



15 February 11— Samdech Techo Hun Sen with people at the groundbreaking ceremony to build National Road 59 in Banteay Meanjei province (Kampuchea Thmei)

17 February 2011 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)
Press Briefing on Cambodian-Thai Border Development

Usually I talk on current topics and issues during my presence at events or prescheduled occasions so that the press do not have to ask me for my opinion on the current trend of development. However, to I have the need to give a press conference to address some of the issues for national and international public concerning the war at the Preah Vihear temple area on the Cambodian-Thai border. I also have the need to make some notes on the meeting of the UN Security Council that some circles and politicians have misinterpreted and in some instances even discrediting Cambodia for not listening to the international opinion or work for persuasion of Cambodia to agree for a meeting that is outside the ASEAN framework.

As you know that I have just met with Thai Deputy Prime Minister, HE Trairong Su-

wankiri, and I told asked him to convey some of my messages to the Thai side. As we have here TV3 from Thailand and some other Thai press, I would like to you to take note on who has run counter to international and/or regional (conflict resolution) mechanisms, UN or ASEAN. Maybe I should start on who has actually requested for convening of the UN Security Council meeting. Was not it a letter sent by Hun Sen proposing to the chairman of the UN Security Council? My proposition has been obstructed by Thailand 1) to have such a meeting convened and 2) to present any declaration at all, in case there was going to be a meeting.

In fact, I would rather keep quiet and leave it cool down and I would not want to find anybody's fault in this. I am sure Thai Prime Minister HE Abhisit and his Foreign Minister Kasit Phiromya surely understand this problem and more importantly they know for sure what they have done in pre-

(Continued on page 2)

24 February 2011 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)
Interior's Annual 2010 Stocktaking and 2011 Directives Setting

In addition to the prepared text, Samdech Techo Hun Sen has given some comments on issues of commune/village safety program, measures to be taken against traffic law breakers, positions on retirement age, trend in the Cambodian-Thai border conflict and suggestion for Indonesia to carry on its observer role in 2012. Comments are selected and translated as followed:

Commune and Village Safety Program

As we all are living in villages, I am sure you agree with me that it is correct for me to encourage implementing the commune/village safety program under the leadership of the Ministry of Interior. Once we achieve safety at the village and

communal level, the whole country will eventually be safe. I would stress on the importance that we have to mobilize our people to engage themselves in this large scale campaign for their own safety. This is not a job to be fulfilled and can be fulfilled by police force alone. Officials of all levels who are living in various villages also have the duty to carry out this task too.

The idea was first suggested at the 65th anniversary of the national police and has been proposed to the Ministry of Interior as far as I could recall. Now it has become a political platform of the Royal Government of Cambodia. It must be said too that it has been defined and
(Continued on page 6)

22 February 2011 (Unofficial Translation of Selected Comments)
Conferment of Diplomas for RUPP Graduates

Vision for Education - Ten Years of Cambodia's March (1979-1989)

... Maybe some of you might have read one of my books titles 'Ten Years of Cambodia's March - 1979 through to 1989,' that I have illustrated in detail my thought and consideration on this issue of education. This means that I have a vision for education from 22 years before. The book was written in various places- Lao capital Vientiane, Phnom Penh, Moscow, on plane, Paris, Jakarta, and ended writing in Vientiane. The book in fact carries my visions not only on education but other fields too...

(On education) I have stated out clearly and even articulated the

fact that as the country would constantly have more students graduating from the primary level of education, there would be constant pressure for absorption by secondary education facilities and because of more graduations from the secondary education, pressure for absorption will subsequently be increasing for tertiary education ... So now you understand ... why we have both private education institution and fee-paying study program in the public education institution ...

The Minister of Education, HE Im Setthi, reported to me that there requires some forty new schools to be built in the area of Preah Vihear. If we continue to
(Continued on page 7)

In This Issue

Press Briefing— P1
Interior's 2011 Directives Setting— P1
RUPP Graduation— P1

(Continued from page 1)

venting the UN Security Council from convening such a meeting or making statement. The UN Security Council has already met and a statement or rather the communiqué has already been made. Whose victory is that? I would call it a victory because everybody knows that it is not that simple to get border conflict as such to the Security Council.

Why then did Cambodia send this issue for the UN Security Council's attention? It is because of the nature of war, which one could define it as a big armed clash or a small scale war. Those people in Bangkok have argued that in order to be defined as a war the event must involve the use of aircraft. For me, when every side fires upon each other, it is a war. An armed clash would not last longer than a couple of minutes. However, this fight has been a heavy exchange of fire that could be called a war.

It was because of an aspect of being at war (of the two sides) that the UNSC convened for an urgent meeting. This, for the above reason, has not been a meeting at the request of Thailand, but definitely in response to the request of Cambodia. So for what Foreign Minister Kasit Phipromya has said to Cambodia to listen to the international public opinion or decision, I would ask for him to really have to do that himself.

Secondly, who has rejected the role of ASEAN? In 2008, at an ASEAN Foreign Minister meeting in Singapore, Cambodia sent its request to ASEAN meeting calling for a convention of ASEAN on issue of Thai-Cambodian border conflict. Thailand too objected to any involvement from ASEAN. As the war took place, Surin Pitsuwan, General Secretary of ASEAN, expressed concern of behalf of ASEAN and will to involve (in helping to find peace and stabil-

ity) but Prime Minister Abhisit himself stated 'it is too early for ASEAN to get involved.'

