

National Defense Administration Buildings

(29 November 2021 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)



December 29 ... 23rd Anniversary of Win-win Politics, End of War, National Unity

Today we gather to inaugurate officially the administration building and the meeting hall of the Ministry of National Defense. Today is also the 23rd anniversary of the end of the war, bringing about national unity, and territorial integrity through win-win politics, December 29, 1998 – December 29, 2021. We are proud of the achievements we have built, which Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh has just mentioned in the report. Of course, here in the past, there were also buildings left by the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (popular socialist society) era. We also built more to expand our work in the recent past, but given the state of works demands, we need to scale up the building to meet the needs of our defense sector. I would like to join Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh to express gratitude to all stakeholders, both state and private, as well as the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. On behalf of the Royal Government, I would commend the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and all levels of command, from the General Command

and Command of the various types of troops: navy, land and air, as well as regional armies, divisions and military operation areas in a nationwide framework [...]

People's Defense Foundation ... Help People in Difficult Times

In addition to works regarding national defense, our troops have been actively involved in various campaigns related to the occurrence of disasters. We

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Roads/Water Treatment in Sihanoukville

(02 December 2021 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)

Sihanoukville – a Multi-purpose Province to Lead Cambodia's Economic Growth

Today, we come together to celebrate the inauguration of the infrastructural achievements, which include 37 roads and two wastewater treatment plants. What HE Chea Sophara just said is enough to understand that what we have built here were not just for the people here. Radio and television stations, as well as online media, now broadcast images to people across the country and to Cambodians living abroad. We are proud that we have decided to build this great achievement and for the first time we have made direct investment of more than 300 million US dollars in this city. This work was necessary. There are tall buildings in the vision but down beneath, the road infrastructures are all dilapidated. We make the decision to invest and guarantee for the

next 20 to 30 years [...] in this meaning that we need to invest heavily in infrastructure in Sihanoukville with an aim to build it into a multi-purpose province, which will lead to Cambodia's economic growth [...]

Infrastructural Development: Roads and Wastewater Treatment Systems

Today, Sihanoukville has changed a lot. Dozens of high-rise buildings abound in this city. It requires us to build strong infrastructure, not only roads, but also we have set up relevant system as HE Chea Sophara mentioned [...] with drainage along all the roads and connection to the wastewater treatment plants before it dumped water into the sea. Yesterday I also went (to up the hilly area) and saw how the treatment processes dirty water coming out of people's houses (and) the last processing stage before it pours into the sea. The water quality was good enough to raise fish [...] there is on some side the seawater that people cannot irrigate crops. On the other side, there is supply of clean water. It is a waste if we use clean water to irrigate crops. We save clean water to serve the needs of life. People can irrigate their crops with water in the last-stage water treatment process if there is a need and they do not have to pay for it too.

Hopefully Reopening Will Increase National Incomes

... This is a large-scale investment and we plan to invest elsewhere too. We are now making investment in Siem Reap. As I

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Australian Pfizer Vaccine to Cambodia

(26 December 2021 — Extensive Excerpts and Unofficial Translation)

... I am very pleased to receive the Covid-19 vaccine, and express my gratitude to the people and Government of Australia for providing the people and the Government of Cambodia with 2,350,530 doses of the Pfizer vaccine, of which 783,000 doses arrived in Cambodia today and 1,567,530 doses will arrive in Cambodia on December 28, 2021. This precious gift is a wonderful gesture from the people and Government of Australia to the people and Government of Cambodia, as well as to humanity as a whole, in the fight against Covid-19, especially in areas where Cam-

bodia is trying to assimilate and live a new normal way of life in the context of Covid-19 disease.

Since the outbreak and spread of Covid-19, the Royal Government of Cambodia has clearly understood and identified vaccines are the key strategic weapon for controlling and overcoming this deadly disease. The Royal Government has mobilized the national force to find vaccines from every sources and launched the national Covid-19 vaccination campaign for people from the age of five and the national Covid-19 booster

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have been through many difficult works, with more frequent disasters such as floods, hurricanes, droughts, as well as building collapses. Most recently, a nationwide vaccination campaign contributed to preventing the spread of COVID-19 has made me proud. Our army in the past has done numerous works in line with people's defense policy, which people make their participations in time of needs, but when the people are in need, we help right back. (We have realized) vaccination campaign largely by efforts of our military physicians. They have not been easy, especially when we lockdown Phnom Penh, some parts of the city, where there is a need to use military force to supply food to the lockdown areas. I am pleased with the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, as well as the command of our troops, for their good jobs [...]. Please allow to send greetings to our officers, lieutenants and enlisted men throughout the country, as well as to our officers, lieutenants, and soldiers who are conducting peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the United Nations in Sudan, Lebanon, Central Africa and Mali [...]

Peace Unites Territory and Ends Hundreds of Years of Armed Conflict

A country in division has had a chance to have territorial unity. The presence of this peace provided an opportunity for us to unite our territories, to end hundreds of years of armed conflict [...] we had had a brief unity after gaining independence in 1953. Later, we had had the movements of Khmer Rouge/Blue/White in the forests, some along the Thai border and some along the South Vietnamese border. In between 1970-1975, Cambodia divided into two. In 1979, even the Khmer Rouge was strong it could not control every inch of territory. If they could, where were we then? In between 1979-1993, Cambodia was a country of four control areas. In 1993-1998 Cambodia

still had two territories and two governments. UNTAC spent US\$ 2 billion back then and left Cambodia with two territories and two governments.

