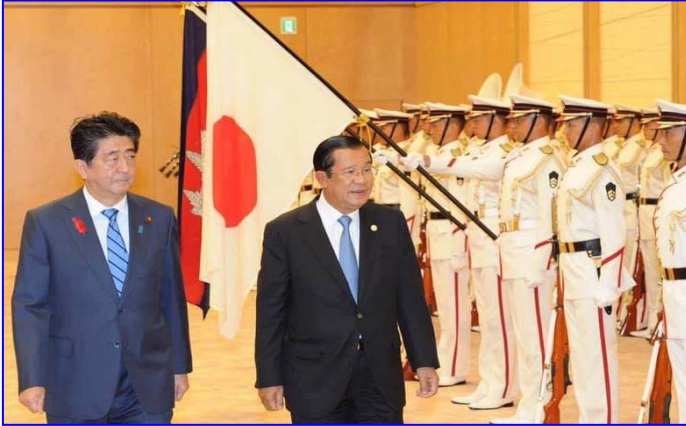


Exposés in Japan, Europe, Turkey

(October 2018 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)



Off-the-Cuff Exposé to Cambodian Students, Citizens Studying, Working, and Living in Japan, 07 October 2018

Japan-Cambodia Relation Makes Gradual Progress

Today, I am so pleased to be able to join with our students and people (who works in Japan) once again. I did this in 2016 with some students too. Some of them may have not yet graduated and there might be some new ones today. What is of great importance is that relation between Cambodia and Japan has been making gradual progress, especially in witness of presence of the Cambodian soldiers in training here. The strategic relation between Cambodia and Japan has been elevated gradually. It started from normal to strategic relation in 2013. That is what we call the elevation of relation which covered in the past only economic, trade, tourism, and culture, and did not yet include security and national defense. That we have our military trainees here indicates progress of relations that Cambodia has with Japan.

Development Triangle Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam Initiative

Stemming from the correct foreign policy of the Royal Government, we have become an im-

portant partner with Japan, among many others, in the framework of bilateral partnership, both bilaterally and in the framework of ASEAN, East Asia, and ASEAN plus Three, ASEAN plus Six formula. We are here for this Japan-Mekong meeting, which has been a forum held for the last tenth years so far. Please allow me to clarify this point so that everyone will understand it. What do we mean first of all by Japan plus development triangle? Some had misinterpreted it to (act of) cutting a piece of Cambodia's land to put together with those from Laos and Vietnam. Well, the opposition always go that far without caring to understand what development we are working on. In fact the development triangle was my initiative. I came up with this idea because we have four poor provinces – Ratanakiri, Mondulakiri, Kratie and Stoeung Treng bordering with the area. On Laos and Vietnam sides, there are also short-resource provinces too. Our idea was to let provinces that are short in resources in the three countries to work together for development. You may know that in the past, to reach some destinations on Cambodian side, we had to travel in parts to Vietnam. The best choice therefore is to have connectivity to transform provinces into one force to seek a part of resource internally,

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Meeting Workers/Employees in Kandal

(31 October 2018 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

Ready for More UN Peace Keeping Missions

We are pondering to send more Cambodian troops for the UN peace keeping missions. I told the Secretary General of the United Nations that Cambodia is ready to commit more troops to whichever country that he/the UN may see it is necessary. Please allow me to take this chance to express my support to the Cambodian troops stationing in Mali that went under attacks from the guerrilla using eight pickup trucks surrounding and two pickup trucks opened suicidal attack into the barrack. It was lucky that no Cambodian troops was harm but two Burkina Faso soldiers died and five wounded. There was a timely mannered intervention. It is always unpredictable for situations in the Central African Republic and Mali. That requires a more responsible follow-up of situation regarding the Cambodian troops in foreign countries [...]

Cambodia to Host ASEM – One Example of Successes

Some have commented that there does seem to be anything from what Hun Sen said the works fulfilled abroad were of successes. I wonder if these people thought that doing this kind of work is like to go fishing and bring fish home for real. They may just think about themselves, how much time they spend to educate themselves. I earned scholarships for our students and we have ascertained international cooperation – politically, economically, and even national defense and security for that matter. When they go about saying that there does not seem to be substantial result, have they asked themselves if Cambodia ever host meeting like ASEM in its history? Is it not a success in Cambodian diplomacy? [...] I do not

want Cambodian children to misconceive or misunderstand because of what they said [...]

The Opposition's "Three No"

We have made efforts to rebuild and build the country but these people have always done three things on Cambodia – (1) tell foreigners to give no assistance; (2) to make no investment and (3) to purchase no goods [...] how far have they gone? Foreigners are not always believing in them because in this world there are mechanisms of international relations [...] some countries may unilaterally declare tax or prevent goods from other countries to flow in, but the World Trade Organization has continued to be an influential institution to resolve problems. Many countries have in general respected the measures taken by WTO to exchange favors in accordance with economic and political conditions of each country [...]

20th Anniversary of Policy to Localize Factories

We are meeting here at Muk Kompoul today, Kandal, where there concentrates so many factories/enterprises [...] 464 of them, and there are 150,000 workers/employees. Annual salary is amount to 372 million USD. There are 170 apparel and shoes factories, employing 137,000 workers at an annual wage of 330 million USD. This is clearly the success of our policy to localize factories closer to people's residences. I declared this policy over 19 years ago. In a few months it will be the 20th anniversary of the policy [...] talking about the four priority vision, this year is the 31st anniversary of the day when I

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and another part externally. Responding to the initiative, we launched a meeting on development triangle – Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1999. The initiative was supported by the former and late Prime Minister Phan Van Khai of Vietnam, and former Prime Minister of Laos HE Sisavath Keobounphanh [...]

Japan-Mekong Meeting Bridges Gap between New and Old ASEAN Members

In ASEAN, we have countries that are founding members and new comers. There was this initiative launched in Singapore in 2000 to bridge the gap between the two. Partnering countries have been providing supports for the ASEAN new member countries that are mostly locating along the Mekong River – Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam. However, Vietnamese economy was almost as developed as that of Thailand. Vietnam is economically proving than among other new members of ASEAN. As I said, when there is effort to assist countries along the Mekong, there is this commonality that helps bridge the gap among countries in ASEAN. This year, the Japan-Mekong mechanism has come to its ten-year anniversary [...]

