

Commemorating Journey to Overthrow the Pol Pot's Genocidal Regime

(20 June 2022 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)



Today marks the 45th anniversary of the day of remembrance of the journey to the overthrow of the Pol Pot genocidal regime, which we are celebrating this year, along with the inauguration of achievements at the Koh Thmor X16 historic military site [...] first of all, let me express my gratitude to His Excellency Pham Minh Chinh, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the delegation for accepting my invitation to attend the ceremony [...] I thank His Excellency Prime Minister Pham Minh Chinh for giving me the opportunity to burn incense at the place where I did the same 45 years ago and to visit the (Vietnamese) people to thank them for saving my life [...]

The Journey 45 Years Ago to Liberate Cambodia from the Genocidal Regime Led Cambodia to the Paris Peace Agreement; the Win-Win Policy, National Unity and Territorial Unification; Low-Middle-Income Country and Poverty Rates Below 10%

Today, the commemoration of the 45th anniversary reflects some of the points that I should have raised for my compatriots as well as all the foreign friends who were invited to participate

today, including Ambassadors, Chargé d’Affaires and foreign friends as well. The point for the study of history is that what could have happened if I did not do what I did (leaving and liberating the country) which is the first question and if I did what I did (leaving and liberating the country) is the second question.

For the first proposition I should ask and answer myself in advance – clearly, I would have died and I would not have known what happened after that. At that time, no one could ask for rights/freedoms from Pol Pot. If I did not take action, I must be dead. If I am dead, then I do not know what will happen next – whether the Pol Pot regime continue to kill people or the Pol Pot regime changes its attitude, or other patriots take up the duty to liberate the country [...]

The second proposition is what happened when I took my actions. What it shows is that the 45-year journey marked clearly the liberation from the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, which led to the end of the war through the Paris Agreement and continued its implementation to towards a final goal, which is the implementation of a win-win

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Closing 2021/22 and Opening 2022/23 Royal School of Administration Courses

(13 June 2022 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)

Covid-19 Cannot Block the Progress of the Royal School of Administration

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Ministry of Public Functions, as well as the Royal School of Administration, the leadership of the Royal School of Administration, as well as all the professors who have worked hard to teach our students in all areas [...] again, there are senior officials, there are clerks, retraining officials from all walks of life who have come here to study. Although during this period of study, both schools and students, not just the schools here, but everywhere, faced the same challenge: the spread of Covid-19, which has plagued the world as

well as Cambodia from 2020 to 2021 and up to now. But Covid-19 could not block the school’s progress or prevent students from attending school. Although the study pattern may have changed, but the students can still learn the knowledge [...]

For the Reform Site to Move Forward, the Best Option Is to Train Human Resources

I am very pleased that our officials have been receiving training and capacity building, which is our main issue. I would also like to welcome new-intake of more than 655 students, from all walks of life, including senior officials, clerks, intermediate-level and mid-level retraining officials, to this academic year. I do not forget to take this opportunity to thank all the development partners who have contributed to our civil servants training school. Our quest for success is first and foremost about human resources. Whatever you do, you need human resources. We have introduced reforms in many areas. If you wanted reform to go ahead, the best option was to train human resources. It all starts with people. *Reforming an institution is possible only if the people know how to reform it. An institution is made up of people. If an institution does not have people, it is not called an institution. Thus, in each sector that needs to be reformed, it is necessary to have human resources who have the capacity and ability to respond to the needs of the development of our country.*

RSA’s Five-Year Strategic Plan 2021-2025 Responds to

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To Exercise Voting Right in Fifth Term Communal/Sangkat Elections

(03 June 2022 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)

Dear Compatriots,

Today is the last day for the 5th term commune/Sangkat election campaign. *The time followed will be the tranquility day, in addition to the circular I issued calling for a ban on drinking and sale of alcohol on election day. I would like to take this opportunity to address and appeal to my compatriots, even though Covid-19 has dwindled and absent from our country for almost a month, when you go to the polls, please, my compatriots, do not forget to bring along your alcohol (and/or gel disinfectants) to wash your hands, to put on*

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policy to unite the nation and unify the territory and channel Cambodia from one stage to another until Cambodia reaches a low-middle-income country status with a poverty rate below 10% [...]

Escaping to Vietnam 45 Years Ago to Re-organize the Struggle – One of the Four Options

This year marks the 45th anniversary of my escape (from the genocide regime of Pol Pot) to Vietnam, and this year marks the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. I do not want to go into details about what happened on the 20th (June 1977) because all of these reminders are painful and difficult for me to describe, but I cannot avoid talking about them [...] I had up to four options at the time. The first is with the armed force under my command [...] about 1,500 troops to occupy Memot, Snuol and other neighborhoods [...] but it came to my mind that it was a risk as in a week or half a month, this rebel army would have died (from fighting the main army of Pol Pot). The second option was for me to withdraw to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to organize another struggle. The third option was to do nothing and let Pol Pot capture and kill like everyone else. The fourth option was to commit suicide [...]

Crossing into Vietnamese Territory; Looking Back at Cambodian Territory with Tears – at 13 Years Old Separated Parents; at 25 Years Old Separated from the Country

[...] I have made it clear that we are not able to cross to Vietnam at the military line because on the one side we could have been the target of pursuit and on the other those soldiers could have joined us to leave for Vietnam. If we bring more troops into the territory of Vietnam as a sovereign country, and that had already had conflict (with the Democratic Kampuchea), armed clashes could have happened. The circumstance was

that the Pol Pot regime had already launched attacks on Vietnam in some areas [...] (in search of asylum in Vietnam, we cannot take a big troop (with) [...])

