



26 October 2015 — President Francois Hollande of the French Republic Welcomes Samdech Techo at the Elysée Palace in Paris, France

Meeting Cambodian-French Business Council

(26 October 2015 — Unofficial Translation)

I am so glad to be able to participate in this meeting with the Cambodian-French Business Council organized by the MEDEF International, which I had a chance to address once back in 2005. I wish to express my sincere thanks and high evaluation for MEDEF International and French-Cambodian Business Council for initiating this important program and allowed me to share some socio-economic updates and evolutions relating of Cambodia, especially, the opportunity for business cooperation and investment between Cambodia and France. Please allow me to welcome the presence of Presidents and Representatives of French companies for this event, which clearly marks increasing impression of French business community on Cambodia.

In the past two decades, Cambodia has been recognized by its rapidly improving change in politics, security, economy, social affairs, trade, and investment. It would be better for me

to list for you some indicators that reflect progress and evolution of Cambodia.

Firstly, **need for electricity**, the need for electricity, which stood at 107 megawatt in 2000, has now increased to 572 megawatt in 2010 and 931 megawatt in 2015. Secondly, **import of fuel**, the amount of fuel imported in 2005 was roughly 734,000 tons had reached 1.5 million tons in 2010 and 1.7 million tons in 2014. Thirdly, **rehabilitation of infrastructure**, out of 15,315 Kilometers of National Road, Cambodia restored and built road infrastructure to 2,186 Kilometers by 2005. By the year 2010, we had rehabilitated and built up to 4,362 Kilometers and 5,982 Kilometers in 2014. Fourthly, **exports of apparel**. Cambodia exported garments for 1,125 million USD in 2000. The figure had reached 3,000 million USD in 2010 and 5,632 million USD in 2014. Fifthly,

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Inaugurating Jroy Jangva Bridge II

(22 October 2015 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

Root Source of Paris Peace Agreement

... If there were no war in 1970, Cambodia would have developed much more. What sort of responsibility should those responsible for war take? Tomorrow will be the (24th) anniversary of the realization of the Paris Peace Agreement. Those who involved in waging war (in those days) should at least take moral responsibility if they did not take the responsibility for damages and loss of lives of millions of Cambodians in the time of war and under the genocidal regime of Pol Pot. The fact that the Pol Pot

(regime) had occurred was because of the overthrow of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk by an illegal coup in 1970. Tomorrow, at least people should learn why there needed to have a Paris Peace Agreement. Should there be no coup in 1970, there would not be this regime of Pol Pot and were there no regime of Pol Pot, there would not be our force to fight Pol Pot to liberate (the country) and there would not be a civil war, which required the Paris Peace Agreement.

As human beings, we had bet-

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Western University Graduation & Diploma

(19 October 2015 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

Removing Old Ones, They React; Keeping Them, New Ones React

The question is when they win elections, who do they bring into workplace? They are ready to chase out those who are currently work and blamed for being devalued in a message “keeping current officials and pay more.” In this case, for supporters who sold out their cows and oxen, buffaloes to support the Party, how can they get jobs, since the old ones will go on? According to law, any officials below the rank of provincial governors, commanders in chief and general director of police, general departments are public function officials. They will need to keep working in their functions. In this case, if the current officials are to stay, what hap-

pened to what they said about people with devalued education and quality lacking? What is more problematic is that they have fooled around with promises of at least ten people in one district for the position of district governor. They promised positions of police inspectors, military commanders, etc. to everyone.

I just wish their supporters to figure out how they get a job when current officials will retain positions. (Opposition leaders will find themselves in a situation) between Scylla and

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export of agricultural products. Cambodia exported agricultural products for some 35 million USD in 2000. The figure had reached 131 million USD in 2010 and 493 million USD in 2014, of which rice export, which shared only 216,000 USD in 2000, had increased to about 35 million USD in 2010 and 245 million USD in 2014. Sixthly, **tourist arrival to Cambodia** in 2000 was 460,000. The figure had reached 2.5 million in 2010 and 4.5 million in 2014.

Cambodia also realized its economic growth at an average of 7.7% in the last two decades. World Bank has considered Cambodia as one of the record breaking in terms of growth in the world. GDP per capita has grown from 253 USD in 1998 to 1,225 USD in 2015. Based these indicators, the poverty rate has been brought down from 53.2% in 2004 to 13.5% in 2015 making Cambodia the fourth successful country in the world in reducing poverty. As of this time, Cambodia is advancing from low-income country to low middle-income country in the near future.

As of this moment, Cambodia advances from low-income to low middle-income country in the very near future and will continue to become high middle-income country by 2030. In general, we not maintain firmly macroeconomic stability but also ascertain with pride progress in all fields – political and social. While achieving that distribution of growth to every Cambodian, especially ability to get a job, access to infrastructure and income has largely improved, while reducing poverty among the people. Harnessing Cambodia's long-term vision towards 2030, especially the “rectangular strategy - phase III” to achieve growth, work, equity and efficiency in Cambodia, the Royal Government organized and put

out, on 26 August 2015, a “policy for industrial development 2015-2025” to guide Cambodia's industrial development. The policy will take part in maintaining sustainably and inclusively high economic growth by means of diversifying our economy, strengthening competition, and enhancing productivity.