In January 2018, we hosted in Cambodia the second Mekong-Lancang meeting, whose first meeting held in China. In the next two years, the third Mekong-Lancang meeting will be holding in Laos. We also have this Mekong-Korea forum. However, this forum has only been a cooperation at foreign-ministers level. I have proposed to elevate it to level of head of state and/or government. In principle, the Korean side has agreed to it. We may launch the 20th anniversary of ASEAN-Korea, in which the Mekong-Korea meeting could be held at head of state or government level. We also have this mechanism of lower Mekong countries with the United States of America. The US-Lower Mekong countries initiative has not yet had a summit but we already have a group photo of top leaders, beginning with the first photo session in Phnom Penh, when former President Barack Obama came for the ASEAN Summit. We did not talk about it but took group picture. We fail to make

any progress (while attending the ASEAN Summits) in Brunei, and also in Myanmar. It seemed we had another group photo in Malaysia before President Obama's term ended [...]

Prevention of the “Past Action” in the Paris Peace Agreement

Japan has indeed been involved in the Cambodian peace seeking process for quite a long time. I was in Japan in 1990 for such efforts. In this New Otani Hotel, I conducted negotiation with former vice foreign minister of Japan from dinner time through to 2am. We proposed to include in the Peace Agreement “the prevention of the return of the regime of genocide” [...] this has brought me to my feeling of a time when Pol Pot was a strong faction and nobody was there to stand up against them. I said in one of the peace meetings that the best place for Pol Pot was not in the Supreme Council of Cambodia but the court [...] however, I accepted to back down on an explanation from a former deputy foreign minister, who is now the father in law of the crown prince of Japan – Hisashi Owada, who had also been a judge in the [International Court of Justice](#) (from 2002 until June 7, 2018) [...] He said to me “Pol Pot will however be brought to justice but we would not be able to put it in the agreement because other factions would not sign it.” We then withdrew a step from the genocidal regime to the past action. That this point had come to understanding, we then resumed negotiation [...]

Do not Trade Cambodia and Peace for Assistances

In preventing Cambodia from falling into the past suffering shadow, we had had to make a careful steps. It was in all this frustration that we may have to take out a few in order to save millions. I am not afraid of anything or anyone. The army launched a coup and created war throughout the country causing million deaths, and what would be the point to bring a few to court? It would be better to take away a few who caused the problem, and save peace. Those who committed wrongdoings have to be placed in jail. They created war. I make peace. You all may have remembered that after the elections in 2013, what had actu-

ally happened? It was turmoil. They did all that to seek for the post of National Assembly President. It was just a pretext. They aimed to launch color revolution but they fail to unseat Hun Sen.

It was in fact lucky for them that the VDO clip (of their plot) came late. They had made 29 December their final action. If I were to get hold of the VDO clip earlier, they would have died for it. Who would want to talk about human right violation may come. When they killed millions, why no one talked about it? I were to take action against just a few to save millions, why can I not do it? [...] peace is the one thing you cannot ignore. I keep repeating “do not trade national sovereignty and/or peace for assistances.” Now I think Cambodia is open to whatever actions whoever may wish to take. Cambodia will stand firm with principle of safeguarding national independence and sovereignty. If Cambodia were not able to implement its own law, why could Cambodia continue to be a country?

Human Rights/Democracy – Pretexts to Infiltrate Poor Countries’ Internal Affairs

At the United Nations, human rights and democracy, I said, have been a popular subject for big and rich countries to invade poorer countries. They always make human rights and democracy their endeavors. What have we now about human rights and democracy in Syria, Libya, Iraq, Yemen, etc.? When Cambodia lost millions of lives, did you think about it? Now you may want to do whatever you wish to. (If you) want us to pay tax, fine, we will do it. I said it already, after you kowtow once, you will do it again and again. Cambodia would not have chance to exercise its independence. Let us try to stand up to defend national independence and sovereignty [...]

I came to Japan not to be rebuked by (Prime Minister Shinzo) Abe. I said it before the Japanese. I came here to talk with Abe on cooperation. It would be normal in a conversation that there would be points that we may or may not agree with. That would be absolutely normal since Japan has its own interest and Cambodia does too. Some countries always base their actions on embargo. Punish-

ment is no longer new. The US places punishments throughout the world. They also threatened to do so again on judges of the International Criminal Court who wish to conduct investigations on (alleged American war) crimes. They also review agreements and would decide to withdraw from them should their interests be inflicted [...]

If we Cambodians wish to be independent, we must be brave. I bow to no one. In the past, Cambodia was under political and economic embargo but I bowed to no one. Now, I will do everything I can to keep my people from death. In the past, if I were to bow, the real ones to take power would not be the Sihanoukists or Sonsanists, but the Khmer Rouge. I am of the opinion that politics I have been doing in my whole life was nothing wrong and caused no people to die. Now they have threatened us. They may do as they wish. They said there will be months of procedure to follow [...] just doubt what would be the content of free trade, and their obligations to poor countries? [...]

Cambodian Economic Infrastructure Changes

The Cambodian economic infrastructure has changed. Previously, we had 80% contribution from agriculture and only 20% from industry and service sectors. At present, the Cambodian economy has changed to enjoy only 25% of contribution from agriculture, but 30% from industry and 45% from service sector [...] when we had 80% of agriculture in our economy, we did not have enough food. When we had only 25% of contribution from agriculture, we have a surplus of about six million metric tons of paddy rice [...]

Armed Forces to Safeguard State

I thank our people who study, work and reside in Japan, some of who told their relatives in the country to go to vote. That was a good gesture to contribute to democratic process. Only those who vote would be democratic supporters. Those who persuaded people to stay home are the ones to go against democracy [...] in another instance, what you have done by asking people in the

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country to go to vote, and vote for the Cambodian People's Party, you have taken parts in safeguarding peace and development [...] let me share one thing with you, countries that color revolution were successful were because the armed forces were neutral. I may reiterate here that the armed forces is created for safeguarding the state. There would be no neutrality here. The armed forces can be neutral to every political parties. They will provide them protection equally. However, the armed forces are not neutral when it comes to issue between the state and political parties. They are not established to be neutral when political parties are toppling the state. It was this point that placed them in anger. This had been a reason for their failure of color revolution in 2013. That has also become a matter that they are angry with Hun Sen. No matter what they may do, Hun Sen continues to belong to the people of Cambodia, and Prime Minister Hun Sen continues to lead the country [...]./■

Off-the-Cuff Exposé at the Gathering of More Than a Thousand Cambodians Living, Working, and Studying in Europe, 19 October 18

Cambodia to Host ASEM in 2020 and More

I wish to share with all of you a pride for our nation that in 2020, Cambodia will host the ASEM Summit in Phnom Penh. It is a pride for all of Cambodians. I do not expect those in the opposition to welcome this news because they did not even congratulate our sportsmen/women who won for our nation medals. I would not want Cambodians to be divided. If we continue to be divided, when will Cambodia be a unified nation? I would not want us to paint color on one another. However, I am sure that the Cambodian majority welcome this pleasant news [...] ASEM will comprise of more than 50 countries and it has come now to Cambodia's turn to host the meeting. No one country objects to Cambodia's hosting of the meeting – from senior officials through to Ministerial, and head of state/government levels.

