

Win-Win Memorial - End of War

(29 December 2018 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)



... I am devoting win-win policy achievements to Cambodians in all corners [...] let us ensure these achievements continue to take long lasting existence on this pitiful country of ours ...

I am so happy today to join with Buddhist Monks, Excellencies, Ladies, Gentlemen, and compatriots to celebrate this auspicious anniversary event of ending war through implementation of the win-win policy, to inaugurate the win-win memorial, and to declare official name Win-Win to this avenue that is running from the National Road 6 to National Road 4. Samdech Pichey Sena Tia Banh already made a report about the construction of the palace.

Today, I wish to review points concerning this long journey leading to ending the war that we should bring them up and share after twenty years of reconciliation and uniting the country together for the very first time in hundreds years of history [...] I am pleased to have learnt from the report about efforts made by construction commission led by Samdech Tia Banh but also collations and documentations of every detail information in relation to ending this war through the win-win policy [...]

Devoting Win-Win Policy Achievements for Every Cambodians

Let me take this opportune moment to devote success of war's end through implementation of the win-win policy for Cambodians from all walks of life and political tendencies. People have benefited from this policy clearly. Peace made through this win-win policy has become a common property of Cambodian nationals, no matter what political tendency they may follow. Though some of them may never recognized it, they still have already gained from it. In this meaning, *I am devoting this win-win policy achievements to Cambodians in all corners of the country and the world. Let us ensure that these achievements will continue to take a long lasting existence on this pitiful country of ours.*

I am taking this auspicious occasion to express my deep thanks to Samdech Preah Borom Ratanakaod and the Queen-Mother for always giving their supports to the process of national reconciliation.

Samdech Preah Borom Ratanakaod Granted Ieng Sary's Pardon

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Talks to Workers in December 2018

(19 November 2018 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

**Samraong Tomg District,
Kompong Speu Province,
12 December 2018**

Thank You for Voting for Democracy and Pluralism, for Peace and Development

Please allow me to take this opportune moment to express my sincere thanks to workers gathering here in particular, and the Cambodian people – firstly for casting votes. That means that you participated in supporting democratic process and implementing your rights defined in the Constitution and related laws to choose the party/

person you trust to lead the country once every five years [...] secondly, for your decision to choose the Cambodian People's Party, the only party capable of defending peace and safeguarding development. For what you have done, the country has been able to achieve political stability and macro-economy after the elections.

In 2019, Workers Basic Salary Will Be 182 USD/Month

You may have heard already from the communique issued by the Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training regarding (Continued on page 5)

Second Round Sea Festival in Koh Kong

(15 December 2018 — Unofficial Selection and Translation)

Sea Festival Has Anchored Five Real Mechanisms

My wife and I are pleased to join with all of you to celebrate the Second Round, and 7th Sea Festival in the province of Koh Kong. I have listened with all my heart to the speeches delivered by Madame Governor, by HE Bruno Bodard, Founder and General Manager of the World Most Beautiful Bays Club, and by HE Thong Khon, Minister of Tourism. We are celebrating this year the seventh festival in round two for the province of Koh Kong. The festivity has clearly become real mechanisms that I wish to outline herewith.

Firstly, *it is a mechanism for annual monitoring by coastal provinces listed as member of the most beautiful bay in the world club, or we call them the rising stars in southwestern part of Cambodia, to see how the host province is doing for such event [...]*

Secondly, *it plays a very important part of solidarity between hosting provinces and other provinces in the whole country who are either sending their delegations or prologues to the event [...]*

Thirdly, *it has offered a chance for companies and research agencies, sportsmen/women, artistic performers, etc. to present what they have/produced, their interests and skills.*

Fourthly, *it lays out foundation for solidarity and attraction for our people from coastal provinces to enjoy the celebration. We have here today people not only from Koh Kong but also from other provinces [...]*

Fifthly, *it is an opportune moment to have this presence and* (Continued on page 4)

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HM the King then (Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk or Samdech Preah Borom Ratanakaod) had been the key to our start in relation to balance of power. Then two divisions of Khmer Rouge separatist forces in Pailin and in Mealai were over one hundreds Kilometers from each other. Between them there were this (Khmer Rouge's) 250 Front in which there were many divisions [...] for once we did not achieve a balance of military force yet as the other factions of the Khmer Rouge – politically, still had Head of State and Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Son Sen, etc. with them. We did not have the balance of political power yet [...] the only best option was to seek for Ieng Sary's defection [...] Tia Banh and Tia Chamroeun went looking for Ieng Sary. As he was sentenced by the People's Tribunal in 1979, we had to find a rehabilitation of his political right so that he could be a political umbrella for the Khmer Rouge separatists [...] Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk said to me if I could raise two-third support to this initiative of mine in the National Assembly, he would give his signature to grant pardon to Ieng Sary. I had to work then with Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranaridh on one side to gather members of the Cambodian People's Party and on another to ensure supports of FUNCINPEC to get a pass to the proposed pardon for Ieng Sary [...] I specifically thank Samdech Preah Borom Ratanakaod for this gesture of support to the Royal Government of Cambodia in the process of national reconciliation [...]

Why Win-Win Policy?

I think I will take today's opportune moment to address to our people and nation about why we have the win-win policy. To start from 20 June 1977 when I left Cambodia in search for a way to liberate the country, I would need many hours [...] however, I would pick up major points to share with our compatriots in this 20th anniversary

occasion when Cambodians ended war [...] you may need to be aware of this fact first about why do we decide to pick 29 December 1998 as the date when the country ended war. I will talk more about it but let me stress here that 29 December 1998 was the day when the Head of State, Prime Minister, Speaker, and the Cabinet of the Khmer Rouge surrendered to (the Royal Government's) Prime Minister's house. That was a modus that is unprecedented in the world [...] as to why do Cambodia need a win-win policy, we ought to know our history.

