



Samdech Techo Hun Sen in a selfie session with workers/employees at one of the gatherings in Phnom Penh factories areas.

Meeting Workers at Phnom Penh Thmey

(22 November 2017 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

Prime Minister with the Most Selfies

[...] I am so happy that the Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training, the Municipality of Phnom Penh and related institutions are putting together this meeting here today [...] I wish to express my sincere appreciation and joy to have received such a warm welcome and hospitality from our workers. In just a hundred meters, we seem to have taken one hour to pass through because of the many selfies we made together. It has become now a moment of free selfie, free embraces, and free kisses. I could have been the record breaker in the world of leaders with the most selfies with people [...]

Your gestures of sincere appreciation and hospitality in every meeting we have had so far have shown me your pure hearts and affections. These are not affections expressed between leaders and workers, but more likely that of theirs with their parents and grandparents. That has brought me even closer to your feeling and I am feeling as if we knew each other very well for a long time. Your

grandparents, parents have all been sharing a long journey of our country. We met at the time when the country was in annihilation, and we were together and to unite. We came from a time when we did not have anything to eat to now when we have a rather better livelihood.

Kingdom of Cambodia Is Free of Political Crisis

We still need to acquire more but comparing to the past we have put that long behind us. These happened not because I have made efforts alone, or with the Cambodian People's Party alone. We have achieved this thanks to participations made and contributed by your grandparents, parents and at this moment, you yourselves. Hospitality and my trips over the past time since August up to the present, and our meeting here today has indicated that the Kingdom of Cambodia is free from all political crisis. Only some politicians have themselves sunk in crisis. In Cambodia, there is no such thing as political prisoners. There are only politicians who have incriminated. Cambodia is no

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Message on Supreme Court Decision

(16 November 2017 — Unofficial Translation)

Esteemed Buddhist Monks and Compatriots,

Today I have the need to deliver a message to our compatriots. As you are aware, today the Supreme Court delivered its decision on the dissolution of CNRP. After the liberation on 7 January 1979, with supports of our Buddhist monks and compatriots, through the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and then State of Cambodia, we have made great efforts to rebuild the country from scratch. We also sought to resolve the Cambodian issue through ending war and conducting negotiations.

We have realized with success

our win-win policy to bring our country full peace and national unity. As time passed, world and regional situations have changed. However, the Cambodian People's Party adheres steadfastly its historic mission to share both joys and hardships with our people in all circumstances. We have continued with national reconciliation policy and national unity to gather together force of solidarity, hereby to guarantee independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. We have made efforts to promote socio-economic development to reduce poverty. We continue to be determined for democracy by organizing

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Meeting Workers at 7NG Area

(16 November 2017 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

People's Affection — a Source of Encouragement

[...] It has been as usual that people can selfie with me, hug me, and even kiss me. When you do, do you feel that I am wearing a bulletproof vest. I have no fear of what our people may do to me. Some people think that I had worn a bulletproof vest ... I have high trust in the people of Cambodia and bulletproof vest is not necessary for me. I even had lunch with our workers without the need for specialist to check food for poisonous substance.

Such affection has been a source of encouragement for me to continue my leadership. More importantly, you all know Hun Sen very well, either on your own term or through your parents and/or grandparents. They have joined me in a long journey to liberate the country, to prevent the return of the re-

gime of Pol Pot, to seek peace and national reconciliation, and to contribute to the country's development in the past nearly 40 years.

Hun Sen's Policy Transformed Battlefields into Markets and Production Areas

I have a great pleasure today to be in this part of our country. I must start by saying that a policy envisioned by Hun Sen personally as Prime Minister, and by the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) as a whole, was to transform every battlefields into marketplaces and production areas. Minister of Labor and

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hostage to anyone person. Though some have had to go to jail for their treacherous acts, Cambodia continues to advance and our workers are here continuing their jobs.

We had just celebrated with pleasure traditional and Buddhist ceremonies such as Pchumben, Katina and lately the water festival. I wish to take this opportune moment to inform our people in the whole country that on December 2 and 3, the Royal Government will organize a ceremony to pray for peaceful life for the Kingdom of Cambodia at Angkor Wat. We will have this Buddhist session of offering alms to somewhere between 5,000 and 7,000 monks. I am inviting our people to go to Siem Reap on December 2 and 3. We will have live broadcast on this event from there too. What would that indicate? It would indicate that Cambodia is not in turmoil or war. It is a country in peace, independence, political stability. Everything is functional in a normal atmosphere.

To Attend a Dialogue Meeting of Political Parties

This week we have worked according to plan [...] some of you here might have been meeting me once in Koh Pich. Today we are meeting in a larger scale. I welcome the 345 nieces who are in their pregnancies. I will meet them later to hand out my appreciation for their presences and perhaps make some photos together [...]

I must apologize that in the later week – one whole week it will be – because of personal obligations and trips to the People's Republic of China for a dialogue meeting of political parties, returning from where I will land in Siem Reap for the Buddhist event on 2 December, there will be no meeting. On Sunday, or 15th of lunar moon, we will commence such festive event in Siem Reap's Angkor Wat [...]

We have now come to a new phase of development, in which we are implementing industrial development policy for 2015-

2025, and part of it is the fact that I have tried to meet you workers and employees so far. I wish to reaffirm that in my premiership, which I am seeking for the next ten years, I will continue such meetings throughout with our workers and employees.