This can be a message to those who have spoken about unlawful

elections and unrecognition of the Royal Government of Cambodia. I wish to affirm all of you that there will be more than 50 countries to gather in Phnom Penh at the invitation of Prime Minister Hun Sen. Who would that be? A guerrilla? It is no one else but the Royal Government of Cambodia led by Prime Minister Hun Sen. I do not like to see Cambodians being fooled by some about international relations. What would a recognition and unrecognition mean? If foreign countries withdraw their embassies and cut off relations after we established the Royal Government, that would mean they do not recognize us. However, if the diplomatic relations continue, it means they will work with us [...] I brought this matter up for the sake of clarification to some who would be subject to such distraction [...] Cambodia would host ASEM in this term. In the next term, as I said I would seek to be elected as Prime Minister for ten more years, I am planning to host the non-aligned movement meeting. In 2022, Cambodia will host the ASEAN Summit and related summits for the third time. In 2023, there will be a general elections and I hope to win again. I will seek to chair the non-aligned movement [...]

Sam Rainsy's Lies on Hun Sen's Government

I am present now in Europe. What would be the so-called "unrecognition of the Royal Government"? When I go to the United Nations, they fooled people that (the United States of) America would not let Hun Sen set his foot on their land. Finally, the US police were there to give me protection. They have to take responsibility to provide protection of leaders in the world who flock to the UN General Assembly [...] secondly, when I set foot in the US, they said the UN would suspend the Cambodian UN Seat. I heard that and I said out loud who had his "big liver" to suspend the Cambodian seat? They heard my reaction and they said the UN would not suspend the seat but would not let Hun Sen sit on it. I did sit in it. They continued to fool people that in the UNGA, Hun Sen was rebuked. I then tell them to check in every single speech of the nearly 200 countries. Even for this ASEM meeting, the only word about Cambodia appears only

about hosting the ASEM summit in 2020 [...] failing to convince the public, they then talked about running a mass demonstration [...]

No Talk with Hun Sen – You Got It

They now said that they no longer talk to Hun Sen. I am asking people to record this and he should also note it. I wish the press to also keep this. He said that he will not talk or negotiate with the Royal Government of Hun Sen. He just wrote in his WhatsApp account to ask Japan to intervene for a negotiation with Hun Sen. Why did he forget? You should not ask me for talk or negotiation. If you do, swear it you will be struck by lightning. What is fearsome to anyone is when someone (in opposition) asks for a negotiation. If the other party denies, they would be seen as lacking of will [...] you got it now. You close the door on yourself. I have said it already that should I pardon you for the third time, I would not hold my hand to my body.

Sometimes I had to question where would the virtue of a leader be? Let me address him by name. I always give my appreciation to Sam Rainsy's children. I never had a slight thought that he would open attack on my children. I met all but one daughter of Sam Rainsy who could not take on a flight for her pregnancy. I gave them my praise. Sam Rainsy attacked my children on his Facebook page. If we fathers could not adjust to one another, why can we not let our children to have better regard of each other? [...] I do not wish Cambodians to keep sin and continue divisiveness through dynasty or generation. We have the will but we cannot do it alone [...]

Economy to Reach 7.2% Growth

The most important job of the new Royal Government is to keep political and macroeconomic stability. They are the most critical issues of every country. We are to realize political and economic stability. This year, the Cambodian economy is poised to reach 7.2% growth, a rate that major financial institutions considered number one in the Asia Pacific region. Vietnam came second at a growth rate of 6.8% [...] we will try to keep inflation

rate at 2.8% and the Cabinet will study and approve the budget law. I will leave Geneva on 24 October and will reach Phnom Penh on 25 October. We will have the budget meeting on 26 October [...] should we realize the growth at 7.2%, the macroeconomic framework, we would continue to place our goal of reaching a growth of 7%, with inflation rate below 5%, and an exchange rate at 4050 Riel to 1 USD. We must make efforts. Our workers who in 2017 earned minimum salary at 153 USD/month have in 2018 earned 170 USD, and in 2019, will earn 182 USD. The salary of the civil servants and the armed forces will also go up [...]

Disequilibrium – Then and Now

I have said it somewhere about disequilibrium. In the past ten or twenty years, we used to draw some disequilibrium between demand and supply. We had this issue of population growth and lack of food issue. Now, the disequilibrium is reversing. Our population has grown to about 16 million, and we have left a surplus of nearly 6 million ton of rice. We are looking for market to export our rice to. We also had disequilibrium between transportation means and people's need for traveling. Now, the disequilibrium is between too many transport means and lack of roads [...]

EBA – Will Lose It Sooner or Later

Let us figure out about "Everything but Arms – EBA," where is the problem now? I just wish for you to see if anyone has lost their jobs or incomes yet? No one has suffered it. Everything is still intact. However, it has become an issue that some have used it as tool for psychological war. In ASEAN, let me tell you, only three countries have access to EBA – Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam – not all ten countries. Myanmar also has problem but it is still exporting. As for Laos, a one-party country, also continues to export to Europe, only in small quantity. Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, etc. do not enjoy EBA because their growing economies. In this instance, let me ascertain to you that sooner or later,

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Cambodia will also lose this accession.

Concessional Interest Loans; Keep Ceiling Low

Take for instance, interest rate, when our economy is growing to a certified level, we would not be able to ask for loan at concessional but commercial interest rate [...] based on our economic growth, some opinionated that we should not be afraid of going for loans at commercial rate. I disagree. Cambodia has not had this ability to borrow commercial loan yet. Some has also suggested that we may up our loan ceiling to 40% of GDP. So far our loan ceiling is somewhere at 23%, including the debts from previous times to the US and former Soviet Union. We must always focus on how capable are we to pay those loans. It is in this notion that I have asked people to save up and generated hundreds of millions of USD in surplus for investments. We cannot ask for loans to fix roads or to relieve some natural disasters. We are working to streamline incoming and outspending on our budget, after which we are able to increase salary for civil servants and armed forces, and to invest on infrastructures [...]