Firstly, War started when there was this coup on 18 March 1970. It was a starting point of the Cambodian people's tragedy. Cambodia that was then an island of peace led by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk in the time of Vietnam War was under continued threats and bombardments of aggressors. After the coup led by Lon Nol, Sarik Matak, In Tam, Cheng Heng, etc. to overthrow Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, the island of peace fell into war. Five years of fighting brought victory to the Khmer United National Front. Unfortunately, Pol Pot plundered the victory to put in place the regime of genocide [...]

People continued to die under the Pol Pot's regime. We then had to organize another resistance movement, which, forty years ago, at this moment, was on its march to liberate Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979. The liberation brought Pol Pot down [...] but war continued. Peace prevailed in a bigger part of the country. War continued in some locations and times. However, war had had severe impacts on socio-economic development efforts and poverty reduction. Cambodian had to survive unjust embargo from outside. That would include also the United Nations continuing to allow Pol Pot's to be present despite the fact that they had killed the Cambodians [...]

Secondly, we try to find way to end war starting from the

Samdech Preah Sihanouk-Hun Sen Meeting in Fere-en-Tardenois (France) and more negotiations until we reached a political settlement to the Cambodian problem. UNTAC failed to accomplish what we wish to achieve through the Paris Peace Agreement. On 24 September 1993, UNTAC left Cambodia while the country was divided in two controlled areas and governments. War continued to rage in the country. UNTAC spent over two billion USD but failed to end the war. We thanked them for what they did for political settlement in Cambodia, though. Three out of four parties contested in the general elections and joined the coalition Royal Government, except the Khmer Rouge [...]

DIFID – A Strategy to Dissolving Khmer Rouge Militarily and Politically

... Tough battle in Pailin in March and April 1994 followed by negotiation in North Korea under the presidency of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. The Khmer Rouge side led by Khieu Samphan and Son Sen. The Royal Government's side led by Samdech Chea Sim, Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranaridh, both of who offered me the role to conduct negotiation with Khieu Samphan. Samdech Buddhist Patriarch Tep Vong and Bou Kri were also present. The five Buddhist monks asked from Khieu Samphan for a ceasefire. Khieu Samphan refused. Returning from North Korea, I decided to work on an initiation to outlaw the Khmer Rouge. The law did not deny any possibility for reconciliation. Let me stress here DIFID was one of the strategies contributing to dissolving political and military organizations of the Khmer Rouge [...]

Three Core Elements of Win-Win Policy

... I had learnt from arrested Khmer Rouge soldiers what did they really want. Based on what we had learnt, we were able to put out a win-win policy with three fundamental elements aimed at dissolving the Khmer

Rouge militarily and politically, while reconciling and uniting the land.

Firstly, guarantee everyone's life. We have ensured that no one would be arrested or killed. We offer them life guarantee. If we were to do differently, on one would have come to us. This is a major experience that we must learn from.

Secondly, guarantee their professions and jobs. We cannot just say it in or mouth but do it in real term. What we did in Cambodia could not possibly be a lesson for other countries. We dared to allow surrendered troops to keep their ranks and files. All they had to do was to change their uniforms to those of the Royal Government's forces and to no longer implement the Khmer Rouge obligation but those of the Royal Governments [...]

Thirdly, guarantee they would keep their ownerships and properties. They would keep what they have [...]

“Keo Pong Did It, We Gained Oral”

Let me reaffirm herewith, in fact we first started win-win policy in February 1996 in Oral area with (the Khmer Rouge General Keo Pong) through to ending the war on 29 December 1998. Many were asking me with concerns after Keo Pong went back to his commanding area “what should we do if Keo Pong were not faithful to the plan.” I said to them “there would be neither gain nor loss.” If we were to hold him up, we would have only Keo Pong. If he were to not implement what we agreed with him, the Khmer Rouge also would have only Keo Pong back. There would be no gain or loss. If Keo Pong implemented the term, we would have Oral back to the fold of our nation. He did it. We did it. We got Oral to the fold connecting Kompong Speu altogether, Pursat, parts of Preah Sihanouk, Takeo and Kompot [...]

Armed Clashes in July 1997 Postponed Last Stronghold
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Anlong Veng Integration

In 1996 and early 1997, we achieved our plan of integration of the southern part of the national road 5 and in Tonle Sap area. We wished to expedite our effort to achieve final integration of Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge, but, unfortunately, there was this armed clashes in Phnom Penh. We worked to neutralize the Khmer Rouge in their areas but some were brought in to Phnom Penh. It was a big issue and not simple to resolve [...] despite all odds, we finally succeeded in integrating Anlong Veng on 23 April 1998. I sent Samdech Pichey Sena Tia Banh in my place to ensure the integration of Anlong Veng. I could not be there as in other places because I was in mourning over the death of my mother [...] people in Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of Khmer Rouge, also participated in the elections in 1998.

Three Messages of Khmer Rouge's Leaders Surrendering

Though integration took place finally in April 1998, war continued still since the Khmer Rouge leaders had not yet surrendered or been arrested. It was until 29 December 1998, Kheiu Samphan, Head of State and Prime Minister, and other leaders of Democratic Kampuchea gathered and surrendered officially (at my house). There could be a question as to why they gathered and surrendered at my house. Let me clarify to our compatriots that I had three messages to send out from the meeting. *Firstly, to the Khmer Rouge ranks and files that they must stop fighting because their leaders are already surrendering to (the elected) Prime Minister's. Secondly, I sent a message to the Cambodians that war had come to its end as they wished. Thirdly, I sent a message to international community, investors, and tourists, Cambodia is no longer at war [...]*

True Meaning and Interests of Win-Win Policy

Let me now briefly share with you what I see as true meaning and interests of win-win policies.

