CAMBODIA
AFTER PARIS
PEACE AGREEMENT
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October 23, 1991 was a historic day for Cambodia and Cambodian people as *Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict*, called Paris Peace Agreement, was signed in Paris. The signatories were the Cambodian factions, the regional powers with an interest in the conflict including Vietnam, China, and Thailand, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, France, the United Kingdom, India, Australia, and nine others. The agreement signaled the beginning of the end of decades of violent conflict in Cambodia and the start of the biggest and most costly peacekeeping operation in history.

The Paris Peace Agreement was a compromise negotiated by diplomats; its feasibility was justifiably questioned. The agreement prescribed a two-step transition to democracy. First, it established an interim Supreme National Council (SNC) composed of 12 individuals: six represented the Phnom Penh regime, and six represented the three factions (two representatives for each faction) which had fought that regime throughout the 1980s. The SNC was headed by H.M. King Norodom Sihanouk. Second, the United Nations became responsible for a transitional period in Cambodia during which peace would be established along with a "neutral political environment" to permit organization and conduct of free and fair elections to determine the political future of the country. To create this "neutral political environment" the factions agreed to the dismantling, by the United Nations, of 70 percent of their military forces, and agreed that the United Nations would exercise control over the existing Cambodian governmental administrative structures.

The Paris Peace Agreement initially led Cambodia to reach national unity based on Khmer’s willing in order to reconstruct nation after fragmenting due to the last two-decades of civil war.
The great successes, which Cambodia had reached, are initially from all Khmer leaders’ activities to overcome and then reach to Paris Peace Agreement. Moreover, it (Paris Peace Agreement) is the evidence and the priceless successes and becomes the sample examples for the solution of civil war incurring within many countries in the region as well as the world because Cambodia had been resolved its conflict by UN roles. Many countries could find out the advantages and disadvantages of dispute consequences that Cambodia had met before reaching the peaceful agreement and before implementing win-win policy proposed by the Royal Government of Cambodia led by Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen. Meanwhile, those countries should also study the achievement that Cambodia got after ending its civil war.

On 21st October 2006, International Relations Institute of Cambodia with the financial support from the Konrad Andenauer Foundation organized an Open Academic Forum held in Phnom Penh to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement by reflecting significant achievements made in the last fifteen years following the Agreement.

This forum was organized in a timely manner when Cambodia has been back on track and moved forward rapidly in pursuit of development in line with the rest of the world in the beginning of the 21st century after lagging far behind others for a significant number of years.

The forum enables the participants to grasp greater understanding of the real situation and challenges facing Cambodia in the last fifteen years, thereby flagging out the pressing needs for contribution in the area of human resource development, a pre-condition to achieving the government’s rectangle strategy. This has not been an easy task for the
government taking into account the complete devastation of country’s socio-infrastructure after decades of war. While the government had to shoulder this heavy responsibility, it is crystal clear that individual Cambodian citizen had to be conscious of the facts and thus act pro-actively to contribute positively to the national development as well as to promote the country’s image in international arena.

All papers and presentation in the forum were compiled as a good source of historical references and arguments which lay the research basis for students, academia, historians, and politicians alike so as to reflect objectively the reality and the development of Cambodia over the past decade.

In addition, it can be said that the Paris Peace Agreement has provided a good lesson to the world in pursuit of its efforts to resolve disputes. By experience the use of force as a solution, in whatever form, will not bring a peaceful end to the conflict. Instead, only when the peaceful negotiation where all parties of the conflict regardless of their political affiliation were drawn to the table on which national interest not party’s interest is the top agenda can the complete success be achieved. The modal Paris Peace Accord was proved to be the most effective medicine for treatment of the world’s civil war in pursuit of national reconciliation in 20th and 21st centuries. The world is now confronting with terrorism and many countries are torn apart by the prolonged civil war. The situation in Afghanistan, Iraq, Kashmir, East Timor, Nepal and recently in Thailand are good examples.
The same is true for the African continent. Sudan, for instance, has fallen into chronic civil war. Cambodia, after experiencing years of civil war, has for the first time sent its arm forces to serve under the UN peace keeping forces in Darfur, Sudan. This experience has left a meaningful legacy for the politicians in seeking solutions to national turmoil based on the culture of negotiation, not force. It is evident that Cambodia Peace process began with a starting point commonly known as the Paris Peace Accord.

The compilation of this political history will serve as an effective compass to direct any research and analysis of Cambodia’s historical facts and its development trend contributing to building human resource capacity.

Sok Touch, PhD
Deputy Director of IRIC
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF THE PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF THE PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT

1. Historical Background

Monday, 23rd October 2006 would mark the 15th Anniversary of the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict - also known as "The Paris Peace Agreements" - which was signed by Cambodian and seventeen other nations at the final meeting of the second session of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, held from 21st to 23rd October 1991 in the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General. The Federal Republic of Germany also joined and signed the Paris Peace Agreements on April 28th, 1994 as the 18th signatory nation. The Agreements brought to a close more than a decade of negotiations in which the United Nations, through the office of the Secretary-General, was closely involved. In Resolution 718, the United Nations Security Council expressed its full support for these Agreements on 21st October 1991. This historic act marked the beginning of a transition period in Cambodia, which led to the free and fair elections of 1993, and the formation of a new Royal Government of Cambodia.

Since March 1970, international attention had necessarily focused on Cambodia's war, genocide, and interference by external powers, refugees and famines, and on its enduring political personalities. During this recent past, Cambodia mainly came to be known in the world community first and foremost for the self-inflicted genocidal suffering perpetrated by a totalitarian regime against its own people, and secondly as a theatre of war in which much more powerful countries fought each other on Cambodian soil.

In early 1979, the United Nation Security Council for the first time considered the situation of Cambodia - referring
to the "Cambodia Conflict." The General Assembly of the United Nations later considered the Cambodia problems in its regular sessions and also adopted a series of resolutions on this conflict. In December 1987 and for a second time in January 1988, after a decade of interventions, mediation and dialogue through the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, HM The King of Cambodia, then HRH Samdeh Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia met HE Samdech Hun Sen for the first time, in Fer-en-Tardenois (France). Following this initiation of dialogue, the Secretary-General of the United Nations explored an integrated approach to serve as a framework for a comprehensive settlement plan. This integrated approach led to the process of direct dialogue and negotiation. Indonesia hosted the first "Jakarta Informal Meeting" (JIM)- known as JIM 1 in July 1988, in which all Cambodian parties met and talked face-to-face for the first time. A second meeting -JIM 2- was held in February 1989. Representatives of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Laos People's Democratic Republic were also invited to participate in JIM 1 and JIM 2.

At the initiative of France and under the co-chairmanship of France and Indonesia, all Cambodian parties and representatives from seventeen other countries (Australia, Canada, India, Japan, the ASEAN nations- Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand - along with Vietnam and Laos, and the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council- the People's Republic of China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) attended the Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC), which was held from 30th July to 30th August 1989.

The first Session of the Conference did not achieve the real objective of finding a comprehensive settlement for
Cambodia conflict, but the conference did make further progress on a wide range of issues necessary for the achievements of a comprehensive settlement, and urged all parties concerned to intensify their effort to achieve such a settlement. The most outstanding issue, which emerged at the conference, was national reconciliation.

In order to gather necessary technical information, the conference agreed to deploy an international control mechanism, and so a United Nations Fact-Finding Mission was dispatched by the Secretary-General from 6th to 19th August 1989.

The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council then began a series of high-level meetings in New York and Paris to discuss the situation in Cambodia, in which the basis of a general settlement agreement was developed. On the basis of a framework which the Security Council had reached at their sixth meeting on 27th-28th August 1990, and after an informal meeting of all Cambodian parties on 10th September 1990 convened by the co-chairs of the Paris Conference, the four main Cambodian parties accepted the framework in its entirety as the basis for settling the conflict, and they agreed to form a Supreme National Council (SNC) under the leadership of HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, as the sole legitimate source of authority in Cambodia during a transition period.

2. United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC)

Following five years of negotiation (1987-1991) among the warring Cambodian factions, i.e., the former political regimes/factions of:

1) The People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) - State of Cambodia (SOC)
2) The National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC)

3) The Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF)

4) Democratic Kampuchea (DK) (the Khmer Rouge faction)

and the neighboring countries in Southeast Asia (ASEAN states along with Vietnam and Laos) and the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations dispatched over 20,000 peacekeepers to Cambodia, who were known as the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC), at a cost of two billion US dollars. This mission to Cambodia, which has been widely hailed as the most successful UN peace-keeping operation of the post-Cold War era, was not entirely successful, because one of the four Cambodian political factions, the DK (Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge), withdrew from the peace process and did not participate in the UN-sponsored election.

Despite limitations and problems, this UNTAC mission culminated in an UN-conducted election in May 1993 that led to the formation of a legitimate Cambodian government. The Royal Government of Cambodia is a coalition of four factions that remained within the UN peace process [FUNCINPEC, the SOC (CPP), the KPNLF and the MOLINAKA party]. The second Kingdom of Cambodia, now with a constitutional monarchy, was re-established in September 1993.

By the end of September 1993, for the first time since 18 March 1970, Cambodia had a government that was supported and recognized, rather than fought over, by both the people of Cambodia and by neighboring states, other nations and governments around the world. An eighteen-year long (1975-93) economic and political embargo against Cambodia
came to an end. Cambodia opened its doors to the world, and is now the beneficiary of aid, trade and investment from international financial institutions and the growth economies of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. However, more than two decades of war left Cambodia with a ruined infrastructure, poor communication, reduced agriculture production, millions of landmines and a large number of displaced persons. The re-born Kingdom of Cambodia is making the transition from the Killing Fields, totalitarianism and a planned economic system into a liberal democracy with political pluralism and a free market economy. However, it is still a poor and developing country.

3. The Paris International Conference on Cambodia

The main objective of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia was to achieve a comprehensive settlement on the Cambodia conflict. Based on the conviction, the peace-building and peace-making process are the starting points for solving any conflict, and in view of the recent tragic history of Cambodia. All of the topics of the Paris conference were aimed at forging agreement on all aspects of the settlement, particularly to ensure that all initiatives to this end were compatible, and to enhance the prospects of ending the bloodshed in Cambodia at the earliest possible date. The conference demanded that the states participating in the conference also commit themselves to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia, as embodied in the relevant international treaties to which they were parties. Another significant objective of the conference was to get other nations and states to accede to the Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia. The
states participating in the conference also advocated that international efforts be made to assist Cambodia in the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The Paris International Conference on Cambodia was held in two sessions. The first session took place from 30th July to 30th August 1989, and the second session from 21st to 23rd October 1991. All sessions of that conference were chaired by the co-presidents: H.E Roland Dumas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, and H.E. Prof. Dr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement (represented by Zimbabwe at the first session and by the former Yugoslavia at the second session), as well as the Secretary-General of the United Nation, HE Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his special representative, HE Rafeuddin Ahmed, also participated in the conference. At the first session, the four Cambodian parties represented Cambodia. At the second and final session, Cambodia was represented by the Supreme National Council (SNC), under the leadership of its president, HM the King of Cambodia, then HRH Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. The conference established at its first session the following Working Committees:

First Committee
Second Committee
Third Committee
Ad-Hoc Committee
Coordination Committee

Military Affairs
International Guarantees
Repatriation of Refugees and Displaced Persons and the Reconstruction of Cambodia
National Reconciliation
Coordination of these four Committees
The First Committee was co-chaired by HE C.R. Gharekhan (India) and HE Allan Sullivan (Canada), with HE Victoria Sisante-Bataclan (Philippines) as the Rapporteur. The Second Committee was co-chaired by HE Soulivong Phrasithideth (Laos) and Dato' Zainal Abidin Ibrahim (Malaysia), with HE Herve Dejean de la Batie (France) as the Rapporteur; and the Third Committee was co-chaired by HE Yokio Imagawa (Japan) and HE Robert Merrillees (Australia), with Colonel Ronachuck Swasdikiat (Thailand) as the Rapporteur.

Members of the Ad-Hoc Committee consisted of representatives of the four Cambodian factions. The representatives of co-presidents of the conference chaired the Ad-Hoc and the Coordination Committees.