Two Major Tasks for Economic Development and Win-Win Avenue

Looking back at our efforts made so far, we have resolved so many works already. Firstly, we put an end to the genocidal regime of Pol Pot and prevented it from ever returning. We had dissolved political and military organizations of Pol Pot. Secondly, we have sought to establish peace and to end the war through the win-win policy, which allowed us to commence national development in every field. I would take this chance to affirm to Samdech Pichey Sena Tia Banh that the Municipality of Phnom Penh has requested that we name the road and bridge connecting national road 5 to national road 4 that we purchase them back from Oknha Lyong Phat as the Win-Win Avenue. We only give this name to the avenue and we will keep the bridge name as it is [...]

Women Empowered Economically

... There is one special point that I think the Ministry of Women's Affairs who is overseeing gender issue will look into indicators that monitor role of women as this meeting of the Women's Council, for which HM the Queen Mother is the honorary President and I am its honorary Vice President. We should look into strengthening roles of women in field of economy. As you can see, the majority of workers in factories are female. This has clearly indicated that women are economically empowered. Men must get themselves ready. They cannot depend on their wives and do not help women with household works. [...]

Independence, Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity Bring Cambodia's Development

We have reached this point because our country has ensured peace, sovereignty, territorial integrity. We have independence in politics. However, we find it impossible to imagine of some people to bow and act unconstitutionally for foreign domination. I said it was lucky that we uncovered such treacherous acts. Should we miss it, at this very moment our country could have been in destruction. They have figured it out to take me out on 29 December 2013. Should I have known about that then, something else could have happened. War would have been a reality [...]

... (Some countries) should not try to come to Asia [...] why would they appeal to the armed forces to turn their weapons against (the legal) Royal Government? Why would they give an ultimatum to bring down (the legal) Royal Government? Is that not a treacherous act? Even in the US, three people have been arrested from charges of conspiring with Russia on elections. As of this day, President Donald Trump is not yet a fully recognized President in eyes of some people [...] when we arrest persons colluded with foreign powers to topple (the legal) Royal Government, was it not our right?

...In the case of Cambodia, a VDO clip has shown and the person has made it clear that they were imitating (what was happening in Cambodia then) after what happened in Serbia and Yugoslavia. "I did not do it on my own," the person affirmed. He went on to brag about so and son sending so and so professors to help them. As leaders of Cambodia, everyone must take an oath that the former King Father wrote it himself that in one of its important point we must not allow foreigners to order us in domestic and foreign policies. Why when Cambodia adheres to this and they said it is not right? However, not everyone said so. I have the news from Nay Pyi Taw where the Asia-Europe meeting took place that many countries took different position on the matter. Many who give weight to their independence and sov-

ereignty have given us justice and supported legal actions that we have taken to ensure peace, stability, and development.

FUNCINPEC, Other Parties, and NGO to Fill NEC Positions

...We will continue our elections as scheduled. We will need to fill in three positions in National Elections Committee (NEC). Should there be a possibility to choose candidates to fill in the left positions, I think that the ruling party should not get involved in this. Funcinpec should get one and should hold the post of Vice President. The Cambodian Nationality Party, which will have two seats, should be entitled to one too. The remaining one of the three left positions (that the CNRP candidates resigned) should go to someone in NGOs. That is just my suggestion because I also have right to vote in the National Assembly [...] the Senate elections will take place on 25 February and the national elections will take place on 29 July. There is no requirement as to whether there will or will not be foreign observers.

It is not the case that only in presence of observers should the elections be legitimate. No Constitution in any country in this world requires that there is a need for a signature from so and so President of so and so country, or even the UN Secretary General, to make the elections legal. I doubt if it is not a case of losing both fish and hare. (The court ordered) dissolution of a party and only 118 of their senior officials banned from political activities (for five year). What happened to the rest thousands of them? Why they do not set up a new party and contest in the elections? Should they later demand to get back into NEC, I insisted that HE Sik Bunhok should not allow.

Hun Sen Bows Only to the People of Cambodia

I wish to reaffirm that determined factors for a country does not lie in foreign power. As a country, we need to have equal

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Vocational Training HE Ith Sam Heng just reminded us about the bitter past of war in this area of Prek Tamak and Vihear Suor, a part of Phnom Penh surrounding area [...] it was a fierce battle area since after the coup in 1970 through to April 1975. There were numerous heavy fighting.

It is almost unbelievable that in present day Cambodia, such battlefield has become a developed economic zone that provides jobs for nearly 20,000 people. With forthcoming investors, more will find jobs here. This has proven to you that after the liberation on 7 January 1979, the government put out visions of such transformation. We also have goal to transform border areas with neighboring countries into ones of peace, friendship, cooperation, and development [...]

Many Visions to Implement

Another point to talk about is that though we set out so many visions, we had not been able to implement them all for our people. Until fourteen years later, we have realized them. I may bring up the past a bit for you and/or for our people in the whole country to think about what I am talking. One day, at the Prey Bang Buddhist pagoda, a distance further from Vihear Suor, presiding over a groundbreaking ceremony to build a bridge in March 2003, I slipped my tongue saying that if I were to continue to be Prime Minister, I would make effort to build the national road 8 [...]

In those days, former Minister of Economy and Finance HE Keat Chhon and current Minister of Economy and Finance, HE Aun Pommoniroth, and I had a discussion. We decided to use our available local resource to build the national road 8 in gradual steps, with a vision to build also the bridge at Prek Tamak. It was fortunate that improvement and elevation of relations between Cambodia and China had brought about a possibility to build also the national road 8 [...] it would not be a solution if we only had a

bridge and did not have a road.