To be frank, even after the visit to Phnom Penh and then to Bangkok of the Indonesian Foreign Minister, rotating chairperson of ASEAN, Bangkok still sticks to its position of bilateral solution and no involvement from ASEAN. Maybe I should urge the Thai leader to keep track of what they have said. They all are well educated people. So I may urge them not to deceive others as well as let other deceive them.

It is so shockingly funny that as ASEAN convenes a meeting (on Thai-Cambodian border conflict) on February 22, Thailand abruptly swapped position while making it public that (the region should) persuade and advise Cambodia to go to the ASEAN meeting. Well is not it the ASEAN meeting (or mechanism) that Cambodia has been waiting for? Don't you see that Cambodia's urgent demand for a solution (of the problem) could not be addressed directly by ASEAN for needed consensus? Cambodia needs to get the matter to New York (for the UNSC's attention) and wait for the ball to be shot to the goal in Jakarta? One should see this fact.

A former Thai diplomat, who was a permanent representative of Thailand to the United Nations, said that was not Thai wish, it was Cambodia's intention. He had said it correctly. I understand why Thai leaders up to the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister levels have taken risk in making such an interpretation of their stands. Always they have opposed to the Cambodian proposal, but now they have gone to 180 degree in opposite to their earlier stand. They have applied what I call the 'eel-style' diplomacy, or literally being intrusive to a point that they would not know where to go.

Let me quote a sentence on

page five of the speech by HE Hor Namhong, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the UNSC: "Though patience and effort by Cambodia to seek for a solution by peaceful and bilateral means have failed, Cambodian is always nurturing its wish for a peaceful resolution within the ASEAN framework as both Cambodia and Thailand are its members." Never has Thailand made such a move, whether international or regional. Cambodia has always been the one doing that. Why has it now become Thai victory? And why is Cambodian the one to be, in their words, persuaded?

When we decided to have a meeting in Jakarta, where there will be presence of the rotating chairperson of ASEAN, I would like to ask (Thai leaders) if it is anything but not bilateral way. Meetings between Thailand and Cambodia at Hua Hin and Siemreap were bilateral but the one to be reconvened in Jakarta, with presence of the third party, is not. The mechanism for this conflict resolution has now become multilateral. Of course, it is true that the two sides, Thailand and Cambodia are the ones to settle the differences but with a third party present and is sitting there too. They should not try to fool Thai people as doing so would also impact on Cambodia. Never has it for once that Thailand wishes for ASEAN or UN to involve, except bilateral negotiation, which has come out to a standstill.

I have asked Deputy Prime Minister Trairong Suwankiri to convey my message to Prime Minister Abhisit on a number of points since on February 12, PM Abhisit had asked a third country, I would not disclose it, to send me messages seeking my understanding on three points. Firstly, he said he and the yellow shirt are not the same. He has my understanding but he should not allow himself to repeat whatever the yellow

shirt has been saying. Some of his words have got similarity with those of the yellow shirt too. While saying that Abhisit could not control the yellow shirt, do you mean that Sondhi Limthongkul and Chamlong Srimuang are also Prime Ministers? On the contrary in Cambodia, we have not got any movement against Thailand.

Secondly, I have been described as not understanding internal Thai procedure on ratifying the three minutes of the previous meetings (of the two countries' foreign ministers). The Thai side has had so much difficulty in lobbying the Thai parliament and Senate to give the three minutes their ratifications. Don't you expect I understand that? Only it has been too long. The lapse has been from 2008 though to 2011. As this is the case, would there be a need for more meeting of the Joint Border Committee while minutes from the previous meetings have yet to be ratified? Would this not be only a pretext to contain the matter within the bilateral boundary? So my position is that you ratify the previous documents before asking for more negotiations. We should not, according the article 190 of Thai Constitution, create a fourth minutes.

Thirdly, he said he could not control the media in Thailand. I understand their difficulties and I also understand the freedom of press but one should also make some efforts. Well this is what I have to say about as PM Abhisit has depended on a third country to relay the message to me about his difficulties. Now we have come to a subject of our press conference today which is the communiqué of the UNSC and one of the most important points is creation of a state of permanent ceasefire.

Based on this position, in the forthcoming meeting between Foreign Minister of Cambodia with Foreign Minister of Thai-

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

land in the presence of ASEAN members as a whole or the ASEAN rotating chairperson, Cambodia will propose for signing of a ceasefire agreement. A countersign of the ASEAN chairperson would also be great but all would depend on negotiation. The UNSC has recommended ASEAN to see about getting a ceasefire agreement signed. How do we go about setting a framework for a ceasefire?

Cambodia would propose four major points in such agreement:

First – Cambodian and Thai sides could think of a term used to describe the situation such as a permanent ceasefire to be signed and countersigned by/between the two Governments which here later I call in short ‘Cambodian and Thai side.’ What we have to ensure to have no more shootings or explosions forever.