The formation and issuance of the policy indicates necessity and urgency in developing “new strategy for economic growth” responding to changes of local economic structure as well as regional and world economic architectures, which include:

1. *Geopolitical favorable condition for economic and industrial connectivity of Cambodia to the region, especially the framework for creation of ASEAN Economic Community and regional economic liberalization,*
2. *Industrial role in creating growth and new jobs in the context of open economy, demographic dividend and major structural changes that are favorable for advancement of industrial sector,*
3. *Industrial role is policy tool for strengthening connectivity of major economic buttresses such as agriculture and service, which will contribute to enhancing further economic growth,*
4. *Significance of industrial policy is the works of structural adjustment and national economic management institutions aimed at raising high economic productivity in the long term and evade “the middle income country's trap.”*

In this meaning, the policy for industrial development 2015-2025 is a framework paper that affirms to every stakeholder (state ministries/institutions, development partners, and private operators) directions that Cambodia is advancing to. In order to measure implement-

ation of the policy, the Royal Government put out four concrete measures to achieve by end of 2018:

1. *Lowering price of electricity for targeted industrial zone, which includes expansion of coverage and increase of trust in supply of electricity,*
2. *Organizing and implementing master plan for development of transport system and means of logistics,*
3. *Strengthening and developing mechanism for labor market management and skill training, and*
4. *Developing and transforming Sihanouk province into a multipurpose model of special economic zone.*

In this policy framework, aim of investment attraction will focus on three major targets, such as (1) to maintain and expand current activity, (2) to attract new activity that will provide high value added, especially processing what Cambodia has to its best ability and (3) to include Cambodia as part of regional and world processing system.

At the same time, on 22 October 2015, the Royal Government of Cambodia promulgated the implementation of “national policy for employment 2015-25” aimed at increasing appropriate chance for jobs for Cambodian people and increasing labor productivity, promoting skill and human resource development, and strengthening of job market governance. Issuance of the policy not only interrelates and complements with the policy for industrial development 2015-2025 but also serves at a common framework for relevant institutions to take coordinated actions in line with common objectives and with responsibility.

As we all know, by the end of 2015, Cambodia and nine other country members of

ASEAN will advance into a new era of ASEAN Economic Community that we know clearly that that will bring more opportunity as well as challenges. Hence, I would encourage you to leave your thought of investing in Cambodia is for the Cambodian market where there are only 15 million people but a whole market along the Mekong (GMS) with 326 million population, and even more, the ASEAN market of 630 million people. In this meaning, I wish to see French companies invest and produce in Cambodia and export to ASEAN free of tax. I also extend my warm welcome to French companies to invest in Cambodia to serve the EU market for the favorable conditions provided for import of quota-free-duty-free products from Cambodia.

I know that in Asia, there are French companies in China or Thailand and some other countries. In this time of regional supply chain, meaning no product is produced in one location and country from beginning to end, I think that those French companies can consider some parts of their production lines working in Cambodia. The country possesses major potentials in agriculture, agro-industry, processing industry, manufacturing, productions and services and comparative advantage of a country that is open, applies reasonable wage, possesses young and active labor (some 9.2 million people between 15 and 54 years of age or 59.4% of the whole population of Cambodia), and enjoys favorable condition of weather, land and natural resource. These potentials are waiting for sustainable investment and development of your companies.

Let me share with you that since when there was the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 to the present, the government and people of France provided

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ter inquire about the problem's root without attempt to hide the fact why Hun Sen had to negotiate with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk to open way for the realization of the Paris Peace Agreement. That should be the right question to ask. Some have picked up just this or that point (of the Agreement) to elaborate but not historical account as a whole. Should they be courageous, would they be able to speak the truth about what had brought about the Paris Peace Agreement? Were Preah Norodom Sihanouk, the King Father then, continued to rule the country, there would not need for the Paris Peace Agreement

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invaluable support politically, financially and technically for the sake of searching peace and restoration and development of Cambodia. Moreover, in the framework of human resource development, the government of France has provided scholarships to Cambodian students to continue their tertiary studies in various fields - law, medicine, and engineering. These assistances have contributed to Cambodia's ability to stand up as a nation with reputation and civilization once again. However, it is worth making a remark that investment and business undertaken by the French companies in Cambodia is still low as there are only about 50 companies, including some 100 other small companies, serving in various sectors.

On behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, I would take this opportune moment to express my sincere thanks and high evaluation for the participations of French companies, small or big, such as VINCI, TOTAL, etc. in Cambodia's socio-economic development. It is certain that these actions not only contributed to Cambodia's economic growth but

at all and Japan also did not have to reconnect the Jroy Jangva bridge (which was broken off by war) too. As you already learnt, the Jroy Jangva I bridge blown off in 1972 was reconnected in 1995. When we talk history, everything has its cause. To define a tree one has to count in trunk, roots, branches and leaves. One cannot just talk leaves or trunk for a tree.

Two More Bridges over the Mekong

... The China Road and Bridge Corporation ... is conducting a feasibility study of two more bridges. The first bridge will connect on one side the village of Svay Jrum,

also help strengthen diplomatic relations and political history between our two countries. Before ending this briefing, allow me to invite you to make investment in Cambodia and be our partners through concrete contributions you may have in effort to make a bright future for Cambodia. I wish to emphasize that the Royal Government of Cambodia has always considered private sector as the engine of growth and based on this perception, the Royal Government has initiated mechanism for consultation with the private sector in all fields to discuss issues relating to investment facilitation aimed at improving investment environment to attract flow of foreign direct investment. On behalf of the Royal Government, I guarantee to every investors environment that is favorable and driving for investment, especially peace, security, political and macro-economic stability, legal and institutional frameworks that are effective, transparent, accountable, and predictable.

Finally, please allow me to wish you all successes in your works. Thank you for your attention

Sangkat Svay Jrum, Khan Russeikeo to Sangkat Jroy Jangva, Khan Jroy Jangva of Phnom Penh. The project was proposed since April 2014. The second bridge project will connect the district of Lovea Em, Kandal province to the village of Kdey Takoy, Sangkat Prek Eng, Phnom Penh. Connectivity is important for development. The one who has the ability to help us connect would be China. The CRBC that built the Jroy Jangva II Bridge has been conducting the study of the two bridges. We will have to prioritize which one to build first as we will not have the ability to build both bridges at the same time. I would urge our people residing on both sides of the rivers to keep up their hopes. The two bridges are in our vision for development.

What Achievements Does Win-Win Policy Bring?

... I wish to affirm that in the 1980s, especially in 1988, if I could recall, the province of Kandal's border was right at the foot of Jroy Jangva bridge. The place where we stand belonged in fact to Kandal province. HE Thaong Khon was then Mayor of Phnom Penh. I visited this area of Prek Tasek, where we sent youth and officials from various ministries to clear the inundated forest on this side as we were worried that the Khmer Rouge's H12 mortar would reach Phnom Penh from there. However, our win-win policy brought Ee Chhien (former Khmer Rouge commander) to the fold of nation. We should review, after implementing the win-win policy, what achievements have we realized, especially the implementation of the three core policies of guaranteeing personal safety, profession and employment and ownerships. They may look back if the Royal Government has in fact maintained its promises.

They may compare areas like

Pailin, Mealai, Samlot ... to before integration to see what differences they make. We now have asphalted roads and the GDP of the regions have grown higher than internal parts of the countries. As we are going to build a memorial monument (about the integration,) we should recall these facts for a comparison. What the Royal Government did not take the matter lightly or make empty promises. It should be noted that students from Pailin scored mention A in her final exam of the senior secondary school recently while in bigger province like Prey Veng, no one got A mention.

The 2016 Budget Law Abolishes Light-Duty Means of Transport's Road Tax and Patent Tax

... I wish to emphasize here that yesterday (the Cabinet meeting) has adopted the budget law (2016) ..., which acknowledges and understands our people's difficulties. From next year, the law does not oblige people to pay road tax for light-duty means of transport such as motorcycles, motor-tricycles, tractors and other agricultural machines alike, engine boats. In Phnom Penh, we have over one million motorcycles and there are more in the whole country. In three more months from now, the law will come into force. However, I am calling on our people with light-duty means of transport to pay road tax this year because we have to abide by the law in place. People should pay their taxes for the last time and keep the receipts to prove their law-abiding citizenship. People will now benefit from the law. They no longer have to pay road tax for their light-duty means of transport anymore.

... In addition to this, traders and shopkeepers will benefit from the abolition of what they called estimated regime for

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Charybdis. Would they mess up with (Commander in Chief) Pol Saroeun? (Police Chief) Net Savoeun? They then had to face with consequences of their promises. They may want to keep their message going, while “keeping current ones, new ones cannot come in; removing current ones, they would react and keeping current ones, new ones react.” Should they keep current ones, (they already said that these

people) are devalued. Most of the people working in state or companies are locally educated. How many of them are educated abroad?

In My View, Local Diploma Valuable for Cambodian Children

... Though some have disgraced local education and diploma, in my view, the diploma that you have received now and I am handing out to you with my hands today and

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taxation by reducing tax according to the size of trade companies, which would allow small traders and business people to benefit from tax exemption. It will help alleviate hardships for poor people. Sometimes, (we noticed that applying) estimated regime of taxation applied since 1995 through to 2005, the amount of estimated stays the same. If they paid 500,000 Riel when we introduced the estimated tax regime, they continue to pay the same amount twenty years later, for example. It is a big loss of income. Moreover, some tax collectors even caused trouble with petty-cash traders too. We decided to take away the estimated regime of taxation.