First, war and armed clashes completely stopped. There are no more death or injuries from war in the last 20 years. People may ask themselves if war were to continue for another twenty years, how many could have been killed? How much money we could have spent to make war, while now we have been mobilizing resources to build the country. I wish those in the opposition recognize the truth [...]

Secondly, we have ended war through win-win policy from 1996 through to late 1998 without using a single bullet. We have resolved problem based on trust between Khmers and without any foreign interventions and/or orders. The trust has instilled a firm peace more than twenty years already [...] win-win policy carried out without a single words written anywhere, except the three core elements that I mentioned earlier [...]

Dare Think, Be Responsible and Sacrifice for Peace

I always said when I was in the former Khmer Rouge areas that what they had done was not a surrender or confession but an obligation that as Cambodians they had to do for the country to stop conflict created by former generation [...] my mother and my grandaunt were concerned about my trip to the Khmer Rouge area and they came to me saying "are you not afraid that they would shoot you dead?" I said to my mom "If that would be the case, only I and a few who came with me would die. If that was not the case, we would reunite the country." We did it. A divided country has now reunited. The most outstanding point here is to dare think, dare take responsibility, and dare to sacrifice for peace [...]

Four Reasons Khmer Rouge Dissolved

There would arise a question as to why win-win policy dissolved the Khmer Rouge organ-

ization militarily and politically? Some who claimed to be experts on the Paris Peace Agreement may have thought that dissolving the Khmer Rouge organization was not in the Agreement. We, however, did what we did in accordance with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia which does not allow any secession. *Firstly, the Khmer Rouge's political and military organization violated human rights and killed millions of lives. Secondly, they walked out on the Paris Peace Agreement, while there were internal conflicts and killings among them* – for instance, Pol Pot killed National Defense Minister Son Sen, his wife, children and grandchildren [...] They boycotted elections because their leadership machine was in deep internal division not just because of defection to the Royal Government of their lower ranks [...]

Thirdly, would anyone in his right mind to allow such organization to exist and continue to lead a war against the legally elected government organized by the United Nations? And what is even more important is *the fourth point in which win-win policy already gathered to the Royal Government's side their military and political ranks and files.* Even if they would want to continue making war, they could not because no one would follow them [...] the Khmer Rouge "rusting" policy has come to an end when clashing with Hun Sen's win-win policy that is in conformity with national and people's aspirations [...]

Thirdly, we reunite the land and water for the first time in a long and suffering history. Should we look back into our history from Punhea Yaot in 1740, Cambodian always had more than one rulers [...] under Pol Pot, they could not rule the whole country too. In Koh Kong, there was this resistant movement led by the late HE Say Phouthong and Samdech Pichey Sena Tia Banh. In the northeast, there was this resistant movement led by HE Bun Mi and Bou Thang. In 1977 and early 1978, I led the

armed movement and infiltrated deeper inside the country [...] more importantly, on 25 May 1978, Samdech Heng Samrin and Samdech Chea Sim rebelled in the east and occupied a certain area prior to declaring the establishment of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea [...]

With assistance from the voluntary army of Vietnam, we overthrew the regime of Pol Pot in a timely manner but war did not end. Cambodia returned to its state of being a divided nation – one part was the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and later State of Cambodia, and another part was the tripartite coalition government – with three controlled areas and armed forces [...] implementing the Paris Peace Agreement from 1993 through to 1998, after UNTAC moved out, Cambodia continued to have two controlled areas, two governments and two armed forces. War continued. After 29 December 1998 through to the present, Cambodia is a country of one Constitution, one King, one Royal Government and armed forces for the first time in its long history.

Three Sectors in Effect after Political and Administration Integration

Let me take this opportune moment to reiterate that we could not stop at launching integration of the former Khmer Rouge areas politically and administratively. I talked to my colleagues Tia Banh, Ke Kim Yan, Pol Saroeun, and others that political and administrative integration would not hold if we fail to focus attention on connectivity. We then urgently worked on connectivity and three fields have been in effect immediately – (1) *communication and transport to those areas.* We removed and destroyed mines that cut off people's movement from one place to another; and ensure that everyone has equal access to services in (2) education and (3) health without discrimination [...]

Fourthly, people in integrated

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participation of leader of the *World Most Beautiful Bays Club* in this event, along with delegations from the Kingdom of Thailand, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Ambassadors and artistic performance delegations from Indonesia and India, etc. [...]

National Road 48 – A Four Lanes Highway

I am very pleased to thank Senior Minister HE Sun Chanthol of the Public Works and Transports and the military engineering team for their efforts to repair the national road 48 in a timely manner for our people to travel to the festival in Koh Kong [...] however, I wish to inform our people in Koh Kong that we are in the process of selecting a company to figure out an architectural plan to expand the national road 48 in the

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areas live in peace and are free from fears. Families concerned no more of death of loved ones from war. Families reunited. No more separations. This is what win-win policy has provided. There is no such concern anymore in the last more than 20 years. There are no more trenches under their houses and they are making life better [...]

Fifthly, war ended, land and water reunited, the country reaps gold and diamond opportunity to gather human labor, intelligent and property resources for the sake of socio-economic development and poverty alleviation. In the last more than twenty years we destroyed hundreds of thousands of weapons, reduced tens of thousands of military personnel to curb expenses in defense, while augmenting expenses in education, health and social affairs. This has contributed to national economic progress allowing Cambodia to bridge from low income country over to lower-middle income country [...] we are ambitious to work on moving our country to higher-middle income by 2030 and high income by 2050 [...]