I was able to leave before 9pm [...] that was the saddest time of my life. Crossing into Vietnam, I returned to Cambodia with tears and said in my heart that (it was so sad that at) the 13 years of age, I was separated from my parents due to lack of schooling and at the 25 years of age I had to leave the country because of the butcher regime. This is what I remember. This morning, to burn incense out there, I also shed tears at that place. I should finish (my description). I cannot go on because (it is too difficult to) control (emotions) about my sad story from 45 years ago [...] a young man who is only 25 years old leads a resistance movement [...]

I foresaw that we might end up in chains (while we get to Vietnam). Instead, I received a welcome with the food that the Vietnamese people cooked for us. We have not eaten properly for a year already. On the day that I started to reveal that I was against the Khmer Rouge [...] at about 2pm I ordered the army [...] to open barns of about 20 metric ton rice to feed. Clearly, by then I show my face (as the one to oppose the Democratic Kampuchea) [...] I had had to write a letter to my wife. The song – One Difficult Letter to Write – has been released nationwide [...] we are also making a film [...] and it may be released in 2023.

While writing a letter, (the most difficult part was) what I could tell my wife of where we were going [...] I was not sure of anything even whether I was killed after writing this letter or we were to get ambushed (on the way) out to the Vietnamese border by any force. We cannot say what could have happened. In the end, I chose a word, “To Rani, when you read the letter, I have already gone so far that I did not even know where I was.” This is what was written in the letter at that time [...]

The National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea was born on December 2 – Military Organization Came First; and Political Organization Came After

[...] The military organization of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea (NUFSK), a movement for the overthrow of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, began to build an orderly military unit on May 12, 1978. If we compare the two fronts, the front of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, founded on March 23, 1970 in Beijing, with the front of December 2, 1978, they have different capabilities [...]

The difference is that in 1970, the United National Front of Cambodia, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Father of the Nation, was only a political organization. There is no armed force organization yet. To be honest, according to historical factors, at that time along the Cambodian-Vietnamese border there were Vietnamese troops. Behind this place is what we called O Sampoch. This stream is where the Viet Cong came to buy rice. I reported to the Marquis in the forest at O Sampoch on April 4, 1970 [...] and was sent for training and fighting at the Snuol barrack [...]

Cambodia helped Vietnam and Vietnam also helped Cambodia. His Excellency Pham Minh Chinh just said that without the supply of logistics from the south and from Cambodian territory, it would be difficult (for the liberation efforts of South Vietnam) [...] the Cambodian National United Front in 1970 was a political organization, following which the military came into existence, not be known of the date. But the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea came into existence on December 2, in a process that the military organization came first and the political organization came after [...]

A Single Character in the 45 Years History; Vietnam Helps Cambodia with Training and Materials, Cambodia Takes Political Responsibility;

Cambodian Combatants Remains Repatriation Suggested

That’s a turning point in history. A single character connects events for 45 years. This character has been associated with national liberation events since the struggle to overthrow Pol Pot, rebuilding the country, curbing hunger, and the subsequent process of negotiations. In terms of historical factors here, [...] I’m not the army commander but the creator of the army [...] I went to Vietnam through this border pass in March (1977), and in December 1977, I returned and took the National Road 7 making my journey to Da commune. In March 1978, I returned to Koh Thmor. On the Vietnamese side, there was General Tran Van Tra, then Deputy Chief of Staff and Commander of the 7th Army Division, who agreed to help us build an army.

After meeting with General Van Tien Dung, General Staff of the Vietnamese People’s Army on September 27, 1977, General Tran Van Tra told me: “*Vietnam only provides support for logistics, weapons and training. But politically, the Cambodian side is responsible.*” I replied, “*I am responsible,*” and I said, “*No one knows Cambodia better than Cambodians*” [...] there have been some confusion here in the past. I should elaborate again that we established the unit 125 – means the unit established on the 12th day of the fifth months – not in Long Khanh, but in Thủ Đức [...]

I would like to make a point here for Samdech Pich Sena Tea Banh as well as other leaders (to consider). Vietnam gave us land, in Vietnam, to keep the remains of my 49 combatants. I cannot find their families. I have to keep their bodies in Vietnamese territory. Now, I am asking you to please consider whether to repatriate the remains from Vietnam land back to Cambodia, using this historical site as the location to lay them [...] Vietnam is also repatriating the remains of Vietnamese voluntary troops back to Vietnam. It

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should also be time for the repatriation of the remains of NUFSK combatants. I suggest placing them in this historic area as we cannot find their families and every June 20 we can come and pay our respects [...]

May 1978, Together with Samdech Heng Samrin, Samdech Chea Sim in the Eastern Zone, Expanded the Struggle to Establish the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea

The turn of the journey that began on June 20, 1977, came to the establishment of the National United Front for Salvation Army on May 12, 1978. That is an important basis to unite with the political organization, which is the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea. What I am most happy about is that the armed forces, which I and my colleagues named – the armed forces of the National United Army for Salvation of Kampuchea [...] came into operation in Memot district, Snuol district and deep into Dambe district. Coincidentally, in May 1978, Samdech Heng Samrin, Samdech Chea Sim revolted in the Eastern Zone. We joined hands to expand the resistance, and we rallied with other resistance forces to form the National United Front (for Salvation of Kampuchea).

What I am happy about is that when it comes to discussing political programs among the four groups that met, because the group under HE Say Phuthong and Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh in Thailand was unable to disclose [...] (as I suggested) the other three groups accepted the name of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea. Therefore, we are not worried about changing the name of the Armed Forces [...] as the armed forces is already known as the National United Army for Salvation of Kampuchea. We also use the same name for the creation of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea.