Second - Maintain the status quo of military position of both sides, while a stop and observation must be put on troop movement, adjustment and/or any further violations until ultimate solution on border demarcation is reached. How to go about maintaining the permanent ceasefire? (Both sides must observe) a permanent ceasefire whereby military must keep troop positions where they are. This should mean military locations while troop number could be readjusted to smaller. Here I have said it to be troops and their locations, not forces, as the number of troops should be under the discussion of military commanders of both sides. I wish that the press get my speech and what I said correctly. They should keep in mind that my speech has been taped and broadcast in whole.

Third – Encouragement for dialogues between the two armies should continue. What

has been done yesterday at the Phnom Trop was good since because of discussion between the two militaries, there was a quiet night last night. However, such ceasefire is still fragile that a more durable one is in the making. I encourage that both sides urge for closer cooperation between the two armies as what was before July 15, 2008. They may do sporting matches together to ease tension.

Fourth – in order to guarantee an effective ceasefire, both sides propose for a control of ceasefire by eight ASEAN countries, excluding Cambodia and Thailand. I can guarantee that the Thai side would not agree to the fourth point of this ceasefire agreement. In that case, Cambodia would welcome unilaterally military presence of the ASEAN countries on Cambodian territory so that they could police Cambodian armed forces. It would even be better if they could be stationed in between the two armies. (Both sides) should show their goodwills and we should stay under the light so that everyone is seen and there is nothing to be afraid of a monitoring mechanism.

I have mentioned already that Cambodia would urge for military observers, peace keeping forces and fact-finding missions from any institutions, be it the UN or ASEAN, as long as there is this presence of the third party. HE Hor Namhong, DPM and Foreign Minister of Cambodia is taking the initiative to draft the agreement. Upon its completion, it will be sent to ASEAN rotating chairman. While visiting Cambodia, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia and Chairperson of ASEAN, HE Dr. Marty M. Natalegawa, has illustrated that there should be a ceasefire at a higher level than the one being conducted currently between military regions.

Again, in this understanding, Cambodia proposes for a cease-

fire that is going to be signed by foreign ministers of Cambodia and Thailand at the ASEAN meeting. Also, I have depended on Thai DPM to pass the four points of the agreement to PM Abhisit so that he could formulate a position.

Let's see who would be signing the agreement and who would not? Again I must say (Thai) needs not tell Cambodia to go to ASEAN because it is Cambodian wish since 2008. The conflict has now been brought at the UNSC and the world has got a sense of what it is about. It would also be visible to the world as to who has taken initiative for a ceasefire and who has tried to hinder the effort. Foreign Minister of Thailand Kasit Piromya has urged that Cambodia respect and implement what has been called for by the international community and Cambodia is well on its way to doing so, and I just wanted to add here that it is Cambodia, not Thailand, who made this case heard at the UN Security Council.

Now that there is going to be the ASEAN foreign ministers meeting, Cambodia is also taking the initiative to propose a permanent ceasefire in accordance with the recommendation from the UN Security Council.

Let me now make it clear as to which forum and which form should be conducted regarding concerned parties. Again, within the framework of the border conflict, there must be this presence of the third party. Take for instance, the ASEAN foreign ministers meeting on February 22, there will be the presence of the ASEAN chairperson or the whole of ASEAN members. The Join Border Committee also needs to have the third party's presence in its meeting. As for where to meet, Cambodia would be quite flexible but on one condition that there has to be a third party present. It is true that any final

decision reached will be by the two sides.

Aside from this, other forums for trade, tourism, culture would not need to be conducted in the third party's presence. It is not that Cambodia is looking at a third party's presence for every forum. On another instance, the temple of Preah Vihear is no longer one that belongs to Cambodia alone anymore. It is now the world heritage. When PM Abhisit prohibits the UNESCO mission to the temple, what does he think he is? He owns the temple or what? We have to work to contain the border conflict on the spot and not to expand to throughout more than 800 km borderline. Efforts need to be made to containing military conflict from spilling over issues of trade, investment, tourism and culture, etc.

To get our problem to and through the door of the UNSC is by no means easy matter. A veto by anyone member among five permanent members, the UNSC meeting would not happen or a communicate would not be possible. Actually Foreign Minister Kasit Piromya did a great deal in his lobby to either have no meeting or to have no resolution of any kind at all. Now he (acted as if he) has won it all. Let him have it. I just wanted to remind him that he has used terms that have not been constructive. At one point he compared Cambodia to a bad kid in the neighborhood and warned that by messing with Thailand, hurting oneself would be the result.

He may now have the feeling that who gets more pain than whom. By splashing water on each other, no one could keep himself dry. Maybe we should sit down and have a game of chess together. Someone in Bangkok sounds out recently that now it is time to change negotiator. I would not poke my nose into Thai affairs but

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

this Foreign Minister should review what he had said in the past days in disrepute of China, France, Russia and India. I also have a pity on Thai press that whatever they quoted their leaders as saying, they later were the ones to be responsible for whatever mistake those leaders did.

Again both sides need to maintain their troop positions and refrain from mobilizing their troops until there is a final solution on issue of border demarcation. When that happens may not be possible because the two sides are far apart from each other and ASEAN could not solve the problem but only to contain it. In Cambodian view, even the UNSC has not taken up any particular measures, Cambodia is preparing to demand the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague's decision from 1962 (on Preah Vihear temple and the annexed maps) be clarified again. We are not seeking for retrial but clarification of the court's decision.