Battlefields to Development Areas, Borders of Peace,

future to a four-lane highway [...] it is a sea corridor from Thailand through Cambodia to Vietnam. It will serve as a corridor for transportation but, as I discussed with Bruno Bodard, we can also organize international bicycle race annually in Cambodia [...]

Leave Titanium Untouched for Later Generation

... I have something to share with our people here. In Koh Kong, not far from the beach, a study has been made and evaluated that there are not less than 20 billion USD worth of titanium. The former Ministry of Industry, Mines and Energy, currently Ministry of Mines and Energy, requested for approval of an investment on titanium. According to my thorough investigation, to gain 20 or so billion USD worth of titanium,

Friendship, Cooperation

... This would be a roadmap for our country's advancement. I must remind you that to achieve such ambition, peace is absolute and we must ensure that Cambodia is under one rule. In short, we have been implementing a strategy of two prongs –

a) transforming former battlefields into development areas [...] having said this, I wish to call on concerned circles not to disturb the Cambodian people and/or cause more war in disguise of democracy and human rights [...] learning from past lessons, I wish some countries avoid making three mistakes they did – (1) claiming to be democratic but supporting a military coup; (2) supporting Pol Pot – the killers, in the United Nations for 12 years, caring nothing about human rights; and (3) punishing those who worked for and defend peace and people's lives for development; [...], and

(b) turning border areas into ones of peace, friendship, cooperation, and development. We already did it. We share borders with (the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Kingdom of Thailand, and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. We have now ensured the border-

we may have to deplete over 20,000 hectares of forest that is shelter of endangered animals such as elephants. Once mining is underway, leftover would drift into sea polluting its blue color. Understanding these negative developments, I decided to disapprove the investment [...] I would rather leave this matter to the younger generation to think about doing it (when they are taking over) [...]

Koh Kong Would Receive More Tourists after Dara Sakor Is Ready

Among tourist arrivals to the Kingdom of Cambodia, we have more than 800,000 of them visiting provinces with some 440 km beaches along the sea from the border with Thailand on one side to the border with Vietnam on another. In Koh Kong particularly, some

lines are in peace, friendship, cooperation and development [...]

Sixthly, Cambodia has been able to participate in strengthening regional peace and in solving international affairs. Cambodia has been active in ASEAN, Greater Mekong Sub-region, ACMECS, CLMV, CLV, and mechanisms of Mekong-Lancang, Mekong-Japan, Mekong-South Korea, and Mekong-US [...] in the framework of international cooperation, we have sent peacekeeping troops to a number of countries – Sudan, South Sudan, Lebanon, Mali, and Central African Republic, formerly also in Chad. We are preparing to host in 2020 the Asia-Europe Meeting in Phnom Penh [...]

Seventhly, having ended war, Cambodia receives influx of investors and foreign tourists. Cambodia's trade volume has now grown to 25 billion USD, of which Cambodia exported about 12 billion USD. While there were no tourists coming to Cambodia in the wartime, we have now received nearly six million tourist arrivals. Hopefully, the number will continue to rise. These are what we gain from the win-win policy [...] ☐

150,000 of them had come. In the near future, after Dara Sakor eco-tourist resort is ready, Koh Kon expects to receive more tourists [...]

Recommendation 1 – Permanent Presence of Peace and Political Stability

... (We must make efforts to keep a) permanent presence of peace and political stability, safeguarding security, social order, and preventing terrorist acts from taking place. We must take these matter seriously to guarantee that our country will not go for another war and/ or act of terrorism in tourist areas [...] I hope that our people will act on this principle of "one citizen is one policeman" to help defend our nation, peace, political stability, security, and social order [...]

Recommendation 2 – Keeping Sea Green, Developing Eco-tourism Rather Felling Trees

... (We must make effort to keep our sea green and maintain status of rising stars for all four coastal provinces gaining admission as members of the world most beautiful bays club. We take measures for development of eco-tourism in a form like Dara Sakor project to benefit from tourism rather than from felling trees [...] (We must) make efforts to defend our bays, mangroves forest, environment, while working quickly on water treatment to avert dumping waste water into sea. Deputy Prime Minister HE Chea Sophara continues to work with Tourism Minister to make sure that in *coastal provinces there will be no land reclamation without permission* [...]

I have seen a report from HE Chea Sophara about funding possibility to build more drainages in Preah Sihanouk province. They are provisional. We need *a more sophisticated project to make sure that no waste water gets drained to sea* [...] I disapproved investment request in the past to build and burn waste materials brought from

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salary increment for the forthcoming 2019. At this time last year, we took action to implement policy to increase basic salary for our workers to 153 USD/month, and we are implementing in this year a basic salary of 170 USD/month. In days to come, we will implement a new salary increment of 182 USD/month for our workers. It will be one high salary compared to many countries in ASEAN, and even in Asia [...]

Industrial Sector Shares 32% of GDP

While agriculture has made rapid progress, we have also noticed bigger share from industrial sector, which in this year covered up to 32% of the whole GDP. Last year, industry shared 30% of GDP. Taking this opportune moment, I wish to convey my sincere appreciation and thanks for our people in the whole country, national and sub-national institutions for the efforts they made to implement socio-economic development and in other sectors.