Your Cares and Affections – Encouraging More Efforts

I understand that you are tired from travelling and waiting. However, I may be the one who is the most exhausted after all. I have not had anything in my stomach yet. I am so moved to and appreciating your affection reserved for me. It is a great source of encouragement for me to make further efforts back in the country [...] some of you traveled to Cambodia to vote and some sent messages to relatives telling them to go to vote. You have fulfilled obligation as people who love democracy and exercised it through your voting rights. The ones who voted are the ones that support democracy. That you say or do otherwise, you are against democracy. Over 83% of registered voters exercised their rights was not a joke. Firstly, I thank you all for your share to keep democracy going in the Kingdom of Cambodia. Secondly, you have made correct decision to vote for peace and development. That you chose the

Cambodian People's Party, you have voted for yourselves. More so, you have been paying back your respects to sacrifices made by your grandparents, parents, etc. [...]

Always Comparing Himself to Someone

There is one other thing that I should be sharing. I do not see him talking about making Aung San Suu Kyi his partner anymore. The other day he wrote Hun Sen was shocked to see that three Presidents of South Korea were jailed [...] he then compared (me) to Najib (Razak) in Malaysia. Previously, when Aung San Suu Kyi made a political headway, he quickly likened himself to her. Now that there is this problem of genocide (concerning the Rohingya) he dare not make her his model [...] this man should feel ashamed of his words and actions. Once again, I give you – our compatriots and Buddhist monks, my great thanks for coming and listening to my updates of political and economic developments of Cambodia [...] I wish you all the five Buddhist blessings./☐

Off-the-Cuff Expose to Cambodian Youth and Students Studying in Turkey, 21 October 18

Cambodia-Turkey Relation Is 24 Years Old – 1994-2018

I have a great pleasure to be able to meet with you all who are pursuing your studies in the Republic of Turkey. As I have said on various occasions, I would leave out other programs to keep my meeting with Cambodian laborers working and students studying in foreign countries. Wherever my trip takes me, I will take my time to meet our students and people studying and/or living in those countries. Today, it is considered an historic occasion for us to meet in Turkey. Firstly, I must say that it is the first time that we exchange this high-level delegation in the course of the past 24-years established relations in 1994. Next year, we will celebrate the 25th anniversary of diplomatic relation between the two countries. At this moment, Prime Minister Hun Sen is conducting an official visit to Turkey after the preparatory visit concluded by HE Prak So Khonn, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

To Open Embassy in Ankara, Turkey

Next year, in the course of celebrating the 25th anniversary of the diplomatic relation between Cambodia and Turkey, we will also celebrate the opening of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia in Ankara. We are reviewing our search for building to be used as the embassy. In some cases, there is this option to lease some buildings for that purpose. However, with capable financial resource, it is better to buy one. This should also be a sign that (Cambodia is) committed to a deep-rooted relation [...] to purchase land and/or building for embassy, it is going to be property of Cambodia in foreign countries. It is a kind of saving too. I have told Deputy Prime Minister Prak Sokhonn and Deputy Prime Minister Aun Pormoniroth to discuss on this matter and consider purchasing a building to prepare for opening of the embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia next year [...]

Cambodians Studying in Turkey to Work in the Cambodian Embassy

Through the past 24 years (diplomatic) relation, we have scored number of students studying in Turkey. Since Turkey is in a good position to offer chance for education, I brought this issue up with former Prime Minister of Turkey and presently the Speaker [...] about the future relation between the two countries. I told him that we may find some Cambodia students studying in Turkey to work in the Cambodian embassy. The process is however going through taking exams in order to become a public function official in the field of diplomacy. It would be a plus if some of you who may have interests in this opportunity to direct your study to international relations to have a better chance [...] since working as a diplomat would be working with various foreign embassies, it is an obligation to master not only Turkish but one other language, such as English. You could learn more [...]

Leveling Up Relations in Every Field and Political Trusts

The main goal of my visit to Turkey is to level up relations in every field, especially, political trust between the two countries. We have a good relation with

Turkey. The two countries have come through more or less similar situation. You may have known already about what happened in Turkey in 2016. There was a failed coup. I had to tell HE Osman Hassan to keep abreast with the situation and to follow up challenging problems for our students in the time of coup. I was then in Mongolia for the Asia-Europe Meeting. As we all know the Turkish government's effort to clear up those involved in the failed coup is not yet over.

In Cambodia, such unfortunate situation also happened through those who wished to launch a color revolution. The Royal Government had the necessity to prevent them from bringing down the Royal Government by undemocratic means. The difference between the two events was that in Turkey they had military element who launched the coup, while in Cambodia, they were doing it through color revolution [...] you may agree with me that Turkey has its border sharing with Syria and Iraq, and the two countries are facing with problems. You may understand about this even better than I do. Many European countries are facing with refugees' crisis. That is the consequence of color revolution for which those countries provided supports to movements out of democratic context [...]

Cambodia and Turkey Taking Measures for People's Peaceful Life

Influx of refugees from war-torn countries in the Middle East brought about electoral losses to political parties who favor such policy. Their people are not happy with the move to bring in more (refugees). At present, their working conditions are not good. It is hard for them to find jobs. It has been worse to have more refugees in. I would not have to mention what countries they are [...] some countries that reject refugees are also facing sanctions from their allies [...] that is the consequence of poking one's nose into other countries' affairs by supporting so and so movements, and/or accepting refugees (as a result of such policy conducted by other countries).

In Cambodia, we have also taken measures as those carried out by

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the President (of the Republic of Turkey). I was not and will not be afraid to take necessary measures for the sake of peace life of the Cambodian people. You may agree with me that the measures taken by the President (of Turkey) was not only to keep his power but also to defend 80 million Turkish people. Should the coup succeed, turmoil would be beyond imagination and it would not be easy to resolve the problem. Based on this development, Turkey and Cambodia quite understand each other's political situation [...]