HE Hor Namhong already told Thai Foreign Minister Kasit Piromya on February 4 in Siemreap province already. The court decision is one best way for both sides as whatever decision made by the court will be understood by the people. We cannot avoid going to the court. We wanted the UNSC to ask the ICJ to provide a clarification on that, but because the UNSC did not do it, the intention has been interpreted (by Thailand) as (Cambodian) disappointment. Well in this case I must say there is no such thing on the part of Cambodia because it well understands that there must always be a bargaining in the market.

As for the four-point proposal for the ceasefire it is not indeed a cliché but more inputs need to add on to it. That is just Cambodian initiative to sound out what they see as important ele-

ments needed for framing up a ceasefire agreement. We will not abandon the MOU of 2000 but further meeting of JBC will have to be waiting till after the three minutes of the previous meeting are ratified.

A major issue here is the map. (Thai side) has unilaterally drawn and used a map. In the world history, only Adolf Hitler has been recorded to be the one to redraw a map and make war for it. Cambodia has got a border that is recognized internationally, while the ICJ's decision has also determined based on the map of the Dangrek mountain too. No one, especially Sondhi Limthongkul or Chamlang Srimuang, etc. has got the right to interpret the court decision for having decided to offer temple to Cambodia and not the land. This also includes an inmate (Veera Somkwamkid) who would have to serve for at least two-thirds of the court sentence or he would not be receiving a royal pardon.

Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, the Heroic King Father, has made great effort in a crusade to demand the return of the Preah Vihear temple in 1962. As his children, we would not back down on our endeavor to defend whatever was achieved and left by him. This is the land belongs to our ancestors. I would not elaborate on history and I would not demand for return of former provinces (that belong in the past to Cambodia). For me there will be no give and take. I would defend the land that is left for Cambodia from Samdech Preah Norodom, whom I would say in a way had made a correct decision to ask for French protection, and later Preah Baat Sisovath in 1904 and 1907.

Having come to this I would like to place an appeal to our people to stay calm and refrain from escalating situation into confrontation on all fronts. We

have not hostility towards Thais no matter how hostile the yellow shirt people have on us. Even when the Foreign Minister of Thailand insulted me in the past, I have let it gone be by gone. However, I wish that he could distinguish between political nature and point. He was against the ASEAN framework one day and now acts as if he is the one wants that the most. I call that cheating oneself and his people. The other day they were against the UNSC's meeting (on the border conflict) while lobbying for the group to issue no statement on it, a moment later they pretended to be the one who welcome it the most.

Kyodo: *I have two questions. First, will the observers come in the military or police framework? Will it be one of ASEAN as a whole or any one member country could do so if they choose to? Second, what do you expect of ASEAN that looks like a grown up man but with relatively no teeth? Do you have doubt when the General Secretary of ASEAN is a Thai national and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia is married to a Thai wife as well? Has Cambodia sued to ICJ already or this would commence after the ASEAN led meeting?*

Samdech Techo: Thank you for the questions. As far as observer status is concerned, we are in the stage of making a proposition. As to whether it will be a military or police, or by each separate nation or as a group of (ASEAN) countries will be up to the discussion. It is still in negotiating stage. However, as far as Cambodian position is concerned, we would approve all sorts of involvement - military, police or even civilian and/or by each separate member country or as a group. Secondly, it is true that ASEAN does not have big muscle but this group has got a will which has been reflected through the fact that ASEAN is willing to solve problem among ASEAN

members so as to build up an ASEAN community according to its charter. ASEAN wishes to achieve ceasefire, reconciliation and an end to the conflict. So, whether it has a muscle to show or not, if there were to be a ceasefire agreement between Cambodia and Thailand, ASEAN can perform its role by deploying its observers to oversee the agreement implementation and to prevent further conflict.

As far as your question about the General Secretary of ASEAN and the rotating chairman of ASEAN is concerned, I am sure they would perform their duties under the flag of ASEAN. I believe both of them will perform their duties. I am sure they will not make decision on the basis of racial inclination at all. Furthermore, Indonesia used to be co-chair country of the Paris Peace Agreement (or the political settlement for the Cambodian conflict). The current President of the Indonesian Republic is HE Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who led the Indonesian UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority for Cambodia) forces to Cambodia. In fact when we had this problem back in 2008, he already expressed his will to help. He called me on the phone and that assured me that he had strong concern for regional stability.

As for the process of bringing this case to the ICJ attention for clarification of its 1962 decision, we have sought for international lawyers to work on this case and the institution of law process for such a clarification would commence. Before we thought of going to the court together but now it is not necessary because we only require the court's clarification of its 1962 ruling. It would not take long, perhaps after the ASEAN-led meeting.

Bayon Media: *Suppose that the said (conflict resolution)*

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued from page 4)
mechanism is here to exist, would ASEAN report settlement to the UNSC for assertion and recognition so that Thailand would never be able to go back on what they have agreed?

Samdech Techo: I am sure this is important and we will see to that. Now we will follow the flow. This is a long-term problem where recognition and assertion will be a key matter. However, while the matter will be forwarded to the ICJ, I think there is no need for assertion whatsoever from the UNSC. That will depend entirely on the clarification of the court decision by ICJ only. Decision by ICJ would not need to be juristically approved by any other institutions. UNSC will of course monitor what they have decided and the mechanism (ASEAN) to see the matter through.