14-15 December Will Be in Koh Kong

On 14 through to 15 December, I will be making a speech at the sea festival in Koh Kong province. On 29 December, I will be delivering a speech on the occasion of our celebration of the 20th anniversary of the successful implementation of win-win policy. This morning, Svay Sitha sent me a Facebook link in which a person stated that in the forthcoming Plenum of the Central Committee, Hun Sen will strip off Sar Kheng and Say Chhom from their positions. He made it his words that on 14 December, Hun Sen will leave for China and he might not be able to return to Cambodia because Sar Kheng and Say Chhom would seek a way to prevent his return [...] on 14 December I will be in Koh Kong. On 15 December I will give a speech to celebrate the sea festival event [...] the Cambodian People's Party has lived together faithfully for the past 40 years. There would be no division among them [...]

Speeding Up Legal Cases of Trade Unions

I wish to bring up another matter before I forget. Weeks ago I asked the Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training and the Ministry of Justice to work together (with the courts) to find way to expedite legal cases of trade unions. To expedite does not mean to ask them to end the case. I have made it clear that the court may proceed to trying if there need to be or filing them without processing according to their competent authority. Yesterday the court issued a decision to convict six people but actual implementation is suspended [...] let me send a message to every trade unions and legal experts that I have no rights whatsoever to order the court around. I only asked Ministers of Labor seeks cooperation with Minister Justice on this matter. The event happened in Veng Sreng road – from a matter of fact and a matter of law, whoever involved in causing that incident would have to serve justice. The incident had been a part of a whole process to overthrow (a legal government). Those actions have led to dissolution of political party and some have been jailed and/or placed under detention out of jail [...]

Three Individuals Were Not Involved, To Court of Appeal

As far as individuals are concerned, as the one who is responsible in national security, I had monitored three persons – At Thun, Pao Sina, and Chea Moni. I have proofs that the three individuals were not involved. I did not have proofs for the others. HE Keo Remi could be a witness to the case of Chea Moni [...] I called Keo Remi later than 12pm on that day to ask him to warn Chea Moni not to get involved in the Veng Sreng strike. I got news back from Keo Remi telling me that Chea Moni did not get himself involved, while in fact he was spending his night somewhere [...] in the case of At Thun I sent him a message on WhatsApp. I have no way of knowing if he still has the message. I asked Soy Sopheap to

inform Pao Sina not to involve himself [...] well, in legal aspect, once the court decided, they would not redo it. I would suggest At Thun, Pao Sina, Chea Moni to bring their cases to the court of appeal [...] I could send Keo Remi to the court's session with regard to the case of Chea Moni. I could send Soy Sopheap to the court for further investigation too in the cases of At Thun and Pao Sina [...]

Cambodia Produces Cements and Certain Construction Materials

As far as industrial development is concerned, let me have your attention that about 100% of construction materials in Cambodian used to be imported. Though some of our people build homes from wood, they still need cement, PVC pipes, etc. to add to their needs. They were imported from abroad. As of now, I may share with our people that we could at least now supply cement to local demand of about seven million tons, for which we had to use foreign currency to buy it from other countries. At present, we have three big cement factories – two in Kompot province and one in Battambang province. As far as construction material production, we also have electrical cords made in the country and a big amount of it is for export. While in the past we imported second-hand clothes, we now produce apparels, shoes, and many other stuffs for exports to many markets in the world [...]

Objective and Subjective Factors for Decrease of Tourists to Preah Sihanouk

The same is true for tourism. Should we wish to attract tourists, the tourism community must work on their attitudes to attract them. Concerning this matter that there seemed to be less tourists coming to Preah Sihanouk, we may study this issue from both objective and subjective factors. Objectively, while people go there every year for holiday, they may want to spend their holidays differently in Kompot, Kep, Koh Kong, Ratanakiri, Mondulki,ri,

Preah Vihear, Siem Reap, etc. This has led also to decrease of tourist arrival to Preah Sihanouk. Subjectively, there are matters that the provincial authority of Preah Sihanouk, the Ministry of Interior, and concerned institutions are working hard to take care of security, social order, and environment [...]

Instilling Readership

While urging the Minister of Labor and Vocational Training to consider proposals requested by a number of trade unions in their motions on the 10-December Human Rights Day, I think we must take some swift actions. One of them, as I am one of many great readers, I have taken action to hand out nearly forty thousand books by Krom Ngoy, Acha Chong, etc. in the three-day book fair. I think I will do that again next year to help instill readership among young mind. We will have to print more [...]

Non-Registered Workers and Domestic Helpers

On 10 December Human Rights Day, we have received a motion from trade union on issue of basic salary for construction workers. We must take into account also those working in other sectors. So far, we have been able to address basic salary increase to 182 next year only for workers in apparels and shoes making. We have not yet been able to account for those working in restaurants, hotels, and at homes [...] though we have not yet been able to go for those working as domestic helpers, I am appealing to employers to reserve enough care and understanding for them. They may work without Saturday and/or Sunday, holiday, etc. They may also have to live separately from their spouses and/or children to take care of our homes [...]

Everyone to Carry No HIV/AIDS

I also appeal to everyone that there had been a slight rise in rate of HIV/AIDS. However, the recent report has suggested

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that the rate has dropped a bit. I am calling on us to set up a movement to defend ourselves from HIV/AIDS. If anyone to suffer from it, no one else but those infected. We must try to ascertain that our country future will come to nil infection of HIV/AIDS as we did on malaria in 2025, polio in between 1997-1998 and night blindness. We must set out the goal. If we could not be sure of achieving a 0% HIV/AIDS carrier, we may work on percentages such as from the current 0.6% down to somewhere 0.5 or 0.4 [...] we should try to make it a national movement, especially among our younger population.