However, today back then, at this time, I sent Gen. Mul Roeb with two helicopters to transport Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and other leaders to dine with me at my house at Takhmao. What happened then was on this day. Last night, Bayon TV and Fresh News made a (documentary on) history of ending the war, including a screening of Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea, and Ieng Sary in my house. In this world, how could thing like this happen anywhere else (as it did in Cambodia)? Khieu Samphan is still around. He is now bringing his case to the Supreme Court. In the course of peace negotiations, he would not rest if he did not insult me [...]. In the end, Khieu Samphan came to my house along with his wife, children, grandchildren. I welcome them as our compatriots. The court case is a different story. National and territorial unity, extinguishing the flames of war, is not a joke. We worked hard to do those things.

9 November – Unified Date of the Cambodian Army Foundation

I should talk about some issues so that we can all set goals and understand clearly not to make baseless interpretations related to national defense. Before getting into this issue, I should remind His Excellency, Lok Chumteav [...] that because country has so many parties (with separate armed forces before), we have to make November 9, 1953, which is the day of national independence, the anniversary of the army foundation. Each party had had its own army. There is a separate history.

Even the crusade led by His Majesty the late King Father the Army was not born on November 9 [...] the Khmer Issarak movement had an army history. Later, FUNCINPEC had an army history. The KPNLF also had a history (of its army). The

Democratic Kampuchea had a history (army). On May 25, the 125th unit, which was the first established and organized army unit, should we register it as an army? In other words, Lon Nol transformed the army that His Majesty the King created after independence (1953) to the Republican army and worked against the monarchy. The Lon Nol-created army also disappeared. Pol Pot's army later disappeared [...]

We take November 9 as the unified date for the army foundation, but where does the real history of the military today begin? To create a political and military organization for the liberation of the country from the Pol Pot regime, we had built an army. At that time, if I am not mistaken (we) had 23 battalions and 100 armed operation groups that infiltrated the country. I am not the military commander myself, but the one founded and commands this army. The title I wear on this shoulder is not accidental. It is the gift of HM the King for the understanding of the works that I have done as a soldier, the officer, and the founder of the army [...]

I would confirm that I do not take anyone's work as mine, but please do not take my work as yours. You may watch the documentary film and ask senior army chiefs who then were in the rubber plantation of Snuol for the December 2 meeting, whose army is it? This is true [...] in the documentary film, one sees Hun Sen walking with the army there. What is important is the photo that captures how we called front in the background. The Front was born on December 2, 1978, and the organized units formed on May 25, 1978. The poster shown in picture says "The Ceremony of Assigning the Armed Forces of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea." The phrase "National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea" is mine, in a way.

Going Through Three Stages

[...] We have gone through three stages. *The first stage is*

the overthrow of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, which I just talked about the organization of the armed forces, and then the organization of a political organization called the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea and the National United Armed Forces for Salvation of Kampuchea. We did that and we succeeded in liberating the country from the genocidal regime of Pol Pot on January 7, 1979, with the support of the Vietnamese People's Army in liberating the country [...]

The second stage is the protection and reconstruction phase of the country. There are two phases here to remember. *One of the phases was waging whole war.* There was no talks. All we did was fighting. *Another phase was a combination between fighting and negotiation.* At that time, I had to change two ministers. First, Tea Banh, promoted from Deputy Chief of Staff to Minister of Public Works. I requested that Tea Banh return to the Ministry of National Defense. I was both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but later I handed it over to Kong Koam only to find that it was difficult to get into the negotiation phase with lack of actors. I took back the post of Foreign Affairs under my wing so that this negotiation can move forward.

(Tea) Banh may still remember, when I set my first goal, I used the words "must neutralize the armed forces" [...] and (I) assigned Tea Banh to be the liaison with the Thai administration to reduce the intervention of the Thai army on us when we attacked the Khmer Rouge on the border. Later, we negotiated the opening of the way for the so-called "Sihanouk-Hun Sen Fere-en-Tardenois." Negotiations gradually expanded from the Cambodian side to engaging ASEAN members. My visit in January 1989 to Bangkok was not a coincidence. In 1998, I met secretly in Vientiane with Prime Minister Chatchai Choonhavan, Commander-in-Chief Chavalit Yongchaiyudh,

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[...] with the help of the former (Laotian) Party Secretary and Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihane. The one who directly helped with the meeting is the current President and the Party Secretary Thongloun Sisoulith. As the two sides had a good understanding, General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh pushed for my visit. This is very similar to the situation I am preparing to go to Myanmar in the next few days [...] this is a way of seeing the past as an experience. If you do not meet, you cannot understand each other. That is why I keep saying, "Let me do it." If I have not yet done it, why make this or that points [...]

The fighting and negotiation phase had protracted, but at least we were not in a complete confrontation. There are both opportunities for negotiation and chances for fighting. Nevertheless, we overcame all difficulties and reached the signing of the Paris Agreement of October 23, 1991 [...] this point has revealed a process from the whole war to the negotiation and the fighting altogether. In the framework of Southeast Asia, (it also sets a new trend) where the previously divided into two blocks and complete confrontation had become confrontation and negotiation altogether. The global trend is the same. It had evolved from complete confrontation to confrontation and compromise. This was the process at the time [...]

The third stage is the opening of a new page in the history of a resolute fight against the color revolution, i.e. the stage of maintaining peace and tranquility of the people to ensure the development of the country. In this meaning, I want to emphasize that the color revolution in the world is not over but even more serious. I wanted to bring this issue to our troops clearly. What the army commander said the other day, (people who called themselves analysts) have made it a topic [...] they say it was not right (that the army commander) says (that the army must) protect the leader, the (national) institutions [...]