Turkey's Geopolitical and Economic Advantage

Turkey was willing to open its embassy in Phnom Penh since 2003. We now have to respond to her gesture by committing to open ours. We must not forget that Turkey used to be an empire. Our two countries in the past were empires. Cambodia was the Empire of Angkor. Turkey was the Ottoman Empire – an amazing country in the region. We are here in Istanbul. We are at the edge of European continent. Not far from here, it is (the start of) Asia. We have been talking about it. We talk about a project to connect Asia and Europe together and Istanbul is the gate between the two continents. In another instance, we must not overlook Turkey that is one of the 20 developed economies in the world. It stands at number 17. Though Turkey is a member of NATO, it has not been a member of EU, Turkey is not going to be dead. It is still making progress among G20 countries [...]

We are going to sign eight agreements with Turkey to strengthen relations in politics and investments to attract more of its investments to the Kingdom of Cambodia. I told the Turkish Speaker yesterday and Turkish investors that after putting such agreement in place, we would be able to advance to avoid double taxations to provide chances for investors from Turkey to the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Cambodian investors have not had ability to come here yet. We also have agreements on agriculture, tourism, culture, etc. [...] that you are here, a place where you can make the best of knowledge and knowhow, I wish that you study hard [...] Turkey has become a

dialogue partner of ASEAN in 2017. It is a part of our efforts to build bilateral relation with Turkey, but also multilaterally through ASEAN. At a later stage, when a free trade agreement with ASEAN is reached, it will be even better to promote economic, trade, investment, etc. relations between us Cambodia and Turkey, and among us ASEAN.

Taking Parts in Elections Supports Democracy

As for internal Cambodian situation, I am sure you are quite aware of it. Who had gone to Cambodia to cast your votes? Thank you. How many of you had told your parents to go to vote? [...] Quite a large number. I do not ask you for whom you had voted for. I just wanted you to tell me about the process. Taking parts in the elections is supporting democracy [...] about 83% of registered voters fulfilled their rights. The rest 17% who did not go to vote were actually not voters of the opposition. Some of them might be the Cambodian People's Party supporters. They did not go to vote perhaps because they were ill [...] those of you who voted are supporters of democratic process [...]

For the elections this time around, our people truly voted to keep peace and development. In Cambodia, the one with means to safeguard peace for our people is the Cambodian People's Party. In Turkey, we may see that if anyone else than the present President, s/he could not have contained the military coup, and many other border problems with Syria, Iraq, etc. [...] in Cambodia too, situation was very fragile [...] I am not surprised to see demonstrations here and there. You may think a little bit about his call for the US to fire missiles to my house in Takhmao in 1998 [...] while Cambodia was at peace and in the elections. He did that because he lost the elections [...]

As Long As He Is Ambitious for Power, I Will Keep Going

Recently, they went between Japan and France to block aid from delivering to Cambodia. They repeat this actions again and again [...] judging by his actions, how could one think he is fit to be a leader? Judging by all he has been doing, I am determined to stay on. As long as he is ambi-

tious for power, I will keep going. Countries that are not understanding Cambodia's situation may wish to look into archives of what this man has been doing to the country [...] he now issues call again for "Hun Sen to step down." In 2013, in their endless demonstrations, they also called me to step down. Why should I go while I won the elections? They said I tried to hold on to power. What does he want that he has been doing all that? He may go on dreaming and being a Facebook Prime Minister [...]

The Cambodian People's Party to Go on Winning

Your grandparents and parents have been doing a great deal for this country since when you were not born yet. I was one of the key leaders since 20 June 1977 but how could I, being one man, liberate the country? After the liberation, we had to prevent the return of the Pol Pot group to power. Your grandparents and parents have made so much sacrifices for that course [...] they have made this journey all along with me. Now, you and your generation have now joined the journey with me too. In all we have three generations so far [...] that some of you have now children, who will study in schools built by Hun Sen, we can anticipate positive response from the fourth generations too.

After the liberation of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979, one day after – 8 January 1979, we established a government, for which I was chosen to be Minister of Foreign Affairs. I knew nothing about it. I was a soldier. I told senior colleagues that I would give it a try for three months. I looked for and recruited diplomats survived the Khmer Rouge regime. However, the man who committed only for three months has become the one who has been working in the Royal Government uninterruptedly from 8 January 1979 through to today – 21 October 2018. I will go on for another five years and at 2023 there will be another general elections. I believe that the Cambodian People's Party will continue to win and that will allow me to go on till 2028 [...]

We have protected Cambodia from destruction and ensured that it will become a higher-middle income country in 2030. If I

could stay till 2028, it would be very close to 2030. When Cambodia reaches that phase, a higher-middle income country, it would not be late for me to step out. I have said it that I am looking for another ten years [...] what matters here is my health allows me to and people vote for me [...]

To Host ASEM-2020 with High Responsibility in Form and Content

I wish to share with you the news that by 2020, Cambodia will be hosting the ASEM Summit in Phnom Penh. It was decided two days ago in Brussels. It will be the first time in our history to do this job and to host delegations from more than 50 countries [...] we will make efforts to do this job with high responsibility both in form and in content. We wish to ensure value for the Phnom Penh meeting one that will contribute to resolving regional and world issues, especially ones between Asia and Europe. Coincidentally, after joining the ASEM Summit, and Cambodia was made a host country for the next summit, I came for this official visit to Turkey – a country that stands at the gateway between the two regions [...]

He Must Remember Not to Ask (for Talk/Negotiation)

He could go this far to call me a scoundrel. If I were one, he must have been a delinquent of some kind himself. Why? [...] he has been very jealous. I just wanted to remind him for you all to remember that it was he who helped me realize amendment of the Constitution in 2006. He could not have forgot it. He talked of me at one time a foreign puppet and another time a scoundrel. While in fact, by saying so and judging by what he had done, he was hired by "a scoundrel" – I had him helped me amending the Constitution in 2006 [...] that he has always been jealous of me has not been a new thing. Samdech Krom Preah (Norodom Ranaridh) were to dismiss him. To dismiss anyone from the government, there needed to have a consensus in the Royal Government of two Prime Ministers. The person urgently sought to see me at home. He never did that before. I knew it was an internal matter of FUNCINPEC, I did not accept

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his request. He was angry from then on [...] he then declared that he would not negotiate with the Cambodian People's Party and/or Hun Sen. It is in this regard that I asked him publicly to jot down what he said and remember not to ask (for talk/negotiation) [...]