TV3 Thailand: *What have you discussed with HE Trairong Suwankiri? Thai businessmen have had problem before, will they have problem again this time?*

Samdech Techo: With HE Trairong Suwankiri, we have discussed various issues ranging from the Thai exhibition in Phnom Penh, preparation for business consultation, how to create investment confidence to other matters relating to development of the two countries ('s relations). I have mentioned to Trairong about what happens in Kashmir but India and Pakistan have maintained business and trade between each other. I also depended on him, as I told you earlier, to send a message to PM Abhisit too.

I can assure you that there will be no discrimination that leads to unfortunate circumstances as in 2003. You may notice that here in Phnom Penh there is no forum that insults Thailand because here we do not have PAD (People's Alliance for Democracy or the yellow shirt

people) like in Bangkok, or Sondhi Limthongkul or Chamlong Srimuang, etc. Thais are welcome to Cambodia as tourists or businessmen. We do not expect those who come to lay mine or as part of drug trafficking. Both sides will have to deal with these groups of people. I am sure there will be plenty of security and many people will surely come to visit the exhibition.

CTN TV: *First, Thailand has said before that there will be a meeting between the two defense ministers after the UNSC meeting, will now that be possible after the ASEAN meeting? Second, Will there be a third party involved in the process of border demarcation? Third, Thai wishes to have border demarcation starting from section where there is no tension as they have acknowledged border tension have occurred only within 5% to 10% of the whole border length. Cambodia is of the opinion that demarcation of the border should start from the Preah Vihear temple area. What is your opinion?*

Samdech Techo: As for the meeting between the two defense ministers, we can foresee two forms. In the form of meeting that the two defense ministers will discuss issues relating to resolving border dispute, certainly there will need to have a third party present. However, meeting at the level of General Border Committee (GBC), for which the ministers of national defense of the two countries co-chairs, bilateral meeting can take place. Again this will have to be conducted without discussion on border dispute. You may understand that the GBC's duty is to prevent drug trafficking and cross border crimes but not border dispute.

Now, on question would there need to be a third party in demarcation process of the border between Thailand and Cambodia which is totally about 800

(Continued from page 8)
 Joint Border Commission (JBC) will be conducted under/ with the presence of the third party. All in all, first we have to have presence of the observers before measures can be taken for other concerned matters.

I have told to General Pol Saroeun, Commander Chief and Chief of the Joint Staff, and Kun Kim, Deputy Commander in Chief and Deputy Chief of Joint Staff, to receive the observers well and allow them wherever they wish to go, and see whatever they wanted to. This is the good will from Cambodia's part. Cambodia also welcomes the Thai will to propose to Indonesia to send their observers to stay on their side. As we welcome this move, Cambodia also invites Indonesia to do the same for Cambodia. This should happen as quickly as it can be.

What are the Indonesian observers do while coming to

km, whereas only about 10 km of that is in dispute. Cambodia would like the third party to be present in demarcation of the disputed part and not the rest. Perhaps also in the forthcoming ASEAN meeting, in the presence of ASEAN chair, foreign ministers of the two countries could throw out initiative for troops readjustment so that search for mines and de-mining of areas out of disputed section of the border could be considered.

What remains to be seen is when the Thai parliament will ratify the three meetings minutes, which seem to have outdated already? I doubted if PM Abhisit could convince the Thai parliament for a ratification or stand up to threat from the yellow shirt for doing that. I see that we need to wait for the ICJ to make a clarification of its 1962 decision first as we have two maps to decide here. Cambodia sticks to the one that was used by the ICJ then ...

Thailand and to Cambodia? They come to observe the ceasefire. So, whether signing a ceasefire or not is not what concerned here, but a ceasefire on fact that the Indonesian will observe is. Ceasefire is what Cambodia wanted and now Thailand has expressed similar will, along with the urges of the UN Security Council and ASEAN, and they have the duty to see for themselves who happens to open fire first. It is also our intention that a third party is being brought in to witness whatever both sides have achieved. As far as the trend in general is concerned, things seem to go well.

ICJ's Clarification To Pursue

As far as the court matter is concerned we will proceed later. The problem will not end here as the two sides may never come to a common understanding because of two different maps. Cambodia holds on to the map that is internationally recognized by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, whereas the other side has unilaterally drawn a different map. I am sure this matter will not be able to be solved by ASEAN or the UN Security Council. This will have to be brought for the ICJ's attention. Kavi Chongkittavorn, a well known editor in Thailand, whom I also know, has written an article that he suggests court solution to the border issue like those between Singapore and Indonesia, etc.

We cannot afford to leave this issue unresolved and to let younger generation to fight against each other. We have to depend on the court's decision to end this animosity once and for all. The June 15, 1962 ICJ's decision is the result of a long campaign started in 1954 by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. We are going to ask the court to make a clarification again of its decision. Again, this matter will pursue after the most urgent task of ensuring a permanent ceasefire is being implemented ...

(Continued from page 1)

pointed out by the Cambodian People's Party in its plenum with wide-ranging support (from its members). I am sure our officials can contribute ideas and thought on various issues, not as bosses but as villagers at large, in public forums that are organized to tackle local issues. Please act out together for safety for our people.