The conference adopted at its second session with the following instruments, which represented an elaboration of the frameworks for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, which was then adopted by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council on 28th August 1990. The entire set of agreements was composed of four documents written in Chinese, English, French, Khmer and Russian languages:

1. Final Act of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia
2. Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict with five annexes:
   Annex 1: UNTAC Mandate;
   Annex 2: Withdrawal, cease-fire and related measures;
   Annex 3: Elections;
   Annex 4: Repatriation of Cambodian Refugees and Displaced Persons;
Annex 5: Principles of a new constitution of Cambodia;

3. Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia

4. Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia

Basically these agreements provided for:

1. The Establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) charged with a mandate to implement the peace agreements;
2. The establishment of the Supreme National Council (SNC) of Cambodia, as "the unique legitimate body and source of authority" in Cambodia, delegating to UNTAC "all powers necessary" for the implementation of the peace agreements;
3. A formal cease-fire supervised and monitored by UNTAC;
4. The repatriation of Cambodian Refugees and displaced persons;
5. The verification of the withdrawal of all foreign forces and their non-return, and the ending of outside military assistance;
6. The regrouping, disarmament and demobilization of the forces of the four Cambodian parties;
7. UNTAC's control of five key areas of administration (defense, finance, foreign affairs, information and public security) so as to ensure a neutral political environment conducive to free and fair elections;
8. Elections, organized by UNTAC, to elect a 120-member constituent assembly, which would draft and
adopt a new constitution based on a system of liberal democracy;
9. Comprehensive provisions to protect human rights before and after elections;
10. International guarantees of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and non-alignment of Cambodia.

The adoption of these instruments was signed by the twelve members of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, which was considered the legitimate body and source of authority enshrining the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia.
PART I

Summary of
Speeches, Remarks, Presentations, Papers, Round Table Discussions and Summary Report
His Excellency Mr. Sum Manit
Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia, Executive Advisor to the Royal Academy of Cambodia in charge of General Coordination of International Relations Chairman of the Open Academic Forum

In his welcoming speech, Mr. Sum Manit said that the Forum was organized to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements, with the support of His Excellency Mr. Sok An, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister in charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers. He also informed the Forum of the efforts of the International Relations Institute of Cambodia to turn itself into a vision group or think tank to help with formulating development strategies for the Nation in the areas of international relations.

He also reminded the names of the leaders and other Cambodian high ranking officials who have actively participated in the peace negotiations in Paris and Jakarta with the view to resolving the conflict in Cambodia until it was finally settled with the Peace Agreements of 23 October 1991. A number of leaders in the international community have also contributed to finding a solution to the conflict in Cambodia and participated in the UNTAC.

His Excellency Mr. Sok An
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister in charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers

In his remarks to the Open Academic Forum, His Excellency Mr. Sok An said that the Paris Peace Agreements are the beginning of Cambodia’s national reconciliation, national unity, and development initiated by the political will of all the parties and the determination of the leaders and politicians to reconstruct the country. This common will is the
testimony and an invaluable example of settlement of civil wars that are prevalent in a number of countries in the world.

H.E. Mr. Sok An was also of the view that the Paris Peace Agreements is a pride to the entire Cambodian population because it was the result of the will of the people themselves to achieve national unity on their own free will through peaceful negotiations. Out of these agreements, the Cambodian people dared to express their views and to value the reputation of their nation, their leaders, as well as Cambodia as a whole. They have turned the culture of war and violence into one of peace, the culture of conflict into one of consent, and the culture of confrontation into one of negotiations and agreements.

The Deputy Prime Minister recognized that the Paris Peace Agreements would not have materialized without the support and participation of the international community, especially those friendly countries and the United Nations.

His Excellency also pointed out that all aspects of national reconciliation have been achieved towards the end of 1998 and early 1999, thanks to the win-win policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia which was conceived by Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen and which led to the downfall of the leadership and the armed forces of the Khmer Rouge.

Mr. Douglas Gardner
Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in Cambodia

Mr. Douglas Gardner gave his views as an official of the United Nations working in Cambodia. He chose to look at a number of important results, which took place after the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991, among them:

Cambodia became fully peaceful again and came out of isolation of the decade of the 1980s because it became
integrated into the ASEAN community, the World Trade Organization, and other regional and international organizations. Together with this, Cambodia has successfully proceeded with three legislative elections and a communal election, which were each time ever freer and fairer than the previous one. These indicate a maturity and contribute to create a climate of confidence necessary to attract investments for the development of the country. The tourism sector has experienced a steady growth and the economy has known an average growth of 7% annually (13% in 2005). Mr. Gardner added that he was emotionally impressed to speak at a ceremony to send off 120 Cambodian military personnel to participate in the peacekeeping operations in the Sudan in May 2006.

As for the future of Cambodia, Mr. Gardner said that Cambodia has defined its own roadmap without pressure from anyone. The United Nations mission in Cambodia supports the views of the Royal Government of Cambodia which are defined in its Rectangular Strategy and the strategic plan of development for 2006-2010 as well as the direction of the millennium development goals for Cambodia. Especially, it supports good governance as contained in the Rectangular Strategy of the Royal Government.

Samdech Chea Sim
President of the Senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia

In his opening speech in the Forum to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements, Samdech Chea Sim praised the Open Academic Forum as a most important venue to commemorate the spirit of national reconciliation through the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict. He recalled the meeting for the first time between Samdech Hun Sen and His
Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk on 2 December 1987 at Ferre en Tardenois as the starting point of the negotiations between Khmers which paved the way for subsequent talks to take place and which culminated with the Paris Peace Agreements. These agreements put an end to the economic and political embargo that was imposed against Cambodia for 18 years (1975-1993). Samdech Chea Sim pointed out the important role played by the United Nations in facilitating the various meetings to seek an end to the internal conflict that lasted for almost three decades. In particular, Samdech sought to point out that these agreements have allowed for the transition from the killing fields and a planned economy to the birth of a new and correct political system which is a monarchy, beginning in September 1993 which in turn led to a plural liberal democracy and a market economy.

Samdech Chea Sim further told the Open Academic Forum that there were many contributing factors which helped bring about the collapse of the leadership and the armed forces of the Khmer Rouge, and national unification. Among these factors, he pointed out the presence of His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen who have always played a central role in unifying the country and the quest for national reconciliation, and the correct win-win policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia as well as its social economic policy and policies in other fields.

Mr. Winston McColgan
Chargé d’Affaires and European Commission
Delegation to Cambodia

In his speech, Mr. Winston McColgan enumerated the various activities from 1991 to 1999 of the European Union who contributed 262 million euros towards the peace process and 590 million euros in bilateral assistance in the areas of
agriculture, housing, refugee resettlement, landmine clearing, and humanitarian work, centering mostly in Battambang and Pursat provinces.

According to Mr. McColgan, it has been remarked that since the setting up of the new government following the Paris Peace Agreements, the European Union has committed to a long-term cooperation with Cambodia by providing 88 million euros towards the elections of July 1998, the rounding up and disposal of some 200,000 small weapons, etc. The European Union entertained these activities from 2000 to 2006, utilizing an amount for 2005 totaling 129 million euros in official direct assistance (ODA). For the year 2006, this assistance was directed towards the health, rural development sectors, the decentralization and deconcentration, and judicial reform efforts, especially with regard to democracy and human rights.

Dr. Soeung Rathchavy
ASEAN Deputy Secretary-General

Madame Soeung Rathchavy spoke on the positions of the various members of ASEAN, both before and after the creation of a new and legal government in Cambodia following the 1993 elections. The Paris Peace Agreements have been a very important contribution to ASEAN and are the cause for the integrity of its members and for peace in the region.

Cambodia has greatly and directly benefited from ASEAN’s plan for integration which seeks to reduce the development gap between and among its members. In addition, ASEAN stands ready to support the membership of Cambodia in OPEC in 2007 and to participate with China to build physical infrastructure in Cambodia. ASEAN also supports Cambodia’s candidacy to become a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for the year
2012-13. She concluded that ASEAN has strong position to support Cambodia in every field.

**Mr. Timothy Carney**  
Former US Ambassador and Member of the Public Affairs Office of the United Nations Transitory Authority in Cambodia

Mr. Timothy Carney pointed out the role of the United Nations in Cambodia and its assistance in drafting a new constitution.

He stressed the importance of the law and the genuine political will of the Cambodian political figures. He also expressed the view that it is fortunate that Cambodia has chosen to adopt a new constitution through a constituent assembly in the year 1993 which is written in general terms and not conceived to serve a particular cause. Not all constitutions are efficient and effective such as the constitution of Sudan that was conceived to serve the politicians.

Mr. Carney added that if one uses the rule of law to govern, one will have justice and prosperity.

He further cautioned that if the politicians do not have the political will and do not seek to understand the essence of all elements of the constitution, then the constitution will not have any usefulness for the country.

**His Excellency Mr. Fumiaki Takahashi**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to the Kingdom of Cambodia

His Excellency Mr. Fumiaki Takahashi proceeded to extensively examine the purposes of the Paris Peace Agreements and the progress achieved in the development of Cambodia during the last 15 years. He has observed that the
Royal Government and the Cambodian leaders place peace and national unity above all other considerations and have overcome a number of challenges through democratic means. As for the issues of national reconciliation and integration, he believed that liberal democratic principles and plurality have already taken solid roots in Cambodia. However, he felt that the Cambodian people still value partisanship more than they seem to value national interests. He suggested that the government might be better off to educate and promote a better understanding among the people that it is necessary to promote the national interest and place it above the interest of the group.

In the economic sector, Cambodia faces with very stiff international competition and the problem created by the gap between rich and poor. He felt the government has yet to address these shortcomings. He was of the view that there should be involvement of the majority of the people in the economic development of their country. He stressed the importance of creating as many farmer cooperatives as possible as a way to address this discrepancy. Japan stands ready to share its experiences with Cambodia in this sector. With respect to national reconstruction, he believes that as a result of Cambodia’s admission as a member of the ASEAN, its economy has developed quite rapidly, especially during the year 2005. As for foreign assistance, he felt that each donor country must provide for a framework in which to dispense these aids in order for them to be more efficient. He severely criticized some donor countries for choosing to provide assistances to Cambodia outside of this framework. He said that this action is contrary to the interest of Cambodia.

In the last part of his presentation, His Excellency Mr. Fumiaki Takahashi provided a detailed account of Japan’s assistance to Cambodia in various fields as well as of private Japanese investments in the country. He concluded his remarks by reminding the audience of the words of His
Excellency Mr. Aso Taro, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, who said that Cambodia has provided Japan with invaluable lessons in peace-building.

Dr. Peter Christian Hauswedell
Former Director-General for Asia and the Pacific of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

Dr. Peter Christian Hauswedell examined the successes, the realizations, and the shortcomings of the Agreements from the European viewpoints. Germany is the 18th signatory of the Paris Peace Agreements to end the lingering conflict, which lasted from 1969 until 1991. Germany has signed the Agreements to show its solidarity with the Cambodian people who had suffered so much and to show its willingness to participate in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia.

Evaluating the successes and shortcomings of the accords, he felt that they have clearly been positive overall even though there were still a few more unresolved items to be completed later on. Cambodia has since lived in peace and the Paris Peace Agreements have guaranteed Cambodia’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and neutrality. Compared to the peace settlement in East Timor, Afghanistan, and Somali, Cambodia’s has by far been the most successful.

There were four annexes to the accords. Among those four, there had only been the second annex, which deals with the cessation of hostilities and the disarmament of forces belonging to all Cambodian warring factions, which did not meet with full implementation. The annex which calls for all four Cambodian parties to disband their respective armed forces failed because the party of the Khmer Rouge. They refused to put down their arms and to participate in the 1993
elections. This led to the existence of many illegal weapons in the country.

As for the establishment of democratic rule, Dr. Hauswedell suggested that one could not liken it to the democratic rule as it is enjoyed in the western world. One should not expect Cambodia to implement democracy Westminster-style overnight.

Another shortcoming raised by Dr. Hauswedell had been the slowness in recognizing and incorporating the role of the opposition into the democratic system.

In conclusion, Dr. Hauswedell recognized that the situation in Cambodia in 2006 had improved tremendously over that of the year 1991.

Mr. Nick Etheridge
Former Vice President of the Canadian Delegation to the Paris Conference

Mr. Etheridge, who participated in the Paris Peace Conference on Cambodia as the Vice President of the Canadian delegation and later became the representative of Canada to the Supreme National Council, raised the issues of human rights, democracy, and Cambodia’s sovereignty in the Paris Peace Agreements. First, because Cambodia had gone through a disturbing past, there had been a need to raise the human rights issue; second, to guarantee continuity, there was a need to establish democracy, i.e. the organization of free elections; and third, if there was no sovereignty, it would not have been possible to achieve national reconciliation.

