King Ang Duong and later was ruled by HM the King Sisovath ... it was placed under the French colony, and then Japan to be followed by French again. Its fast growing period had been noted to have taken shape in the post independence era between 1953 and 1970, in which period the RSA was also established. Those officials who had graduated from this school had been proud. Among those who have survived after 1979 are HE Hor Nam Hong, the late HE Chem Sguon, HE Chan Sok, etc. It was eventually eradicated

under the Lon Nol's Khmer Republic along with the elimination of Constitutional Monarchy by a coup. It was then replaced by School of National Administration (SNA) in which HE Sok An, HE Bin Chhin, HE Im Chhunlim, HE Khieu Kanharith and others whom I have not known.

Phnom Penh was later dysfunctional and all schools throughout the Kingdom of Cambodia suffered similar fate of closure if not destructions. We made great efforts to put the school in function again starting from 1985. I would like to thank the Republic of France and other development partners such as GTZ, UNDP, and forthcoming involvement from JICA to work for advancement of public functions as when they graduate from the School, these graduates will automatically become government officials. They also have enjoyed the privilege of receiving scholarship and to take tough exams. Entry exam is also tough.

On function the RSA is also fulfilling in its mission is to provide training opportunity for functioning government officials. Some of our officials have been working as government officials already but because theory has not been complete, they have to come for theoretical upgrade. So we have here students who have graduated from other higher educational institutions and took exam to continue their studies in RSA but also we have those officials who have gained practical working knowledge and know-how but need to be upgraded their theoretical knowledge.

RSA has embraced very important role and I am asking for it to continue to participate

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 borrow for purchase of oxen or cow/s and/or equipments for use in agricultural activities and the project has gone bankrupted not even a single coin left ... We have a vision to get this road from Sa Ang Phnom, Prek Koy and Kraing Yov through to Prey Kabbas of Takeo as it might play a very important role in transportations between the said districts ... I approved request for the road to be asphalt but it must be done with the 2010 budget not 2009 but the Ministry of Rural Development could seek pre-financing for the construction on segment where there already has foundation ...

I have to pleasure to inform you that we will replace the bridge of Kompong Trea with a concrete bridge of 8 meter width. We will build new concrete bridges at O Jar and Kompong Svay – both with 8 meter wide bridges ...

Over the past ten years we have noticed great development but those who do not care about making changes to their ways of lives have continued to be disadvantaged and vulnerable ... I have learnt of a case that opposition party planned to send some of the people in Kraing Yov to France in what they wished to discredit me ... I left that for them to do as they pleased ...

Opposition party members of parliament – one for Kompot and one for Phnom Penh constituencies are being stripped off their parliamentary immunities so that their cases could be proceeded by the court ... Cambodia is making efforts in strengthening democracy and rule of law at the same time ... We do not accept democracy in anarchy ... They made destructive remark on our senior army officers who have made efforts in their study to get a diploma but the Phnom Penh

parliamentarian of the opposition said the army officers just want their educational achievements placed in their papers out of desire for a respect ... there was 91 for immunity removal for the Phnom Penh parliamentarian and 90 for the Kompot parliamentarian – and I am so concerned how are they going to get voted back in ... ■

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 tice, but there was that attempt to move him out and away ... I have all the affairs noted and would send them to the General Secretary of the United Nations and to the Human Rights Commission in Geneva ... Duch actually confessed in the Extraordinary Chamber in the Court of Cambodia (ECCC) hearing and it was broadcasted live. We would not let you go free on that ...

By any mean and at any price, peace must prevail no matter what so and so says. We have so many former soldiers because of war, which we have to prevent those who created war and genocide from recurring i.e. we have to condemn the Republicans (Khmer Republic of General Lon Nol) ... as if we were to be without the March-18-1970 event, we would not have had such destructions ... I am one of the quick-tempered persons, but I always keep my head cool when making political decisions and they have proven to be unbeatable ... If we made wrong decision, war could be uncontrollable but with correct decision we could avert critical war situation ... Those of you who have claimed to be father of democracy, or so and so, never make decision which involves the country's destiny yet ... Decision at own political party's level has proven that they have a long way to go in terms of making correct decision ... ■