Armed Forces in Hand to Win the Color Revolution

I would emphasize that in order to win the color revolution the only way is to hold on to the armed forces. We recognize the neutrality of the armed forces and the civil administration before political parties, but we cannot neutralize the armed forces and the civil administration between the government and the political parties. Remember that point. The color revolution can win in some places but not in Cambodia. Why? According to experience, we must remember that (forces) must be equally neutral before all political parties, for example, the police force must protect any political parties – in power or not in power – gathering in the election campaign, etc. [...] however, between the Royal Government and political parties, the ruling party also included, there is no neutrality.

I saw on CNN live broadcast from Tbilisi, Georgia. As protesters entered the palace of President Eduard Shevardnadze, an old friend of mine, the military did not intervene. In Cambodia, that would not absolutely be the case. In 2013, an ambassador of a superpower told my son that if (there are protesters) jumping into government positions, please do not shoot. I have already told all the armed forces where the red line is. There is no need for you to mess up [...] should they dare to kill officials, members of parliament, (that would be a) no (and I would order an) end of the situation immediately [...]

Roles and Responsibilities of the Supreme National Defense Council

Why? You may read the Constitution and the law concerned. Article 23 of the Constitution reads – The King is the Supreme Commander of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces. The Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces appointed to command the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces. That is Article 23. Article 24 – The King presides over the Supreme National Defense

Council, which shall be established by law. Now this law is there. (It) gives me the right to command the army or not. The law first of all says – [...] the Supreme National Defense Council to ensure the protection of the Constitution, the defense of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia and to ensure the implementation of the competent duties and responsibilities of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and to review and approve national defense policy and plan. (*Reading relevant articles continued*)

How do you understand these points? You do not want me to command the armed forces personally. You wanted to deprive me of my rights when you are talking about the Prime Minister wearing military uniforms and commanding troops in accordance with the constitutional framework. Whoever violates the Constitution, the armed forces must destroyed. For example, a Coup d'Etat, no matter where it comes from, actions must be immediate. Destroy them. Do not allow them to create a mess because of color revolution.

Hold on to Armed Forces and Civilian Administration to Defend Constitution

At the heart of the color revolution, [...] its core is the neutralization of the armed forces and civilian administration. The core substance of those who seek to overthrow here and there, in the old time they would use army for invasion, but lately, they hatch the color revolution. The color revolution master was to start with neutralizing the armed forces and the civilian administration. We do not allow them to do that here. Our armed forces are neutral only among and between political parties. There is no neutrality between the Royal Government and political parties [...] let me tell the key of the color revolution. That is neutrality of the armed forces and the civil administration. Whereas the key to defending the country and defending the Constitution is to

hold on to the armed forces and the civilian administration [...]

No Color Revolution Permitted

For what reason they have interpreted the (army Chief's statement) to mean that we have not had peace yet and make it a reason why there is an appeal for forces to protect (leaders and institutions). Were the persons crazy? Some even are Ph.D. [...] the commander of the armed forces speaks in loud voice [...] well, soldiers have to speak with energy. If the captain speak like a chanting, he should be going to the Buddhist pagoda [...] have countries in the world abandoned their armies? Even they are in peace for hundreds of years, they are still strengthening their military capabilities. Why Cambodia cannot just talk about defense. Is this provocative or what? Please do not confuse roles and responsibilities.

Today, I know that we have here friends who are military attachés listening to this speech. We do not allow anyone to carry out a color revolution on pitiful land. We know the taste of the pain of a war-torn country. We do not neglect any considerations on our national security. Some declared on the 30th anniversary of the 23rd (October) Paris Agreement they would dissolve the monarchy that belongs to all of us, and create in its place a republic, we all should remember, Cambodia once had a coup and because of that coup, we have so many problems to this day.

Now (I do not care about) what you would say? I sent this message for you to analyze. I have reached the stage of pushing the boat along the current. Yesterday, seeing my son posting, I decided post a message reading – "let us listen to how the young disciplined the senior." It is good to take the baby buffalo to fight with the mother buffalo [a story about a baby buffalo runs after a mother buffalo thinking she is its mother in a contest that the one with baby buffalo be-

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came the winner]. If you play, do not be angry. If you are angry, do not play [...]

As long as I Am in Power, I Have Right to Command the Army

As long as I do not withdraw from the Prime Minister post yet, I still have the right to command the army, the police, in general, all the forces under the executive. (Anyone under command) not listening, the only way to deal with it is to remove (from the rank). If you make a mistake, you must be accountable too. They should well remember and do not wish to launch a color revolution to arrest Hun Sen [...] who risked his head to liberate the country, to bring out of forest brothers and sisters so that the country can unite for peace until now [...] I would not let you do as you wish. That is my confirmation [...] meaning if political parties you make mistake, either the ruling party or the opposition, (the armed forces) will arrest. We provide equal protection for all. That means neutral. However, if there are actions to overthrow the government, (they) must act immediately [...] (according to them), globally, in the United States and the United Kingdom, there are two types of degrees. I wonder how he could say that. Maybe the Americans and/or the British have to deal with this if their schools bestowed two types of degrees [...]