Mr. Etheridge stressed the importance of the independence of the judiciary which is a requirement of the Paris Peace Agreements and which responds to the wish of people and democratic society. He also took note of the progress of the Khmer Rouge tribunal which responds to the
wish of the Cambodian people and that of the entire world. The Cambodian people will know that an effort has been made to try to find justice for their victims.

He finally expressed the wish, on behalf of the Canadian government; to see established a regional mechanism to safeguard peace for humanity.

**His Excellency Mr. Igor Rogachev**

*Former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union*  
*Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to the People’s Republic of China*  
*and Member of the Senate of the Soviet Union*

Mr. Igor Rogachev gave an account of the active participation of Russia in the Cambodian peace settlement process from the beginning until its resolution which was capped with its signature on 23 October 1991. This settlement was conformed with the wish of Russia to see an end to the armed conflict and the building of peace in Cambodia with a view to guaranteeing Cambodia’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. This peace settlement provides invaluable lessons to Cambodia and a good experience for the world, particularly for the United Nations in its effort to resolve conflicts in the region as well as in the world.

His Excellency Rogachev stated that Russia pondered very carefully about its contribution to the cooperation in the peace-keeping operation of the United Nations in Cambodia from its inception in November 1991 until May 1993. The peace agreements have helped Cambodia rake in between $500 and $600 million annually in foreign assistance. At the same time, Russia has also recognized the shortcomings of the United Nations in Cambodia as this organization had failed to effectively put a stop to the lingering internal rift which had
existed and at the time of the implementation of the peace accords, it had failed to completely disarm the warring factions resulting in the armed clashes of the year 1997.

Regarding the relations between Cambodia and Russia, His Excellency Rogachev reminded the audience that 2006 is the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. In concluding, His Excellency suggested that peace and continued prosperity that have prevailed in Cambodia up to the present are the direct results of our efforts to implement the basic premises of the peace agreements.

Professor Dr. Sukh Deo Muni
Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India to the Lao PDR, Scholar and Senior Research of India High Researcher and Representative of India

Professor Dr. Sukh Deo Muni unveiled the results of the research of the Indian Government into the peace in Cambodia and the prosperity enjoyed by the people of Cambodia, and the successes of the Paris peace conference. He affirmed that the International Paris Peace Conference was a historical conference to search for peace which resulted in the agreements and a comprehensive political settlement of the multi-party and decades-long Cambodian conflict. The conference has taught us many lessons, both positive and negative, and contributed to improving the support of the international community in the search for and to maintain peace in other major conflicts throughout the world. India has actively participated in the search for a resolution from the beginning until its successful conclusion of the conference, although sometimes from behind the scene.

Dr. Sukh Deo Muni stated that the commemoration for the anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements is a reminder
and an appeal of the Cambodian people and the international community to continue to strengthen the plural-democratic system, peace, and prosperity in Cambodia. He reminded the audience of the good relations enjoyed by Cambodia and India, especially between the leaders of the two nations but particularly between His Majesty Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Nehru who, together, elaborated a foreign policy based on the principle of neutrality.

Dr. Muni also stressed that the peace agreements and their subsequent implementation are the testimony of the determination of the international community to guarantee that Cambodia would not fall back into violence and chaos and that it can become a strong nation at peace. We must not lose sight of this determination and focus our efforts more on the future than on the past.

His Excellency Mr. David Reader
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Kingdom of Cambodia

In his remarks, Mr. David Reader said that Britain recognizes the importance of the Paris Peace Agreements of 23rd October 1991 as an important achievement that brought about to the Cambodian people a new future, free of foreign infringement, a fair election, and the creation of a democratic parliament. He reminded that Cambodia should undertake to seek a way to install a democratic system that would be all-encompassing so that it can be ready to compete with the rest of the world by the year 2020.

Mr. Reader further suggested that in making decisions, the government should carefully weigh all the pros and cons and not be motivated only by short-term gains and neglect the effects of long-term damages. He cautioned against the evil
forces of impunity and corruption that could lead the country to
disaster. He also remarked that rapid development could lead
to inflation. Cambodia’s membership in the World Trade
Organization is a correct move because it would benefit it in
the long-run, when all the mandated and right institutions will
be in place.

Mr. David Reader further stressed the problems that
could result from the windfall that Cambodia will receive from
its discovery of oil and gas because they could affect the
economy of the country. On this issue, he is of the opinion that
Cambodia should implement a set of international norms and
standards in order to ensure transparency of revenues from
them. He also expressed his concerns over the issues of
conflicts over land ownership, deforestation, and the
contamination of water sources.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Reader stated that the
people of Cambodia want leaders who will look after their
interests.

His Excellency Mr. Yvon Roe d’Albert
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of France to the Kingdom of Cambodia

Filling in for Mr. Roland Dumas, His Excellency Yvon
Roe d’Albert, representing the French Government,
summarized the situation in Cambodia by comparing the period
between 1991 and 2006. He remarked that there has been
marked progress during that period as in 1991, Cambodia had
just emerged from a dark episode of its history beginning in the
year 1975 during which it had experienced war and devastation
which ended with the intervention of the United Nations. He
pointed out that although the presence of the UNTAC had been
very important but it was actually the participation of the four
Cambodian factions in the process that actually led to the
settlement of the conflict. It was this participation that had led to the formation of a transitional government and the organization of the elections of 1993.

He further pointed out that democracy takes time to develop and can not operate smoothly in a short period of time but he agreed that Cambodia has chosen the right path by adopting it. He expressed the wish to see Cambodia speedily proceed with its judicial reform as he would like to see Cambodia move to establish the rule of law soon.

In his conclusion, Mr. Roe d’Albert stated that its has been 15 years already since the Paris Peace Agreements have allowed Cambodia to set the foundation for its rehabilitation. One can say that the Cambodia building will be finished when the last tile will be placed on its roof. He intimated that the government must continue to endeavor to finish this building so that it can lay the last tile on its roof as soon as possible.

His Excellency Mr. Pith Chamnan  
Secretary of State of Education, Youth, and Sports

His Excellency Pith Chamnan considered the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements as a historical event for Cambodia that casted a new hope for the country. The success of the election in 1993 has opened the door for the liberal multi-party democratic rule. For that, Cambodia remains forever grateful to the assistance of the international community.

At the same time, UNTAC left Cambodia with a thorny issue of Khmer Rouge and then it was resolved by the win-win policy of Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen. which is also the opening the door for a new era of national unification and complete peace on the entire territory.

The achievements following the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements were due to the ability of Samdech Hun Sen to lead the way towards national unity, full national
reunification, peace and security, and development in a liberal
democratic multi-party national community. This is a truth that
can not be overlooked.

His Excellency also discussed the regional integration of Cambodia, becoming a member of the ASEAN in 1999 and that of the World Trade Organization in 2004. As for the freedom of expression, Cambodia allows the ability to publish state-owned as well as private newspapers. The civil societies get free to express their opinions and there has been a proliferation of political parties. We have had a number of other achievements including the elections of commune councils in 2002 and of the Senate in 2006.

His Excellency Dr. Peou Samy
Secretary-General of the National Disaster Relief Management Committee

In the introduction of his remarks to the Open Forum to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements, His Excellency Peou Samy expressed the view that Cambodian conflict parties had agreed to implement the dispositions of the Paris accords of 23rd October 1991 which opened a new page of Cambodia’s history and which led the way for Cambodia integration into the international community based on liberal multi-party democratic principles and the respect of human rights.

He went on to say that in the course of the implementation of democracy, the Cambodian have full rights to participate in creating their own parties, to elect their representatives to lead the nation according to their own political programs within the framework of liberal multi-party democracy. He added that the commune administrator receive full powers and independences in administering, building, and developing their bases according to principles of
decentralization and deconcentration. In this development process, the civil society has been recognized as an important partner.

He further pointed out that Cambodia’s democratic journey has met both positive and negative results in the efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the country following a long period of war and its quest for political stability, peace, and the strengthening of cooperation between Cambodia and the international community. Despite these challenges, Cambodia has achieved peace and full political stability thanks to the win-win strategy of the Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen which he developed according to the motto “Divide, Isolate, Finish, Integrate, and Develop” (DIFID).

He concluded that despite of the existence of other challenges, the implementations of democracy in Cambodia have progressed and succeeded if comparing with the performance of other countries in the region and outside the region.

Mr. Teruo Jinnai
Representative of UNESCO in Cambodia

Mr. Teruo Jinnai regarded the social, political, and economic development in Cambodia during the last 15 years as being swift. He felt that if one looks at the length of time that represents 15 years, one may find it to be quite long. In fact, developing a country from the ground up is a very difficult task in every aspect. The Cambodian politicians and leaders must utilize all the energies to strive for the achievements that have been reached which do not always satisfactorily respond to actual needs. They must continue to push to reach the desired results. He pointed out that the Paris Peace Agreements are in fact a joint achievement that was not reached without the joint efforts of all the parties and the international communities,
particularly the United Nations. He felt that the world community has the same aspirations as the Cambodian politicians, that of national unity, national consensus, and peaceful settlement of all conflicts.

Mr. Jinnai clarified that democracy in Cambodia is still very young if compared with that in western countries. He said we all appreciated the principles of democracy in western countries where have already been experiencing with this system over several hundred years. But if we look at Cambodia for the last 15 years, we will find that there have been many achievements considering that during the 1970s, the transition of power had been done through military coups and revolutions, and especially if we were to compare the Cambodian situation with that of many Asian countries.

Mr. Jinnai suggested that Cambodia should give importance to the education sector and turn it into sustainable education. One should look at the health sector, especially with respect to the AIDS problem which is a major problem for the Cambodian population. If we don’t consider these issues, we will fail in our poverty alleviation effort. With regard to AIDS, the population from the top to the bottom must be educated about it.

Mr. Jinnai further pointed out that in the next 15 years, the number of tourists to visit Cambodia could become at least equal to if not bigger than its population. Singapore is the only country in the ASEAN that has a larger number of tourists than its population. He believed that Cambodia has not fully utilized its potentials in the tourist sector. It must be acknowledged that 1) Cambodia stills lacks in service capabilities, in infrastructure, in human resources, and a policy structure, 2) Cambodia fails to develop its tourist resorts and bring them up to international standards, and 3) there is an inadequacy in publicizing these resorts to the public.
On the issue of the environment, Mr. Jinnai ironically wondered why Cambodia, which is rich in water resources, has not been able to provide over 58% of its population with safe drinking water and why only 16% of its people have access to clean water. This means that some 7 million people across the country are in danger. He felt that the government should pay more attention to the issue of clean water as it is an important cause that brings about poverty (as it has been said that health is number 1). Another important issue for the Cambodian government to keep in mind is the development of a culture of conservation of nature, of biodiversity, of reducing the catch of free-range fish, and the promotion of fish farming. He suggested that the government should place an effort into promoting the conservation of its natural environment as a way to increase tourism into the country which is a much more important source of revenue than fishing and as fishing could lead to the extinction of some species of rare fish. This effort must emanate from the government and the people themselves as well as with the participation of the United Nations. All must contribute to this effort.

Aside from all of these, the historical heritage, both tangible and intangible, must figure out prominently in the effort of the government to attract more tourists but it is a very delicate issue. In order to promote this sector, Cambodia must preserve and conserve these resources in order to increase state revenues.

His Excellency Dr. Ros Chantrabot
Vice President of the Royal Academy of Cambodia

His Excellency Dr. Ros Chantraboth, Vice President of the Royal Academy of Cambodia, gave a full account of the events leading up to the Paris Peace Conference which started with the attacks of the Khmer Rouge army against Vietnam,
prompting a response in kind from the latter. This led the ASEAN countries to introduce a resolution to the United Nations requesting the departure of foreign invasion forces from Cambodia and denying UN recognition to the new government installed by Vietnam. His Excellency also spoke of the new development in the international situation in 1989 that affected the political orientation of Russia, the dissociation of Hungary, Poland, and East Germany from the rule of the Soviet Union, the massive demonstration on Tiananmen Square in China, and the change in attitude of Vietnam.