Same Sex Love Cautious of HIV/AIDS

We have no right to forbid people of same sex to love each other. I have asked for people's understanding in other speeches on this matter. We may not discriminate them [...] it is my request that we do not discriminate against people who love others of same sex. However, according to research, they happened to be the ones to spread HIV/AIDS in a rather fast rate. In this understanding, I am calling on those of you who love people of same sex or those of different sex to exercise safe sex. Those with HIV/AIDS do not infect others [...] this problem affects every sector. HIV/AIDS carriers cannot work. They would have become a time bomb for families [...] those medical practitioners must be cautious and responsible for accidentally spreading disease because of lack of sterilization [...]

Abandon Smoking Movement

I am so happy that meeting about 80,000 of workers, male and female, I smell no cigarettes. In Europe, the more they tell people to stop smoking, the more people do. In Singapore, attending the ASEAN Summit, I noticed there are many smoking areas and more than half of users are women. I am happy with this movement to abandon smoking setting out and supporting by the Ministry of

Health [...]

Amendment of Political Party Law

Finally, I have a political message. Tomorrow, the National Assembly will open its session. I should let our people and other political parties know about this. Why there will be amendments to the law on political party? This effort is not specifically aiming at anyone political party or group. The amendment will serve every political parties existing and working in the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Law on Prison allows Prime Minister to seek pardons for the convicted at any time. Prime Minister will write to HM the King to request pardon for so and so. As for the Law on Political Party is concerned, a political party has been dissolved. Its leader prohibited from political activities. There is no way for Prime Minister to request for pardon. Legally, the decision by the Supreme Court is final. To bring cases to court again would be contradicting to the Supreme Court [...]

Those against Supreme Court's Decision Regain No Political Right

After a thorough discussion, there would only be one option left to allow Prime Minister to seek HM the King's pardons and to remove prohibition of political activities for politicians. Let me stress again this is not an action to address issue of specific groups but to organize political process for political parties in the future, though this actions may also include some politicians whom the court decided to remove their political right at this time. If they file a request to Prime Minister, and if the Prime Minister takes stock to see that the person/s has not objected the Supreme Court's decisions, (they may regain their rights). They may have to remember that those who object the Supreme Court's decision would not regain their political rights but also face their jail terms too [...] to object the Supreme Court decision would be serving from two to and a half year imprisonment.

Each Individual Files Request to Prime Minister through Minister of Interior

Once the amended law goes into force, as prime Minister I will wait for request by each every individual but not by a representative of a party. Each individual must write to the Minister of Interior or to Prime Minister. Prime Minister will seek pardons royal decree for the individual or a group of four of five by HM the King at the request of Minister of Interior. That will be the Prime Minister's discretion to decide on the matter [...] the one to sign on each individual request is I. Some may say what kind of law is that giving power that much to Prime Minister [...] that is the Constitutional regime [...]

**Punhea Loeu District,
Kandal Province,
26 December 2018**



Workers' Minimum Wages of 182 USD Starts in 2019

We are pleased to meet here today before end of this year. In just a matter of days, a new minimum wage set for workers to go up from 170 USD to 182 USD, the figure sought after by the Prime Minister, will commence [...] I thank our workers for their presences here. I wish to take this opportune moment to seek your understanding for the fact that I have not been able to come see you earlier. However, you may have known already that over the past one year, I have met with over 870,000 workers in Phnom Penh, Kandal, Kompong Speu, Takeo, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng, and Preah Sihanouk provinces. I still have some to meet in Kandal, Takeo, Kompot, and Koh Kong. I met some while I was in Koh Kong for the sea festival but I will have to return for an audience of over 10,000 workers [...] for the coming 2019, about 80% of factories have prepared themselves to implement the new minimum wage of 182 USD and also to operate semimonthly pay. We are also implementing semimonthly pay for civil servants, the armed forces, etc. The Roy-

al Government of Cambodia, especially the political platform of the Cambodian People's Party, has endeavored to implement the semimonthly pay policy [...]

Win-Win Monument Reminds End of War in Cambodia

In just three days from today, we will inaugurate the Win-Win Monument, which is standing not far from here. We will celebrate the event to bring us back to the memory that Cambodia ended war entirely and brought about reconciliation and unity for the first time in its long suffering history. To have achieved peace, you may be reminded that your grandparents and parents had given their best efforts to stand up in and from hardships and to get themselves out of the genocide regime. They had made efforts to prevent the regime's return and to rebuild their families' livelihood. They made efforts along with mine over the past 40 years [...] were there no supports they gave, there would not be what we have today. Hun Sen alone would not be able to save them in the whole country and/or prevent the genocide from returning. Your grandparents and/or parents worked to liberated the country and contribute to ending the war and building peace for the past twenty years [...]

No Golf for a Month

I will join our people to pass into New Year at the Win-Win Monument at 1200 hours on 31 December. We will inaugurate the Monument on 29 December but on 31 December we also have this celebration to pass the 2018 years and to start 2019. In this case, we will celebrate the two events together from 29 through to 30, and 31 December so that our people will be able to enjoy the festivities. I hope that Oknha Ly Yongphat will consider lowering ticket prices for people to tour the Safari World [...] Doctors have prohibited me from standing and/or sitting for too long. It will last for about one month. I will not be able to play golf for one

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month. It was in this reason that I canceled my schedule to play golf on 30 December but I will be present to give rewards to winners [...]