The Khmer Rouge Trial Provided Justice for the Cambodian Resistance Forces; Two Possibilities Considered for the Country's Liberation

It was through the establishment of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea on December 2 that we set out to liberate the country on January 7, 1979. History also records the intervention of the Vietnamese army to save the people of this country from the genocidal regime of Pol Pot. Anyone wishes to know if the Vietnamese army intervened to save the Cambodian people was right or wrong, they should just ask the UN and the hybrid court (Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia created by the government in conjunction) with the UN, what does the verdict of Pol Pot trial mean? It is a recognition by the United Nations that Vietnam's actions are right. If Vietnam's actions are not right, there is no need to prosecute the Khmer Rouge.

Some people accuse me of leading the Vietnamese army to kill the Cambodian people. How many people were killed by the Vietnamese army? Starting with a population of over 5 million, Cambodia now has a population of 17 million. In the 43 years of liberation, Cambodia's population has grown to 12 million. Some say Hun Sen was guilty of bringing Vietnamese troops to Cambodia. Now ask the United Nations. Why is it necessary to prosecute (the Khmer Rouge leaders)? And the hybrid court is not set up by any group but by the UN Security Council to decide on this case [...]

I personally considered two possibilities regarding what would be the course of actions and they were (a possibility of having and not having intervention from Vietnam). For the first possibility, we were thinking of using personal force in the absence of Vietnamese military intervention. I think it would take Cambodia four or five years to liberate the country by attacking the eastern shore (of the Mekong) and heading west

[...] but due to the danger that the Vietnamese leaders foresaw, they decided to intervene in time to save the lives of Cambodians.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRC) and later the State of Cambodia (SOC) have long suffered injustice. In addition to sanction placed on PRK/SOC, the United Nations recognized Pol Pot. Vietnam was also punished for what they called a Cambodian aggressor. Now Vietnam has regained justice along with the CPP. The success of the Khmer Rouge trial was a testament to the legitimacy of Cambodia's struggle, backed by the Vietnamese voluntary army.

June 2, 1988 – Vietnamese Chief Economic Advisor Announced Withdrawal of Vietnamese Experts; September 30, 1989, more than two years before the Paris Agreement, Vietnamese Army Completely Withdrew; Court Hearing to Change the Birthdate from April 4, 1951 to August 5, 1952

I would like to emphasize one point ... Vietnam did not withdraw its troops after the Paris Agreement [...] but completely withdrew its troops from Cambodia on September 30, 1989, more than two years before the Paris Agreement. That is the time when we strive to build our strength. Although after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese army some geographies were lost, such as Pailin, Anlong Veng, and others, but we managed to control the situation and the international aspect of the Cambodian issue was resolved. There are two political aspects to the Cambodian problem – internal and international. Thus, once Vietnam withdraws from Cambodia, the international aspect is resolved, leaving only the internal aspect, which provides an opportunity for Cambodia to mediate through the participation of stakeholders, including the permanent members of the Security Council, to achieve the Paris Peace Agreement [...]

Some say that it was for the

Paris Agreement that Vietnam withdrew its troops. That was in stark contrast to the actual situation in Cambodia. I would like to emphasize [...] Vietnamese experts withdrew on June 2, 1988 (meaning they) withdrew one year before the Vietnamese army did. I would like to emphasize this point to share with both Vietnamese and Cambodian leaders [...] I met with former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Van Linh (and informed him): "Now, in order for my officials to know how to work, I would like to remove Vietnamese experts first. We can still keep the Vietnamese there." [...] on June 2, 1988 [...] the Vietnam's Chief Economic Experts came to me to report on the withdrawal of Vietnamese experts [...] the Vietnamese army withdrew from Cambodia two years before the Paris Agreement [...]

43 Years of Border Negotiations, Signed, Accepted and Erected 84% Border Poles, 16% to Settle, of Which 6% Are Still in Talks; Vietnam Does Not Need to Take Cambodian Land and Cambodia Does Not Need to Take the Vietnamese Land; The Same is True with the Kingdom of Thailand and with Laos

[...] This year marks the 45th (of the founding anniversary of the Commemoration of the Journey to the Overthrow of the Pol Pot Genocidal Regime, June 20, 1977 – June 20, 2022, Koh Thmor Village) and 55th anniversary of our two countries' relations, which, I signed last night the letter to HE Pham Minh Chinh congratulating the establishment of diplomatic relations, coincidentally marks the 45th anniversary today. The CPP has had more than two-thirds of the two countries' relations [...] Vietnam at that time was divided into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. King Norodom Sihanouk temporarily recognized the South Vietnamese Front, which HE Pham Minh Chinh mentioned in his speech [...] in this relationship, peace has taken place

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during the 43 years of CPP rule of the country. Compared to the past, this border area is full of people's fears. US and South Vietnamese troops regularly dropped the bombs along the border, shelled Cambodian territory in many places. But for 43 years, we have instead been working together on the border, with which we have signed up to 84% of the demarcated border line. We are negotiating the settlement of the remaining 16%, of which 6% are still under discussion.

... It is said that Mr. Hun Sen owes gratitude to Vietnam, so the land must be cut off and giving to Vietnam. I would like to emphasize that if I were to cut the land for Vietnam, there were no need to negotiate for 43 years [...] if Vietnam wanted to cut the land (they would have done that) since when Vietnam was in Cambodia [...] with His Excellency Nguyen Co Thach (Vietnamese Foreign Minister), and because at that time I was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, we signed the agreement on historic waters to determine the Khmer sovereignty over Koh Wai Island, which was the basis for later negotiations. Historical water area is well managed. We signed the 1983 border statute and the 1985 border issue, which I later signed with Prime Minister HE Phan Van Khai in 2005 to amend some points of the supplementary agreement, and in 2019 I signed With HE Nguyen Sun Phuc to accept the 84% already agreed, and there remains 16% to do [...]