His Excellency then reminded the audience of the movement towards the convening of the first international conference on Cambodia in New York in July 1981 which brought the participation of 79 countries and the presence of 13 international observers. The Soviet Union and Vietnam did not participate in this conference which caused the gathering to fail. However, the political settlement talks on Cambodia resumed again with a change in the attitude of the three communist countries, namely Russia, China, and Vietnam, and the switch the People’s Republic of Kampuchea to the State of Cambodia. There had also been a rapprochement of the Cambodian parties which led to a possible meeting among them.

His Excellency specified that through the efforts of France and Indonesia, an international conference on Cambodia was convened from 30 July until 30 August 1989 with the participation of 19 countries. Following a brief deadlock, the Foreign Minister of Australia Gareth Evans presented a new proposal to place Cambodia under the mandate of the United Nations. The 6th meeting in New York then adopted a framework for comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict which comprised 36 articles contained in 5 parts.
On 15th October 1990, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted by acclamation the political settlement plan for Cambodia as presented by the 5 major powers. The four Cambodian adversaries began meeting in Paris under the joint chairmanship of France and Indonesia to iron out the terms of the agreements. In the meantime, the fighting continued. Both co-presidents had called for a cease-fire beginning 1th May 1991. Progress in the talks had been slow, the parties continued their diplomatic activities while each of the remaining items of the plan continued to be discussed until September 1991.

On 23rd October 1991, the International Conference on Cambodia began in Paris under the co-chairmanship of France and Indonesia with the participation of all warring Cambodia factions and 18 countries. The agreements on a joint political settlement of the Cambodian conflict comprising 9 parts, 32 articles, and 5 annexes received ratification from all parties present at the Conference.

His Excellency then examined the implementation of the various clauses of the agreements since their adoption, beginning with the meetings of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, the setting up of a UN transitional authority that was due in Cambodia on 8th November 1991, the appointment of a head for the transitional authority, of an armed forces commander, and a civilian administrator, and ultimately the organization of an election in May 1993.

His Excellency ended his presentation by pointing out the contribution of the Paris Peace Agreements by paving the way for peace and national reconciliation in Cambodia, and the win-win policy of Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen who has been endeavoring to have security and genuine peace since the end of 1998, i.e. 5 years after the withdrawal of UN forces from Cambodia.
His Excellency Dr. Tep Darong  
President of the Royal Academy for the Judicial Profession

In the introduction of his presentation to the Open Forum of the Royal Academy of Cambodia, His Excellency Tep Darong reminded the audience that the Paris Peace Agreements of 23rd October 1991 has brought about the four Cambodian adversaries to the negotiating table to work out an end to the Cambodia conflict which had been lingering for over more than 2 decades. These agreements have transformed Cambodia into a state with peace, political stability, democracy, respectful of human rights and good governance. He stated that these agreements have also brought Cambodia’s economic growth to a higher level of sustainability and fairness and towards the lifting of Cambodia out of poverty.

His Excellency Tep Darong added that in the government strategies of poverty alleviation, the administrative reform projects are important and necessary components that need to be carried out in order to conform to the norms of policy in the region and in the world.

As for the vision for Cambodia for the 21st century, His Excellency Tep Darong is of the view that it should be conformed to the vision of the ASEAN for the year 2020. In his conclusion, he stated that in order to achieve those objectives, Cambodia must have sufficient human resources.

His Excellency Mr. Dith Munty  
President of the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Cambodia

His Excellency Dith Munty reminded the audience of the reason that led to the conflict in Cambodia as a result of the coup d’etat against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in 1970 which provided an opportunity for foreign powers to interfere
in the internal affairs of Cambodia. The bombing of Cambodia by the air force of the United States and the appeal of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk had led to the exodus of the people to the jungle, thus reinforcing the ranks of the Khmer Rouge which became a formidable force overnight.

His Excellency raised several reasons for the successes of the UNTAC in Cambodia which stems from the presence of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the determination of the Cambodian parties to end their dispute, and the end of foreign interference. At the same time, His Excellency also noted the non-participation of the Khmer Rouge in the election organized by the UNTAC. This non-participation had been a strategic mistake on their parts which led to the dismantling of their leadership and their armed forces. Had they decided to participate in the elections, their structure and their armed forces would still have been in existence until today. Furthermore, they would have had a legal political party and could have had some representation in the National Assembly as well and there would have been no Khmer Rouge tribunal as well.

His Excellency Dith Munty stressed that the shortcomings of the UNTAC which failed to implement certain dispositions of the Paris Peace Agreements have all been addressed by the Royal Government under the leadership of Samdech Hun Sen. His Excellency also remarked that the amendment of the Constitution, bringing the 2/3 majority down to a majority of 50% of the votes plus one vote as a natural evolution of democracy which was necessary to avoid political complications and crises as testified by the crises following previous elections.
His Excellency Tea Banh  
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense

His Excellency Tea Banh presented the reason of the civil wars in Cambodia which lasted over two decades as stemming from the non-democratic means utilized by the regime of the Khmer Republic to seize power from the Sangkum Reastr Niyum. The Khmer Republic regime was in power for 5 years when people began to lose confidence in it and overthrew it in 1975. In doing so, the people were hoping that peace and national unity would return. But instead, Cambodia slipped into the hold of the genocidal regime until 1979. However, this is just one aspect of the causes that brought about civil wars in Cambodia. There are many other reasons which brought about misery to the Cambodian people. There is no doubt the existence of the ideologies of the superpowers during the cold war, other politico-economic problems, cultural revolutions, social problems, and many other problems. All have contributed to bringing Cambodia into the flames of war.

In 1975, the Pol Pot regime was toppled by the People’s Republic of Kampuchea but this regime has met with the isolation imposed by western countries as well as the ASEAN. These countries even gave the seat of Cambodia to the leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. It was not until 1990 that the Cambodian seat at the United Nations was declared vacant. This was when the United Nations wanted to play the role of arbiter in the search for a settlement of the Cambodian problem.

By leaving the Cambodian seat vacant, the intention of the United Nations was to bring all the Cambodian factions to the negotiating table in order to create a legal government. It was not until then that the seat would be given to that lawful government. During the negotiations, it was requested that all
the Cambodian factions reduce their respective armies by 70% in 3 phases. His Excellency Tea Banh stressed that only the party of the State of Cambodia complied with this requirement. The party of the State of Cambodia wanted a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian problem without resorting to the use of arms.

His Excellency Tea Banh went on to say that after successfully implementing the Paris Peace Agreements for 15 years, the Cambodian armed forces have experienced a growth, have participated in national reconstruction including participating in stopping the trafficking of children and women, fighting drugs and securing peace, and particularly have participated in preventing terrorism from entering Cambodia. Furthermore, they have established good governance within their ranks and have successfully begun a program of demobilization. The Royal Cambodian Armed Forces have also secured friendship borders with neighboring countries and fulfilled their international obligations as peacekeepers in the Sudan. On this last point, His Excellency pointed out that even Cambodia is a small and a country in the midst of development, it has a high sense of international responsibility, peace, and solidarity whenever called upon.

**Dr. Benny Widyono**

**Former Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Cambodia**

Mr. Benny Widyono, former Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Cambodia from 1994-1997, made his intervention by lifting the reasons why the Cambodian seat at the United Nations was given to murderers for 10 years. He questioned the unjust sanction against the people of Kampuchea through an economic embargo for over 10 years following the defeat of the Khmer Rouge regime, but the raising of the flag of the Khmer Rouge
still stayed at the United Nations with the support of the United States, the ASEAN, and China, which had caused the people of Cambodia to be isolated for more than 11 years.

Mr. Benny Widyono then said that these hardships had all disappeared now thanks to the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements with the participation of 18 countries and the four Cambodian parties. He also pointed out the successes of the UNTAC to transform Cambodia from an unknown country into one where has attracted many foreign investors, many tourists, and where has received much assistance from various donors, but above all one with a growing civil society and a free press. However, he also pointed out some failures that might be used as experiences for the United Nations to learn from, such as its failure to disarm all four Cambodian factions allowing the Khmer Rouge to take over administrative control of a number of regions.

Mr. Benny Widyono acknowledged that even though the United Nations had failed then to recognize the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, the fact remained that it existed *de facto* even though its administration of the country had not been perfect.

Mr. Benny Widyono stressed that the entire world recognizes the achievement of Samdech Hun Sen who has succeeded in integrating the armed forces of the Cambodian People’s Party with the armed forces of the other parties to create a national army. In conclusion, he noted that although the fight against poverty has not been won yet, Cambodia has become a developing country that is confronted with “ordinary” problems of human rights, democracy, and is still fighting against poverty, diseases, and ignorance.
His Excellency Var Kim Hong  
Senior Minister,  
Government Advisor in Charge of Border Issues  
Chairman of the Borders Committee and Active Advisor  
to the Royal Academy of Cambodia in Charge of  
International Relations

His Excellency Var Kim Hong summarized report of the proceedings of the Open Forum as being an opportunity for the participants to discuss and to ponder on the strong and weak points of the Paris Peace Agreements as well as their implementation. Remarks by the participants all pointed to the principal role played by the United Nations in the search for a solution to the Cambodian conflict in the wake of the Cold War and the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements that came out as a result of this role. The outcome of the agreements has provided the people of Cambodia with peace. The settlement of the conflict has been made possible thanks also to the efforts of the Cambodian leaders themselves, especially the **win-win** policy formulated by Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen for national reconciliation that UNTAC has failed to bring about as mandated by the Paris agreements.

Samdech Hun Sen  
Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia

In his closing remarks to the Open Forum on 21\textsuperscript{th} October 2006, Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, recalled some events in the development of the settlement of the civil war in Cambodia which lasted for a period of over 2 decades. Samdech exposed the mechanism of implementation of a number of the components of the agreements, emphasizing that national reconciliation is the foundations for democracy and the respect for human rights.
Without national unity, there could not be democracy let alone the respect of human rights. As for the mechanism to reach national unity, Samdech pointed out that this key ingredient of the agreements was born out of the tolerance contained in the win-win policy which led all the parties to reach unity, to soften their position, to be more patient in order to reach a settlement of the political dispute between them, a dispute that had been lingering since 1970 until the election in 1993. Samdech emphasized that there are still a number of other issues that he would not raise as they are sensitive issues. These issues continued to keep analysts and researchers wondering whether their secret ingredients might not be useful in helping other similar conflicts in the world. Samdech then unveiled a formula, which he used during the negotiations, which was to fight and talk at the same time. Increasing the intensity of the fight was to show the adversary that the Sate of Cambodia was not weak and at the same time to deter the forces of Pol Pot from returning. But by so doing, Samdech also wanted to preserve the social achievements of the state that were built from scratch.

Another important factor leading to the resolution of the conflict was due to the meeting between His Majesty Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Hun Sen, but the Khmer Rouge still presented an obstacle at every step of the way. During the meeting, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk expressed the wish to return to Cambodia whether there was a political settlement or not. It can be assumed that this was an excellent point in the mechanism to isolate the monarch from the tripartite group because His Majesty enjoyed a great amount of popularity on both the national and the international arenas. By not returning, the king would also considerably strengthen the hands of the tripartite group. Not only that, but it might also complicate with the peace negotiations as well (just as it is much easier to catch fish on land than in the
water). Such were the basic conditions that led to the resolution of the conflict while preserving the infrastructures of the State of Cambodia and agreeing to dismantle 70% of all military forces under the formula “To enable other people to allow Hun Sen to eat the cake that Hun Sen himself has baked”. This formula was authored by Samdech himself but if he were to claim credit for it, surely the other parties would have objected. Therefore, Samdech decided to show flexibility in order to reach his goal successfully.

Samdech raised some issues that could have presented a danger during the negotiations such as the selection of language, for instance the word liberalism alone could have killed him politically if he was not careful, but for the love of Cambodia and a desire to be born again as a Cambodian, he continued to persevere. He understood the extent of these ramifications well and consequently adapted his arts to solve problems to reality, to an extent that the title of strongman was bestowed on him which invited additional pressure on him from all quarters. Despite all these obstacles, Samdech continued in his quest to see a united Cambodia again, something that has not happened since the period that started 500 years after Angkor as witnessed by history and the defeat on the diplomatic front since 1470s. These were the reasons for the party of the State of Cambodia, which controlled almost all of Cambodia’s territory, to agree to join the negotiating table in order to resolve the dispute among the Khmer factions.