Traffic Lawbreakers to Court

This morning the Mayor of Phnom Penh, HE Kep Chuktema, has made a proposal to bring (traffic) lawbreakers to court, a next step after education has been carried out a while ago. Some lawbreakers have now picked the public road for their car race. Seeing this development, the matter of traffic law offense must be filed for court action.

We could not make them respect law with a small fine for their offenses. Since instruction and education do not bear fruit, we have no choice but to bring the issue to court, where criminal punishment might be a thing to come out with.

Retirement Age to Be Strictly Applied

(As far as retirement age is concerned) let me assert that we will observe the law of retirement strictly without exception.

According to the discussion I have had with Minister of Interior, retirement will be observed according to law and exception will be allowed only for governors of cities and provinces till 2013. For instance, the governor of Phnom Penh capital will be allowed to extend his job till after the elections in 2013. This special measure will be applied for like ten governors only.

However, deputy governors of provinces/cities or districts will not be permitted for such extension. This is also to be applied in all ministries and no permission will be given to any case at

all. I will not approve such a request.

In case of need, at retirement ages, people (with needed knowledge and long-term experience) can be appointed to political functions after they are retiring from public functions. I am sure you have a good understanding of the need (for new generation to take over the jobs).

As we all started (taking leadership functions) when we were in the late 20s and early 30s, it is a normal coincidence that all of a sudden many of us have turned to be in the 60s, take for instance, HE Kep Chuktema (Mayor of Phnom Penh), HE Su Phirin (of Siemreap), HE Ung Samy (of Prey Veng), HE Chhun Sirun (of Kandal), etc. and various heads and deputy heads of departments and offices.

Let's be clear here that people to take over the positions should not be in only for few months before their retirement age too. We also need to get our in-coming replacement generation ready (for the transition).

Current Trend of Border Dispute – Favorable

As I mentioned on February 22, the trend (of border dispute) seemed to have been more favorable for solving problem by peaceful means as is recommended by the UN Security Council and through the ASEAN mechanism for a ceasefire along with the Indonesian observers to be sent to Cambodia and Thailand.

(The two sides will) continue through (existing) negotiating mechanisms, with appropriate involvement from ASEAN chairman. Those mechanisms, the meeting of the two foreign ministers, the General Border Commission (GBC) that is co-chaired by the two defense ministers, etc. need to be conducted initially at Jakarta, Indo-

nesia. I think this is quite an appropriate form of involvement.

Since bilateral discussion or closed door meeting does not bring us anywhere, now let's have an open door discussion so that everyone can learn about what is going on, especially ASEAN chairman would be in a position to circulate information among ASEAN members and even report to the UN Security Council.

It is anticipating that the forthcoming meeting will be first conducted between the ministers of defense as this meeting would not require (Thai) parliamentary ratification. What remains to be seen here is when the Indonesian observers can come.

We now have reached a formula of a bilateral negotiation in the presence of a third party. (The Thai) side may call it anything they may see it but this is a formula that we have a third party that will witness whatever the two sides have discussed and agreed on. The ASEAN chairman can either co-sign with the two sides on any outcome agreement, if there is going to be any, or issue a statement in recognition of the outcome of the negotiation.

Indonesia Should Carry On in 2012

As Cambodia will chair ASEAN in 2012, I have anticipated that Cambodia will not be able to act as ASEAN chairman and a member concerned, or in other words to be an arbiter and sportsman at the same time.

In this development, Cambodia may seek ASEAN's consensus to let Indonesia continue its role then. Indonesia is fit to do this job because it has reserved an active role in the region. However, there will be eight more months from now.

As I said it out loud that this border issue between Cambo-

dia and Thailand will take us a long time to resolve. Lately PM Abhisit and army commander Prayuth Chan-Ocha seem to have garnered for a war when they said Thai is ready to strike with full force if Cambodia attack it first.

Cambodia has got no need to go into Thai territory and to open fire first. It has never done that from beginning to end.

Gen. Prayuth Chan-Ocha also said that there will not be troop withdrawal and I wish to reaffirm my February 17 proposed initiative that I called for ceasefire and troops stay where their stations are. I have not asked for troop withdrawal.

Anywhere, Anytime and Anything

Again, I must make it clear that the two sides must stay where they are. If Cambodian (soldiers) infiltrate (against order) into Thai territory, they will be shot at and if the Thai soldiers did that to our territory, they also will be shot at.

The two sides have rights to protect national sovereignty. If one side nurtures no intention to invade the other, that means there will not be tension. Since we will have the presence of Indonesian observers too, that will be quite assuring.

We must understand that the forthcoming mission by Indonesians is to conduct observation (on both sides) that I have said Cambodia will allow them to go anywhere, anytime and anyplace they may like to.

I would like to thank the ASEAN rotating chairman for taking active role (in this matter) and I hope that as Cambodia will chair ASEAN in 2012, Indonesia will continue to carry on this role on behalf of ASEAN. There may not be objection to Indonesian playing this role (among ASEAN members) I hope...☐

(Continued from page 1)

follow this trend in education, I am sure we will be able to finally ensure equal chance for education among our people. I would not rest with this set of mind that so and so from so and so families is clever than so and so. My belief is in the chance that everyone is provided with ...