That was an unfair accusation [...] I would like to confirm here through this live broadcasting to the Cambodian people – both domestic and abroad, and to the Prime Minister of Vietnam and the Vietnamese leader that “I have no right to hand over even one millimeter of land to Vietnam, and I do not want even one millimeter of Vietnamese land. I just wanted every party comply with the rules left by the French colonial rule. Vietnam does not need to take our land and we do not need to take Vietnamese land. Not only with Vietnam, but also with the

Kingdom of Thailand, and with Laos”.

Battlefield to Development Area; Border of Peace, Friendship, Cooperation and Development; This Year, Cambodia-Vietnam Trade Volume Expected to Reach More Than USD 10 Billion; International Pass to Announce Later

I would like to clarify here that after the successful implementation of the win-win policy, I have set out two main directions, the first direction is to turn all former battlefields into development areas or markets. This first goal we have been realizing. The area now is no longer under mines or fighting. The second goal is to turn the border with all neighboring countries into a border of peace, friendship, cooperation and development [...] on the Vietnamese border, the area where artillery were mounted and shelled to Cambodia in the past is becoming a factory area, a hotel area, an exchange area. In the past, they exchanged bullets, but now they exchange goods with each other.

In the first five months of this year, looked at yesterday's figure in the Aide Memoirs, the figure has reached over US\$ 5 billion. Surprisingly, before Covid-19, we set a goal of only US\$ 5 billion, but with the Covid-19, last year we realized more than US\$ 9 billion. Now, in the first five months of this year, we have realized more than US\$ 5 billion. This year, trade between the two countries is expected to reach more than USD 10 billion [...] our border is full of peace, of cooperation and for development. For this area, His Excellency Pham Minh Chinh and I have maintained an aim that in the future, at an appropriate time, we can open an international gateway. Today we cannot announce it yet because there is still some works to be done and infrastructure to be set up. The road we built from Koh Thmor to this point is only 8 meters in width. I would urge Senior Minister His Excellency Sun Chanthol to start expanding it at least

to the width of National Road 7 to connect with this border area. I believe that in the future this area will become an economic exchange area. I issued a decision at the request of General Sao Sokha and at the request of His Excellency Chea Sophara, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, to set up a special economic zone [...] this area became a goods exchange area [...] those who grow in this area can send their agricultural produce down to Quy Nhon port (?) or to Ho Chi Minh port [...]

On another matter, I am urging both parties to review some (border pass) forms. Indeed, HE Pham Minh Chinh mentioned about pushing for negotiations on the border statute. The border statute is about an overview of access control between the peoples of the two countries. I want to have something special here. Example, the Cambodian side wants to burn incense on the Vietnamese side, how could they cross? And the Vietnamese people, who wanted to visit this friendship building, how they could get permission. We could not ask them for passport. How to make it easy [...]

A Meal 45 Years Ago Worth More Than Millions of Tons of Rice Now; Standing Strong with Loyal Combatants and CPP Leaders; Ready to Feed People Because of Covid-19 and Inflation; Vaccination Continues for Free

I enjoyed today's meeting and the speech given by HE Pham Minh Chinh on behalf of the Vietnamese side. I am very pleased that the speech reminded of the history that binds the people between our two countries. Before the ceremony started, I went to meet the Vietnamese people. I thank them for helping me live my life at that time. One meal I ate was worth hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, millions of tons of rice now. Cambodia has more than 4 million tons of rice left. A meal at that time was far more expensive than it is now. That is

why I say one could know and love each other truly in times of need. A good friend in difficult times (a friend in deed is a friend in need).

This is what happened in my life. I am standing firmly with the faithful combatants and the CPP leadership. I would like to emphasize that I am only a part of the national liberation movement and the movement to bring peace, national unity and national development. It is not my exclusive property, but the exclusive property of the Cambodian people in general. I thank Samdech, Excellencies, Lok Chumteavs, Ladies and Gentlemen, as well as diplomats and foreign guests who came to study in the historical area. (Here where we are) I was suffering and from this point on that we fought to liberate the country from the genocide [...] I helped steering the course for the country [...]

Negotiations to find a solution, the signing of the Paris Agreement, the implementation of the Paris Agreement, the prosecution of the Khmer Rouge to achieve justice for the dead, the implementation of win-win policy, rebuilding the country and economy from a difficult situation to a nation developing into a low middle income country and has ambitions by 2030 to become a high middle-income country, and lowering the poverty rate. We are now working to prevent the poverty rate from going up due to Covid-19. We have raised nearly 3 million people and are ready to feed more due to Covid-19 and inflation. We have won the battles of Delta Alpha and Omicron, but have not yet won the battle of Covid-19. I have confirmed to my compatriots, not to mention the first dose, the second dose, the third dose, the fourth dose and the fifth dose that is being injected, even we have to provide up to the tenth or twentieth doses, the Royal Government will still provide them to the citizens and foreigners in the country free of charge [...] we liberated the people from (the genocide in) 1979, not to let them die [...]

What Have Been Done

I am happy to see what is happening on the territory of our Kingdom of Cambodia. At the moment, I commend the school, but I should talk about the five-year strategic plan 2021-2025 that the school has set out in response to these measures. I have observed that these measures have responded to what we have been doing and oriented to the policy framework that we have set out and have been implementing in the long run [...] if we think back to 1992, it is important to note that the school was under the management of the Ministry of Interior, then organized by the late General Sin Song, and we later transferred the school to the Office of the Council of Ministers. Later, we transferred the school to the Ministry of Public Functions [...] we promoted the Secretary of State for Public Functions to the Ministry of Public Function [...]