A Man of No Virtue

(In one final episode) he told a French newspaper that "Hun Sen knows he is going to lose. That is why he wanted his children to know mine." I was fell beyond imagination [...] he texted me telling me one of his children was here (in Phnom Penh) what were he to do with that? I came up with initiative for the two families to dine together. Then another son came from the US. His daughter could not come for pregnancy. Kith Meng was the one to organize dinner at the Cambodiana Hotel. He talked to Hun Mana about his project to set up a television and asked if Mana has anything in store that could be given out to him for that purpose. Just in recent days, he attacks Mana. He would leave none of my children untouched. I am asking him to remember that. The "Hun" family is not for him to chastise [...] this family never ran away from the people and has made so much contributions to the country. Around me, from within my family, there are many intellectuals [...]

They have good children. I am talking good of them. He chastise me and my children too. I did not do likewise. I praise their children for good educations they have. You may want to put the two men in two different columns to seek out virtue from the two. He talked good about my children in front of me but in other places he chastise them. Hurting children is hurting father [...] all in all, people may think about this and judge if the man is fit with virtue as a leader? For going to see me in the United States of America and/or Europe, people have been blackmailed. While not yet in power, so much has been done, what could he not do when he has power? You may want to sleep on it./■

Impromptu Expose at the Gathering of Cambodian Overseas in Switzerland, 23 October 18

Never Leave Out Chances to

Meet Cambodian Overseas

I am so happy to see our people everywhere I go. As I said in every other meetings, I would leave out some of the prescheduled meetings (on other businesses) but I would not leave my schedule to meet our people. It has always been my wish to do so. No matter how tired I could be I will still try to make such meeting possible. It is lucky that this hotel can house so many hundreds of us in one round. In some other venue, we had had to have two rounds of meeting. I do not hesitate to spare time for meeting you since you are living far away from the country and you wanted to know what is going on in the country [...]

27th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement

I am so happy that we all remember about the Paris Peace Agreement that is coming to its 27th anniversary today. At this time last year, we were still at the *Kleber* conference hall in Paris [...] the signing ceremony there underwent in the presences of the Secretary General of the United Nations (Javier) Pérez de Cuéllar, the French President Françoise Mitterrand, and representatives from many other countries [...] you may remember that at the phase of implementing the agreement, the Secretary General of the United Nations was Boutros Boutros-Ghali. I wish to take this moment to share what I did and I knew with you (since I was one of the main actors in the whole process) with you all here for reasons that some of you may have not known about or understood it fully [...]

No Demonstration against Hun Sen in Geneva?

Before going further on that matter, I have a strange impression on one point and that is why there were no demonstration against me (here in Geneva)? It is a bizarre development. It has been their regular ways of holding demonstrations against me everywhere I go. Holding demonstration against me is a normal development. Not holding one, is something bizarre. Is it their wills to hold no demonstration or is it that they could not mobilize people [...] in 1998, he called on the US to send their missiles into my house, why could he not organize demonstration against me. That is

normal. What is bizarre is that here in Geneva, I do not see one. We may find out at a later stage [...]

Knowledge of the Past and Present to Predict the Future

... First of all we may ask this question why it is necessary to have the Paris Peace Agreement. Some have already known about it but they choose to ignore. However, we also have younger generation who have no knowledge or idea about why. It has already been 27 years and even my granddaughter also could not have known about it. We must learn about our history. Should we not have a good knowledge of history, we could not get a direction on where to go and what to do. Possessing historic facts means you have to know of the past and the present, based on which you will be able to predict what will be the future [...] we can say in short that were there no coup on 18 March 1970 to overthrow Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, the regime of Lon Nol could not have happened and war would not have erupted [...]

Hope Europe Would Not Go for a Third Mistake

If there were no war between the regime of Lon Nol and the National Liberation Front, from whom Pol Pot plundered power at the later stage, there would not be the regime of genocide of Pol Pot. There would be no need to overthrow the regime of Pol Pot. All in all, we must see that the root cause of this whole issue is the coup on 18 March 1970 to remove Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, who was then the legal head of state. It is in this development that I have reminded the Europeans not to go for a third mistake on Cambodia. Their first mistake as democratic countries was to support a military coup in Cambodia. Their second mistake was to support Pol Pot to sit in the United Nations for 12 years, after we brought it down. They also placed Cambodia in embargos [...]

Solving Problems by Peaceful Means

... We made great efforts to liberate the country from the regime of Pol Pot's genocide but we had to face with continuing war [...]

ending a war we could have some guerrilla activities but we had to fight with Khmer Rouge because certain countries continued their direct supports at the United Nations. That was why we had had to find out chance for negotiation. I never have a belief that one could end a war by making a war. My philosophy was to revolve issues by peaceful means. Since when I was Foreign Minister, I always sought out for dialogues. It was a lucky thing that the former head of state and King – Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk had chosen me as his dialogue partner since when I was Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He might have seen in me not a defiant person but one of the hundreds of thousands that responded to his call to join resistant movement against foreign intervention after the coup on 18 March 1970.

Negotiation Attempts Planned and Failed

There were many attempts for the negotiation to take place prepared by French Foreign Minister *Claude Cheysson* in Paris. After my visit to Sweden, I continued my journey to France to get myself ready for a meeting with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, who went to the United Nations. He later issued a communique asking for understanding from Hun Sen because the planned meeting was opposed. That was mainly from the Khmer Rouge. At that time, the King-Father was President of the tripartite coalition government (of Democratic Kampuchea) with seat at the United Nations. They used the Khmer Rouge's flag and Constitution [...] the planned meeting failed. The noticeable point here is that the King-Father and I never abandoned efforts to meet. On 14 January 1985, I became Prime Minister. I had bigger ability to strive for political solution by peaceful means, with supports of Samdech Heng Samrin, Samdech Chea Sim, HE Say Phuthong, [...] On his part, the King-Father had so many difficulties because he was in the tripartite coalition with Khieu Samphan (of the Khmer Rouge) and Son San's faction (KPNLF) [...]

Four Basic Norodom Sihanouk – Hun Sen Agreements

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I wish to take this chance to express my sincere thanks again to sister Pung Chhiev Gech who is now chairwoman of LICHADO. At that time her husband was Ambassador to Angola. They had made many efforts for such meeting between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me to happen. Finally, the first such meeting happened on 2 December 1997 at *Fère-en-Tardenois*. The meeting was an opening way-out. There would be no ones to replace the two important actors for such meeting. In those days, even ASEAN opposed to the meeting. Later, in January 1988, we had another meeting in Saint-Germain-en-Laye [...]