Through negotiations, Samdech relied on many mechanisms such as calling on the Thai side to help prevail on the tripartite group to accept the creation on 21\textsuperscript{th} February 1990 of the Supreme National Council (SNC) and to officially unveil in Tokyo in 1990 the $6 + 2 + 2 + 2$ formula. This formula was not created by the United Nations but that by a Cambodian politician whose only desire was to see an end to the civil war in Cambodia. However, the role of the United Nations was
needed and could not have been missed in the management of the finances, in overseeing the elections, and in the drafting of the constitution. Finally, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk became the President of the SNC and resigned from the tripartite group. This was a major success as it paved the way for the monarch to be removed from the political parties.
PART II

Speeches, Remarks, Presentations, Papers, and Round Table Discussions in extenso
THE OPENING SESSION
Welcome Speech
by His Excellency Mr. SUM MANIT
Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia
General Coordinator of the International Relations
Institute of Cambodia and Chairman of the Open
Academic Forum
Welcome Speech  
by His Excellency Mr. SUM MANIT  
Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia  
General Coordinator of the International Relations  
Institute of Cambodia and Chairman  
of the Open Academic Forum

I would like to inform that the International Relations Institute of Cambodia (IRIC) was established in term of its missions to study, research, provide analysis and counsel on issues and main events of the world relating to international relations and foreign policy of Cambodia, as well as to train concerned researchers, to contribute to development of the nation, and to alleviate the poverty.

According to the high valuable orientation given by H.E Sok An, Deputy Prime Minister, we have been striving to transform this institute into "a Group of Vision" or "Think Tank" which contribute thinking and vision for developing the nation on international relations by gathering senior intellectuals as many possible. On the other hand, IRIC has been enhancing and strengthening both national and international relations. Now we proudly get many positive achievements from this endeavor.

We have successfully organized four academic forums and conferences. However, today is a magnificent day that we have got the highest honor from Samdech Chea Sim, the president of the senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia, who is invited to preside over the opening address in Open Academic Forum this morning, and from Samdech Hun Sen, the Prime Minister of Royal Government of Cambodia, who will be invited to preside over the closing address this evening. I would like to commemorate that the two highest leader of Cambodia played the most important role in negotiating and
seeking for Peace with Samdech **Heng Samrin** and other high dignitaries. Among those, I would like to remind the forum that H.E Mr. *Dith Munty*, H.E Mr. *Hor Namhong*, H.E Mr. *Im Chhunlim*, H.E Mr. *Tea Banh*, H.E Mr. *Sok An*, H.E Mr. *Chorm Prasith*, H.E Mr. *Uch Kim An*, H.E Mr. *Chum Bunrong* who are presented here today, and His/Excellencies and gentlemen who were actively participate negotiation, in seeking conflict resolution, in Paris and Jakarta until peace agreement was conducted on October 23, 1991. For international communities, I would like to extend our great honor to welcome the participations of H.E Mr. *Nick Etheridge* – former ambassador and Deputy Director of Distinguished Delegates of Canada in negotiation, H.E Mr. *Igor Rogachev* - former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affair of RUSS during the period of Paris Peace Agreement negotiations, and H.E Mr. *Timothy Carney* – former the US ambassador and official of office of public affaire of UNTAC. On behalf of International Relations Institute of Cambodia, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Samdech, His Excellencies, as mentioned above, who were the important witness of peace negotiation for Cambodian after lasting war and murderous tragedy destroying all Cambodian sectors.

International Relations Institute of Cambodia strongly regretted that His Excellency Mr. *Roland Dumas* and His Excellency Dr. *Ali Alatas*, co-chairmen of Paris International Conference, could not join in the open academic forum today. H.E Mr. *Roland Dumas* is being late in preparation and H.E Mr. *Ali Alatas* is being busy.

Finally, I would like to inform Samdech and the whole forum that the open academic forum to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement, which is conducting today, has got the supports from His Excellency Mr. *Sok An* – Deputy Prime Minister, Minister in charge of the office of the council ministers and His Excellency Mr. *Hor Namhong* –
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affair and International Cooperation; and has got the supports from the Royal Government of Cambodia and donors such as International Foudation for Arts and Culture of Japan with University of Cambodia, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Hanns-Seildel-Stiftung, GTZ, UNESCO, DANIDA, UNDP, Embassy of Federal Republic of Germany, Embassy of United Kingdom, Embassy of Republic of France, Embassy of Canada to the Kingdom of Cambodia, and other donors. One again, on behalf of IRIC, I would like to express my deepest thanks to the Royal Government of Cambodia and all donors. In particularly, the head and staff of IRIC express the truthful and greatest thanks to His Excellency Mr. Sok An, Deputy Prime Minister-Minister in charge of the office of the council ministers. I also take this occasion to extend my honest thanks to His Excellency Mr. Hor Namhong, Deputy Prime Minister-Minister of Foreign Affair and International Cooperation, who supported the consciousness and cooperated with IRIC.

Samdech President of the Senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia
The whole Forum

Again, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to Samdech Chea Sim, Senate President, who takes the busiest time to highly preside over the open academic forum on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements on A Comprehensive Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict, and I would like also to express my deep thanks to your Excellency Deputy Prime Minister, your Excellency Minister, your Royal Highness, your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, speakers, and national and International guests who participate in crucial open academic forum today.

Finally, I would like to wish Samdech, Royal Highness, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen with the happiness, and
prosperity. I would like to wish the open academic forum with great aftermath and achievement.

Thank you for your attention!
Welcome Address
by His Excellency Mr. SOK AN
Deputy Prime minister, Minister in charge
of the Office of the Council of Ministers
Welcome Address
by His Excellency Mr. SOK AN
Deputy Prime minister, Minister in charge
of the Office of the Council of Ministers

- Venerable Buddhist Monks
- Your Royal Highnesses,
- Your Excellencies
- Distinguished Delegates
- Ladies and Gentlemen

Today, I am very happy with the great opportunity to state my impressions on “the Open Academic Forum” in order to contribute on the occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of Paris Peace Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, Organized by the International Relations Institute of Cambodia.

After carefully listening to H.E Sum Manit’s welcome speech and report, I would like to show my support and appreciation to IRIC board of director and all officials with its consequential achievements in the field of international relations. One again, I am much appreciated for the initial commitment to hold “Open Academic Forum” in order to commemorate the fifteen anniversary of Paris Peace Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. On behalf of my ministry and IRIC board of director, I would like to thank the royal government of Cambodia, who support to this important forum, and all donors such as Konrad Adenauer Foundation, UNDP...etc. I also highly evaluate all cooperation of relevant ministries in organized committee.

Taking this opportunity, I want to clarify that the day of 23rd October 2006 is the fifteen anniversary of agreement on
Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, called Paris Peace Agreement, which initially led Cambodia to reach national unity based on Khmer’s willing in order to reconstruct nation after fragmenting due to the last two-decades of civil war. The great successes, which Cambodia had reached, are initially from all Khmer leaders’ activities to overcome and then reach to Paris Peace Agreement. Moreover, It (Paris Peace Agreement) is the evidence and the priceless successes and becomes the sample examples for the solution of civil war incurring within many countries in the region as well as the world because Cambodia had been resolved its conflict by UN roles. Many countries could find out the advantages and disadvantages of dispute consequences that Cambodia had met before reaching the peaceful agreement and before implementing win-win policy proposed by the Royal Government of Cambodia led by Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen. Meanwhile, those countries should also study the achievement that Cambodia got after ending its civil war.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

I believe that most participants in this forum are the vital witness of Cambodia’s current histories from 15 years ago up to now. And, on behalf of Cambodian as well as foreigners who understand the difficulties in this country, the participants, here, actually have optimistic ideas on our changing in political and economic developments, to which should be paid attention far from two decades ago until now for our discussions in Open Academic Forum today. It is true that the negotiation process and political resolution as well as national rehabilitation started from bare hands actually require the suitable time consuming and can not avoid any disadvantage, concession and many challenges that our leader has devoted to overcome to reach our
common goals. However, I would like to take this chance to state what I have cited about the Cambodian Political solution in 1990s, is that even there is any concession, devote and loss from any Khmer factions in order to get Paris Peace Agreement, it is certain that the great success and the gestures of each negotiator (each rival party) for the specific objective of Cambodia which provides peaceful environments to people for earning their daily living with equality in the society.

It also reminds that Paris peace Agreement was signed by 12 Cambodians, who were the representatives of the four Khmer factions, other signers of 18 countries, and UN secretary general in the second meeting of Paris Peace from 21st to 23rd October, 1991, witnessed by UN secretary general. When reminding Paris Peace Agreement, Cambodian may get proud of our success, which was created by all Khmer factions through the willingness of national unity due to negotiation. It is the priceless success of Cambodia. If we together look back at event before the agreement, we would see that there is no any agreement made by this way with success for Cambodia. In other words, this agreement was joined by the witness of 18 countries and United Nation and the great powerful countries.

It is the great honor that Cambodians could say and restore its reputation with arrogance that Khmer people and leaders have started to change from war culture to peaceful culture, from conflict to agreement and from face fighting to negotiation and coordination as stated by Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of Royal Government of Cambodia and most important worthy figure in the process of seeking peace negotiation for Cambodia. These invaluable activities are positively responding to the modification flow of the world peaceful culture concession based on the universal value in respect to life, freedom, justice, forgiveness, human right and equality right. War and violence destroyed nation seriously. Anywhere with war and violence are to face ruin. War and
violence become the great enemy for the nation and, to avoid them, it is necessary requirement of negotiation, forgiveness, consolidation, human right respect, law obedience and democracy. Demands of these are from the heart of each people all time and then lead the world community to keep long life peace.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

The agreement on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia Conflict consists of 9 chapter including 32 articles attached 5 appendix and it is accompanied by other agreements and statements such as “The agreement on sovereignty, independence, integrity, and non-violent to Cambodian neutrality and national unity” “Statement on Cambodia rehabilitation” and “The last agreement of Paris conference on Cambodia.” All these documents are the common policy for the direction of Cambodia development in transitional period, and provide the principles of political documents for Cambodian government. For instance, the last passage of the agreement states that “by examining the demand in harmonization of international endeavors, to help to reconstruct and Build Cambodia, all participatory states pledge the international community in humanitarian to provide any support in financial and economic grants due to the statement of Cambodia rehabilitation.” Therefore, it can be concluded that the obligation from above proclaims make Cambodia get care from international communities in continuing financial support and technical assistants till the 3rd mandatory of parliament.

However, the successful process of Paris Peace Agreement would not appear if there were not the presents of any support from international communities and United Nations especially all friend countries. To be noted that in the
early 1979, UN Security Council firstly considered Cambodia situation based on its dispute. UN General Assembly put Cambodia’s problem in the agenda of its ordinary meeting, and then adopted the continued solution on its conflict until the negotiated meeting from all Khmer leaders through UN secretary general office. The result of the meeting created the common method to provide the principle for resolution through face-to-face negotiation by four Khmer rival factions.

With decision statement No 718 of UN security Council, International community especially all friend countries completely support the agreement on 21st October 1991, by encouraging to implement this historical agreement from the beginning of interval regime to free universal election in Cambodia in May 1993 organized and sponsored by United Nation’s Temporary Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) to establish new coalition government even there was a reported that election spent large amount of money nearly 2 billion US dollar. And we can conclude UNTAC had prepared free universal election successfully but inefficiently.

In the process of peace building, Khmer Rouge faction was not demoted arms and did not participate in election which was organized by UNTAC. They still attacked against the Royal Government and coalition government, formulated by election.

It is the Win-Win policy, initiated by Samdech Prime Minister Hun Sen and then became the government’s policy, was destroyed the political and military structure of Khmer Rouge. The process of national unity reached the final stage at the end of 1998 and the beginning of 1999.
New constitution, which was written by capturing the meaning of Paris Peace agreement, is in effect and provides the full freedom to Cambodian to be the owner of the country. And the political management by multi-party democracy is implemented in Cambodia in perpetuity by passing 3 time-election including parliamentary elections and commune advisory election for implementing decentralizing policy in Cambodia.