It would be better for you to invite professors, including ministers, deputy prime ministers, secretaries of state, or experts in various institutions to give presentations [...] I have also been an honorary professor at this school since 1997, but this honorary professor is paid only once [...] and usually this honorary professor comes to give his lesson only before our officials leave the school. Generally, our officials receive two instructions from me. The first time is when we commence the training, like we have here some 655 people today. They will meet me next year when their courses finish. Therefore, in one course, students meet me twice [...]

Fought against Covid-19 in the Past, and to Fight in the Next Two to Three Years

Before allowing me to reach out to our officials, I should first talk about some of the issues so that we can all share what is happening on our territory [...] and in any part of the world now. This is a macro framework that we need to see, which is both a challenge and a problem that we needed to address. *First of*

all, I should talk about issues related to the fight against Covid-19 some time ago, as well as in the next two or three years. Covid-19 subjects remain a complex issue. Covid-19 is not over and it is not far from us. Our vigilance must continue. What have we learned from the more than two years of Covid-19? At this point, we all need to see the success we have made in the past in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. Not a joke. We worked hard.

Even the monks, civil servants who study here are all involved through the measures for individuals and through the measures that the Ministry of Health or the authorities or the government put in action, including the vaccination, which is an important part of keeping us from death [...] *I should make it clear that what the Royal Government was doing then was for now. At that time, the Royal Government was forced to close Phnom Penh, Takhmao, Sihanoukville. Next, we set out the target for lockdowns, divided into red, yellow, orange and pink areas. The division of these areas or (taking) health measures is nothing but the well-being of the people.* Obviously, our people have seen (from) the measures taken by the Royal Government in 2021. In 2020, we did not have many measures, but in 2021, when the Delta invaded and killed people, especially the events of February 20, 2021 [...] we have concentrated all our efforts to solve (and protect the lives) of the people.

Cambodia Gives Priority to the Right to Life First

It's not easy [...] we have to think and do everything we can to overcome (the lethal pandemic threat) so that people do not die. We prioritize the right to life. Whether the European Union give priority to [...] freedom of expression first is up to her but for us here, if one died and one does not have anything to say, or opinion to express. Let me be honest. Here we have to pay attention to the right to life first. Because of this right to life, we can exercise other

rights, including the right to form a political party, to form an NGO, to establish a civil society, to establish a press and other rights. If you do not have the right to life, then you have no right at all. Some dare not talk about that right to life. They talk about other rights. We recognize all the rights, including the rights we (received) in one week ago (last) Sunday to vote in (the commune/Sangkat elections). This is the right of the democratic process [...]

The Royal Government Serves the Needs of Life Irrespective of Religious and Political Parties

On this point, we should take it for experiment. About the challenging situation, we must mobilize the whole national force to fight. We are proud that even though our people may believe in this or that party, this or that religion, or that there are different nationalities living in our territory, but the medical examination and treatment is non-discriminatory, non-political, non-racial, etc. Particularly, vaccines and vaccination in Cambodia are non-discriminatory. Now we look at the fact that [...]

There were 17 political parties and they all have won more or less votes. Asked if those voters were vaccinated? One has to see the solution that Cambodia has achieved in facing with challenge. Despite different religious beliefs, different political parties, we have the same requirements for survival, prevention of Covid-19 infection. We have one thing in common. Therefore, the Royal Government must serve that goal. That so and so believes in any political party, religion, I do not care. What I care about is the lives of our people. That is why the vaccine can be considered as a symbol of our national unity and solidarity [...]

Covid-19 under Control – Decentralization and De-concentration Success Story

That is why we were able to put out the fire from the early phase compared to some other coun-

tries [...] our civil servants need to see the experience and put it into thought for themselves in the future or directing work in this area as to what we can or cannot do.

The experience has underlined clearly sub-national democracies, in which we transfer more power by implementing decentralization and de-concentration to the subnational level, in successful practice. If power were concentrated at the top and we did not transfer power to the base, perhaps the Covid-19 would not have come under control. (Suppose) that the Ministry of Health manages this matter alone, without handing over the matter to the provinces or the province did not hand over the matter to the local community to resolve, I think maybe we did not manage the situation on time.

The fact that we have been reforming in the past, the issue of decentralization and de-concentration, which is the transfer of power to the grassroots, clear indicated the success through the battles against the Covid-19. *I strongly encourage institutions to further promote decentralization and de-concentration. In March, we convened a meeting to launch a plan to promote decentralization and de-concentration and in about last February we laid out plans for how to transfer more power to the grassroots [...]*

“In English or French, It May Sound Perfect, in Khmer, It Is a Bad Insult”

This point should help expose you as well as the venerable to experiments and lessons for the future [...] what we have been doing is for the next generation. Usually, the previous generation left achievements for later generation – not in the case of Pol Pot, they left us disaster, and inherited nothing. The heirs of us have a lot to inherit from us [...] we need to compare one stage to another. *That's why I do not understand when some used the word “getting poorer” [...] would they swear to be*

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hit by lightning or not? [...] Madam (EU) Ambassador, let me tell you when they speak to you in English or French, they speak very politely. It sounds perfect to your ears. If Lok Chumteav (could understand and listen) in the Khmer language (of what) they speak, you will learn for sure how badly they insulted us. That is why we do not agree with what they said to insult us or the way people look at us from the outside.

There have been two Cambodia (in their eyes), Lok Chumteav. One Cambodia is really what you have seen with your eyes here. Another Cambodia is what they have written in the press and it is different from the first. So, if you pay attention to their Facebook postings, you can have someone to translate them from Khmer to English, or to French, or to Spanish, then you will know what they are doing and what they are saying [...] diplomats abroad evaluate them, (without learning what they had said or done) to be good. They do not know their provocative language. I am not giving a lecture for EU ambassador here, but I am giving advice because you gave me recommendations. I should also make some recommendations to Lok Chumteav what should be done to know the real Cambodia? [...]