After such meetings, there was then current in ASEAN [...] in the course of holding such meetings with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, we had reached four basic agreements – the Sihanouk – Hun Sen *Fère-en-Tardenois* Declaration – which is a kind of agreement. The second agreement reached in Bangkok in early 1990 by Sihanouk, not in the name of tripartite coalition, and Hun Sen in relation to the establishment of Supreme National Council (SNC) [...] the third agreement signed by Sihanouk and Hun Sen in Tokyo was boycotted by Vice President and Foreign Minister Khieu Samphan (of Democratic Kampuchea) [...]

SNC – Hun Sen's Idea

Let me talk a little about SNC to clarify to you that it is not completely a product by foreign partners. It has to be a combination between international efforts and those of Cambodians. The big (five) and other countries, including that of (former foreign minister of Australia) Gareth Evans had worked on what agreed by the Cambodian factions. They have become document produced by the big five (countries). Originally, SNC was Hun Sen's idea to create a supreme reconciliation council, for which I proposed to have three vice presidents. The tripartite coalition government denied it. Later, Chavalit Yongchaiyudh of Thailand, who found the idea was rational had convened a meeting in Bangkok. The meeting only changes its name from Supreme Reconciliation Council to Supreme National Council [...]

Let me remind you that the Paris conference (on political settlement of Cambodia) did not start in 1991 but in August 1989 [...] the meeting went on for about one month and did not reach any solution [...] in 1989, we already had co-chairmen of the Paris Conference – France and Indonesia, along with the special representative of the United Nations and some countries. The Paris Agreement failed but that did not mean the conference in Paris ended. It continued. The big five then started to intervene by introducing a document put together by former foreign minister of Australia Gareth Evans [...]

Calling on Ceasefire and Stop of Foreign Military Assistances

Let me remind how difficult we moved in military aspect (of the Paris Peace Agreement). I always called for involved factions to implement ceasefire and to stop receiving foreign military assistances. I always did that in every negotiation because I do not wish to see more Cambodians killed. I asked for a ceasefire. However, unfortunately so with the Khmer Rouge, they disagreed. In the Paris Agreement it is required to disarm, to mobilize and demobilize soldiers [...] I may share a story. With leaders in the Party and Government (in Phnom Penh), we had discussed about how much do we demobilize our soldiers. The figure came at 20% and 30% if it was too tough.

In the negotiation in Jakarta, I proposed to every faction to come with maximum number of troops they were ready to demobilize. I placed on the table the Phnom Penh's commitment to 30%. The Khmer Rouge and others in the tripartite coalition government proposed that each faction should keep only 2,000 soldiers [...] I asked to the Special Representative of the United Nations "would demobilization also apply to police, militia?" He said no [...] through my discussion with then HE Tia Banh, Defense Minister, and HE Hor Namhong [...] I decided that we should go for 70% demobilization [...] I asked Hor Namhong to invite (Jean-David) Levitte of the French Foreign Affairs to a breakfast with me. I said to him what the big five think if we work for the demobilization of 70% of the troops? Levitte said in joy "that is excellent." [...] I asked

him to bring the proposal to Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk so that he could raise it in the meeting. I promised to support him right away [...]

The Cake Came Back to Hun Sen

Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk brought the matter up saying that the big five wished that we demobilize 70% of our troops, what would you all think? I raised my hand to support the proposal. Khieu Sampohan also did. Rana-ridh also did. Son San also did. You can say that it was like a cake made by Hun Sen got sent to someone and sent back to Hun Sen to eat. If I were to propose the idea, those factions would definitely oppose it [...] finally, no faction implemented it. The State of Cambodia unilaterally demobilized 30,000 of its troops and 240,000 militiamen. We kept only 110,000 soldiers and 40,000 policemen [...] with this number of soldiers and policemen, we were able to keep a reasonable size of force. We were able to keep situation under control [...] closer to the elections, the Khmer Rouge force opened attacks. I told (UNTAC head) Akasi to close his eyes. I would have to return the fight [...]

UNTAC Left Cambodia with Two Control Areas and Governments

Our strategy was to prevent the return of Pol Pot's regime. Finally, I had succeeded to dissolve the Khmer Rouge politically and militarily through win-win policy. It is true that UNTAC came and helped Cambodia at least to bring together three out of four groups together to implement the Paris Peace Agreement. That has brought about national institutions that we have at present. In the Paris Agreement, the final stage of UNTAC mission was when the Constitutional Assembly transforms into the National Assembly. That means UNTAC finished its mission (when the transformation is over).

On 24 September 1993, we entered into force the new Constitution, or the Constitutional Assembly had become a National Assembly, and we declared re-coronation of HM the King. UNTAC withdrew on the night of 24 September, while the farewell banquet was still on at the Chan Chhaya palace [...] what the

Paris Peace Agreement wishes to implement, UNTAC could not fulfill it. They spent over two billion USD and left Cambodia with two control areas and governments. War went on. Let us not forget that [...] UNTAC did a great deal for Cambodia but they left the war to go on [...] in the end, we ended the problem by the Cambodian solution – win-win policy.

29 December 1998 – The Khmer Rouge Cabinet Surrendered

On 20 June 1977, I traded my life again [...] it was a Sunday. I stayed in bed till 8am. Learning that I woke up, my mother and my grandaunt went into my room and said to me "that you are going to their territory, are you not afraid of being shot to death?" [...] I consoled my mother and grandaunt "mom, grandaunt! If that happened, only I and a few of my colleagues would die. However, if I were to survive, I would come back with a whole (unified Cambodian) land." [...] this year on 29 December 2018, we are going to have a big celebration of the 20th anniversary of the day that we ended war through implementing the win-win policy. Why do we pin that day? It was the day when Head of State and Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea, and the Khmer Rouge cabinet surrendered [...] you may remember that. War did not end at the beginning of 1998 [...]

... Let me phrase my strategy in an English letter abbreviation – DIFID or Divide, Isolate, Finish, Integrate, and Develop. We ended a situation of one country by many control areas [...] you may want to read the Khmer history, for instance the Great Khmer Heroes. It had been hundreds of years that the country was divided. Three Kingdom saga did not happen only in China. In Cambodia, that had happened in about 1470, in the time of Preah Srey Raja, son of Preah Punhea Yaat [...] from 29 December 1998, Cambodia has become a country of one rule, one Constitution, one King, one Royal Government, and one armed force. This is the case for the first time in many hundreds years of history. I did not bring it up to present myself

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made investments in water/irrigation, roads, electricity, and human resource the country's priorities. We have rearranged the order of priorities now to human resources, roads, electricity, and water/irrigation. They have been our prioritized investment areas in the last 31 years. As for factories localization closer to people's homes, the policy is now in its 19 years [...] I remembered that we launched in 1998 a forum between the Royal Government and private sector. In 1999, I issued this vision to localize factories to wherever our infrastructures reached, after we did the same for schools [...]