To Determine Retirement Age of Prime Minister

Now he comes out insult me. That would be fine. Let me make an advanced statement here. When I leave the post of Prime Minister, I will fulfill wishes of those asking to have a law to determine the retirement age of the Prime Minister. I will do it. How old do you want to be now? Tell me again. The other day, I saw them posting that the one-nationality law governing four institutions is not important, the prime minister's term and age are. The term of the Prime Minister cannot be determined, because the people

voted to elect members of parliament. They do not directly elect any President or Prime Minister. The National Assembly members elected the Prime Minister [...] that is what it is. At that time, they said that the age of the Prime Minister must be set. Okay. When we finished with the elections and voted to give confidence to the new government, we, the MPs, would get together for a press conference and initiate the proposed law to limit the age of the Prime Minister. Make it 70 years, maybe enough. For example, if I were to leave in 2023, I am only 71 years old. If you wanted, we can set it for 72 years. However, the one who wanted the law very much now is 73 years old. He kill himself with what he did. I congratulate the release of the next generation leaders to take turns. Give it all or you do not have the human resources to continue. Let me be clear, now I am the Prime Minister. After 2023, I became the father of the Prime Minister. In 2040, I will become the grandfather of the Prime Minister [...]

Even No Longer Be Prime Minister, Still President of Ruling Political Party

This is the point. I should or I must say it so that we can all understand. Let me give the message. Foreigners intend to hatch a color revolution in Cambodia, please do not be hopeful. Even if Hun Sen resigns as Prime Minister, Hun Sen is still the president of a political party. People need not worry. I am still the president of a ruling political party. It was because responding to your demand but I have a need. I have announced that I will be Prime Minister until I stopped wanting to do. What does that word mean? I used to use the word 'I would do it' for 10 more years but later I used the word "I would do until I stopped wanting to do it." The sentence means when is not definite. It could mean (I would stop in) another year, another two years, another three years, or for another 20 years. It is up to me. Would you under-

stand the meaning clearly?

Defend Monarchy and Throne

Whatever they would do has been to insult the King. I would remind them that this country is country of monarchy. We have three mottos – Nation, Religion and King. All officers and enlisted men must be decisive to defend the monarchy and defend the throne. Any insult to the King is unforgivable. Attempts to overthrow the constitutional monarchy, attempts to overthrow the throne, are intolerable. Hitting me is like opening a fence to get to a fight against the throne. We took oath to defend the territory, to defend the regime. Today (dressed) in military uniforms, it looks a bit fierce, but not against the army. Just tell the army not to be neutral between the government and the political parties. According to their wishes, the so-called founders of the strategic plan for the overthrow (of Royal Government), we just grasp its core intention. At its core, its goal is to teach us to neutralize the armed forces and civilian administration [...]

Continue Reform, Strengthen Armed Forces Capability and People's Defense

(We have been neutral taken) Law on the General Statute of Civil Servants and the Armed Forces (into account). We have no party affiliation in the military, but every individual has freedom to hold any political party s/he likes. It is individual freedom. Maybe some radio stations will take this matter in for analysis [...] today I presented to you a topic for analysis for good two weeks. They first run after Hun Sen, and secondly, after Hun Manet [...] we needed to continue to reform our army. In the reform front, we have already done a lot, but we need to continue reform to strengthen the capacity of our armed forces. We must strengthen the people's defense policy.

We are proud of our nation when things happen, such as the situation on the border, the rear forces was so massive and

closely attached to the army. The units of the provinces, the capital have to have close connection with divisions and military regions [...] that is the highlight of the people's defense. If we do this properly, the connection between the army and the people will be good. People will be a never drying source of recruits for the army. A great source to serve the national defense. Whatever reforms we are taking, its depth must be to strengthen the people's defense policy, because it will provide peace for all [...]

For us, we have no troops abroad other than the ones to carry out peacekeeping operations under the banner of the United Nations. We did not send troops to invade any country. There is no need to worry about the people's opposition to our defense policy for that matter. On the contrary, the rear forces is massive for our defense sector. Companies can do business because the country is peaceful. The one who seeks peace is the army, who plays the core role as backbone for peace of the country and for the protection of the people. Please continue to reform and conduct regular training [...]

I think I will wrap it up here as (Samdech Pichey Sena) Tea Banh will have another event tomorrow [...] at the win-win monument. Tomorrow night, do not forget to launch fireworks. Let our people visit the Win-Win Monument as there will be fireworks in the evening. The stadium, inaugurated the other day, built with help of the Chinese friends, and other sports departments, all around, will look spectacular with fireworks to celebrate the 23rd anniversary of the end of the war through win-win politics.

Thank you for all the support and especially thank you to Samdech Pichey Sena who has been close with me so far. In other words, 42 years and almost 43 years. Taking into consideration when he became the Minister of Defense, it had been more than 30 years now [...]./👍

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said before, our efforts for direct investments met with interruption caused by COVID-19. So far, we have spent about US\$ 2.5 billion to save the people in the COVID-19 phase. Without COVID-19 ... so far I estimate that our savings are not less than US\$ 5 billion. COVID-19 not only stops but also reduces our savings.

We hope that after the reopening of the country, the national income will increase significantly, in cities, ports, and customs department, because the domestic demand goes up and requires more imports. Previously, we had taken measures to prevent COVID-19. Now, after we have vaccinated more than 88% of our people, we have a chance to reopen activities. In Kampong Som, karaoke, discotheques and bars have not reopened yet, but in Phnom Penh, more than 70 karaoke and bars are reportedly open [...]

Infrastructural Construction of Sihanoukville Is Entirely the Work of Cambodians

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to HE Chea Sophara and his colleagues for their hard works during the construction phase here. The construction here requires careful scrutiny, as this is entirely the work of Cambodian children, without any technical or financial assistance from abroad. We have built many by ourselves, such as the Peace Palace, the National Assembly building and other institutions. We do not use foreign technicians. Many people asked me which country help design the Peace Palace. I told them our ancestors back then could build Angkor Wat, we can at least built this much.