100 M Doses of Vaccine Packaging in Cambodia for 2024, 2025 and 2026

We need to remain vigilant with a new way of life. I am happy to see that even though wearing a mask is exempt, [...] some are still used to a habit of wearing a mask. People are sued to, firstly, getting vaccinated, and secondly, wearing a mask [...] I call on our people to get vaccinated [...]

I request to the local level to continue working with the people to understand and accept the third dose of vaccine. Those who received the third dose already, please go for the fourth dose. Those who received the fourth dose already, please go for the fifth dose. As of last

night, up to nearly 100,000 people have gotten their fifth dose. The fifth dose vaccination started from the 9th June. As I mentioned the day before, we are ordering more than 100 million doses, 104 million doses of vaccine to be exact, packaged in Cambodia for use in 2024, 2025 and 2026.

This (local vaccine) factory has to produce about 35 million doses a year for us to use [...] at the interval of 4 months, we would need 35 million doses a year. In 2022 and 2023, we will use the remaining vaccines. More than 11 million doses of the vaccine are now in stock. The promised vaccine of 15 million doses will arrive from China, 5.5 million doses from the United States, and 500,000 doses from Australia [...] we have not yet assessed when Covid-19 will end [...]

Recovered from Covid-19, Hit by Russia-Ukraine War, Food & Energy Crisis

The people accept this political message regarding the continued fight against Covid-19, which is not over yet. This is the first point. The second thing I want to convey now is that we must be prepared to accept the reality of the economic downturn that began with Covid-19 and now confluent with the war in Ukraine. In this regard, we must work together to maintain good macroeconomic stability, curb inflation, maintain the purchasing power of the Riel. Our economy has just recovered after the Covid-19, but it is unthinkable that the Russian-Ukrainian war has begun to place a burden on countries around the world. Now the IMF is lowering down economic growth. The World Bank has just lowered down our growth forecast too. However, the Asian Development Bank, the IMF, and the World Bank seem to have made different evaluations.

I told all our colleagues not to worry too much about the issues being evaluated others. Most importantly, how much we did is actually a deal. Thus, our efforts to maintain macroe-

conomic stability, curb inflation and maintain the purchasing power of our Riel must continue. We need to continue to exercise constriction to cope with the situation that has been happening. Our economy has not yet reached the point where it's collapsing or at risk of collapse. In the first three months of the year, exports increased by 33%. Our agricultural sector has a surplus of rice. We have livestock, we have fish for supply.

But it must be seen that the food crisis will become a global crisis, because the wheat barn is in Ukraine and in Russia. While wheat cultivation in Ukraine destroyed, the Russian could not export. This situation pulls the price up (and causes) the food crisis and the energy crisis to go hand in hand. There is an energy crisis now, but the food crisis is coming and we have to prepare for any situation they may be [...]

January 2023 – Salary Increases Starts

[...] We failed to increase the salaries (for civil servants, the army and police) in 2020 and in 2021 [...] In (January of) 2023, we will start to increase, not in percentage terms, but in a different way [...] those with low salary will get the bigger increase, and those with high salary will get smaller increase. Here's how to get the increment [...] teachers and physicians, the lowest salary will be 1.5 million Riel (after the increase) [...] as we are raising salaries, we also have to raise the ceiling of taxable salaries [...] to avoid those with low salaries have had to pay tax [...] those with higher salaries are taxed. We are applying this in the public sector and in the private sector [...]

To Attend the United Nations General Assembly, Gas Prices

[...] Please do not complain about rising oil prices. The day before, on live TV, (I asked) people in France (about gasoline price) 1 liter in France (costs) more than 10,000 Riel. You may ask the Ambassador of the European Union to know (the price of gasoline in) Europe is more expensive than in Cam-

bodia. It is not cheaper in Europe than in Cambodia. We must all dare to tell the truth so that we will not be deceived.

I am going to America again. I plan to go to the United States to attend the UN General Assembly (meeting which will start) from 20-24 (September 2022) and on the 25th (September 2022) I will return. I plan to meet with Cambodians in the United States. Then I will ask the price of oil in America. In the past, I also asked (about oil prices) again. I compare prices in Cambodia (with) prices in the United States. We must not be fooled. In the election campaign season some are starting the oil prices auction [...]

Tax Integrity, 80% Registered Voters Voted, 17 Parties Received Votes

I also called for proper implementation of tax measures in accordance with the law, and all members of the Armed Forces must support the integrity of the tax culture without tax evasion. That is a lesson to tell everyone what needs to be done in the future. On the other hand, I should take this opportunity to thank the more than 80% of Cambodians who have registered to vote and went to the polls in a quiet, neutral, political, free and fair manner, no matter what anyone says. Cambodia marches, and there are no clashes, there are no fights, there are no insults [...] all 17 parties received votes, no matter how small or large. I would like to thank the people for participating in the exercise of their rights, the right to choose their favorite leaders [...]

I thank and commend the Election Security Commission led by Samdech Krala Hom Sar Kheng for doing a good job for the election process. Our forces are under the command and control of the National Election Committee [...] this is a testament of the political maturity of Cambodia's regular democratic process. As I signed the sub-decree, the law stipulates that the commune/sangkat elections

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(Continued from page 6) must be announced at least 6 months in advance. The political parties are preparing for six months to go to the polls.