Meeting Workers for Industrial Development Policy 2015-2025

... Should there not be factories in Muk Kompoul, not far from Phnom Penh, for instance, [...] what would you be doing at this moment? There would be two answers only. Firstly, you are leaving your hometown to look for jobs in industry, handicraft, or service sectors, in other places far from home; or secondly, you are cultivating rice with your families. You are working in agriculture. Having said this, they may

see how far is the vision of the Royal Government of Cambodia led so far by the Cambodian People's Party. We have localized many factories now to numerous provinces. Take for instance, we have many factories in the province of Sihanouk Ville and there are many workers/employees too. We also have many factories and workers in Svay Rieng. I will continue visiting workers in Kompong Speu, Takeo, Kompot, Koh Kong, Pursat, Banteay Menajei, etc. [...]

I will do that for at least ten more years [...] as we are now in the stage of developing objectives and plan for industrial development policy for 2015-2025 to allow for wider contribution from industry and service to our economy, and whereby to support agricultural sector [...] the Royal Government is focusing on placing more investment to support small-scale industry and handicraft and localize them as it possibly can. We need to continue to invest in necessary infrastructures such as roads, electricity, etc. to support development of industry and handicraft [...]

Fifth Legislative Term Royal Government's Growth at 7.3%

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as a hero but that is the truth [...] the celebration will go on from 29 through to 31 December, to go into the new year at the win-win palace that we built on a large land [...]

CPP Members Need Not Push for Power from Hun Sen

There is this article from a newspaper that someone sent to me. It said that Hun Sen seems to have prepared his elder son for the post of Prime Minister. However, in the immediate circumstance, there does seem to be any signs for that. I should tell you all why would a son need to be Prime Minister when his father still is? It is not logic. Members of the Cambodian People's Party need not to push me out for power [...] there is no such fight (for power) in the Cambodian People's Party. Cambodia is a democratic country. I have no way of knowing about destiny of my son. If he is able to find people's supports and votes, let him be. Previously I never wanted my son to involve in politics but I also never prohib-

it him. Like my granddaughter (who studied in the UK and came here) she told her granduncle sitting and asking her yesterday that she will go for political science before thinking of choosing other skills and/or professions [...]

Reestablishment of Constitutional Monarchy

There may be a question why Hun Sen agree to have in the Constitution this reestablishment of Constitutional monarchy. Cambodia had once brought down the King and become a republic for 23 years. Why did you help the monarchy to come back? If it were not because of you, the monarchy would not be back. FUNCINPEC does not have force enough to revive the monarchy. There needs to be a unity between the Cambodian People's Party and FUNCINPEC. As of this moment, FUNCINPEC does not even have a seat (in the National Assembly) but the monarchy is still strong. Why? Because of who? It is because of the Cambodian

I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciations to every state institutions of the fifth legislative term for scoring great successes in economic progress for Cambodia. The prediction of early term was to achieve a 7% economic growth. As of this moment, we have scored 7.3%. This success may allow our people to ascertain personal annual income at 1,706 USD for 2019. For this year, 2018, we did only 1,556 USD. I am thinking on this achievement that before ending the sixth legislative term, we may succeed in moving our people's personal annual income to over 2,000 USD. This sounds smaller than the amount you are earning now [...] according to the evaluation organized by the United Nations, any person earning 1.25 USD a day is considered living above the poverty line. However, you are making now from seven to eight USD already [...]

Lower Mekong Water Level Would Be Difficult to Organize Boat Race

... As of today, the Mekong level is at 6.2 meters (in Phnom Penh). We are worried that by the time the scheduled water festival comes, we would have a lower water level than we can organize

boat race. Previously, we were concerned that the water level would be too high for the same ceremony. If it stays by that time at 5.3 or 5.2 meters, as in 1993, we could go on with the boat race. If it is lower than 4.5 meters, we might not want to do it [...]

Workers Continue to Have Jobs and Make Incomes

We now are in the process of making further steps forwards. There is nothing to worry about. When you still have jobs to do and make incomes, you just keep doing it. You may not want to be distracted by some ill-will propaganda. I may send a message to some that "a ghost would never come back alive." [...] judging by lies they make, it is useless to talk to them [...] our economy is keeping up its forward momentum. We are working in multi-sector efforts – agriculture, industry and service.

This year, we hope to receive over 6 million tourist arrivals which would provide our people incomes and jobs. Our cultivation this year has been good, though we might have some problems from flood in some places. Some places, because of flood, rice has grown even better [...].

dian People's Party who supports and defends it [...]

I have been one of the people who reestablished the monarchy. I even said recently that anyone wishing to bring down the monarchy may have to step over my dead body first. I told my children to defend the throne and the monarchy. Some said it is outdated. Let us look at Belgium, I sat at the same table with the (Belgian) King. (It is a monarchy country) why it is making progress. Take the UK, why it is a developed nation. Last 15 October 2018, I went to the Royal Palace [...] Samdech Yuvaneath came from the US for the ritual. We shook hands and he thanked me for protecting the royal families and monarchy. I told him "that is the obligation of the Prime Minister ..." [...]

Some criticized us. In our criminal code, whoever insults HM the King would be punishable. They wanted us to take that out of our law. It was nothing compared to what they would do in Thailand. Some brought insult on HM the

King into Facebook [...] the other day, there was one man living in Kompong Thom who did that and he is now in jail [...] HM the King is the supreme person [...] HM the King is the Head of State and in Cambodia, the head of state for a whole life [...]

I am so happy to spend this much time with you. I know that (because) you supported the Royal Government and loved Cambodia that you came for this meeting. Some had gone to Cambodia to vote yourselves and some called and told your relatives in the country to go to vote to bring the strategy of "sleeping at home will win" to its defeat. In addition to this, you have told your relatives to vote for the Cambodian People's Party to make it winning the whole house. In 1955, the King-Father won 82% of the votes. Hun Sen got 77.78% of the votes, lower than his, but in a tough competition with twenty political parties. This could be considered a "promising seed" [...].