

(Unofficial Translation)

Speech By Samdech Hun Sen
Second Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia
and Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces of Cambodia
on the occasions of

- The celebration of His Majesty Preah Karuna Preah Bat Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's 76 th Birthday Anniversary.
- Independence Day (November 9)
- The 7th Anniversary of the Signing of Paris Peace Agreements on Cambodia
(At Chaktomuk Hall - Thursday, October 22, 1998)

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- Venerable Supreme Patriarch and Members of the Buddhist Clergy,
 - Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police Officers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Today, the Royal Government of Cambodia, together with government officials, the armed forces and Cambodian people as a whole would like to express our best wishes to His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk on His 76th Birthday Anniversary. This is the great happiness of Cambodia which enjoys the cool shade of Their Majesties the King and the Queen, and the aspiration that Cambodia will be in this shade for many years to come.

-Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is with great pleasure that along the path we have gone, today we have the great honour to remind the prominent achievements made by our Father of the Nation, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk. We will continue to remind His Majesty's distinguished services to the Nation, Independence, Sovereignty, Peace and the National Reconciliation and we all are determined to safeguard this glorious history as well as to move steadfastly forward with it. It was on this long path that Cambodia won its national independence on the November 9th, 1953, and Cambodia became the member of the United Nations 10 years after this world body came into being. Cambodia had enjoyed peace and happiness for many years, enjoyed development and the respect of sovereignty from the part of many countries, near and far. However, the coup d'état staged by Lon Nol on March 18, 1970 pushed Cambodia into the tragic war, and followed by the Pol Pot's regime of total destruction, killing their own people, Cambodia had fallen to the zero or below zero. Until today, since the rebirth of our nation on the January 7th, 1979, we still cannot reckon all the aftermath of the five year war and of the 3 years, 8 months and 20 days under the genocidal regime. And this unfortunate country had to face the serious aftermath in the process of building itself into a developing one. At the last stage of the path, we had reach a turning point, an unforgettable event happened 7 years ago that is, the Paris Peace Agreements on Cambodia had opened a new page in the Cambodia history. Cambodian people, old and young, men and women throughout the country under the control of the former State of Cambodia had warmly welcomed Their Majesties the King and the Queen after a long separation, who longed fondly to see homeland and children and grand-children. As far as the Vietnam war, in 1973 when the war was not yet over, Mr. Henry Kissinger and Mr. Le Duc Tho, the two chief negotiators had been awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize. As for Cambodia, until now, both His Majesty The King and I, who have brought peace for Cambodia, have still been concerned in leading our country to happiness and prosperity.

Considering the spirit of the Paris Peace Agreements on Cambodia, the former State of Cambodia had carried on the cause of national rebirth, and in a sense of good

will, with strength and responsibility in the management of the country and people, it had created favourable conditions, conducted closely and sincere cooperation with UNTAC in implementing the Paris Peace Agreements in a fruitful manner. UNTAC, which was entrusted by the international community had achieved good results with the contributions made by the former State of Cambodia, former FUNCINPEC and former National Front for Liberation of Khmer People. The refugees, officers, soldiers together with their families had returned to the homeland. The general election had been conducted in all zones, especially the zones controlled by the former State of Cambodia, except the former Khmer Rouge-occupied zone. And everything had proceeded as scheduled including the election, the convening of the National Assembly, and the setting up of the coalition government. The second Kingdom of Cambodia came into being, which the elected political parties had their important and indispensable contribution. The political regime of the Kingdom of Cambodia is free and pluralistic which requires all branches, all levels in Cambodia to respect accordingly in all aspects, economic as well as political. This point has been clearly defined in the 1993 Constitution. The Cambodian seat was given back to Cambodia, after many years occupied by the Lon Nol and the genocidal Pol Pot cliques. After that, the new government came into being, which demonstrated that the Cambodia problem was solved and ended. The achievements of the Paris Peace Agreements brought great fruition for Cambodia, providing Cambodia with rights and sovereignty in fulfilling their tasks. Cambodia had upheld their rights, and together with the international community for national development in a sense of responsibility for the national destiny.

As a matter of fact, UNTAC had failed to fulfill a number of tasks. Whose fault is it? It is the Democratic Kampuchea that refused to dissolve their armed forces and to allow UNTAC to enter their zones, and that did not take part in the election, etc. In addition, in order to destroy the spirit of the Paris Peace Agreements and the work of UNTAC, they maintained their forces, and developed the underground forces in the country, seeking by all means to send their members into various political parties, and through these parties, they had great possibility in planting their elements in the national army and other institutions. Normally and legally, no country is allowed to have two separate zones and two armies, Cambodia included. The law to outlaw the Khmer Rouge increased the strength to step up the disintegration of the Khmer Rouge organizations. Thanks to the heroism of the National Armed Forces of Cambodia and Cambodian people, the Khmer Rouge organizations and their controlled zone came to an end following their ouster from power on January 7th, 1979. This is the pleasure for the international community, for the sake of stability, the unity of the Cambodian people, a factor contributed to the width of the election held in July 1998. Some zones which did not take part in the election in 1998 have exercised their citizen's rights. We have cast our votes, implementing the free, pluralistic democracy, in a non-violent manner. Therefore, we have to be grateful to the voters, and to serve Cambodia people as our masters without delay and unconditionally.

-Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Seven years after the Paris Peace Agreements on Cambodia, what Cambodia achieved and implemented is not completely good and easy. The Royal Government and Cambodian people have faced a lot of complicated and vital obstacles.

The opportunists and extremists who have no foundation among the Cambodian people and colluded with the Khmer Rouge have continued to undermine the security, law and order, economy and the daily life of the people, in an attempt to destroy the achievements brought about by the Paris Peace Agreements, prompting the friends of Cambodia have wrong opinion about Cambodia, preventing foreign aid to Cambodia. It

is they who masterminded the assassination of the leaders , organizing dangerous and illegal forces, sending the Khmer Rouge into the cities and provinces, including Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville, Kampot, Battambang, Bantey Meanchey, Siem Reap, Kompong Thom, etc... Sometimes they carried out the attacks on 6 targets at the same time and fixing the date of July 12, 1997 as the the last day of the Royal Government, which came from the National Assembly elected by the people in 1993 in accordance with the Paris Peace Agreements. They even created the anarchy, insecurity and instability, although they are aware that it runs counter to the national interest and the peaceful life of the people.

Faced with these schemes, the Royal Government has taken the initiative to cope with the situation, restoring the stability and respect of law, as the advocate of State of law. The 8 security measures which I have brought up become an important factor to pave the way for the election. As all of you are aware, without these efforts, without technical and financial assistance by our friendly countries, we cannot have a good election in July 1998, as described by some figures that " a miracle on the Mekong ". The right assessment of the powers and countries, near and far, and the international community will be inscribed in our history and hearts of Cambodians, which will be the effective means to remedy and do away with groundless slander in an attempt to discredit Khmer people and nation .

The Royal Government and people of Cambodia take this opportunity of the 7 anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements to extend our sincere thanks to France, Japan, Russia, China, the United States of America, England, Canada , Australia, especially Asean countries and European Community, and many other countries for their assistance given to Cambodian people for the cause of peace and national reconstruction. The assistance, moral, material and financial, extended to Cambodian people is very valuable, because it is distributed directly to the people in a timely manner. We also deeply thank for the assistance of international organisations and the NGOs, especially of the European Community, who have effectively organized the Prasak and Palik programs and hope that the sustainability of this assistance will help Cambodian people to carry out the national development by their own.

-Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

How about the current situation ?

The Royal Government has no duty to explain about the stance of any political parties, which are responsible for organizing the working process of the National Assembly and setting up a new government in order to take over the task of the current government .

Only those who want to prolong the anarchy and instability prevent the efforts to set up a new government.

Since the polling day of July 26, 1998 to September 24, 1998, the day of convening the first meeting of National Assembly, what we saw is the illegal and violent demonstrations which lasted for 16 days by occupying a site near the Royal Palace and in front of the National Assembly. It is from this place that acts of violence were incited on the spot or in other places. They incited the uprisings from the part of the armed forces, and expanding the anarchy to various places, including in front of some embassies, etc. As for the border zones, there are a number of places, such as Thmor Dar , Sok Sann , Obey chan being put under threat by the criminals .

What are the characteristics of the violent illegal demonstrations?

! The obvious characteristics are that the demonstrations being springboard for implementing a dangerous plan. To begin with complaints relating to the result of the election, and then there being demands for toppling the current government, and setting

up a temporary government in order to organize a new election. The incitement to racial discrimination and rebellion of the armed forces, killing leaders of the government, demanding the overthrow of the executive organisation of the Kingdom of Cambodia, appealing to fire missiles into Cambodia etc..., which led to acts of violence including grenades attack on the residence of the Head of the Government on September 7th, 1998 and the cruel assassination attempt on September 24, 1998. These violence resulted in the loss of lives, property destruction, loss of security and social order, political instability and economic chaos.

Following the summit meeting in September 22, 1998 and the opening meeting the National Assembly on September 24, 1998 under the chairmanship of His Majesty the King, the results of these meetings were rejected, especially the agreement achieved in the summit meeting in Siem Reap. It reflected the characteristics of the illegal demonstrations which their leaders declared as a revolution.

Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The National Assembly of the first legislature has recently finished its mission. The National Assembly of the second legislature will take over many legislative tasks, but it is regretful that some political parties have not yet wanted the National Assembly to begin with their works. In the capacity of the leadership, together with Excellency Ung Huot, the First Prime Minister, responsible for the executive power of the Kingdom of Cambodia, I have historic duty to run the country till a new government being set up.