Cambodia is different from other countries, [...] they should find out how this country works in a democratic way. In other countries, the Prime Minister has the right to dissolve the parliament before the end of the term, when they found out from polls their Prime Minister is gaining popularity. Other parties are not ready yet. *But for Cambodia, the timing of the election is already known. For the national level, it has been known since the election five years ago [...] because (the law) says "every five years, every Sunday in the fourth week of July, there must be an election." All political parties have five years to prepare for the election. In the commune elections, at least the political parties were aware of at least six months in advance to prepare for the election [...]*

People Voted CPP – Voted Peace and Development

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all the people/voters who voted for the CPP. At this point, it is clear that the people have voted for peace and development. The politics of the CPP, as always, is peace and development. No matter what anyone says (their story), but the macro framework of the CPP policy is one side to keep the peace, the other is development.

I do not try to comment or reply to anyone, [...] win or not win, it depends on who is standing (here) [...] (that they say) winning in the heart, let them win for their whole life. They win on everything [...] some say "they oppose the result, but accept the seats after the rest is stolen". Who do you want to accuse? Please help teach the way to steal, how did they steal? [...]

(I have said before that we) will be able to provide passports to overseas Cambodians, but will not allow Cambodians to vote from abroad. I explained to the

people in the US and Europe that (if they) wanted to vote, they must come to vote in the constituency. Voting starts at 7 a.m. and closes at 3 p.m. Counting is underway in the voting station. They said we stole. When we challenged them to swear, they never dare and say that swearing is a trivial matter [...]. Let me confirm swearing the oath is not a small thing. The president, the Prime Minister, the members of parliament all swear the oaths before taking office. Is it a trivial thing? Even Americans swear by the Bible [...]

Heads of 99% Sangkat/ Commune Enough for CPP

Some said that the CPP lost its seat to the opposition. Losing some is a normal part of the democratic process. Take them and I do not care which party get them. The National Election Committee has not announced the official results yet. On the 26th (June 2022) the official result will come out [...] (will) announce the number of seats, announce the elected once and then the Minister of Interior signed them to take office. *That is all there is to it. Some say they need to negotiate with the ruling party. There will not be any negotiations at all. If you wanted to negotiate, do it with the National Election Committee. The CPP does not need to debate with anyone. The CPP is also a runner.*

Gaining 74% of the vote and more than 99% of the commune chief seats is enough for the CPP. To get more than 80% of commune council seats, it is enough [...]. I do not care which party. Let us work together against Covid-19 [...] we have the same goal and it is the fight against Covid-19. The goal of maintaining peace, political stability is a common goal, no one can deny it. So do not let an election become a national division. The election campaign is over, and the election story is also over [...]

Would they now still call (Cambodia) a one-party state? [...] (the election results like this), is it still called a one-party

state, when almost 20% of the lower level is covered by numerous parties. In terms of seats, they get almost 20%, while the CPP has a little over 80%. Is it still a one-party local level? *According to the forecast based on the results, for 2023, in the National Assembly, there will not be just one party. There are many parties that will get seats in it. It goes like that and what else do you want? Would it be a democracy only if they have won and it is not a democracy because they have not? [...]*

Leadership and Working Methodology, Random Factors Exhibits Leadership Ability

I have already said that in terms of how to lead and work, we have to go through stages [...] if there is no specific plan, one should not start yet. One must have a good plan. Good planning is considered a road map. For example, what does the Royal School of Administration as an example of the five-year strategic plan 2021-2025 do? That's a good example for directions, a road map for us to walk. What to do next. There is a good plan, but the next step is to implement the plan, [...] remember the first step – good planning, only achieved 30%, while organizing the successful implementation, which includes human resources, means, materials, budget, will achieve another 30%, a total of only 60% of leadership. What is the remaining 40%? Keep in mind that random factors will appear when we implement our plan [...]

Obviously, we have many plans for our country towards 2050. By 2030, we will turn Cambodia into a high middle-income country and by 2050 to become a high-income country. Unfortunately, Covid-19 came. After Covid-19, comes Russian-Ukrainian war. This situation is called the random factor that appears, and this random factor depends entirely on the problem-solving ability of each leader in place. In a normal process, it is okay, but be prepared for force majeure cases [...]

Be Responsible to the People and the Survival of the Tonle Sap

How many provincial authorities around the Tonle Sap Lake came? All. My message has been sent. We must be responsible to the people. This is in a way of management that we must not underestimate. I must take responsibility for the people of Cambodia and for the survival of the Tonle Sap. People live for generations in the Tonle Sap Lake, and we put them in Zone 3 [...] I have already told you that some of the Zone 3 must be carved out, [...] our sub-decree in 2011 was really bad. I said we must stop it. How many sub-decrees are wrong? Concerned ministry prepared a sub-decree that wherever the water reaches, the lake is there [...]

You (provincial governors) do the jobs now. No one knows the geography better than you do. You cut those lands from Zone 3. Let say they are cultivating on 5,000 hectares, we cut 5,000 hectares for them, and we can leave about 10% or so for them to benefit from. As I did in the "new action, old policy" in the land sector in 2012 [...] so that they can find firewood, catch fish, etc. In some places, people are living partly on water and in land. Their farmland is flooded, we can leave them with some forest land nearby for firewood and grasses for cows, otherwise they would enter the forest and violate it again [...]

There are two things I need to say. First, about the land that was confiscated in the past from recently claiming activities, [...] which we have taken back, [...] planted bamboo, trees, we must keep it well. Second, do not allow further encroachment. We give power to the province, and they should not turn to the Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Water Resources, Minister of Environment, Minister of Lands, Urban Planning and Construction. That is my message and orders to those (provincial governors) around the Tonle Sap Lake. The CPP will convene its plenum on the

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masks and keep a good distance to avoid the risk of recurrence on election day, which can lead to re-infection.