In that case, who would come and invest in 7NG area? I am sure you have seen and remembered this. Everything happens because of a real vision and plan. We have a roadmap of transformation that covers every former battlefield into markets and development areas. A bridge spanning over one kilometer across the Mekong at Prek Tamak allows our people to travel with having to take a ferry anymore. You do not pay anymore. More importantly, you can cross the river anytime you need. In 1990, I composed a lyrics “a Golden Bridge Gift of Preah Kunlong.” Only the song is left with us. The former bridge built in replacement of a boat ferry at Preah Kunlong along the national road 8 is no more [...]

Dissemination of Factories to Local Areas

It was in 1999, 18 years ago, that we took the initiative in a Royal Government-private sector meeting to disseminate factories to local areas or provinces to avoid concentration of factories in Phnom Penh to meet the need for labor. We disseminate schools close to students in the past and our people have indeed benefited from that policy. Nowadays, there could be more than one junior-level secondary schools in one commune [...] we have stepped into this phase of sending factories to local area to address the need for jobs for our people and for labor for the factories [...] Where have these come from? They are not coming from the opposition parties. They come from correct leadership with long-term vision of the Cambodian People’s Party. I am taking this opportune moment to express my sincere appreciation to your grandparents and parents for supporting my premiership [...]

ASEAN Agrees to Protect Migrant Workers

Let me stress that the recent ASEAN Summit had made a special point in protecting migrant workers within the ASEAN region. It is such an

important issue. As of this moment, our people may find jobs not only in the country but also in other countries. We have the need, however, to create more jobs for our people to reduce influx of migrant workers into Cambodia. We also need to find external job markets for our people like in Thailand or Malaysia. I am sure you all are happy with such outcome that we the ASEAN ten countries have achieved in the recent summit.

I had met and talked with Excellency Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar that has over two million workers in Thailand. Those Myanmar workers who earn between 250 USD and 300 USD could not go back to their country for jobs that would pay them only 79 USD or less than 100 USD [...] as of this moment, our workers have had their income increasing. We are having an increasing number of workers now. Disseminating factories to local area along national road 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 does not happen without a vision and planning [...] for staying at home, those of you working in this area have saved because you have lesser expenses than those living and working in Phnom Penh [...]

Keeping Peace for Development

For what we need to do, primarily we must work together to keep our hard-won peace. Without peace, there would not be development. Without development, we also cannot keep peace. Our people have obligations to defend peace, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Some of you may have listened to my speech addressing to the US President, H.E. Donald Trump [...] what I said was to protect our nation. We do not want to be under any foreign domination. We, Cambodia, would not stand to have foreign interference in our affairs. I am calling on our compatriots to raise high our spirits of nationalism, independence, safeguarding sovereignty, and territorial integrity. We must not bow in exchange for little gifts. We went through unjust punish-

ment from outside world. Bowing to no one (for pressure) is our honor. I expect that our people – young and old, male and female, and every stratum, agree with me on giving a value to our sovereignty.

Asking US to Turn Debt to Development Assistance

We must hold on to our position that there must be no foreign interference into our affairs, which for this reason in the past had brought us disaster. I have asked the United States of America to turn the Lon Nol’s debt to the US into development assistance for Cambodia. In my words, I compared this debt payment scenario to a fact that we had to pay for a hammer that they used to hammer us. I hope that President Donald Trump heard it loud and clear. As the meeting closed, I hold his hands and said – “I am sort to raise this issue.” He said to me – “No problem. Thank You.”

I take it to mean that he heard the voice of a small and poor nation clearly. Some analysts rebuked this by saying that Donald Trump was uninterested [...] No matter what they said, I have taken pride in speaking my mind to a super power nation. We wish not to bow and be a puppet of anyone country. We would not do that just to win your assistance. We are after equal rights and footing [...] I just had a look at my phone – not checking Facebook, but responded to request for decision in the course of voting at the United Nations on humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. We are abiding by the principle of non-interference [...] It is our self-determination. This has shown that we are an independent and sovereign state in both domestic and foreign policy.

Considering Humanitarian Assistance to the Philippines and Myanmar

Peace is of utmost value. The past (mistakes) had killed us with wars, the genocide, absence of development, and sys-

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Facebook Live Address in CNRP Leaders

(08 November 2017 — Unofficial Translation)

Today I have the need to clarify some issues concerning the latest effort by some CNRP leaders, who, at about 3:57am, issued an email to leaders of other leaders in an attempt to prevent outflow of people from CNRP, which is approaching its state of dissolution. [...]

They have been trying to convince them that their party is not going to be dissolved. The chief traitor Sam Rainsy also said that Hun Sen will surrender and people inside have been spreading doubt if the party is meeting its dissolution why has Hun Sen appealed for communal, district and provincial councilors to join CPP?

I must clarify that it is my pure intention for you who have people's votes and know nothing about treacherous acts of the party's leaders to come out clean. I wish that you understand there would be no need for me to blackmail anyone like what they had said out there. I may give you a question to think about – if CNRP is not going to dissolve, why should I call on you to consider leaving and joining CPP to continue serving the people [...]

(The fact that I have made such appeal) is because of understanding that you, at the party junior level, had no knowledge of what the party's leaders had done to inflict destruction to our nation, and that you should have a chance to grab to stay on in your elected positions while the party is dissolving.