This is the pride of the Khmer nation. The Cambodians have invested and built everything here. There is a small section that Vinci Company helps pay for the connection road from the airport, but technically it is not involved. We do it all. I thank the leaders who led this work sites. My appreciation goes to the Board of Governors, gov-

ernment officials as well as the people of Sihanoukville for providing good cooperation for the success of the project. The real beneficiaries of this success are the people in Sihanoukville [...]

“Cambodians Can Do It” – a Nationwide Journey

I am very proud of the cooperation provided by the people living in Sihanoukville for this great project. We can say that it is one ambitious project. This ambition goes well with what our people need. I would also like to thank the nine (engineering) units and companies that built this road. My heartfelt appreciation goes to workers who have participated in building this road. It is a source of pride for our nation and for that I say – “we Cambodians can do it.”

Yesterday, I clarified the meaning of the word “Cambodians Can Do It.” It does not refer to the development in Sihanoukville alone. Cambodians can do things for thousands of years now. Cambodians built temples all over the country and the most prominent ones are Angkor Wat, Preah Vihear, Sambor Prey Kuk, Koh Ker, etc. There are temples everywhere. We Khmer can do it. The pre-war stage of 1970, under the leadership of His Majesty the King Father, we built the stadium, a great pride at that time [...]

When we were young, we were proud to have a stadium that is still in use today. We have a bridge across the Tonle Sap, we have a bridge over the Bassac River. Thus, the word “Cambodians Can Do It” refers to the whole national journey from the beginning until now, and I hope that Cambodia can continue (to do more) in the future through our work.

Some Foreign Aid: “100 Given, 80 Taken” Through “Technical Assistance”

We will reduce greatly what they mean by technical assistance. This is hard for us to say. We cannot let it go without saying it though. Some projects did not happen even after two

years of study. As for our project, we completed it in less than two years – from November 2019 to April 2021. (If it were built with foreign aid), we would have used the amount of loan for consultants from abroad. They would take back a large amount of money. In this reason, we tried whenever we can to invest by ourselves [...]

They would use the term technical assistance. That is why I brought it up at the United Nations about “100 is given and 80 is taken back” through provision of technicians. Sometimes, if I may say, what they had offered were just to solve the needs for jobs of their people. We were recipients of only the figures. There were little results ... a few years ago, as I was too frustrated, I almost did not take it at all [...]

Own Savings for Infrastructural Developments

That is why I work hard with the Ministry of Economy and Finance to save money. We do not take this savings anywhere. Our goal is infrastructural development. Although we have to get external credit, we have to have a counterpart fund. What I wanted to do is like this. We owe no one a dollar. We just get it done at once. Started gathering all (engineering) units and get the construction sites going day and night ... sometimes as a poor country, our voice is weak. It is a good thing though if we do not speak out. With every efforts we made, both nationally and sub-nationally, as well as the people, companies and construction units, we have finally achieved our goal.

November Revenue Higher, Economic Growth Will Pick Up

I looked at the figures reported by (Minister of Tourism) HE Thong Khon from the time of Pchum festivities and the consecutive Royal Water Festival, Sihanoukville is the leading province in tourists’ arrival. The second province to have received many is Siem Reap. Sihanoukville ranks top. Previously the tourists’ arrival declined. I think Cambodian peo-

ple will visit Sihanoukville to see the roads, the bridges, and the construction sites. Today, the governors of other provinces also came. They wanted the development for their provinces too. However, do not ask me for money yet because we are still fighting COVID-19. Indeed, revenue in November increased compared to the previous month. I believe this increase will continue. It will not slow down. Our economic growth will pick up [...]

National Revenue Increase, More Investments Continue

Let us not be too daring and not too scared. The level we have been doing is enough. What we needed is the strengthening of health measures. We have had remarks by the World Health Organization, as well as the guests who come to our country, that our people have been wearing masks traveling in the streets. We are proud of this is a point. Based on this, I believe that our economic growth will start. The size of the national income that has fallen in the past will increase again.

We would be able to make our savings. It will also increase again. Then we have more opportunities to invest here and there. Some places need 100 million US dollars and some places need 20 to 30 million US dollars. We will channel the money in. There would be no heck about. Sometimes, with foreign donation, a project of only 5 million US dollars did not go anywhere. Took a long time. Giving money to us is hard and difficult, but even harder for us who wait to receive the money [...]

Repay Gratitude When We Can and When Friends Are in Difficulties

The other day, I was insulted when I handed over to Laos 13 million US dollars in cash, both public and private, plus 500,000 doses of vaccine, and three trucks. (Out of the) thirty (more trucks we) on purchase order, I promised 10 for Laos. Let us send them the vaccine. Send

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Laos both the vaccine and the trucks at once. (Those to officiate the handover) then take a helicopter ride. Bring the trucks and vaccines to them and the Laotian drivers can just take them from there. Just hand them the truck keys. Fill up the truck fuel tanks. Do not let them run out of gas.

Some blamed us for providing aid to foreign countries. Let me tell you this is how Cambodia repay gratitude. Cambodia's most difficult time was in 1979. Laos was in difficult state too. Vietnam was also in a hard time. (From) Vietnam, we saw this movement where people packed for us Cambodian half a kilo or a kilo of rice, seasoned beetroot and salt (when we came out of Pol Pot's regime).