In short, Cambodian achievements in the last 15 years after Paris Peace Agreement can not allow to describe all in a few minutes which I am obtained to express my welcome speech, but the real witnesses and who get the final result are Cambodian. Let me summarize that the royal government, Samdech Hun Sen, put the unlimited commitments to deduct poverty and to enhance good governance by issuing principle documents and a lot of measures such as rectangular policy 2004-2008, which continue from triangle policy in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} mandatory of parliament, political program for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} mandatory of parliament (73 points), Strategic Plan for National Development 2006-2010, Public Investment Program 2006-2008, Strategic framework on cooperation development management, Public Financial Management Reform, Millennium goal development 2015, Strategic Plan for Education 2006-2010, Good Governance Program, Measurement on Public Financial reform, Financial Development, Private Sector Development, Government and Private Sector Forum, land management reform, administrative reform and judiciary reform...

However, the royal government from one mandatory to other mandatories recognizes exactly the any shortage and challenges in country development agreement to the young democracy of Cambodia, and commits to adjust and completes the shortages. In conclusion, there are a lot of more jobs needed to be completed by both government and all national
institution under all classed leaders as well as participation from all Cambodian agreement to each ability and authority under country development goals.

In the last, I would like to clarify that, however, we can say that, agreement to the figure of common economic development; Cambodia is walking on the right road through the achievement of average increase in economic from 6 to 7% per year. By the hands, the royal government not only pays attentions to the problems in the globalization stages led by unlimited technology development, but also focuses on strict commitments with the stream of regional and global development which are required to have comparative advantages on economic and politic in order to complete unlimited demand of people.

Finally, I would like to wish your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen with the five Buddha blesses.

*Thank you for your attention!*
Remarks
by Mr. DOUGLAS GARDNER
Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in Cambodia
and High Representative of the Secretary General
of the United Nations
Remarks
by Mr. DOUGLAS GARDNER
Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in Cambodia
and High Representative of the Secretary General
of the United Nations
“Cambodia – A Success and Progress”

Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is truly an honor for me to be here today, representing the United Nations. We would like to thank the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Royal Academy of Cambodia for taking the initiative to organize this important event.

We celebrate today a milestone event in the history of Cambodia. The 1991 Paris Peace Accords provided us with the light at the end of a dark tunnel and a message of hope for the future. The United Nations was engaged in nearly every step of the accords and remains with Cambodia and other international partners on a number of important development issues.

My remarks to you this morning are delivered from my perspective as a part of the UN team working in Cambodia today -- in 2006. We all have the deepest respect for the many UN colleagues who preceded us. They worked with all of the parties on the Paris Peace Accords and in UNTAC and the subsequent period up to today. As UN staff members now assigned to this country, we feel a tremendous sense of history and likewise, a tremendous responsibility to carry forward the highest aspirations embodied in the Paris Peace accords.

Not only do we work here but we have the privilege of living in Phnom Penh. Of being a part of the day-to-day vibrancy of this city and feeling the warm hospitality that so
characterizes this country. Yet we also are able to travel to rural areas and see the poverty and challenges facing men and women, as well as young people, throughout the nation…

My remarks this morning focus on just that -- the tremendous achievements over the past 15 years that should make Cambodia justifiably proud - but also the key development issues that are the focus of the United Nations agencies in Cambodia today.

Allow me to highlight some of the fruits of that Peace Agreement.

- Cambodia is at peace and that can not be emphasized enough. After decades of conflict, it is perhaps the greatest blessing to flow from the Paris Accords. We again acknowledge the visionaries and implementers of these accords. Peace reigning today throughout the nation is critical to each of the following points:
- Cambodia has moved from the isolation of the 1980’s to integration into ASEAN, WTO and other regional and international organizations.
- Cambodia has held three national elections, one Commune Council Election and more are scheduled in 2007 and 2008. Observers have considered each election freer and fairer than the previous one. While these elections were not perfect, they have given the large number of citizens who have voted the chance to exercise their democratic right of selecting their leaders.
- International textile companies are investing in Cambodia due in large part to good labor standards -- leading to garment factories employing about 300,000 people, largely women from remote rural areas who transfer a portion of their income back to their families.
• This employment in the garment sector coupled with growth in the tourism industry and continued employment in agriculture has led to 7% growth per annum over the past decade (spiking at over 13% last year) and slow but steady poverty reduction.

• Investments in health and HIV/AIDS, coupled with coordinated efforts of Government and development partners including NGO’s are paying off. Adult prevalence of HIV has fallen from 3% in 1999 to 1.9% in 2004 and may be lower today. As per a recent demographic and health survey of the Government infant and child mortality rates have fallen over the past five years.

• The long awaited Extraordinary Chambers of the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) that will investigate and bring to trial those responsible for crimes during the Khmer Rouge period has begun its work.

• A final thought to share with you is one that was personally very moving for me. In April of this year I had the chance to speak at a send off ceremony nearly 120 peace keepers wearing blue berets on their way to Sudan. In the past Cambodia had been the focus of the UN’s Peace Keeping effort, while on that day in April 2006 Cambodia entered a new era of sending peacekeepers to one of the world’s trouble spots. This was an event of profound historic meaning. It reminded me of the famous statue in front of the United Nations in New York where swords have been remolded into ploughshares. It is a metaphor for the instruments of war being turned into instruments of peace and well-being. In a similar way Cambodia has suffered from millions of land mines. Yet from those terrible instruments of war, brave Cambodians have developed skills in demining that have been brought to Sudan to
ensure that their fellow human beings do not suffer from land mine accidents.

Looking to the future or as per one of the Round Table topics this afternoon “Envisaging Cambodia in 2020”, I would posit the following thoughts:

- First and foremost, it is the Cambodians who are defining that road map of the future, not an external power. As the UN Country Team in Cambodia, we align our support with the national vision as articulated in the Rectangular Strategy and the National Strategic Development Plan (2006-2010). This latter piece embeds the Cambodian Millennium Development Goals.

- Second, within the vision of the Rectangular Strategy there is a core theme that is placed right at the very center – and that is Good Governance. Within that domain the Government has indicated that a.) Fighting corruption and b.) Legal and judicial reforms are the two top priorities. The United Nations, together with the international community, has continued to support Cambodia in its ongoing efforts at institution building and capacity development. These efforts will help to strengthen an independent, professional judiciary with recognized integrity, which in turn will facilitate increased investments and economic growth. Improvements in governance will also help combat other issues that have arisen, such as conflicts over land, the issue of impunity and corruption. Human rights and good governance figured prominently in the Paris Peace Accords and they remain our focus today.

- There are a multitude issues facing Cambodian parents and their children – the proper handling of which will
also be a determinant of the direction and speed of the nations progress:

1. Chief among these is education. Our concern is that only one out of every two children is completing primary school. That basically means that every other Cambodian child, even now in the year 2006, may not be able to read and write. In the global economy where Cambodia must compete, this fact is extremely worrying.

2. There are other concerns with regard to water and sanitation, and maternal health. These were discussed in some depth during a recent Government – Development Partner forum and I won’t go into further detail. What was perhaps a common conclusion -- and global experience as well -- is that healthy, well educated citizens enjoying a full range of choices and liberties in their lives are absolutely essential ingredients for the sustainable growth of the economy as well as the long term stability of the nation.

3. Let me stress that progress on health and education is not just an issue for those people and institutions working directly in these sectors. Linkages across the whole development spectrum are profound. Governance reforms, particularly public financial management and anti-corruption, will be essential to direct increased financial resources to these sectors and to ensure that they are received in a timely fashion. Finally, development of roads, electricity, and other vital 21st century infrastructure are the key for further progress in health and education.
Continuing that look to the future of Cambodia, the revenues from oil and gas must be carefully considered. Oil and gas represent a new large funding source for Cambodia’s development that is totally outside of ODA. We are all hopeful that as oil and gas revenues enter the national budget over the coming three to five years, Cambodia will move into a new era of prosperity – that the blessings of this natural resource will be realized, not the curse. It is now, however, that the investments options should be analyzed and targeted carefully to get the best possible results for the Cambodian people.

In summary, the Paris Peace Accords opened the door 15 years ago for Cambodia to exit from conflict and re-enter peacefully the region and the world. The progress realized has been fast and profound - yet there is much more to be done. Fifteen years later, the United Nations remains committed to the ideals of the Paris Peace Accords and the promotion of democracy. The next fifteen years can ground that work and lead to a long term, sustainable success. We pay tribute to the architects and implementers of the Paris Peace Accords -- and stand ready to do our part to support Cambodians as they now craft their own future and strive to reach their dreams of prosperity and a brighter day ahead.

Thank You.
Opening Address
by Samdech CHEA SIM
President of the Senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia
Opening Address  
by Samdech CHEA SIM  
President of the Senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia

- Samdech, Princes and Princesses,  
- Excellencies, Ambassadors to Cambodia,  
- Distinguished National and International Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have a great pleasure here this morning to highly preside over the opening of “the Open Academic Forum” on the occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements, organized by the International Relations Institute of Cambodia with the support from the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Today is the most solemn occasion that the Kingdom of Cambodia commemorates the national reconciliation and unification through the Paris Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodian Conflict, or called Paris Peace Agreements, made possible by the good-will of all former Khmer fractions of the conflict with the support from amicable countries, United Nations, as well as international communities.

Paris Peace Agreements led to the end of over a decade negotiation which was bound closely by the United Nations through the Secretary General. It is also to note that the negotiation process started with the first meeting between Samdech HUN SEN and the former King NORODOM SIHANOUK on 02nd December 1987 at Fer-en-Tadenois in France and it was also the first meeting between Khmers that opened ways to more subsequent negotiations for years later, until the creation of multilateral framework of Paris Peace Agreements. In the Resolution No. 718, the UN Security
Council expressed its strong support for the Agreements of 23rd October 1991. These historic papers expressively launched a transitional period in Cambodia and subsequently drove the country to a free and fair election in May 1993 and the creation of new legitimate government in Cambodia.

After having the Agreements, the United Nations immediately formed a transitional authority in Cambodia called UNTAC, led by Mr. YASUSHI AKASHI, a Japanese dignitary, who later fulfilled the UN mission with strong responsibilities. The mission of the United Nations in Cambodia then was considered the most successful peace operation after the cold war period, but apparently it was not since the Democratic Kampuchea fraction (Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot), who also had their own representing signatory, dismissed itself from the UN-sponsored election. However, the Royal Government of the first legislature of the National Assembly was formed by the coalition of 4 political parties, elected in legislature election in May 1993, namely Funcinpec Party, Cambodian People’s Party (State of Cambodia), the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party and Molinaka and Khmer Freedom Fighters Party (MKFFP). As the matter of fact, the Kingdom of Cambodia, a constitutional monarchy that was re-established in September 1993 was the first Cambodian legitimate government - after the coup on 18th March 1970 - with the support and recognition of Cambodian citizen and neighboring countries, as well as other nations and governments around the world.

18-year-period (1975-1993) of economic and political isolation against Cambodia was finally put to the end. Cambodia opened up to the world and hence has benefited substantial foreign aids, trades and investments from around the world. Nevertheless, the over two decades of destructive war left Cambodia with ruined infrastructure, down communication, unproductive agriculture, over million mines
in land, many disabled, orphan children, and widows. The rebirth of the Kingdom of Cambodia was walking pass through killing fields, dictatorship and planned economy to multi-parties democracy and free economy.

In general, by reminding of what happened today of the last 15 years, Cambodian people from all walks of life were possessing almost the same expectation to see with their own proud of the national peace and rehabilitation, starting from the good-will of all Khmer leaders and politicians. Today, 15 years after the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements, that expectation is realized with the mature leadership of the Cambodian leaders and political figures. As of today, we see many apparent improvements and achievements, especially the Cambodians’ recognition, acceptance and enthusiasm of the continual developments under one to another coalition and unified government, born from those comprehensive Agreements and substantially boosted by the wise leadership of Samdech HUN SEN, who brought about peace all over the country following win-win strategy in 1998.

By experiencing the last episode of Cambodian history, we observed that the collapse of political and military organization of Khmer Rouge, and the strengthening of national reconciliation are coming from such many factors as:

- **First:** The King Father and The Queen Mother, who always play important role in national reconciliation and unification.

- **Second:** the coordination among the political parties following multi-parties democracy under the motto “Nation Religion and King” and by upholding national interest rather than political party interest.

- **Third:** the rightfulness of the government win-win strategy, socio-economic policy and other sectors, which are secured by the full support from the armed forces and Cambodian people.
- **Fourth:** the support from international communities in the process of national reconciliation, democratization, gaining respect for human rights and the country reconstruction.

- **Fifth:** the own wrong decision of Khmer Rouge fraction from 1975 to their end.