I am sure when you participated in the communal, district and/or provincial councilors elections because you all wanted to serve the people. Eventually, the Cambodian People's Party, with me as its President, and in my capacity of Prime Minister, I am giving you this chance when you are leaving CNRP before its dissolution.

Upon its dissolution, CNRP votes will rearrange among other parties competed in communes. In some communes, there were only two contested

parties, in which case, the Cambodian People's Party will be entitled to those seats.

For communes that there were more than two contested parties, the seats reallocation will be done accordingly [...] in any instances, the Cambodian People's Party will receive an overwhelming number of seats still. It is in this situation that a chance has come for you to leave CNRP to join CPP, who will rearrange the list of commune councilors, leaders, and assistant. This time they will be commune councilors, heads, and assistants coming from the Cambodian People's Party. CNRP has twelve more days before its dissolution date – 16 November 2017, issued by the Supreme Court.

... *Certain persons have tried to prevent such outflow telling people that the Cambodian People's Party, the Supreme Court, and the Royal Government of Hun Sen would not dare to enact it.* I wish to clarify that though I am not in control of the judicial power, as Prime Minister I have known about the case filed in court by the Ministry of Interior. It will not be over with just dissolving a party. There will be over one hundred people prohibited from political rights for five years. Lawyers of the Ministry of Interior demand that members of permanent commission and board of directors would face this political rights prohibition.

In this meaning, almost everyone in the board of directors will lose their political rights for five years. I wish that you paid attention on this point. There are some members of the National Assembly coming to CPP though it would not be accepting any of the CNRP's 55 seats. Other parties would. As far as I know, two political parties will not accept those seats. If they abandoned them, CPP would accept the abandoned seats. In that case, CNRP members of the National Assembly who join CPP would be able to re-

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right and footing cooperation. We need to be friend with every country in the world but not for them to boss us. The real boss of the Royal Government of Cambodia or the Cambodian People's Party is the people. I myself as well as the Cambodian People's Party would not bow our heads for foreign domination [...] that is why I am saying though you do not give us money to organize elections, our elections will also happen. As the situation evolves, NEC has recorded some nine millions voters. As long as these voters go to vote, things will be fine. Should there be protests, the NEC would resolve. Matters NEC cannot attend to will go to Constitutional Council, whose decision will block all protests. NEC will then declare officially the elections results and candidates elected [...]

What remained to be done is for HM the King to convene the first session of the National Assembly and signed a royal decree to appoint Prime Minister and the Cabinet for which the National Assembly will have to approve. That is it. There is no need for so and/or so to recognize it. The people of Cambodia have already fulfilled their tasks because they are not running away from factories [...]

We must continue and make further efforts to keep peace and political stability. They are important. Our people should remember that democracy and human rights would have their place only in a country of peace. They have no place in a country of war. You are lucky that your births were not at the time of bombings but you may ask your parents and/or grandparents about that.

Five Things Underway for Cambodian Emigrant Workers

For workers abroad, I wish to send this message for a second time. The Royal Government is doing five things for you working and living abroad. *Firstly, the Royal Government will implement the ASEAN declara-*

tion on defense and empowerment of rights of emigrant workers to help workers in foreign countries guarantee their legal benefits and interests [...] we are putting together a centre to provide travel documents and worker's pass in Phnom Penh, and a number of countries like Battambang, Banteay Meanjey, etc. [...]

Secondly, we are working with partner countries to ensure mutual recognition of skills. For instance, between Cambodia and Thailand we have ensured mutual recognition for those specialized in construction such as bricklaying and electricity [...]

Thirdly, we are cooperating with countries in ASEAN to ensure cooperation on social security regime. In Thailand, our workers will receive insurances from work related accidents and health as well. In the Republic of Korea, Cambodian workers will receive insurances for work related accidents, health, life and air ticket to return home [...]

Fourthly, we are working in ASEAN to implement social security regime for workers to transfer their memberships, seniorities, and fee of social security savings from one country to another after they terminated their working contract. It will be used to calculate their retirement payments. Cambodian workers abroad will receive their rations as those working in the country too starting from 2019 [...]

Fifthly, we are readjusting formality for workers to work abroad so that they can transfer their rights to their next of kin in the country to provide related papers of identifications so that they would not have to return home to do that. Particularly, for those working in Thailand, they can use their legally approved photocopied papers for formality processing [...]

Let Us Keep What We Have in Hands

... We must continue to make efforts altogether. We must

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Meeting 44th SSEAYO-2017 Delegation

(11 November 2017 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

... Once again, please allow me to express warm welcome to everyone of you who have come to visit Cambodia. I wish to express my sincere sympathy to youth delegation from the Socialist of Vietnam for a disaster caused (by a typhoon) loss of nearly a hundred lives. There are still victims went missing while the country is hosting a big APEC meeting, and APEC-ASEAN dialogue for the first time. Before my departure to join those meetings, I have made it my obligation to meet all 29 Cambodian delegations of SSEAYP 2017. As usual, since 2000, I always offered a meeting for the Cambodian delegation to meet me and shared with them what I thought would be useful for them [...]

A Correct Vision of former Japanese and ASEAN Leaders

We must bow in respect of visions of former leaders of Japan from over 40 years ago for setting up this youth relation and exchange with this Ship for Southeast Asian and Japanese youth. It has come to its 44th generation now. It is a long-term vision and it deserves respect. Though regional and world situation were not certain in those days, those generations of leaders of Japan, from one political party to another, always adhere to this vision through to today. Please allow us to give our high evaluation and respect for the vision and those leaders [...]