Over Pass Techno to Temporarily Open

... Let me inform our people in Phnom Penh that on the coming 21 November, we will put the Techno overpass into temporarily use for the sake of facilitating traffic during the coming three-day water festival from 24 through to 26 November. We are still observing the level of water in the Tonle Sap river whether it will be possible to celebrate the event. If the water stays at the current level, we will hold the festivity but it would be difficult if the level will go one meter lower. As we are monitoring the level of water, we must get every-

thing ready and be prepared for the celebration of water festival in Phnom Penh. I will have to go for ASEAN Summit but will fly back immediately to welcome the official visit of Prime Minister of Russia on 23 and 24 November. The Russian Prime Minister will be our first foreign guest to travel on the overpass Techno. It should be a welcoming news for our people of the achievement the state has provided to save them from traffic jam and loss of fuel...

Salary Increase in 2016

... I wish to take this opportunity moment to affirm to teachers, RGC officials that next year there will be salary increases twice – once in January 2016 and again in April before the Khmer New Year. We have to divide the amount of increase to 50% for the early part of the year and the remaining for before the Khmer New Year. For example, nursery and primary education teachers, who get the lowest pay of 640,000 Riel/month plus their regional subsidy between 80,000 and 120,000 Riels, accordingly, in 2016, will earn 800,000 Riel or roughly 200 USD. However, we will increase to 700,000 Riel in January 2016 first and again in April to relieve cash burden at one time. May our armed forces, RGC officials, etc. take this as your information ...■

in the past are valuable for Cambodian children. I do not understand politicians who send messages dishonoring not only people who have studied in the country but also efforts made by their parents or spouses for their course of education. As always, at the time of graduation, graduates have gathered together with family members and friends for taking photos and presenting flowers. It is an honor for the family, parents, relatives, superintendants and you yourselves. However, those of you have been disgraced for endeavoring for educational diploma of no value as they said it. That said they meant people in the whole country, including those who voted and worked for them, without any value. I wish our people in the country and those who are with the opposition think whether they should stay on and serve them, while they considered them of no value?

... Such insult deals a serious blow to national education institutions, which has made so much efforts since the time when we applied the theory of “those who know more teach those who know less, those who know less teach those who don’t.” We then had come to teachers training course of twelve years general education plus two years more of pedagogical training (12+2). For those who teach at junior or senior college, they have to have a bachelor degree plus one year of pedagogical training too. Those who teach at the University or any other tertiary education institutions have to acquire a Master or Ph D degree. How many of those professors have achieved their Ph D from abroad? Among officials of the Royal Government, the armed forces, and the eleven thousands teachers, how many of them have studied abroad? Do they mean those teachers and professors trivial? The message of insult

was disgracing educational institutions and students who completed their studies after 1979 as well as those of you who have received diplomas today. I just have your attention for a serious thought on this political message ...

Salary Increment for RGC Officials, Workers

... We all have seen efforts of the Ministry of Economy and Finance in exercising payday of the month of September in the fourth week and another payday of October in the first week. In just two weeks, we spent a large sum of money. However, the Riel currency has not devalued. In the Cabinet’s meeting, I have instructed Minister of Economy and Finance to view the payday of October and figure out of we should wait until the fourth week of November to exercise another payday or do we reschedule the next payday to within the second or third week of the month. We have taken this point for consideration because many of our officials would have spent their salary over the Phjum Ben days already.

It is similar to last year when our people normally spent a lot during the Khmer New Year time. Last year, we had the payday of March followed by an early payday for April for the sake of Khmer New Year. As for next year, I must let you know, we will exercise another salary increment in April before Khmer New Year too. There will be a payday of March and an early payday with increment in April. We have to guarantee that we have cash to do so. The minimum wage of our workers will also go from 127 USD to 140 USD, including other advantages. In Myanmar, worker’s minimum salary is 67 USD, in Laos 80 USD, Bangladesh 75 USD and even lower in Nepal. In just months ahead, Cambo-

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dia will bring the minimum wage to 140 USD. Some factories may weigh option of leaving Cambodia for other countries where the labor cost is lower. However, we will work harder together to keep those factories in our country...

Three Factors Bring Joy to Phjum Ben Days

... This year's Phjum Ben days had left the city of Phnom Penh quiet. HE Pa Socheatvong, mayor of Phnom Penh, after returning from abroad before Phjum Ben days, sent me information that Phnom Penh was so quiet. Three factors bring quietness to Phnom Penh during this religious festive season. *Firstly, peace allows people to travel anywhere they may like without concerns as in the time of war and divided rules by four factions* – the Phnom Penh government, the Khmer Rouge, KPNLF and Funcinpec. Our people can go wherever they wish to and they had no need to ask permission from anyone. Peace is a fundamental factor. People must protect it. We will soon celebrate the commemoration of the 24th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement. Either today or tomorrow, I will post in my Facebook account some facts about it. I will take the liberty to explain some points to people about the process of Paris Peace Agreement.