- **Sixth:** Non-retaliation among the people of each of different fractions and administrations, as well as among the fighting armed forces, was another vital reason leading the government to successfully implement win-win strategy.

In general, political stability and sustainable national development are absolutely in need of the responsible will and commitment of Cambodia that devoted to the peace and national unification. International communities contributed a suitable part in facilitating the all processes.

As an evidence of this fruitful development, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia clearly states the rights, freedoms and obligation of Khmer citizens, in conformity to multi-partite democracy and international covenants and conventions. Furthermore, national and constitutional institutions have been instituted and gradually improved, and one among them is the Senate of Kingdom of Cambodia formed after the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Legislature election in order to ameliorate and promote legislation in particular and state of law in general. Actually, Cambodia is on the right path of reconstruction and development in response to the expectation of Cambodian people, as well as to the full integration into globalization stream at both regional and international schemes. In the last 15 years, Cambodia has been on a long way from war to peace, from a culture of conflict to a culture of compromise; and from a culture of confrontation to a culture
of dialogue and reconciliation. We are in a big construction site of rehabilitation and national development on various sectors.

I would like to take this opportunity to honestly appreciate the Royal Government of Cambodia under the leadership of Samdech Prime Minister HUN SEN, who makes strong and undoubted efforts playing crucial role in getting Cambodian out of the chronic war and always paying much attention to all sectors development of Cambodian society. Especially, in its new term, the Royal Government is successfully and fruitfully implementing Rectangular Strategy with good governance as core, covering four reforms such as anti-corruption, legal and judiciary reform, public administration reform and armed force reform.

I would like to express delightfulness on these achievements resulted from the endeavors, sacrifices and contribution of all of us including amicable countries and international community who contributed greatly in peace and reconciliation process in Cambodia. I would also like to thank the Royal Government of Cambodia at this moment for supporting the organization of and making possible, under the management of the International Relations Institute of Cambodia, this Open Academic Forum to commemorate a significant development of the most recent Cambodian history.

The whole Forum of this all!

In overall, the today Open Academic Forum is very important aiming to upgrade and commemorate the spirit of national reconciliation and also to reflect a long envisioning for Cambodia, while exchanging many perspectives as well as raising awareness of the public about the real achievements of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

I would like to suggest the whole Forum concentrate on listening and actively discussing on the proposed topics for this
whole day given by both our distinguished national and international speakers, as well as comments from distinguished dignitaries.

Finally, I wish Samdech, Princes, Princesses, Excellencies, Ambassadors and all participants to this Forum the five Gems of Buddha blessings.

I now declare the opening of this Open Academic Forum on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements from now on.

May the spirit of national reconciliation and unity consistently rest in everybody Cambodian heart!

Thank you.
PLENARY SESSION I
His Excellency Mr. Sum Manit
Chair of the Presentation

Presenters:

Mr. Winston Mc Colgan
Her Excellency Dr. Soeung Rathchavy
Mr. Timothy Carney
His Excellency Mr. Fumiaki Takahashi
Dr. Peter Christian Hauswedell
Mr. Nick Etheridge
His Excellency Mr. Igor A. Rogachev
Presentation
by Mr. WINSTON Mc COLGAN
Chargé d’Affaires a.i., European Commission
Delegation to Cambodia
Your Excellency, Chea Sim, President of the National Assembly,
Excellency Sok An, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister in charge of the Council of Ministers,
Excellency Sum Manit, General Coordinator of the International Relations Institute of Cambodia,
Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honour to be invited to speak on behalf of the European Commission at this event marking the 15th anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreements. And I am pleased to recall that the European Union played an integral role in the development and reconstruction of Cambodia following the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements in October 1991. Between 1991 and 1999 some €262 million were provided in assistance to Cambodia by the European Commission, while EU Member States funded during that period bilateral co-operation programmes worth another €590 million. The overriding aim of our cooperation during this period was to assist the country in its efforts to tackle the challenges of emerging from years of war: rebuilding infrastructure and communications, restoring agricultural production, relocating displaced persons, clearing millions of land mines and providing humanitarian assistance. Initiated in 1992, the European Rehabilitation Programme aimed to bring an immediate improvement in living conditions of Cambodians and to lay the foundations for longer-term action. Working
closely with Non-Governmental Organisations, the programme sought to facilitate the reintegration of around 375,000 former refugees by improving the socio-economic environment of the recipient communities.

Activities focused on the provinces of Battambang and Pursat, where large numbers of returnees were reintegrated, and included work on rural development, basic health infrastructure, education and demining. During this time, the EU also worked with UNHCR and UNDP on the Cambodian Resettlement and Rehabilitation (CARERE) programme in Bantey Meanehey, Battambang and Pursat provinces. After the United Nations-organised elections in May 1993, and the establishment of a new Government, the European Union began to put into place a longer-term commitment to cooperation with Cambodia. With this aim in mind, the E88 million European Rehabilitation Programme for Cambodia (PERC) was initiated in co-ordination with the Cambodian authorities. This was an ambitious new programme which ran from 1994 to 1999, and was assisted by the establishment in Phnom Penh of an EU Technical Co-ordination Office. PERC in fact contained important sub-programmes: PASEC for the primary education sector; PRASAC for rural development, which continued with additional funding until the end of 2002; institutional support projects; and the promotion of human rights. The European Union has also played a significant role in supporting the democratic process in the post-UNTAC period. The EU’s €11 million package of support for the July 1998 National Assembly elections helped to provide a new electoral register for use in the 1998 poll, and in subsequent elections helped to establish the National Election Committee’s media centre and funded a European Election Observation Mission for the election period. The European Union Observation Mission for the National Assembly elections of
July 2003 was — with over 100 members — the largest international observer mission.

Another crucial area where the EU has provided assistance in improving the general security situation has been in limiting the availability of small arms and light weapons through the EU ASAC project which was implemented under the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy. EU ASAC started operations in April 2000 and had achieved all its goals by 30 June 2006, contributing to the drafting of the Arms Law that was passed in 2005, helping to secure the collection and destruction of almost 200,000 weapons that had been in private hands, and establishing safe storage of weapons held by the armed forces and the Royal Gendarmerie. The project has been credited by Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of Cambodia, with helping to make Cambodia a safer country.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the December 2005 Consultative Group Meeting, the EU Presidency Representative was able to announce that the European Union - the EU Member States and the European Commission - would contribute a total amount of almost €129 million in ODA to Cambodia in 2006. This aid is supporting programmes in education, health, rural development, decentralization and deconcentration, legal and judicial reform, human rights and democratisation, and trade and private sector development. The European Union - Member States and the European Commission - is also contributing substantial support for the Extraordinary Chambers of the Court of Cambodia. The ECCC represents another milestone for Cambodia in putting its painful past behind her. The EU also believes that it will make an important contribution to building a solid judicial system in Cambodia. We are encouraged by the progress that has been made so far and urge all parties to continue with these efforts.
Clearly much has been achieved in these last 15 years and the Royal Cambodian Government and the people of Cambodia, together with its international partners, should be congratulated for this. However, we are all aware that much more still needs to be done. The European Union is proud to have been Cambodia’s partner in the positive developments — economic, social and political — that have been achieved in these past years. We will look forward to continuing our work with Cambodia as its Government and people face the challenges in the years ahead.

*Thank you for your attention.*
Presentation
by Her Excellency Dr. SOEUNG RATHCHAVY
ASEAN Deputy Secretary-General
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen

The Cambodia Conflict was ASEAN’s first and most serious security challenge. While ASEAN as a group did not take any common stand in the Vietnam War, ASEAN took a clear and resolute stand against the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in early December 1978 and the subsequent military occupation of the country during the 1980s.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister (HE. Prof. Dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja), in his capacity as the Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, on 9 January 1979 issued a statement on behalf of all the five Member Countries of ASEAN, deeply deploring the escalation of conflict between Cambodia and Viet Nam. In his statement, he called upon the two countries to respect each other’s independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system. And he urged the countries concerned to abide by the principles of the UN Charter and the Bandung Declaration on the 10 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

When the situation in Cambodia continued to worsen, the Foreign Ministers of the five ASEAN Member Countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) convened in Bangkok in an emergency meeting. They issue a joint statement strongly deploring “the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea” and calling for ‘the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign forces from Kampuchean territory...”
That was the beginning of ASEAN’s direct involvement in the subsequent decade-long political and military struggle over the Cambodia conflict. ASEAN considered the Vietnamese military occupation of Cambodia a serious violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. Furthermore, ASEAN viewed the presence of Vietnamese forces near the Thai-Cambodian border as a serious threat to the security of Thailand and stability of Southeast Asia.

Also of serious concern to ASEAN was the outflow of a large number of Cambodians fleeing the fighting in Cambodia. Hence, ASEAN had to play an active role in rallying the international community and the United Nations to help end the conflict in Cambodia. ASEAN also stepped up diplomatic efforts in calling the world’s attention to the plight of the Cambodian displaced persons and refugees, and in working with the UNHCR and other international agencies in providing temporary shelters and humanitarian assistance to the Cambodians.

Since 1979, the Cambodia Conflict was always one of the main concerns of ASEAN at the annual ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM). ASEAN’s Foreign Ministers actively lobbied Foreign Ministers from Dialogue Partner countries for their support. ASEAN’s Senior Officials Meeting (SOM leaders) began to meet more frequently to coordinate ASEAN’s position, especially in rallying for the UN support.

ASEAN supported the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK). It is an open secret that ASEAN also supported Thailand’s clandestine cooperation with China and the USA in providing military supplies for the CGDK to fight the Vietnamese occupation forces.

The rest is history. Details of what transpired at the International Conference on Kampuchea in New York, at the Jakarta informal Process I (JIM I) in 1988 and JIM II in 1989
in Jakarta and Bogor respectively, and at the Paris Peace Conferences in October 1991 can best be told by those who took part in these historic events, especially by Indonesia, which was ASEAN’s interlocutor on the Cambodia Conflict.

It should be pointed out that ASEAN as a group was not party to the Paris Peace Accords. ASEAN also did not play any major role in the reconstruction in Cambodia during the UNTAC time; but some of its Member Countries did send troops to join the UN’s peacekeeping operations in Cambodia.

**Cambodia’s Joining ASEAN**

After the new elected coalition government took office in Phnom Penh, Cambodia began to move closer to ASEAN. In 1993, Cambodia attended the 26th AMM in Singapore as Guest of the Host. In 1994, Cambodia also attended the 27th AMM in Bangkok as Guest of the Host.

In 1995, Cambodia acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, and attended the 28th AMM in Bandar Seri Begawan as Observer in ASEAN. At the same 28th AMM, Viet Nam joined ASEAN as the seventh member (Brunei Darussalam was the sixth member, joining ASEAN in January 1984). The plan then was for Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar to join ASEAN together as soon as possible.

On 1 August 1995, Cambodia started participating in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), held in Bandar Seri Begawan. In December 1995, the then two Co-Prime Ministers of Cambodia were invited to Bangkok as Guests of the Host to observe the Fifth ASEAN Summit in Bangkok. They joined the Heads of State/Government from the other nine Southeast Asian States in signing the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ).

Active preparations were made for Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Myanmar to join ASEAN at the 30th AMM in Kuala Lumpur, 24-25 July 1997. Unfortunately, in early July 1997, a
power struggle between the two coalition government partner parties — the CPP and FUNCINPEC— suddenly escalated into armed clashes.

ASEAN Foreign Ministers called an emergency meeting in Kuala Lumpur on 10 July 1997 to review the situation in Cambodia. They decided to freeze Cambodia’s application for the ASEAN membership, pending a peaceful end to the power struggle, and to go ahead with the admission of Lao PDR and Myanmar at the 30th AMM in Kuala Lumpur.

Cambodia eventually joined ASEAN on 30 April 1999, becoming the 10th Member Country of ASEAN. ASEAN's admission of Cambodia into its membership fulfilled the long-cherished dream of the five Founding Fathers of ASEAN to have all independent Southeast Asian nations working together for common interest in the Family of ASEAN.

**ASEAN Membership and Benefits in Security and Development**

ASEAN can help protect the interests of its Member Countries through the following ways and means:

- ASEAN membership provides additional guarantee for sovereign equality, mutual respect, peaceful coexistence, and friendly cooperation among States.