The vision has based on a fact that there were two, or even three factions, under one ASEAN roof – the five existing ASEAN nations, and the three Indochinese countries, which were still at war. In those days, Brunei was not yet an independent nation. Myanmar was also on a different page. Leaders of ASEAN in those days set out through a realistic vision for an association of nations in Southeast Asia. It was beyond imagination. Countries, formerly in confrontation, especially Indo-

china and ASEAN, in the times of Indochinese war and the later of confrontation and reconciliation in the 1980s, where Cambodia was at the forefront and last battle of war in the region, have made themselves all under one ASEAN roof now.

Grateful to Leaders for Respecting Central Role of ASEAN

I am so happy and highly evaluate the vision of the founding fathers of ASEAN [...] Southeast Asia has now become a unified body and a centre of coordination in the region. Take for instance, East Asia. [...] The ASEAN rotating chair-country is also chairing the East Asian Summit [...] This has shown the central role that ASEAN has played and respects that countries in the world offered to ASEAN. The ASEAN summit is to take place on 12 November in the Philippines [...] Cambodia, because of its difficulties in the past, had become the last one in the region to join ASEAN in 1999. However, Cambodia hosted ASEAN Summits twice already – in 2002 and again in 2012. We will definitely host the ASEAN Summit again in 2022 [...]

Four Basic Reasons for Cambodia Joining ASEAN

... What are the four factors that brought Cambodia into ASEAN? [...] I am talking only about the case of Cambodia. There are four factors as followed:

Firstly, there is this principle of non-interference in internal affairs of one another. This is important and I think that countries in the world, members of ASEAN included, see this as their requirements too [...]

Secondly, there is this spirit of community. We work on consensus principle. It is a huge point here. It offers us a chance to implement this principle of equal right and footing. In ASEAN, we do not have big brother. It is unlike in other

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regularly national and sub-national elections.

Based upon these developments, the Supreme Court has delivered its decision to dissolve CNRP and forbid their leaders from political activities in accordance with rule of law. On behalf of the executive body, the Royal Government declares its support for the decision taken by the Supreme Court, which will guarantee continued safeguarding of lasting peace, stability, independence, sovereignty, and continued sustainable and equitable socio-economic development.

It is in this respect, the Royal Government appeals to our compatriots to exercise calm and participate in implementing the Supreme Court's decision to continue safeguarding peace, political stability, security, social order, and rule of law in Cambodia. At the same time, the Royal Government continues its determination in defending process of liberal pluralism, democracy, and rule of law in conformity with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The forthcoming elections will proceed under organization by the National Elections Committee, which is an independent institution. The Senate elections will take place on 25 February 2018, and the general elections will take place on 29 July 2018.

Everyone knows there are not only two political parties in Cambodia. We have dozens of them. In absence of one political party, many more parties will contest in those elections. Though CNRP is dissolved, its former members and activists, except a number of their leaders prohibited by court from five-year political activities, will continue to have full rights according to the Constitution. You can either create a new political party or join with anyone party you may wish to. We are delivering here our appreciation and thanks for members and senior officials of the CNRP in the National Assembly, the municipal councils, provincial, district, commune councillors, activists, who have decided to join with

the Cambodian People's Party to guarantee unity and solidarity to serve better our people in the local areas.

Taking this opportunity, I keep my appeal open for commune, provincial, district councillors (of CNRP) in the whole country to make their decisions in the remaining time of two weeks after the dissolution of CNRP and redistribution of its seats. Should you wish to participate in and continue to work as commune heads, assistants, commune, district, provincial, and/or municipal councillors, you are still welcome.

As President of the Cambodian People's Party, I seek understanding from President of the CPP committees at municipal, provincial, district, and commune levels to organize and facilitate those people's participations and reinstatements of their positions. This is to offer you chances to serve people under the umbrella of the Cambodian People's Party. You may not see this facilitation as attempt to purchase (you). We have not gotten money to do so. We just wish to offer you chances to continue working and serving people.

On 3 November, while we were organizing water festival, I also said from here about the same issue. Some had rebuked me and assured that there would be no dissolution of CNRP. The time has come. The Supreme Court decision allows no protest. There is no more CNRP in Cambodia. My appeal in this moment is to offer chances to those elected junior officials to continue to serve people as they may wish to. This is not to seek to purchase you or your ideals. When you cannot even save yourselves, how could you save the party? You need to save yourselves to help serve people. That is what you have wanted to do, is not it?

I have the information that some commune councillors have hidden themselves in various places. Please do not feel concerned. I also urge those of you who may not wish to join

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(Continued from page 5 A) region that they otherwise do. In ASEAN, we have democracy and I am proud of it. No one think that Indonesia is a bigger nation with the most population should lead or Singapore with the biggest income should lead. We follow a principle of consensus and have mutual respect [...] that is the very good point of ASEAN.

I may send a message to anyone who would become leaders in ASEAN countries, no matter at what level they may be, not to amend the Constitution, which embodies the consensus principle. Should they change it to base their decision on voting, they would face division [...] In Cebu, the Philippines, we did many discussions and found out that we have no other way to follow the consensus principle, which would guarantee ASEAN free from division. That is what I am talking about spirit of community. We guarantee there would be continued equal right and footing for every member state.