Banned Politician to Request Individually to PM, through Home Minister, HM

There is this political matter that think I should bring up. It is not a war of words with anyone. I just wanted to set light for some Cambodians before they are being deceived. People may have to leave matters in political parties to go the ways they are. It is obvious now that two persons cannot become one. What I needed to remind you now is the amended (articles in the) law on political party that bestows right upon Prime Minister to file for a pardon at the request of the Minister of Interior from HM the King. The Senate already passed the law. It will go to the Constitutional Council and after to HM the King for signature. Let me reaffirm that the law has been amended for the sake of all political parties and not for any specific group or persons.

After the law is signed into force, not everyone will be pardoned automatically. Politicians (banned from political activities by law) will have to file individual request for her/himself to the Minister of Interior, who will then send the request to Prime Minister. The Prime Minister will send the proposed pardon request to HM the King to seek a Royal Decree to repeal the (individual politician) prohibition [...] second choice, a politician in prohibition may file a request personally to Prime Minister, who will send it to Minister of Interior to inspect it. Upon receiving the request back from Interior, Prime Minister will seek HM the King's approval for a repeal. Thirdly, individual politicians in prohibition may write to HM the King to ask for repeal. In normal practice, HM the King will send those requests to Prime Minister, who will then follow the above stated procedure [...] there will not be a package repeal request [...]

Law in Place, Up to Concerned Individual

I have heard some to say they will not ask for repeals (of their banned political actions). I just remind them that if they do not ask for repeals they would not be able to participate in the communal council elections in 2022. They may have to think harder on this fact that they have to earn their rights in politics to get themselves ready for the 2022 communal council elections. If they failed to do so, they would continue to be banned from politics and would face further charges. They had filed for an appeal but the decision of the Supreme Court is final. On this development, I would thank them (for not filing for repeal request as by not doing so the Cambodian political arena) is free from a mess. They could be aware that without them, Cambodian has got twenty other political parties and they are active in Cambodian politics. They are preparing themselves to compete in the forthcoming communal council elections in 2022 [...] I must advise them that they cannot suffocate the Royal Government as they wish to or by what they like to brag about "external pressure." They may wait to see that they will not succeed. I have said it that they will have to wait until a horse has got horns. Cambodia at this moment is making its way for development. Having said this, I must reassert that we are not making enemy with anyone but we will not trade our sovereignty for assistance.

Communal, District, Provincial Councilors Joining CPP Continue to Stand

Secondly, they may not hope that a ghost would resurrect. I heard that there have been some efforts to reorganize, for instance in Kompot [...] I wish to remind the person that he is cheating people with a hope that does not exist. You are destroying future of those people. I also learnt that there have been some money under the table involved. Those of you communal councilors who have joined the Cambodian People's Party may

see that you will continue to stand for the Cambodian People's Party in 2022 and on. District and provincial councilors who will run in the forthcoming May elections, both those who already run and those who have not run yet, will continue to have their chances [...] incumbent communal councilors will continue their posts until the elections in 2022 [...] I discussed with Samdech Krola Haom Sar Kheng yesterday about a possibility of increasing number of seats in the District/Khan, Municipal and Provincial Councils [...] let me assert to those politicians who daydream of returning as commune heads that it will not happen.

Thirdly, their efforts to get the sun rise at 1200 midnight is impossible. The national elections will have to wait till July 2023. Some nurture their wish to return to parliamentary seats. They may go on giving their lower ranks and files hope that is impossible [...] those of them who have been dissolved along with the party will not regain political rights before 2022, if you do not ask for it [...]

Let the Brave One Come for the Wrong He Did

On another note, the one claimed he would return to the country, I need to send him news too that I have prepared cuffs and prison. Let the brave one return to Cambodia either before or after the ultimatum on 1 March (2019). If he for any reason cancels his return, he would be nothing else but a beast [...] (I) invite the brave man to enter the country to serve justice for the wrongs he committed [...] I have informed the aviation to allow airline to fly him in. I wish to set the record straight with him [...] we are after him for a long time now [...] it would be easier now that he would come to us [...] every time there is something wrong, big or small, he just ran away to cry foul from outside. I sought pardon for him on the day that my father died. This time around, I will not do it again. I will see that the authority is implementing the court's decisions. I do not care who

would say what [...]

Fake News Loses Its Credibility

There have been analysis on everything now. The fake news they produced had been so nasty. One day they said Prime Minister ordered arrest of Khem (a pop singer), while I was downloading his songs into my phone [...] the other day they said Prime Minister ordered arrest of Knhong (a comedy actress) [...] because of her comments on guesthouse prices [...] and lately, they said that Samdech (Prime Minister) arrested Kith Meng (a businessman). When they produced this frequently fake stories, they have in fact lost their credibility [...] in some analysis they said Hun Sen offered money to staff of the CNC (TV) and Bayon (TV). Well, that is my money.

I am a Prime Minister. In this position, do you think I do not have money? [...] As Prime Minister, I and my wife have been doing what we can to assist financially to some people in need [...] that is an art of sharing [...]

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peacekeeping purpose under the UN flag. Though we may have power to amend the Constitution to grant permission for foreign military bases in Cambodia and/or to allow Cambodian troops to operate in foreign countries not under the UN flag, we would not go for that.

This would be my reassertion to my statements on this topic at the recent Cabinet meeting and in my joint press conference in Hanoi with the Prime Minister of Vietnam. Cambodia, I reassert, will resolutely allow no foreign military bases in its territory [...] I thank you all for listening to my long speech in which I have underlined [...] Cambodian positions on international affairs [...] *it is my right as elected (leader) to represent and to lead policy making of Cambodia – domestic and foreign. I earn this right from my people. I must protect my people as a sovereign state from insults [...]*

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other countries to generate electricity in Cambodian islands. Should we allow them to do that, *Cambodia could have become a waste dumping site* [...] as for land reclamation without permission is concerned, “without permission” is the key issue here. To develop a country, we may have to work on reclamation for instance to build and/or to expand the blue water port [...] we also have to build breakwaters or some kind of barriers to prevent wave from reaching shore [...] I wish to take this opportune moment to emphasize that strict measures must be taken for any reclamation without permission, and such action would ensue punishment by law. We may have to come up with amendments to the law if there would need to be [...] to punish those who reclaim land without permission.