Even though I would not be able to clarify every detail in Facebook but we all must not forget what the Paris Peace Agreement wished to have achieved and UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) failed to do so. UNTAC's withdrawal left us a Cambodia of two different rules – one side was with the Phnom Penh Royal Government and another side along the border was under the Khmer Rouge. The two fought until 1998. We applied the win-lose policy from 1996 through

to achievement in 1998, when integration of the Khmer Rouge forces underwent. There was then visit of the Khmer Rouge leaders – Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and others, to Phnom Penh. So, peace in the country is the primary factor for our people to travel anywhere and everywhere.

... I took a rest and played with my smart phone. I came across a photo of me and my wife when I was 19 years old and she was 17 years old. I posted it with a statement: "would these two young fellows have the ambition to become Prime Minister?" It was in the time of war. Life has it that finally this young lad has become Prime Minister for over 30 years. Would you imagine that I knew myself that I would be a Prime Minister? I would not even know what the position would be. However, political situation drove us to a time when we could not reverse but go forward. The Australian TV asked Manet if he would take over from his father. Cambodia is a democratic country. There is no such thing as succession. A democratic country, elections will decide. Take for instance, even successor to the throne in our country, must go through a vote. HM the King has no right to assign successor to the throne. The one that will choose the King is the Throne Council. Some said it was Hun Manet, or Hun Mani or Hun Mani, who would become Prime Minister. If it worked that way, why would there be elections? My son already set the record clear but I just add a tip to end this saga.

Secondly, good infrastructure allows people to make their journey possible. Our country has so many rivers and tributaries. It is easier for cultivation as we need water for irrigation and seasonal silt but we have to face difficulty in traveling, which we need more bridges.

Take for instance for the river of Prek Tanaot, we still have to build more bridges. As we now have infrastructural connectivity around the country, people can travel wherever they need to. Although in some areas, roads have not yet completed construction or have damaged somehow, people are still able to get to where they need to go – like their native places or pagodas for their ritual ceremony or tourist destinations.

Infrastructure not only serves daily socio-economic activities but also festive seasons, where exodus of people from city to their native places occurs. In the past, we had this issue of traffic jam at Neak Loeung crossing of the Mekong river on national road 1, especially at the time of New Year and Phjum Ben. That is no longer the issue anymore because of the Tsubasa Bridge helped by Japan. In the time of Samdech Techo Hun Sen, many bridges were built ... Japan built three major bridges – Kizuna, Tsubasa and Jroy Jangva I. China also built many bridges – the Se Kong and Mekong of Stoeng Treng, Prek Tamak of Kandal, Se San, Prek Kadam, Jroy Jangvar II, which will be inaugurated on 22 October. For Tonle Bassac, China built a bridge at Takhmao and is building another at Koh Thom. Two more bridges will be built in the upper stream of Mekong at Kratie and Stoeng Trang of Kompong Cham.

Thirdly, people have income that pay for making journey. If they were to have cars but no money for gas, they would not be able to journey either. Even if they use public transport means, they would not be able to do so should they have no money. People have secured income for travelling. However, one sad issue is the fact that for every festive season – New Year or Phjum Ben, rental transportation means overcharged the normal prices.

Some people who know my Facebook address wrote to me about a service rental van that took off all seats and jacked up the price. I found it unbelievable. In New York, when it is time for the United Nations General Assembly, the price has gone up hundreds time. The fuel companies have also lowered their prices. They should not jack up again. When the price of fuel goes down, fuel companies argue they could not bring them down because they still have previous stock that they bought at a high price. They keep the price. They promised to bring the price down when the new stock comes in. However, when they hear that price of fuel in New York and London goes up, they jack up prices in Phnom Penh right away while they have not bought new stock yet. That is a point that there does not seem to be listening to each other. I will take my time to meet with them myself. I have Minister of Trade calculated the price for me. Local fuel companies are easy to reason with but those from abroad would say they would have to report to their bosses. That is why I have the intention for our people to take up bigger businesses.

Threat of War Is Imminent

It is for this wish, politicians threatened to set up a court to try (whom they called illegal business people) when they win elections. Business people have been threatened with a trial should they win elections. Internal war would be there to occur. Why (do I say so)? In between 1974/75, Pol Pot claimed to bring Lon Nol, Serik Matak, Cheng Heng, In Tam, Sostene Fernandez, Long Boret, Hang Thunhak – seven of them to trial. Finally, Pol Pot gave the whole country a trial. They send out messages that should they win elections, they would set up a court to try illegal business people. The ques-

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Statement on Recent Political Situation

(28 October 2015 — Unofficial Translation)

Today I returned from the successful official visit to the French Republic at the invitation of President Francois Hollande. As I arrived, I called for an urgent meeting with other leaders on issue relating to what happened in the capital city of Phnom Penh on 26 October.