Thirdly, it is for Cambodia's socio-economic development. Singapore, while hosting the ASEAN summit in 2000, proposed the ASEAN integration initiative to reduce gap between existing members and those new member states. We are now in its third stage [...]

Fourthly, it gives Cambodia a diplomatic option. ASEAN has so many partners ranging from European Union to other "Plus Three" countries. While becoming ASEAN member, automatically, a country has partnering relation with other countries who are partners of ASEAN. Among ASEAN nations, only Indonesia is a member of G20 countries but whole G20 convened its meeting, an ASEAN rotating chair-country will also represent others in that meeting.

It is for the first time now that Vietnam proposed an initiative to convene a consultative meeting to create a dialogue between ASEAN and APEC, as three countries of ASEAN – Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, have not been members of APEC

yet. I am calling on APEC today to accept the three countries since they have already hold observers statuses already [...]

Japan Contributes to Reducing ASEAN Members Gap

Let me also affirm that beside the above roles, Japan also did so many things to help in contribution for the gap reduction in the forum of Japan and three countries Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam or Japan-CLV. Now, we also have a mechanism between Japan and the Mekong nations, the first meeting of which was in 2015. This year, we will have such a meeting in Manila right away. The forum offers chance for Cambodia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand to reap opportunity for further development [...]

Prime Minister for Thirty Years by People's Supports

I am able to sit here for thirty plus year not because of guns or dictatorship. The most brutal dictator Pol Pot survived only three years, eight months and twenty days. As for Hun Sen, including also foreign minister posting, has held power for 39 years, not because of arms but because of people's supports. We are determined to process of democracy. We are seeking other countries not to interfere in our country's internal affairs. We know who we are.

We will launch the Senate elections on 25 February 2018. We will organize the general elections on 29 July 2018, with or without helps from outside. Our law obliges us to carry them through and as long as the Cambodian people recognize it, it is good enough for the country. The National Elections Committee (NEC) will declare provisional result. Then the Constitutional Council will sort out the remaining issues.

NEC will pronounce the final decisions. HM the King will convene the first session of the National Assembly. All will be fine and over. It is within the power of our country. No other Constitution or laws from other country matter here .../■

(Continued from page 5 B) the Cambodian People's Party to sort out your remaining affairs – like stamp and/or concerned financial issues. I am telling you this because leaving without resolving these issues would lead to incriminate you in other cases concerning dereliction of responsibilities and/or state properties at local areas.

I wish to reassert that we are not after you. What happened are leaders' wrongdoings. Their mistakes have brought about punishment, and also dissolution of a political party. That has also resulted in dangers and loss of jobs for you at the junior levels. I just wanted you to continue your works. You may not want to sell your ideals and we have no need to buy them. I just warn you not to try to create more crimes through illegal activities of any kinds. I hope that our people continue to keep calm to continue to do whatever is necessary for your livelihood, your family, and cultivation. We are determined to continue with democracy and liberal pluralism with the Senate elections and the general elections are on the way.

We also seek to inform our foreign and international friends that we are implementing our country's law. No matter whatever may happen, we hope that some of them would not resort to conduct actions they did in the past to support Lon Nol and to bring down Preah Norodom Sihanouk, leaving Cambodia in disaster. They had at a later stage continued to give supports at the United Nations to the Khmer Rouge, who did us further destructions. I hope that they would not repeat what happened in the past. The Cambodian people are aware and wise enough to exercise responsible self-determination in its affairs for the country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, security, peace, political stability, social order, and development.

We hope that our beloved people who have joined the Cambodian People's Party in the past 40 years will benefit from continued peace and political

stability. Once again, I may take this opportune moment to appeal to our people to continue to do their daily works and keep calm, while refraining from illegal actions. I am calling on leaders, members of CNRP, whom the Supreme Court's decision does not prohibit from political rights to continue to carry out their political actions either by affiliating with the Cambodian People's Party, or to join other parties, and/or to create a new political party as they wish. This is space of freedom, freedom of expression and democratic process in Cambodia. There is no restriction. Restriction and court procedure are for illegal actions, including those treacherous acts. I thank our Buddhist monks and compatriots very much for your attention./■

(Continued from page 4) turn to their seats as members of the National Assembly from the Cambodian People's Party, not CNRP anymore.

Those who join CPP will be free from political rights prohibition for five years and continue to serve the people from their elected seats. I wish to stress that the Cambodian People's Party and I, who have served this country and people in my whole life, and secured success of the win-win policy, I would not wish to see those of you who have no knowledge of what the party leaders had done to lose (what you have.) It seems that are rifts among them and they accuse one another – like Mao Munnivan and even Pol Ham – to have worked for Hun Sen to a party coup [...] I do not want to see you suffer because of treacherous acts of leaders and I wanted all of you to have chances of serving the people. If you, however, believe what your party leaders said, you may go on with what you believe in [...]

Two types of urban guerilla will not stand a chance of forgiveness. They have carried out color revolution and they have done it times and times again. Though they have failed, they are still working on it. We will not give them a chance [...] I

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Meeting Workers at Jamka Daung Area

(08 November 2017 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

A Source of Encouragement

Allow me to express my appreciation to your presence today and to thank you for your warm hospitality, which has been a source of encouragement to me. It has also confirmed that you have known me very well and have a good understanding of what and how much that your parents and grandparents have come through until you came along. I am so encouraged that you have given me love and considered me as one of your relatives. Today we are meeting again after the celebration of many festivities – Pjum Ben, water festival, and tomorrow, we will celebrate the 9 November National Independence Day. On this occasion, I wish those who are born on November 8 and 9 peaceful life, and progress [...]