As for Laos, through the visit of President Sopheavong, although Laos faced difficulties, Laos shared what they had with our people at that stage. This is the heartfelt spirit needed to record and we reciprocate when we can and when friends are in difficulties. I cannot forget their heartfelt generosity and I am not a person without virtuousness.

They have gone around interviewing people. Maybe we should find them (and if they) lack rice, we just give them some to eat. All they said was that people do not have enough to eat and why give to others. At the time when Laotians or Vietnamese did not have enough food, but they came to help us, why could we not help our friends when they had difficulties. We provided some assistances to Vietnam. We donated vaccines and cash to Vietnam. We helped Laos more because Laos is in a lot more difficulties [...]

That was not all that Cambodia did. Cambodia has sent thousands of troops to help countries in Africa – South Sudan, Mali, Central Africa and Lebanon, even more so before, in Chad, Cyprus ... Cambodia dare that much to express its willingness to help friends. China or Vietnam or Japan, their people are having difficulties but still they

give us. For friends who gave what they could to us, you may ask if all those countries have no poor people. They still do. However, they share with us. When we have the ability, we also share with others. It is unbelievably unimaginable that you blame me every time Cambodia helps friends [...]

Historic Events in December

I am proud that today we held the inauguration ceremony of the achievements in Sihanoukville ... for me, on this particular day, there are three important events to remind us all.

The first is the event on December 2, the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea. In those days, I am not alone, but people all over the country looked forward to the presence of political and military forces to liberate the country from the Pol Pot regime.

Secondly, also on December 2, the 34th anniversary of the negotiations between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me. It was called the Sihanouk-Hun Sen Forum. As it has come to the 34th anniversary of the Paris Agreement, we also celebrated the 30th anniversary. The negotiations began on December 2, 1987. (This event occurred) up to 4 years before the signing of the Paris Agreement. What does this really mean?

I hope those who interpret the Paris Agreement understand more, learn more about the history of the story that led to the Paris Agreement. His Majesty the King Father accepted me as a partner in negotiations between Cambodians and Cambodians. It is now 34 years. Four years before the Paris Agreement.

Thirdly, December 2 also marks the 23rd anniversary of the launch of the Triangle Strategy December 2, 1998.

In the month of December, there are many remarkable things. December is the month in which we ended the war, bringing national unity and

territorial integrity. It is also the 23rd anniversary. There is one more important thing that I would like to present today. I also received a wedding invitation in December, but I cannot remember exactly the date. It could be any one on 28th, 29th or 30th. I got married on the 5 January 1976. From (December) 1975 to now, it is 46 years [...]

Three Angles of the Triangle Strategy

On December 2, 1998, I could not sleep for the first cabinet meeting. I remember writing it in a booklet that I keep to today about the triangular strategy. I should say a little about the triangle strategy. Before we have come to the current rectangular strategy, there was this triangular strategy. It was not long. It was a presentation in the Cabinet meeting and we all were implementing it. *The first angle of the triangle strategy is internal pacification, which means we need to strengthen the peace we have achieved.* At that time, Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and others had not reported themselves yet. It was 27 days after the official announcement of the triangular strategy that that they all came [...]

The second angle is to integrate Cambodia as soon as possible into the international community. At that time, when the conflict broke out in the country, the UN seat was suspended. A week later, we did what were necessary to get back the seat at the United Nations, to move on to ASEAN and other organizations such as the World Trade Organization [...] we went all the way. To ASEAN, Asia-Europe, or generally speaking, every organizations we needed to join. We were not concerned about paying because it is our right. We have one vote. All the countries that want our support come and negotiate with us.

What is the third angle? *Combining on the favorable factors of the domestic and international situations or the first angle and the second angle, the third angle is to concentrate efforts*

for socio-economic development, poverty reduction. The Triangle Strategy has three main points by which we started to emerge as a nation and move forward so far.

Cambodian and Japanese Governments Support Cambodian Vaccine Manufacturers

Yesterday I met with the Prime Minister of Japan. Japan already gave us one million doses of AstraZeneca vaccine, but the Prime Minister said Japan would give us another 300,000 doses. He added that he would continue to look for funding for us to manage COVID-19. On another front, by signing the agreement between companies, with the supports of the governments of the two countries, we have obtained the right to produce the vaccine in our own country. This enables us to purchase the vaccine as a finished product for domestic use. Companies can also export abroad.

We do not know when this pandemic will end. We are not just looking to buy, we are asking our Chinese friends to share the vaccine production into a finished product. They have done it in Indonesia. In Thailand, they have done it with AstraZeneca. In Indonesia, it is Sinovac. We will be making Sinovac as we use it every day.

Vaccines Really Save Lives

At the Asia-Europe Meeting, the Chancellor of Austria, after locking down the country again, said [...] people protested against the vaccination. There are groups of people who refuse to wear masks, to vaccinate, etc. Now countries seem to be doing it all together. Without vaccination, no stores allowed entrances. What is it? A violation of rights? Previously, I just signed a sub-decree on obligatory vaccines for civil servants and the armed forces, some criticized me. Now the world has obliged. No injection, no entrances. Therefore, people have to find a place for vaccination ... in ministries, no vaccination no works. They cut

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their salaries. Is it a violation of human rights?

For our country, people flocked for vaccines when there is. The most lovable thing is that kids from five to 12 years are quite brave for injection [...] that is the pride in our country. There is no need for demonstrations to demand anything. Yes, there is a movement against vaccination, but (people see that the movement was) not their lives. We love our lives. What could be wrong when we went for the vaccine? Now, finally, as we can see, vaccines have saved lives.