Peace and Political Stability – Essential Elements

... The Royal Government of Cambodia is making effort currently to uphold peace and political stability to its utmost. War is coming with instability and in the two coming along students will abandon schools and education. Take for instance the border fight at the Cambodian-Thai border days ago we have had so many displaced people, whose children have had to leave schools and study. It is a sad development.

It was because the RGC's understandings of concerns and consequences from war and in absence of political stability, it sought out all means for a solution to end (civil) war in a win-win manner. Peace is by far the biggest chance, where in absence of peace, there would be no national reconciliation and internal war would leave children and youth out of schools again. We have pursued a long-time aspired ambition of building more schools in locations that are within easily reaching distances to the rural children. In compliance with the Constitution (of the Kingdom of Cambodia), all Cambodian citizen must achieve a basic level of nine year education.

This has called for more schools being built, both primary and secondary levels. We have even implemented so far this 2008 Santuk (Commune) Declaration (of Kompong Thom) that I instructed that there must be a junior secondary school in every commune throughout the country. In review of this policy lately, the

objective has almost been implemented ... especially communes where there are high population concentration ...

Cambodian-Thai Border Dispute Development

... May I start with giving my appreciation and praise for the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces who are stationing along border as well as our sub-national level authorities, whose administrative jurisdictions, also are in the area. You have proven to be firm and able to thwart off attacks from aggressors. Please allow me to express my sincere appreciation and respect from afar for our soldiers and officers - military, police and military police. I also express from here my gratitude for the royal palace (monarchic institution?), the Senate, the National Assembly, institutions that are under the Royal Government of Cambodia, sub-national authorities, non-governmental organization and charitable persons for taking their busy times to visit our soldiers at the front.

It is indeed a source of never drying encouragement for our soldiers at the front and they are totally assured that they are not alone in this cause. I have said it already that our fight on the border dispute will take us longer than days, months and year. Studying the history, the crusade to win back the Preah Vihear temple restarted in 1954 and in 1962 (the Thai invaders) withdrew. However, in 1966, they came but withdrew again. Cambodia then had internal conflict.

Long-term Struggle

So we have to depend on the legal decision that we already had from the International Court of Justice in The Hague and we have pooled well-known lawyers to help us preparing for request for clarification of the decision. Only by this mean, we can ensure a definite ending to the problem. However, provisionally, what

shall we do?

Anticipating that, I would like to urge relevant institutions to assure assistance and support for displaced people who have abandoned their villages for fighting or for threat from fighting. My wife will travel tomorrow to oversee the operation and situation. We must make sure that our soldiers and people are well taken care of and looked after by local and provincial authorities and relevant mechanism of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the National Committee for Disaster Management, etc.

It is indeed grateful that we have the supports from our people in all walks of life – elderly, students, children, officials, traders, businessmen, etc., through various campaign groups, let alone the Bayon TV station, for this cause of national defense. This, as I said earlier, has showed that we have ensured a strong connection between those soldiers and people at the front with those at the rear. This is what I call national defense for all and all for national defense that has become our core strategy...

Cambodian Border Military Situation

I would like to thank all political parties for their supports for efforts of the Royal Government of Cambodia in the cause of militarily defending our territorial integrity against foreign aggression and in diplomatically and politically solving the problem and I am sure such a support would go on.

I would like to take this moment to share with all of you military situation along the Cambodian-Thai border. So far, Cambodia has not increased the number of its troops to the area. In the clashes and war that happened lately, Cambodia has more than enough troops needed for the fight in the area. They are the local forces. No new forces have been sent in. We have not mobilized our troops from other

border areas and central forces in to the area yet.

I must admit that more tanks and artilleries, though, have been sent in and I do not have to hide this. We are conducting a war of national defense and not a war of aggression. We are applying the strategy of one against three to five. We do not need more forces. As I said to Prime Minister Abhisit during his visit to Cambodia that I wish to reduce further the number of troops, but in situation like this, the idea cannot be implemented. Let me affirm therefore that Cambodia does not need to send in new forces or to recruit more into the army.

Quoting Must Be Identical and Original

I am so sorry that Thai leaders, the foreign minister Kasit Phromya is also included, have made incomplete and/or even wrong interpretation of what I have said. They have quoted only a part of the whole sentence that I have said on February 17 at the National Institute for Education – ‘the problem is not who shot first ...’ I said: ‘the problem is not who fired first, but more importantly, who invaded who.’ They may have to play any recorded tape of my speech and I am sure foreigners and whoever listen to it would not be so naïve to be misled by them.

Let me tell them to be more professional that if they happen to quote (my speech) they may have to keep it identical and original, while only a part of the original has been rephrased would make them unprofessional. Kasit said that ‘Hun Sen has stated with anger that there is no need to say who fired first ...’ I wonder why he did not say the rest of the sentence. Who invaded who? I would not look for tension to build up but I have the need to clarify this point. Cambodia never invades anyone's land and it is you (Thais) who invade us always.

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from page 7)

However, after a flash of war, situation has evolved in a more favorable direction. I would say that if the Thais are not changing their minds and words, things will evolve positively...