The day after tomorrow, I will have to leave our country to participate in the ASEAN-APEC dialogue meeting at Da Nang, Vietnam. I would then proceed to the ASEAN Summit and other related meetings in Manila, the Philippines. As of this moment, I have checked only one speech to deliver at Da Nang and I still have more to go through for concerned summits and meetings in Manila. However, I am taking my time to come see all 15,167 of you who are from twenty factories, in which there are 367 female workers in pregnancy.

Grieves over Loss of Lives in Terror in US and by Typhoon Damrey in Vietnam

We are living here in a real Cambodia. This is not a fake Cambodia that papers wrote about political crisis. Millions of people living in the country do not have problem. Only political guerilla, and those involved in drugs and armed robbers are worried (of what they had done) ... Taking this time, we are expressing our grief over the deaths of those killed in a terrorist attack in New York and shooting in Texas state ... We are sharing this grief with the

US administration of President Donald Trump.

We also join the government and people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for 61 lives lost and 21 persons missing over the course of typhoon Damrey. I was also concerned on the last day of our water festival that typhoon Damrey might cause disturbances. Rain came and some concert bands had had to prolong their shows. These have clearly indicated that no place on earth is problem free, and that would include developed ones too. Some countries faced with man-made disasters like what happened in the US and in Vietnam, it was a natural disaster [...]

Four Factors for People to Enjoy Festivities

Our people have been happy with those festivities and in just one month and twenty days, we will celebrate ending of this year and your basic salary will change from 153 USD to 170 USD. While we are waiting for increase of salary, we may think about factors that make our people happy with our annual festivities. Firstly, ***the country is in full peace that people can travel wherever they wish to.*** Day or night our people travel free of fear. Since 1998, our country does not have internal frontiers anymore. Prior to that, divided in four control areas, crossing from one to another would sustain firing upon and in each control area there were mines. From 1998 through to the present, our country has peace and unified territory for the first time in hundreds of years. We all are living under one Constitution, King, Royal Government, and the armed forces [...]

Secondly, ***we have infrastructural connectivity in the whole Kingdom.*** One day before the water festival, on behalf of the Royal Government, I approved purchasing back a nearly two-kilometer long bridge at Koh Kong from the Lyong Phat

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am speaking as a leader who had done this work to dissolve the Khmer Rouge organization and to bring the Khmer Rouge leaders to trial. We did not charge junior level commanders and soldiers and they are working with the Cambodian People's Party presently. Now, we have revealed urban guerilla and their leaders arrested and waited for trial.

I wish to stress that to dissolve the party does not need to wait for trial of individual party leader Kem Sokha. The party will meet its Supreme Court's set date of dissolution. Their message has gone on among their members but whatever they said was not true. As of this time, people are enjoying the festivities of the water festival [...] only those urban guerillas – whether they be CNRP leaders, drug traders, armed robbers, etc, are unhappy and in fear. Our people are not in fear and are instead joyful.

Let me stress that what they confuse you in their message – if the party is meeting its dissolution why has Hun Sen appealed for communal, district and provincial councilors to join CPP? – is wrong. It was because the party will dissolve that I warned you and wish to see you continue to serve the people as councilors in communes, district, and/or provinces of the Cambodian People's Party. It was because of such endless confusion that they have brought their party to this legal state. It was not a job carried out by one man but a systematic involvement of many people. Well, it is now up to you to decide whether you will join CPP or stay as you are, and/or even go to other parties.

1[...] I reaffirm though that I have intention to give you chances, a true ones, and return you to continuing your works at communal, district, and/or provincial levels, or even members of the National Assembly. CNRP Senators are not involved here. However, I wish to tell them that they are fighting over empty crab shells as far as candidates list for the Senate is

concerned [...] It was just an empty crab shell. You have no right anymore to vote under CNRP because there will be no CNRP anymore.

2To continue to be in office and serve people as councilors of communes, districts, and/or provinces, and even members of the National Assembly and the Senate, they may have to seek shelter in CPP to participate in enacting local reforms and state institutions.

3You have time only until 16 November. I would consider any time after that but you should not wait until you have no choices.

4If you are not leaving, or grabbing this chance, you will have to wait another five years and choose a party because there will be no more CNRP. [...] I kept myself informed of the legal case carried out by the Ministry of Interior and I learnt of the lawyers' proposed demand to prohibit political rights for about 112 people in all. The one who spreads message is in that list. It is not thing that happens only in Cambodia. Many countries have done that.

5Let me remind that calling on the US to fire missiles into my house, the army to turn their guns at the Royal Government, and many others under foreign order are in context of such party dissolution in accordance with law ... previously, laws only fine people committed mistakes as an individual. There are also points about cases that a party could face dissolution, or has its name deleted. However, it has now come to the end. There were not one but many involved in the case, and many would face stripping off political rights.

6It is in this understanding that I wish you leave the party and listen to no fools about "Hun Sen dare not carry it through" things that they say out there. If Hun Sen dare not do it, Hun Sen would have Minister of Interior withdraw the case from the court ... Lawyers are ready to demand what are necessary concerning the dissolution of

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Company. People can now use the bridge free of charge. We did the same with the National Road 4, Veng Sreng road, and the bridge of Prek Phnov in Phnom Penh ... It is in this wish to use resource to invest in infrastructural connectivity that I have prolonged organization of SEA Games till 2023. [...] Some misunderstood what I said and confused that Hun Sen would not host 2023 SEA Games. That is not true. We will host SEA Games in 2023 and I hope I will have chance to declare it open [...]