As all of you are aware, I never avoid my responsibility, even in the circumstances of serious crisis. Therefore, I am prepared myself to set up a coalition government in response to the request and aspiration of the people, who have expressed their will through the July 26 election. The new government that I'm going to set up is a government of national unity, open to various political parties with sincere wish to take part for the sake of national construction for the next five years to come. We do not allow anyone to take part in the government in order to undermine the government, hampering the government to serve the people.

What we want to have is a more effective and stronger government. The voters are waiting anxiously for the new government to perform their tasks. Therefore, to lead a government is to lead a combined force toward an obvious goal which we try our best to reach.

There is a great need to give a fresh push for all the social organizations. We have make every effort to do away with the aftermath of war and of the genocidal regime. At the same time, I have always paid due attention to the demands made by the opposition because they are also members of the society. Everyone has his/her own role in democracy, for the peace of national construction, not for destruction. They should not make the democracy in Cambodia, which need to more develop, to be understood that opposition is destruction. Both the government and the opposition must put the national interest, social stability and people's livelihood above all, thereby we can have a strong political force and a national stability. To reach this goal, it is imperative to implement the rule law throughout the country, which will attract everybody to go on the path of state of law. The population is increasing, which can be of 15 million people in the next five years. Therefore, to reconsider the number of provinces and municipalities and providing some autonomy to the provincial and municipal management is also necessary. An effective management of province, municipality, district and commune should be taken into consideration in an adequate and timely manner. It is the response to what is the most respectful, it is the people's interest. The equality of the people before the law is the objective which we should make every effort to develop. It is the target we are determined to reach in the next five years so as that everybody enjoy equal rights ... Law

must defend the weak and be implemented throughout the country. It is in this spirit that the judicial reform cannot be delayed any longer. Therefore, the government need the necessary assistance from the National Assembly to push forward this issue, together with independent institutions involved such as the Constitutional Council, the Supreme of Council of Magistracy and the courts for the sake of social justice.

The important issue is to give a strong and fresh impetus to the economic development. Recently, in the election campaigns, political parties have raised in an easy way that they would bring great progress in the economy. However, we should take a look at the present economic situation. Is it easy to achieve as expected? During the election campaign, it is not very favourable for the investment. Our economy has been harmed and lacked in stability which cannot be restored overnight. Therefore, a new water policy must be defined in an urgent manner, together with the necessary reforms which will create favourable conditions to the agricultural production, goods circulation and the business of the people. It is the important request for the sake of investment in Cambodia, and the word "investment" should be understood that "to build Cambodia into development".

These serious requests demand a reform process. In fact we cannot achieve everything in a day, but if we idle away and wait, it means death. The reforms in the army, the police and the administration as well as the judicial system are the four related reforms which serve the common goal. The combat against corruption, the violation by power abuse and the negative phenomena in the society is regular activities of all forces. We will not allow anyone among our people and businessmen to be the victims

-Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

What I have brought up is less than 1/3 of the plans that the new government will take into consideration. Up to now, although we are still optimistic that the new government will likely come into being in the near future. In a sense of responsibility of the current government, I think that we have wasted a lot of valuable time. The suffering and hardship of the people prompted the current government to free itself from being the hostage to the politicians in the minority and fulfill their work in a good manner. As you are aware of what the people mean, people are those without salary and weapons. They make their living by labour, service, and their skills. They cannot afford the lack of daily consideration from the part of the government. Therefore, today, as a Prime Minister of the current government and the Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces of Cambodia, I put forward the following:

1-The continued implementation in a strict manner of the 8 point security measures which I have defined.

2-All institutions, all levels and all branches of the Royal Government must fulfill their tasks in a good manner, and should not abandon any tasks while waiting for the new government to come.

3-I will put forward immediately the new measures in order to combat the corruption and other negative activities which create difficulty to investors, businessmen, such as kidnapping, drug trafficking and armed robbery.

4-New policy regarding the water issue must be implemented in an urgent manner without delay, to mobilize forces to help farmers in their agricultural production. The management of forest should be strengthened in a strong manner. I take opportunity to state in a sense of responsibility that the forest issue is the weakest point of the Royal Government of the first term. The anarchy in logging happened seriously during the period of 1994-98. We can say that in the past 4 years the forests have been destroyed seriously in the thousand-year history of Cambodia. To keep the sustainability of the

forest, which is the rare natural resources, and protect the environment, the Royal Government declareds the measure as follows:

a-To put an end to permission for the investment in wood processing.

b-To begin to review all contracts on forest concession, and cancel the contracts having yet to be implemented. The forest zones belonging to the cancelled contracts should not be granted to any other company, but be set in the reserve zones or wildlife refuges or national parks under the strict management of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Environment and the local authorities.

c-As for the forest concession which implemented in accordance with the contracts must equip more modern processing means in order to increase the wood value as well as the employment for the people, prompting the company to implement the log-cutting in accordance to the plan and technical norms and the reforestation in the logging zone.

d-To conduct a review on the draft law on the forest management and prepare decree on the forest management. Those who are involved in illegal logging or illegal export must be identified and punished immediately.