The February 19 Military Region Negotiation

As of now the yell-shirts have been accusing the Thai army and Government to have reached and signed an agreement with the Cambodian army. My forthcoming clarification here followed is not for supporting the army and Government of Thailand but to bring to the yellow-shirts' awareness of what has happened. There was indeed a negotiation on Saturday, February 19, as was aspired by the two sides. In fact on February 5, there was one negotiation already with the participation from head of military region II and division 6 of Thailand with the military region IV and division 3 of Cambodia. After the negotiation on February 5, the two sides engaged fighting again on February 6.

Negotiations and talks have been held and I encourage them to talk so as to improve the situation. I have also urged local officials to continue talking in my initiative for a ceasefire. Actually, the meeting on February 19 took place as the Thai side requested, through a military attaché of a country that I do not disclose of, for talk with General Hun Manet. I agreed with the request of the General but I have asked for the Thais to send negotiators who have more or less similar ranks. They sent a deputy commander of the army along with the staff of military region and division. On the Cambodian side, accompanied the General were staff of the military region and division as well.

Let me talk for the Thai army and Government that there was no agreement and signing whatsoever of any agreements

at all. The Thai army has requested for such a meeting only for a ceasefire environment and a better understanding. In fact, being asked by the yellow-shirts, Prime Minister Abhisit already denied, and so did Deputy Prime Minister Suthep Thaugsuban and Foreign Minister Kasit Phiromya. Let me assure the yellow-shirt that there is no such thing as they claimed.

In fact the two armies discussed measures to refrain from moving artilleries, tanks, increase troops, and violate one another while encouraging contact over radio and phone, and finally, no troops should leave their point of station after five o'clock in the evening. They met to work out plan to defend their respective countries. Why has it been so concerned for the yellow-shirts and why they always present themselves to be warmongers? Indeed, after the talk, the overall situation seems to have improved as less, or none sometimes, grenade explosion from the Thai side at night has been noted. Yim Pim, our field commander, has confirmed that to me.

Current Trend - Ceasefire and Indonesian Observers

What happened there at this front is a good sign. The two sides aspire for a permanent ceasefire and accept the presence of the Indonesian observers. Again on February 17, at the Santepheap building of the Council of Ministers, I have initiated for a ceasefire that consists of four elements, which in order for the ceasefire to exist effectively, the two sides will accept for the presence of the Indonesian observers to the sites. My reserved position then was if Thailand did not accept it, I would request for ASEAN observers to come to Cambodia.

On the Sunday meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs chaired by Prime Minister Abhisit, the Foreign Minister of

Thailand, Kasit Phiromya, said that on February 22, Thailand will propose to Indonesia to send in its observers to stay with the Thai side at the point of contact (with the Cambodian forces) so as to be a witness of their actions, which also includes the fact that Thailand was not the first to open fire. He went on to say that Thailand hopes Cambodia will propose for Indonesian competency to stand by on their side too so as to ensure a permanent and real ceasefire. He even said if Cambodia does not accept this proposal, he also would not know what to do.

Cambodia welcomes the move from the Thai side with no hesitation because this is in fact what Hun Sen has proposed for earlier. It was because of my doubt that Thailand would not accept the Indonesian observers that I have gone to the next level to invite them (unilaterally) to Cambodia. They may listen to the tape of what I have said all over again. It is not that Cambodia has to take a responsive position but to just perform what it has proposed for. Already, in his meeting with HE Marty Natalegawa, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Cambodia, HE Hor Namhong told him to dispatch as soon as possible teams of observers. I think both sides have got similar positions now.

No Ceasefire Agreement Needed, Two Reasons

In this process I have said to HE Hor Namhong that there is no need for a ceasefire agreement since achieving that (there) would 1) cost Kasit his job and 2) give the agreement a deadlock position waiting for the Thai parliament's approval too. So there needs to be no ceasefire agreement but to have a ceasefire on fact according to the appeal of the UN Security Council, ASEAN and the European Union, who in addition to that called on the two

sides to respect the decision of the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

From now to the meeting, if the Thai side does not change their words, a ceasefire will take place under the inspection of the Indonesian observers. I asked HE Hor Namhong to convey my message to ASEAN that Cambodia accepts the outcome and is open for observation anywhere, anytime and anything. They may go to the front or check our artilleries. The observers could be police or military. I hope the Thai side would take similar position as Cambodia does. I would say that they can go everywhere in our country if they like to as long as they can ensure what Cambodia has wanted – the ceasefire.

As the Thai side has agreed and has 'challenged Cambodia to stick to similar position,' I assume that we 'accept' Thai proposal of February 20, while it was similar proposal that Cambodia made since February 17. You may have to calculate yourself as to who has proposed first. I am sure the chairman of ASEAN will inform the UN Security Council of outcome of the meeting because though it is a regional mechanism, it has carried the weight placed by the United Nations, which is comparatively similar to that being done with the African Union that is helping resolve the Ivory Coast situation.

Conflict Resolution Mechanism – Third Party

I have already distinguished forums that negotiation should be conducted bilaterally and/or with a third party's presence. Though it is in everyone's understandings that the two sides of conflict are the ones to make final decision on matter concerned, or to say exactly between Cambodia and Thailand, any decision reached will have to be witnessed by the third party. Border mechanism like

(Continued on page 5)