ASEAN Consensus – 10 Member Countries

[...] I am thinking that in the months from January onward, I could be traveling abroad on many occasions. The explosion occurred breakouts of pandemic too. Those travels would include the need to attend the World Economic Forum as Europe is in tough pandemic breakout, and on the way back, I will attend the World Expo Forum in Dubai, Arab Emirates. Locally, we know exactly how to protect ourselves. Going outside of the country, while they also have protection, we must take extra care.

The United States intends, it seemed, to hold the ASEAN-US Summit. Now in discussion. It may not be easy for ASEAN leaders in January. Previously, the American side seemed to want it in mid-January. In mid-January, one of the ASEAN leaders or the ASEAN chair is in Davos. If there is a meeting in the United States, the President of the United States and I will co-chair the meeting, because Cambodia will be chairing ASEAN at that time. I will be examining that.

Yesterday, in talked with the Prime Minister of Japan and then with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, I raised this issue with them what status of ASEAN should we keep – ASEAN 9 or ASEAN 10? Recently, there were only ASEAN 9 meetings. This is the problem. Are we willing to

destroy our own home to please our partners? Here are the questions to ask. Not to compare ASEAN with the United Nations about now neither side has taken the floor at the United Nations. No, that is not it. At the United Nations, there is this credential commission, but there is not in ASEAN.

The most important point is consensus. If it is a consensus, there must be 10 countries members. What to do if there are only nine countries? To clear this matter, on December 6-7, the next few days, the inviting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Myanmar will come to Cambodia, and then I will talk.

Prepared to Travel to Myanmar as Cambodian Prime Minister

I am ready to travel to Myanmar without any preconditions. I am going there in my capacity as the Prime Minister of Cambodia. What does ASEAN think? Well, I went as the Prime Minister of Cambodia. I have not acted (as chair of ASEAN) at this time. (It will start on) January 1. The hammer is here but it is not time to use it yet. If there are only nine ASEAN countries, why is it called ASEAN? ASEAN needs to have a consensus. Consensus is of 10 countries members. The ASEAN Charter does not require expulsion of any member. This is some of the thoughts of the future ASEAN chair.

In a few days, the ASEAN chair will have to take action. Should we strengthen our own house with ten pillars? Now one of the pillars breaks. Do we have to leave it to satisfy external partners or have to prepare own house? If the house itself is not in order, what could anyone call unity in ASEAN or the center of ASEAN? This issue I raised with the Prime Minister of Japan and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia.

I spoke frankly with the Indonesian Foreign Minister that I had been a negotiating person for the rest of my life. Whatever they placed on the table was not very much it. They just put it there for seal. Instead, they

worked under the table. Once they have agreement, they placed on the table for seal [...]

Being in Power Have Power

Some analysts say that Hun Sen did this to strengthen his power. Okay. There never was a thing that being in power and never strengthened it. Let us be clear. They always came out and said that Mr. Hun Sen did it to strengthen his power. Let me tell you, I do not make enemies with the power [...]. If in power but has no power, let me ask you what s/he stay in power for? [...] for example, I commanded order on inundated land grabbing in the Tonle Sap lake area, if anyone resists and does not confess, they will meet with handcuff immediately.

That is power. If you do not have power, what can you do to strengthen it? They went on to say that (I not only) strengthen my power but also are ready to strengthen one for my children. If my children are capable (why do I not allow them? or shall I) leave it to you? [...]

Whatever you wanted to say, just say. The more you say, the more I strengthen (my power base). “Mr. Hun Sen did this to strengthen his power,” “to vaccinate also to strengthen his power.” If the people voluntarily accepting vaccinations and loving the person (in power) who provided the interest of protecting their lives, and they voted for him again, it is a matter of normal empowerment.

Wherever there was a breakup, they blamed me. Their ways of analyzing things has always taken the trend of blaming Hun Sen for anything and everything. I do not understand that point. The Cambodian People’s Party (CPP) had been facing a split since 1979-80. More than 40 years ago. The CPP refused to split. What could they do to the CPP? However, those people faced with internal divisions themselves.

Why blame others? [...] whatever happened you blamed Hun Sen. He is quite mighty to split you cause division among you. I do not care if you are together

or divided [...] CPP did not intervene in the analysis [...]

Those Blamed Empowered, Demanding Empowerment

[...] Even calling on the provinces to pay attention to the health of the elderly this winter, Sihanoukville has done a lot, Phnom Penh has done a lot, and distributed winter coats and blankets to the elderly, “this was done in effort to consolidate power” they said. If giving them make them happy and love us, our power will increase accordingly. How silly to leave those elderly freeze to death and refuse to look after them. They blamed me for strengthening power base when we vaccinate people against the pandemic and distribute the coats among the army, which is the duty of the Prime Minister.

Now let us be clear, if the Prime Minister does not consolidate power, s/he is not the Prime Minister, go and ask the world. Some countries amend their constitutions to strengthen power, how can they do that? NGOs in Phnom Penh will soon come up (and interpret on topic of) Mr. Hun Sen acknowledged (he) is consolidating power.

On the contrary, those who are saying that we are amassing power are in fact demanding for power themselves so that NGOs have the right to do this or that and even to amend the NGO law. They demanded to strengthen their power, but they blamed us for strengthening power.