Objective and Subjective Factors to Low Tourist Arrivals in Preah Sihanouk Province

On this occasion, I am asking the governor of Preah Sihanouk province to restore honor that has soured due to objective and subjective factors [...] I am making the statement here is for authority concerned – public administration and the armed forces on issue in Preah Sihanouk province [...] we have 16 million population and there are many tourist destinations. In coastal area, they may want to go to Koh Kong, Preah Sihanouk, Kompot or Kep. We also have other tourist destinations [...] *Those who have often come (to Preah Sihanouk) would change their destinations. That was an objective reason why we had low turnout of tourist arrival to Preah Sihanouk* [...]

Along with objective factor, *there is also this subjective one concerning security and social order. Cambodian law is subject to implementing on every one setting foot in Cambodia without exception.* We must see to laws’ enforcement [...] (we have had this doctored VDO case that was not even in Cambodia) to create a false

image and to destroy tourism growth in Cambodia. It was a real intention [...]

Recommendation 3 – Build and Improve Infrastructures for Tourism

... *(We must make efforts to build and/or improve airports, roads, (clean) water, electricity, hotels, touring sites, etc.* Tourists in this era are not ones to fan themselves but to cool themselves in rooms with air-condition. In certain places, there may have to be five-star hotels. Tourists may want to find on internet news about Cambodia whether there are five-star hotels and qualified hospitals where they wanted to go. Responding to these demands, we must make further efforts to achieve those infrastructures to serve tourism in the country [...]

Recommendation 4 – Security and Social Order

... *In relation to security and social order, we must take every possible measures to prevent drug-addicts and lawbreakers from carrying out their actions* in coastal areas [...] we may have remembered the case of Sergei Polonsky, a criminal wanted by Russia, who escaped arrest and hid himself with his investment in the province of Preah Sihanouk. The Russian government requested his arrest. We did and sent him to Russia. We must be extremely vigilant to keep our coastal area from falling into shelters of drug-addicts or lawbreakers, and more importantly from those terrorists who may run and hide from search on land [...]

Recommendation 5 – Boosting Production to Supply for Tourism Sector

... *Strive to produce more to ensure supply to tourism sector or shall we say to export produces locally.* Let us encourage locals living around tourist sites to grow vegetables and to raise livestock for the sake of addressing growing demand of tourist arrivals. Make sure our people understand that tourists are markets for their produces. I have coined this concept as

exporting to local demands. I met and discussed with President of the Union company that is investing in the development of holiday city Dara Sakor yesterday. I asked him to find ways to bring in three million tourists to Cambodia and to purchase Cambodian rice to serve them. He ensures me he will [...]

Recommendation 6 – Expand and Bolster Sea Corridor Connectivity

... *Expand and bolster connectivity of sea corridor from the province of Koh Kong through the province of Preah Sihanouk to the provinces of Kompot and Kep.* This strategic corridor will serve not only transportation but also tourism. I am taking this opportune moment to inform people in Koh Kong, Pursat and Battambang provinces that we will soon have this project of building roads connecting Koh Kong to Pursat and to Battambang to address their transportation needs [...] Koh Kong also will have to work on own connectivity, building insider roads for instance, between the city of Khemarak Phumin to Dara Sakor to reduce distance of traveling [...]

Recommendation 7 – Ensuring Safety at Sea/Water for Tourists

... *We must take safeguard and ensure safety at sea and/or traveling on water to visit and/or tour remote islands.* Regular inspection of their means of transportation and personal floating devices would be a good point to start with [...] we have more visitors to islands [...] we must make sure that transporting them to and from those islands is safe [...]

No Foreign Military Bases in Cambodia

What I am going to say now is not a recommendation but a live message from here to our friends concerning this bad and unjust accusation that Cambodia is working on setting up a foreign military bases in Koh Kong’s Tara Sakor and in Preah Sihanouk province. They even said that whatever is built there would be serving both civil and

military purposes. I must reassert that the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia allows no military bases in its territory – navy, infantry or air force. However, we may pose a question on those who have brought this concern up what would Cambodia need those foreign military bases for? On this point of dual infrastructural purpose – for civilian and military, have not they done the same in other countries? How come Cambodian cannot do the same? [...]

What else do they want from Cambodia after past atrocity? I wish they would not do things that would cause lethal danger to Cambodia. While development in coastal area happens without their investments, they picked up on us and made it an issue about foreign military bases development. I have no way of understanding the matter when the US Vice President wrote me a letter (asking about it)? [...] I think from their satellites, they can see from above. They can verify if we are building bases for submarines or not [...] I would not allow (Cambodia) to purchase any submarines. There is no need to build bases for them. I am definite on that.

More Airports for More Tourists

We have adopted master plan for our country to expand airport in the province of Preah Sihanouk with runway to accommodate landing/taking-off of big aircrafts to be invested by VINCI, a French company. In Koh Kong, we will have this company of Bangkok Airway to invest in airport with runway that will accommodate medium size aircrafts. For Dara Sakor’s investment, there will be an airport to bring in tourists [...]

Elected to Lead Domestic and Foreign Policy Making

Let me reaffirm that though the present Constitution prohibits foreign military bases in Cambodia and no military operation with second country against other countries, we have been able to send our troops for

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