Thirdly, *our people have their means of transportation*. More people have their own cars. In the whole country, we have over half a million cars and over one million motorcycles [...] people could go places either because they have their means of transportation or depend on public transportation [...]

Fourthly, *people have certain income that they could spend for their holidays*. Some may still have short resources, majority of our people travelled between the capital city of Phnom Penh and provinces, and/or to visit tourist destinations [...] people these days stay in four or five star hotel during their holiday [...] more people of Cambodia travelled to neighboring country for tourist and health reasons [...] we also have millions of locally traveling tourists. They cannot be overlooked [...]

Democracy and Human Rights Are Born Not in War

Democracy and human rights are not born in war. Only in peace that democracy and human rights can happen. Let me take this chance to say it. We continue to make efforts to keep peace and are determined to have continued democracy and liberal pluralism. Certain political parties have already abandoned actions in the last ten or twenty years. They did not report of their actions and faced dissolution, In accordance with the current law, based on factual

and legal aspects, those parties will face dissolution. One political party will dissolve for an offense committed against the people of Cambodia. However, while one political party is gone, many parties are still in actions and we are determined to carry through process of democracy, liberal pluralism, in which the Senate elections will happen on 25 February 2018, and National Assembly elections on 29 July 2018.

Do not Murder Democracy and Liberal Pluralism in Cambodia

I may advise those who love "Cambodia more than the Cambodians" to refrain from a reaction to murder democracy and liberal pluralism in Cambodia. Your reaction has been more in a way that you love Cambodia more than we the Cambodians do. While doing so, you should remember that millions of Cambodian died of your intention in the past. I hope that these people will not repeat it. I wish they carefully looked into factual and legal aspects (of concerned cases) in a country that is implementing democracy and rule of law. We allow no democracy the guerilla style. We will continue to have democracy and rule of law together.

Should they overreacted to murder democracy, liberal pluralism, and/or destroy elections in 2018, they would have brought themselves remorse like in the past. I have planned to meet Antonio Guterres, formerly President of Socialist Party of Portugal, and currently Secretary General of the United Nations, in the Philippines. We will talk about funding the trial of the Khmer Rouge. He understands Cambodian situation and knew what sort of punishment this country had to go through. The United Nations then recognized the Khmer Rouge and punished us. Now they support the trial. We just wish to remind some of our friends who usually interfere in other countries' affairs to reconsider their actions carefully. Democracy in

Cambodia will continue. To destroy us is to destroy democracy [...]

Chances of Serving People Offered for To-Be Dissolved Party Members

... No matter what one could be doing, we will have to make sure that the laws of the country will uphold, and will not forgive anyone either in ruling party, civil servants, or armed forces for their wrongdoings. I have appealed to those people (members of the to-be dissolved party) to grab a chance of continuing to work of commune heads or assistants, and/or councilors. They assured their members that the party will not be dissolved [...] they may bet on whether the party will dissolve or not. Those who bet on dissolution will win ... I have kept them chances. However, whether they accept them or not, it would be up to them ... once the party dissolved, nothing will remain [...]

Law on Land Use in Agriculture – Not Necessary

This morning I saw a piece of news about demand of farmers on draft law about land use by the Ministry of Agriculture ... I wish they looked into this issue carefully. If it is not that necessary, leave it. Our major issue now is to arrange for cultivation zoning in accordance with people's wish. Where people have hard time growing rice because of lack of water, we may suggest growing different drops ... We must be reasonable. If there is no real need for it, we shall not waste our time on it ...

I am sending a message to the Minister for Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries to report to me hurriedly ... Sometimes, they sit down and think. Foreigners encourage them to do this or that so there would be a need for drafting laws. They would offer to provide assistance. They spend that money and registered as giving to us ...

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ensure that our country is continuing to exist in peace to guarantee that you will keep everything in your hands. What we have in Cambodia is the constitutional monarchy, and liberal pluralism. No one could infringe upon the revered monarch [...]

There is a clause that forbids amendment to the second point in the Constitution. Firstly, no one can touch on the constitutional monarchy and secondly, do not touch the regime of democracy and liberal pluralism. Our country continues to have multi parties. In time to come, besides keeping peace, we must fulfill our role as citizen in this country of democracy and liberal pluralism to go to vote [...] about nine millions of you have registered to vote. You are free to choose. You have freedom of expression, political actions, and press ./

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tematic destruction. Let us look at what is happening now in Syria, Libya, Iraq, Yemen, or even in Marawi of the Philippines, which is liberated recently from ISIS control. Displaced people have not been able to return yet. We are considering humanitarian assistances partly to the Philippines because displaced people would need food, and partly to the people in the Rakhine state of Myanmar [...] as you can understand, countries in the region have not ended their wars yet [...].

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political party, and stripping off political rights for five years of those in the permanent commission and board of directors. I have no wish to see councilors of communes, districts, and provinces/municipality to suffer because of wrongdoing of their leaders. I wish to give them chances to continue to and to help with the country's construction with the Cambodian People's Party to serve people in communal, district, and provincial levels. Thank you for listening and I wish our compatriots a happy Royal Water Festival./