Hun Manet, One of the Candidates for the Post of Prime Minister

[...] You talked about my children. I announce it today. (I) support my son to continue (to run for the post of) as Prime Minister, but not in any way out of the election. There must be elections. Let me be specific today. We provided with education not to let them be thieves. Even the Japanese have their own breed (for politics) [...] (in fact) I wanted (my children) to break up (from politics), but you are forcing me. I must an-

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doses vaccination campaign nationwide. As of December 26, 2021, more than 90 percent of Cambodia's 16 million people have had their jabs. With this remarkable achievement, Cambodia has been able to control the spread of Covid-19 and reopened the country's full socio-economic activities from November 1, 2021 with vigilance and high responsibility.

For the time to come, despite the global concern about the Covid-19 virus variant Omicron, Cambodia will continue its normal socio-economic activities without fear but with high vigilance. The Royal Government will promote the national Covid-19 booster doses vaccination campaign, which will play an important role in building a strong public health barrier. At the same time, to be ready to leave the crisis of Covid-19 with strength and resilience, the Royal Government will promote the implementation of living in a new normal way strategy in the context of Covid-19, and the strategy and programs to restore and boost Cambodia's economic growth in living with Covid-19 in the new normal path for 2021-2023. Recently launched, the strategy and programs are to push Cambodia back on the path of sustainable, resilient and inclusive growth and development.

[Start of Comments 1]

Be careful, Not to Panic, Prevent Community Transmission of Omicron

Let me take this opportunity to tell the people that today there are up to 15 new cases ... all of them imported and are Omicron positive. A few days ago, we had three, four or five cases of infection, and most of them imported cases. We have almost no infections in the community. Unfortunately, this disease (caused by Omicron) has spread to our country and it has added up to 31 cases now. In particular, today there are up to 15 cases. Of the 31 cases, three cases have cured. I would like to take this opportunity to warn

our people to take precaution, but not to panic.

We need to work together to prevent the spread of this virus into the community. The virus is already present in many countries around the world. It is not as deadly as the Delta. They can still be treated. In our country right now the transmission came through the airports in both Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. We are managing this situation to prevent it from leaking into the community. Compatriots, please be careful about the transmission of this Omicron variant into the community, the rate of its transmission is fast compared to Delta and Alpha.

Student with Covid-19 Positive Take Exams at Hospital

Today I am addressing the case where a spokesperson for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports had previously confirmed that students positive with Covid-19 were not to take the exams. I have asked for corrections and we will allow them to take exams. Previously (they were to take exams) at Bak Touk High school, so I asked (those of the students to take exams at that exam center of) Bak Touk High School not to panic. We do not keep students who had gone for sports competitions with the proper assignment from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports and contracted with the disease to pass the exams at the Bak Touk exam center. We arrange for them to take exams at the hospital, with our doctors and professors coming in for the examination.

I would share this information with our people. The recurrence of infections, from four and five cases to 15 cases, to announce tomorrow, are all imported cases and are under control. I hope Omicron will not spill into communities like Delta and Alpha.

[End of Comments 1]

The success of the fight against Covid-19 in Cambodia could not have been achieved without the support of the Cambodian

people, friendly countries and development partners. I would like to express my deep gratitude for the humanitarian assistance, both financial and technical, of the people and the Government of Australia in the past for their active contribution to the development of the health sector and, in particular, the prevention of the spread of Covid-19 in Cambodia. I thank for the generous donation of vaccines at this time that we will use in the national Covid-19 booster doses vaccination campaign for the Cambodian people. Taking this opportunity, I would request the Australian Government to continue to provide additional support to Cambodia in the fight against Covid-19, in building health security capacity to strengthen the public health system and community participation in providing health care services, as well as the restoration and promotion of Cambodia's sustainable, inclusive and resilient economic growth.

[Start of Comments 2]

Australian Aid Vaccine as Booster Dose

The Acting Chargé d'Affaires stated that during my meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the end of this year, 1 million doses of vaccine would arrive (as donation). However, it turned out that we are receiving up to 2.3 million doses, one part of which came today and (the remaining part will) come the day after tomorrow, the 28th (December). I am affirming that we will use this vaccine for booster doses. We are administering a fourth dose for the front liners ... especially those working in health sector since they are exposing to high risks. For the general population, we will use it as their third doses.

[End of Comments 2]

Finally, I would like to call on all Cambodians not to be intimidated but to adhere to health measures, especially to continue to implement the "three preventive and three things to avoid" measures with vigilance and high responsibility ./👁

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nounce it. Hun Manet is one among many other candidates for the post of Prime Minister and his father supports his candidacy [...] that you insulted my son Hun Manet as "Le Duc Tho's son" will not let you get away with it [...]

Consolidating Power Base for Next Generation

It is clear that Hun Sen will continue to consolidate power base for the next generation. My son cannot do it alone. It will be a whole team set [...] with many young officials. There never was anyone leading the country alone. The story about Hun Manet is clear today.

Hun Manet is one of the candidates for the post of Prime Minister with the support of his father [...] my son has to do good deeds to step on to the job to leave no room for insults [...]

Hun Manet has to run (competing) with children (of those in the opposition) because our country, a liberal, multi-party democracy, cannot come to power without elections [...]

No More Talks about Ream Seaport

Once again, thank you for joining today from all provinces and stakeholders to embrace such a national achievement. Although these achievements are born in this land, this region, but they are national achievements. They will help drive the country's economic growth.

I will not talk about Ream seaport anymore. Stop talking. I told (Samdech Pichey Sena) Tea Banh to stop talking. Anyone who asks for a visit, he also does not have to give permission. Ream Seaport is not a place of thieves and robbers.

Whatever you may say. We let you in and see with your own eyes and you are not satisfied. That place is not for you to check. What role are you playing? I let you visit. What is a visit? It is different from an inspection or a search. Let them know the difference [...]./👁