Tomorrow is a nationwide rally day for people of voting age. I would take this opportunity to thank the Commune/Sangkat council of the fourth mandate, which will come to end of term in the next few days. **It is known to all that during the transition period of Covid-19, the commune/Sangkat councils that you elected in 2017 had served/protected the people very well. Vaccination is provided through the commune/Sangkat (as well as) the village itself, which helped the country to have everyone gotten his/her vaccine.** I do not forget that **in the flood situations, including Phnom Penh, Kampong Speu, Pursat, Battambang and Banteay Meanchey, our commune/Sangkat had worked hard to serve the people at that time. In times that we had to lockdown some areas the local authorities had had to do a lot to serve the people. I will never forget**

that the provision of assistance must be made through the direct guidance and attention of our Commune/Sangkat. The story is unforgettable for the merits you have done in the past.

Some of our commune/Sangkat councils will be re-elected and some will not due to age (and/or) not running for office. However, for the past 5 years, you are really tired that I thank you all. For a large number of you may be re-elected to go on serving our people. Of course, **some mistakes are inevitable in the past, but compared to the good deeds that commune/Sangkat councilors have made in the past, the advantage is far greater compared to the sporadic disadvantages.**

I thank all the commune/Sangkat councilors for their good works in the past. **I trust that the commune/Sangkat councils, which have not yet finished their terms continue to take care of the people in the period of the upcoming election process,** especially the

implementation of the circular related to abstinence from alcohol, as well as the implementation of health measures “3 Dos and 3 Don’ts.”

I thank once again the commune/Sangkat councilors/members who have made great sacrifices for the lives of our people without discrimination irrespective of political parties, especially in the phase of governing Covid-19 and giving vaccination to protect people’s lives. Thanks to the responsibility taken by members of commune/Sangkat councils, we have been able to reduce the number of deaths/infections until we reach this stage of recording no Covid-19 in almost a month now. This is a respected dedication. We have acknowledged that some of our commune/Sangkat councilors/members did not meet their wives/children for a while owing to the need to be in quarantined [...] They had to stay away in other places [...]

While families’ members of commune/Sangkat councilors

were also facing with difficulties, the commune/Sangkat council members themselves were trying to find ways to help save the general population. This is a high spirit of devotion that I will not forget and thank the members of the commune/Sangkat council who are nearing the end of their terms, and some will usher in a new term, as some of whom will be re-elected and some of whom will not because they do not get the nomination or not re-elected. **I thank the participation of CPP commune/Sangkat councilors in particular, and the commune/Sangkat councilors of the fourth term in general for their contributions to the good of our country in overcoming this crisis.**

Once again, I am calling on all monks, nuns, compatriots, to pay attention to personal safety on the spread of Covid-19 on election day, and to bring with you a bottle of alcohol or gel for hand disinfection after the vote. Whenever possible, those it is no longer compulsory to wear a mask, it is safer to have it on, while trying to keep social distance as (the polls stations are) places where there will be crowd of people from various places.

I would like to thank all the compatriots who participated in performing the works during the election campaign making the country run a calm and peaceful election campaign. **I thank all the political parties that participated in implementing the law on the organization of the election process and the instructions of the National Election Committee. We hope that all political parties will join together for the success of the multi-party liberal democratic process in our country on Sunday (June 5, 2022). I hope that we will all accept the election results that the people will give us.** Finally, I thank the commune/Sangkat councilors who have been working towards the end of their terms, especially in the anti-Covid-19 campaign efforts to make sure people receive treatment, testing as well as vaccination for everyone [...]■

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16th and 17th (July) [...] we will talk more about what needs to be done and the subnational authority do not wait for order, but acting on the basis of the interests of the people, there is nothing wrong [...]

Seeking Myanmar’s Reconsideration on Execution; Some Trapped Themselves

I am writing a letter to General Min Aung Hlaing in Myanmar requesting reconsideration on the execution of two young men [...] I hope that HE Min Aung Hlaing will consider my proposal within the framework of the ASEAN Chairmanship, as we do not want to see more happening adding to issues that are already difficult. I have talked so much [...] *Hun Sen is like that. I am neither the occasional Prime Minister, nor in dreams. The life of being the Prime Minister is over 37 years. On the 20th, the 45th anniversary of the march towards national liberation will be marked*

by the anniversary of the meeting between the Prime Minister of Vietnam and the Prime Minister of Cambodia on the border [...]

I also apologize if I have said things that are too much to bear. I apologize to the Ambassador of the European Union since I have talked a lot about Europe. I just wanted us to work together, and not to work through the press. While working with foreign partners, what concerned me the most is that they work based on the press. I am prepared to ask someone who will meet me in the next few days [...] *who said that while Cambodia was (under pressure of) the Covid-19, we arrested more than 700 people. I will ask him where you got the information from, because when you met me at the video conference, you said it once. I already corrected you. In Geneva, you said it again. If you are going to say you got it from the media, I’ll point at you. You do not know how to work yet. Where could you find the 600 or 700 peo-*

ple? [...]

Diplomacy must be equal. Let us speak clearly because this is a responsible sovereign state. *(Some have said that) millions of people are waiting to revolt, and tens of thousands of troops are just waiting to revolt. When have there been a revolt? They are keeping peace here. The value of peace gives us all this – business, study, election. I doubted if those who criticized us can sum it up – what percentage is good, what percentage is not good – can they add them up? [...]*

Would a country not have rights to organize its navy, infantry, and air defense? [...] according to the press, (they talked about) buying citizenship in Cyprus. Well, that gave us the chance to amend the Constitution [...] *those with dual citizenship cannot become the Prime Minister, the President of the National Assembly, the President of the Senate and the President of the Constitutional Council. You trapped yourself [...]*■