5-Strong encouragement should be made toward the investors and all businessmen in the country. Review will be made immediately on the tax issue. Each institution should have regular contact with the company, enterprise facing difficulty so as to solve the problem in a timely manner. One should not take advantage of the difficulty of the company as a chance to make personal profit.

6-The management of budget and fiscal affairs

In fact, the national budget meets with great difficulty because of the objective and subjective sectors. The objective factor is that we have spent our limited budget in the period of conducting the election process. For the integration of the Khmer Rouge forces from their last stronghold, and for other unexpected spending combined with decreasing income due to the instable political situation and the influence of the financial crisis in the region. Inflation, devaluation of riels, the rising price of goods, slow-paid salary created difficulty in the livelihood of the government officials and the armed forces. However, in a sense of responsibility, we should take into account the subjective factor in order to take urgent measures as follows:

a-Measures to be taken to combat the smuggling under whatever forms.

b-Strictly ban the collecting income, retaining income, and spending out of national budget system.

c-Put an end to tax exemption out of the framework of investment law and fiscal law and law on the annual financial management.

d-Ministry of Economy and Finance should control and reimplementation of the control of the important goods before loading in order to ensure the effective management and the correct tax imposition, but also guarantee the quick effective service.

e-To practice thrift in spending, especially the unnecessary spending. All the budget earned from privatization should be put into public investment, infrastructure or counter-fund of credit of the financial institutions for the infrastructure projects. Budget cannot be spend out of these targets.

7-Whatever difficulty we have, I will speed up the reform in the judicial system, by raising the salary of the judges, especially the judges in the supreme court, and taking note of the verdicts having been decided ... and if discovering that there are judges taking wrong decision, I hope that the Supreme Court of Magistracy will take the disciplinary measures immediately.

In order to effectively implement the above 7 measures, it is imperative to strengthen and improve the human rights work, and in taking part in the reform process.

the Cambodian Committee for Human Rights of the Royal Government must build its own voluntary force in every village. Simultaneously, I will set up a council of those giving opinion which can accept volunteers to take part and conduct the survey, making projects and giving opinion in all aspects to the Royal Government. This council is a think tank which will provide idea and thinking to the Government.

-Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I have declared before the election that if I enjoyed the confidence of the people to be prime minister of the new government, I will set up an economy-oriented government. However, the life line and the brains of an economy-oriented government have to start up from now or, from the current government, because the waiting process will only worsen the suffering and hardship of our people. In actual, we need the National Assembly to approve more laws, however what is available can facilitate us to work effectively without having to wait.

I would like to take this opportunity to affirm that His Majesty the King, the National Assembly of the first legislature, the Royal Government, the Constitution Council, the National Election Committee, the authorities of all levels, the armed forces, the eligible voters, the international associations providing financial, technical and material assistance and the observers have fulfilled their tasks related to the election. The outstanding problem is that the elected political parties and the elected parliamentarians have to do the work for the sake of the people who voted for them. Considering the results of the summit meeting on September 22, 1998 in Siem Reap under the highest Chairmanship of His Majesty the King, if these results are strictly respected, there seems no need to hold another summit. However, if going against the spirit of these results, even though the meeting to be held several times, in any venue, no results will be achieved. I hope that political parties and the elected members of the National Assembly will not create new obstacle and will actively take part in solving the problem for the sake of the nation and people.

In conclusion, I humbly and respectfully extend my best wishes to His Majesty Preah Karuna Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and Her Majesty Samdech Preah Reach Aka Mahesey. We, the government officials, the armed forces, in the spirit of solidarity and unity, will make every effort to alleviate the poverty, the suffering and hardship of Cambodian people, in a sense of responsibility and conscience for sake of our people.

May the celebration of the birthday anniversary of His Majesty Preah Karuna Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk this year be the effective impetus for leading Cambodia out of obstacles and enjoying the development in accordance with the people aspiration.

May the 45th Independence Day help us to strengthen national sovereignty and independence in order to build Cambodia with a brighter future.

May the water festival and moon festival this year bring about new speed and hope for the whole Cambodian people.

May the spirit of the Paris Peace Agreements continue to be the source of strength for Cambodia to move forward.

May the Venerable Supreme Patriarch and all members of Buddhist Clergy, Excellencies and Lok Chumteav, Army and Police officers, Ladies and Gentlemen accept the five Buddhist blessings and the two wishes of development and happiness

Thank you for your attention