Please allow me to inform you that in September 2015, as I attended the General Assembly of the United Nations and other UN summits, the opposition party organized a demonstration with some 40 to 50 participants, while I was having a meeting with about 300

compatriots there. Once again, when I traveled to France as state guest (of the French Republic) with guards of honor from the airport, motorcades and flag mounting representing Cambodia as nation and race, the opposition party organized another demonstration with some 100 participants as I was at the time conducting my briefing with almost 1000 Cambodians.

The right to hold demonstration has been respected, whether inside or outside the country. It could be seen that what happened in Phnom Penh was in part a repercussion of

consecutive demonstrations organized by the opposition in New York and in France. It could be a repercussion or a coincidence because the opposition party has instigated repetitive provocation, irrespective of national honor and dignity. However, right to hold demonstration is respected. According to the report, which I find it difficult to understand, the demonstration in Phnom Penh dissolved before 11 o'clock [...] whereas the incident that caused injury to two members of the National Assembly occurred at 12:00 noon. There have been elaborations relating to this event such as (it was caused by) reproaching, love affairs, revenge, and so on. Whatever it

may be, there should not be violence, either on members of the National Assembly with immunity or people at large.

From Paris, I issued a number of orders but today I officially declare to the competent authority to search and arrest those culprits. We cannot spare understanding and forgive those culprits, no matter who they may be – supporters of the Cambodian People's Party, the Royal Government, the opposition or any other person, as long as s/he carried out this cheap act. They must be punished. I learnt that Samdech Chakrey Heng Sarin, President of the National Assembly provided 10,000 USD for each injured members for treatment, I am urging continuation by the National Assembly to take responsibility in their treatment even more than the 10,000 USD provided. The National Assembly must also cover the cost of fixing the vehicle to bring it back to working condition. Our country is democratic and exercising rule of law, but demonstration should not bring violence to anyone, member of the National Assembly or ordinary citizen.

Who those culprits are? Where are they from? I have issued order today for the armed forces to search for the culprits, no matter from where they may be, and bring them for punishment according to law. I am calling on everyone present in the incident, driver of the inflicted members of the National Assembly and footage takers who posted VDO on Facebook to cooperate with competent authority in searching for and arresting the culprits. They may send those footages to competent authority to identify those who committed the offence. Without collaboration from victims to provide information on the incident, the search will be difficult. I hope that those involved, victims are also in-

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tion here is would they abandon existing judicial structure, law, etc. (Judging from what they say) they would do so. They would set up a new court and new law to try them. The second question is who would be the plaintiff? It is easy to know who the defendants would be. Would the plaintiff then point fingers at anyone as what happened under Pol Pot? If it would be so, war would be imminent. Why would they have to wait until they win elections to proceed with the legal matter? Why can they not sue those illegal business people? Sue them to the court now. I would bet war would come. It is not an intimidation, try and figure it out ...

Rain Missed Mekong Basin, Seasonal Flooding Low, Rainwater to Retain

From the river of Lancang in China down to the Mekong that runs one part in Myanmar, thousands of Kilometers in Laos then Cambodia and Vietnam, rain missed the Mekong basin leading to flood level at its lowest level in fifty years. Rain also came in an unstructured manner. Too much rain

at the later part of the season caused trouble to rice cultivation of our people. Rain continues to come. The concern here is that the Mekong River's seasonal flooding is low and cannot fill our reservoirs along the Mekong, Tonle Sap and Bassac rivers. This has caused trouble for those who grow dry season rice. People residing along the rivers also had to encounter difficulties as they depend on flooding for siltation, which is good for their cultivation. Without the Mekong's flood, they do not have silt, grass would not die, soil is tough, insects do not die and there will be shortage of water for dry season rice.

For one part, I am calling on our people to make effort to preserve rainwater in their rice fields. They had better enforce their levees and embankment. Secondly, I already told Minister of Economy and Finance to work with Minister of Water Resources to follow things up with provincial authorities. Provinces with reservoirs should figure out possibility of pumping water from low level flooding area into them. We had better start soon to benefit from the fact that water is still

within reach to those reservoirs. We depended on both rain and river for flooding into our reservoirs. Now, those reservoirs are not flooded. Since the flooding water is close by, we should pump it into reservoirs for people to grow flood recession rice. We must use some state budget to purchase fuel for water pumping machines to intervene filling reservoirs.

Normally, after the celebration of Phjum Ben, people are working on their cultivation of flood recession rice and dry season rice. Whether we will be able to do it or not will not depend completely on the Ministries of Economy and Finance, but active participation and initiatives of local leaders such as commune chiefs, district and provincial governors. The Municipality of Phnom Penh must also get ready for the water festival. We will celebrate it no matter how low the flood is. Returning from China yesterday, from a bird-eye view, I notice clarity in the water of the Mekong River at Stoeng Treng. The fact that the Klang Hai fish appears, it is a sign that flood is no more ...

A Reminder on Paris Peace Agreement

(20 October 2015 — Unofficial Translation)

Here followed is a complete unofficial translation of the review and comments of Samdech Techo Hun Sen on the historical processes of finding peace in Cambodia in commemoration of the 24th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement.

In a few days from today, the commemoration of the 24th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement (23 October 1991 – 23 October 2015) will arrive. Please allow me to remind some historical processes relating to peace finding in Cambodia.

Understanding that continuing war would only prolong people's sufferings and in the aim of searching for peace and national reconciliation, the Cambodian People's Party and I, as well as the then Government, had made heinous efforts to seek for a political solution. To achieve the goal, there was a necessity for conducting negotiation.

In 1984, when I was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, there was an attempt to arrange a meeting between Samdech Preah

Norodom Sihanouk and me in Paris, France by then French Foreign Minister. However, the attempt failed because of the fact that some countries and the Khmer Rouge opposed to it.

After I became Prime Minister in January 1985, leaders of the Cambodian People's Party and I had made new attempts in searching for negotiation with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. The effort took rather a long time with helps rendered by foreign friends and Cambodian dignitaries, among whom current Chairman of LICADHO, Ms Pung Chhiv Kek, made stronger efforts to liaise between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me and from Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk to me. She also assisted me so much while conducting negotiation in Paris. I would like to take this chance to express my sincere thank to elder sister Pung Chhiv Kek for having done so many works relating to peace in Cambodia.

Despite many difficulties because of oppositions from

zarré. No matter how strange that looks, the most important issue is to search and arrest the culprits and bring them to trial. I also appealed to those who committed the guilt to come out and confess. It is best to take responsibility before the law. I hope that there will be full cooperation and the competent authority, especially the armed forces, such as police, and the justice officials, will work well together on this matter. I am appealing to everyone who knows backgrounds to provide information to competent authority so that the culprits will be brought to punishment according to law. ■

some countries, the Khmer Rouge and KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front), Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk had decided to conduct negotiation with me. The first negotiation started on 2 December 1987 in Fere-en-Tardenois, France, which put out a joint communiqué undersigned by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me (the meeting and negotiation Sihanouk-Hun Sen in Fere-en-Tardenois from 02 to 04 December 1987). The second negotiation between Sihanouk and Hun Sen conducted from 20 to 21 January 1988 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France.

Stemming from the two opening Sihanouk and Hun Sen negotiations, the current of searching for political solution in Cambodia expanded. Forum of negotiations among the various Cambodian factions – such as JIM I, JIM II, IMC, etc., with participations from a number of countries had ushered in July and August 1989 but without any successes. I then had to find other means to work with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk though the setting up of the Supreme National Council (SNC), which could be broken down into three stages:

Stage 1 - the signing of agreement between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me on 21 February 1990, Bangkok, Thailand.

Stage 2 – the signing of agreement on 04 and 05 June 1990, Tokyo, Japan, between Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Sihanouk on behalf of the Democratic Kampuchea, along with Samdech Son San as Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, but boycotted by Khieu Samphan, who was then Vice President of the Democratic Kampuchea, and me to set up the Supreme National Council. The composition formula for

the SNC then was six plus six or 6 + (2+2+2). It meant that there were two members from each faction of the tripartite coalition and six members from the State of Cambodia.

Stage 3 – Between 9 and 10 September 1990, in Jakarta, Indonesia, there was this effort to list members of the Supreme National Council, for which Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk did not attend the Jakarta meeting on behalf of Funcinpec and was replaced by Samdech Chao Sen Kosal.

The meeting of the Supreme National Council conducted between 16 and 17 September 1990 in the Cambodian Embassy in Bangkok but failed to produce any result at all. There had been helps from the big five or permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations to put out a draft agreement on political solution to the Cambodian problem but the process did not go forward.

Once again, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and I made another effort on 02 and 04 June 1991 in Jakarta, Indonesia, to yield an agreement in secret in which Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, Samdech Me, and the royal families would come to reside with the State of Cambodia. We agreed to keep the Constitution, flag and anthem of the State of Cambodia. Samdech Heng Samrin would continue to serve President of the State Council, Samdech Chea Sim would continue to serve as President of the National Assembly and I myself continued to serve as Prime Minister. However, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk proposed the establishment of the National Presidium, which he was President and I was to serve as Vice President. I

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from page 6)
cluded, will fully cooperate with competent authority, while compatriots who took the footage also will provide them for us to take legal actions without forgiveness and discrimination. Cambodia has only one standard, those who committed guilty acts must receive punishment by law.

I hope that there will be a good cooperation and appeal to every citizen to be calm and go on with their daily life. It was unfortunate that it happened. Use of right for demonstration already exercised. Incident occurred thereafter. It was bi-

(Continued from page 7)

agreed with the proposal. Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk told me again and again that whether there would or would not be a political solution “I would have to return to live with Samdech Hun Sen because (I) cannot continue to reside with the Khmer Rouge.”

The secret broke out in Bangkok, Thailand. It was a huge political pressure for the Khmer Rouge and foreigners. In order for Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk not to return to Cambodia out of political solution, a number of countries had sought every means to prevent (his return) by instating Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk as a member of the Supreme National Council in replacement of Samdech Chao Sen Kosal. It was from then that everything worked and moved fast.

On 24 through to 26 June 1991, the Supreme National Council convened a meeting in Pattaya, Thailand under the leadership of Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Sihanouk, who acted as Chairman of the meeting but not as President of the Supreme National Council. Khieu Samphan softened his stance, agreed to a ceasefire and stopped receiving foreign military assistance. It was the first softening position from this stubborn faction.

On 16 July 1991, the Supreme National Council met in Beijing, People’s Republic of China. I had a secret meeting with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and offered him the role of President of the Supreme National Council, for which Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and I had signed a joint communiqué that I drafted and he agreed to it (please find enclosed the joint communiqué attached).

Everything was good. The meeting of the Supreme National Council plus the big five (permanent members of the Security Council) and co-chairmen of the Paris Conference, France and Indonesia, as well as the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, continued from 26 through to 30 August 1991 in Pattaya, Thailand.

There were three major points in the final part of the negotiation:

Firstly, (it was the issue of *ceasefire and demobilization of troops*). For ceasefire, we had agreed to a ceasefire and maintain status quo. The difficult part was the demobilization of troops. The tripartite coalition represented by Khieu Samphan proposed for each faction to keep the number of troop at 2,000. According to this formula, the tripartite coalition would keep in total a troop of 6,000 men, while according to then estimate all three factions had less than 40,000 men in their forces and controlled less than 10% of the territory. The State of Cambodia had over 140,000 men in its forces and controlled over 90% of the territory and, according to this formula, would have to keep only 2,000 men as other faction.

To break through this I discussed with HE Tia Banh and HE Hor Namhong about the possibility of demobilizing some 70% of the army. I then brought it in the next day to the French delegation, a co-chairman of Paris Conference, whom we invited for breakfast together. I asked the head of the French delegation “what would the big five (permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations) think if (I propose) a 70% demobilization of the armed forces?” The head of

the French delegation replied to me that there would certainly be supports. I told the head of the French delegation then that Khieu Samphan and Son San were ready to oppose my proposal. I suggested to him to inform Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk that the big five wished Cambodian factions to demobilize 70% of their troops. When Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk proclaimed the proposal, I would support him.

As expected, at the opening of the meeting Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk told the meeting that the big five wished that all Cambodian factions demobilized 70% of their troops. I declared my support immediately. Khieu Samphan, Son San and Prince Norodom Ranaridh followed suit to declare their supports.

Hence, the topic of ceasefire and troops demobilizations resolved in Pattaya, Thailand.

Second was *the issue of voting system*. In the draft by the big five, they proposed proportional representation system for the whole country while the State of Cambodia proposed the first-past-the-post voting system. The issue did not resolve at Pattaya. I came back to discuss this issue with other leaders in the country.

We then propose a proportional representation system by provincial constituency and all factions had agreed to it in New York at the general assembly of the United Nations from 14b through to 21 September 1991. The system has been in use for elections of members of the National Assembly until present.

Third was final decision right. The agreement had been drafted to give head of transitional authority or UNTAC the right to give final decision. I, representing the State of Cambodia faction, wished to

give that right to Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk in his capacity as President of the SNC. The issue did not resolve at Pattaya too and was resolved at the UN headquarters. I felt myself in an awkward position when I discovered on the table a message of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk to the UN Secretary General HE Javier Perez de Cuellar saying - “the right to give final decision rested with President of the SNC or UNTAC head would depend on Samdech Hun Sen to decide.”

I had no other choice but agreed to it. Everything resolved when SNC occupied the UN seat in September 1991, the approval of the date of 21 October 1991 for the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in Paris was also included.

As mentioned, the process of searching for peace was difficult but better than continuing war. We had gone through the stage of a complete war, the stage of intervening between fighting and negotiation to the stage of complete peace. What the Paris Peace Agreement wished to achieved but UNTAC failed to do had left Cambodia with two ruling zones and governments.

The final choice for a complete peace in Cambodia was to put out and implement the win-win policy, which had gained success from 1996 through to 1998. This is peace has been achieved by Cambodians jointly.

There were no winners or losers. It brings about national and territorial unity for the first time in a history of more than 500 years that Cambodia has become a country of one rule, one Constitution, one King, one Royal Government, one army and without division. We must keep uniting to maintain peace ...■