- The ASEAN framework of regional, inter-regional, and international cooperation and the annual rotation of the ASEAN chairmanship enable every Member Country to play an active role in international relations and to gain international respect and recognition, especially when he Member Country chairs ASEAN, like Cambodia did in 2001-2002 and hosted the Eighth ASEAN Summit in Phnom Penh from 4-5 November 2002.
The Eighth ASEAN Summit saw Cambodia play host to Heads of State/Government from the other 9 ASEAN Member Countries, and from China, Japan, the R0K, India, and South Africa. That was the largest and arguably the most significant, international event organized by Cambodia.

ASEAN’s efforts in promoting the TAC has succeeded in convincing 10 non-regional States (i.e. Papua New Guinea in 1989, China and India (2003), Japan and Pakistan (July 2004), the RoK and the Russian Federation (November 2004), Mongolia and New Zealand (July 2005) and Australia (December 2005) to accede to the Treaty. France and Timor Leste are expected to accede to the TAC before the end of 2006. Their support for the TAC, which is a legally binding code of conduct in inter-State relations and peaceful settlement of disputes in Southeast Asia, can also be considered as another layer of protection for equal sovereignty and non-interference that will benefit small or developing States like Cambodia.

Also under the framework of political and security cooperation in ASEAN, Southeast Asia has become a nuclear weapon-free zone. And active cooperation is being undertaken to ensure that Southeast Asia is also free of all other weapons of mass destruction. This is a very regional endeavor that no single country in this region, large or small, can attempt to achieve alone.

ASEAN’s cooperation in tackling various transnational challenges, such as SARS, avian influenza, transboundary pollution, terrorism, communicable diseases, etc., helps boost the national capability of every Member Country to cope with these threats that
come with globalization and the changing world.

- In economic cooperation, ASEAN helps enhance the national competitiveness of its Member Countries through economic integration, including the creation of a Single Market under ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the ASEAN Investment Area, and the liberalization of services such as tourism, healthcare, and air transport.

- Through its participation in AFTA and other economic integration activities in ASEAN, Cambodia has learned to adjust its economic policies and strengthen its economy consequently; Cambodia was able to join the WTO October 2004, ahead of both Viet Nam and Lao PDR.

- Cambodia, together with Lao PDR and Myanmar, has also joined the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) with support from fellow ASEAN Member Countries and ASEAN’s Plus Three countries in East Asia (China, Japan, and the RoK).

- Cambodia is also ready to join APEC, possibly in 2007 when the moratorium on APEC membership is lifted.

- Cambodia’s candidature for the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council in 2013-2014 has been endorsed by ASEAN.

- As a developing country, Cambodia benefits directly from cooperation activities in ASEAN under the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) aimed at narrowing the development gap among ASEAN Member Countries.
ASEAN’s cooperation with China under the ASEAN-Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (AMBDC) is bringing direct benefit to Cambodia in the form of railway construction as part of the AMBDC’s Singapore-Kunming Rail Link project.

Institutional Build-up in ASEAN

At the Ninth ASEAN Summit in Bali in October 2003, ASEAN Leaders agreed to embark on building the ASEAN Community consisting of three pillars: the ASEAN Security Community; the ASEAN Economic Community; and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community by the year 2020. The ASEAN Community will also give a high priority to narrowing the development gap in ASEAN as well as strengthening the driving force role of ASEAN in the cooperation forums that it has initiated.

In order to undertake the historic mission successfully, ASEAN needs to transform itself from a loosely-organized political association into a rules-based international organization with a legal personality and a written constitutional framework in the form of an ASEAN Charter. ASEAN also needs to restructure its expanding mechanisms (now 28 Ministerial bodies) and improve its decision-making process to enhance efficiency and ensure prompt implementation of all ASEAN agreements.

As a follow-up to the Bali Concord II, ASEAN Leaders adopted at their Tenth ASEAN Summit in Vientiane in November 2004 the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP), which is the blueprint for the building of ASEAN Community. In the part concerning the Shaping and Sharing of Norms under the ASEAN Security Community, there was a call for "the preparatory activities to develop an ASEAN Charter".

Actually, the idea to develop an ASEAN Charter was not new. For in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord, which
ASEAN Leaders issued at the First ASEAN Summit in Bali in February 1976, there was also a call for study of the desirability of a new constitutional framework for ASIAN. Thirty years later, the idea is now being actively pursued.

At the Eleventh ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur last December, ASEAN Leaders reiterated their commitment to go for an ASEAN Charter in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Establishment of the ASEAN Charter. In the Kuala Lumpur Declaration the establishment of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) on the ASEAN Charter was also announced.

The EPG was mandated to study ASEAN and recommend what should be included into the ASEAN Charter. The ASEAN Charter is expected to, among other things, codify basic principles and objectives of ASEAN; and reiterate the resolve to realize the ASEAN Community. The EPG Report will be presented to ASEAN Leaders at this year’s Twelfth ASEAN Summit in Cebu, the Philippines, 11-13 December 2006.

ASEAN Foreign Ministers, at their informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in New York on 22 September 2006, agreed to nominate the representative of each of their respective Member Countries to form the Task Force on Drafting the ASEAN Charter which will start its first meeting in early 2007. The Secretary-General of ASEAN will serve as a resource person to the Task Force. The Minister also agreed that the drafting of ASEAN Charter shall be completed in time for the Charter to be presented to ASEAN Leaders at the Thirteenth ASEAN Summit in Singapore in November 2007.

Undoubtedly, the benefits from ASEAN membership will continue to grow as ASEAN's community-building cooperation intensifies and advances towards the year 2020.
Presentation
by Mr. TIMOTHY CARNEY
Former the U.S Ambassador and a Member of the Public Affairs Office of UNTAC
Presentation
by Mr. TIMOTHY CARNEY
Former the U.S Ambassador and a Member of the Public Affairs Office of UNTAC
“Constitutions: Evolution of the Rule of Law”

It’s an honor and pleasure to be here with you today. I’ll speak fairly slowly to give the translator a chance to brush what I hope to exchange with you.

First, the topic: constitution, the evolution and relationship to the rule of law

A little bit of history that relates to the situation here in Cambodia. As we heard this morning 15 years ago, the Paris Peace Agreements was signed. They said the United Nations and a unique growth to help Cambodia write a new constitution that was the mission of UNTAC to see a constitution written through the election of Constitutional Assembly and its production of the constitution that would result and a new national government. It happened in 1993. I have a great pleasure of following the process.

From one of our vision in Jakarta at US Embassy and as Lok Chumteav Seung Rathchavy mentioned the JIM process was on the way as followed the policy US negotiating delegation, one of our members of national Security Council, staff in Washington, and then I had the joy of being in Paris to see the signature put down on the historic agreement. What is interesting to note and necessary to decide, what is interesting to note is the Paris Peace Agreements had an important continuing element. Besides I was mentioned this morning the financial and development aspects that the International Community undertook to fulfill, there was an important continuing element in human rights through the establishment
of the human rights office. That is the matter of discussion I gather to this day.

If we look more broadly at the question of constitution we see that the worldwide focus on writing constitution. It’s almost, as the people believe, having a constitution is all of the tricks quiet of that is simply, not the case. There is one country, here presented, that has no written constitution at all. That is a Great Britain, there is no constitution there. This is not to say that Great Britain does not have important documents. They have formed these structures and fabric of a very rich constitutional monarchy. On the other hand, we see that Iraq today has a constitution. But what good is it? What is actually happening in Iraq that we might point to the constitution with pride to praise? The US has a constitution rather five the articles in 1789. That constitution only has 7500 words, in a constitution, a very broad principle with the philosophy that the laws will be produced, that would actually be a regulation and the constitution would set for a philosophy. As I suggested having a constitution does not guarantee that we would have justice much less that we would have the rule of law. I check to see if there was an ambassador of Zimbabwe here presents today or not. So I can point to a situation in Zimbabwe to suggest a constitution is not always the universal remedy that we would hope it might be.

If we look again in the South Africa and South Africa of yesterday, we saw that the law was actually used to limit and even to remove the rights of most of the citizens of that country. That has happily changed now we see end the world of hostile and I am delighted to say that one of UN mission was to be in the South of Africa in 1994 for the election that brought Nelson Mandela to the Presidency.

Continuing to look at the serious problem that the constitution can not truly, by itself, result, take a look at the case we’ve no real social contract exists. The case is so headed,
and the classic example, my first Ambassadorship was Sudan which has a constitution and it’s in serious complicated situation today. My reward for having served and Sudan was to be assigned to Ambassador to Haiti. There we have 200 years of bad governance and predatory leadership. It had created a gap between the leaders and the people and it created a suspicion. The constitution is not effective in Haiti and the law is not respected. The constitution is no longer a living document there. We hope that the February election that brought President Rene Preval office will begin to reverse that process.

The second serious problem, and this is fundamental, is when you have a lack of political will to realize the elements of constitution and does the laws. I checked the Cambodian political will and everyone has told me it was we go like this: if we have a lack of political will, we actually have much more problem because political will is a basic of law respected and development society, where the constitution and the rule of law come together is a very complicated intersection. In my view, you must have an independent authority to interpret the constitution. This can be done by means of the formal structure and, in South America today, for example, in 1994 you have a constitutional code that a sincerely interpret was the government action and the law actually agreed with the constitution. Historically, however, this process has tended to evolve much as we did in the United States over the last 200 years in the world of the US Supreme Court as the final authority, final all the terms, and what is the constitutional and what is not? And we also, of course, have a responsibility of the government and the question of laws and the rule constitution. If we look at the responsibility of the legislative branch of both of the laws of opposition and the party of the government you see the absolute requirement to produce laws that agrees with the constitution. On the side of the executive
branch, you see the need to ensure that legislative branch is focus on the laws that are relevant and needed to the situation of the country. And at the same time you try to keep, and it does not happen in my country I’m sure it’s a problem elsewhere, to try to keep full of laws to a minimum, and perhaps if the laws that tend to spend too much money without sufficient result to a minimum as well.

How can I conclude? What is a goal and issue of the constitution and the rule of law? I would add you a goal is that we govern ourselves through law so that we have justice and prosperity. If we analyze today circumstance in Cambodia, I would put to you one question. What future does your ten-year-old child have? If we look at Cambodia and another ten years, if you are satisfied in the future is bright you have one course of interaction, if you believe things need to be improved I’ll give you another course of interaction.

I hope to be alive to be here and ten years would be twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of Paris Peace Agreements.

Thank you very much!
Presentation
by His Excellency Mr. FUMIAKI TAKAHASHI
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
Japan to the Kingdom of Cambodia

“Cambodia, 15 years after the Paris Agreement -
a View from Japan”
Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am so honoured to be invited today to participate on behalf of the Government of Japan, in the open academic forum on the occasion of the commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the Paris Agreements. In my presentation, I would like to briefly look back on the progress of Cambodia during the last 15 years, and then offer my personal view on the challenges Cambodia is now facing, as a person who have witnessed with my own eyes and ears and have observed in the field the recent development of Cambodia, in which I myself was partially involved, albeit my experience being as short as less than three years. In doing so, first, I will revisit the purposes of the Paris Agreements and then overview how the Cambodian situation has progressed towards these goals. Based on this observation, I will point out some problems which are required to be addressed, although which might be rarely mentioned, and offer some possible solutions. In addition, I will summarize the roles of the international society, especially those of Japan, that have been performed in a bid to realize the purposes of the Paris Agreements, and will indicate the direction which my country might follow in strengthening our bilateral cooperation to meet the challenges Cambodia is now facing.

The purposes of the Paris Agreements
In my view, there were four main purposes in the Paris Agreements.

The first purpose is the restoration of peace and national unity through establishment of a legitimate government. For this purpose, all Cambodian parties agreed to participate in a free and fair election to create a new government, that could reflect the Cambodian people’s will, following the withdrawal of foreign military forces and ceasefire, as well as the cessation of military assistance from outside. It was also necessary to achieve the repatriation and reintegration of the refugees and displaced persons.

The second purpose is the national reconciliation and reintegration. This has two aspects: political and economic. On the political front, or in respect of power-sharing system, the multi-party parliamentary liberal-democratic system was introduced to ensure the national reconciliation. At the same time, it was aimed to realize the rule of law as well as to respect human rights and equality under the law. On the economic side, it was deemed necessary to enable Cambodian people who lived in absolute poverty to equally participate in economic development and to enjoy the fruits of it. Ensuring basic economic and social rights for all the people is the prerequisite for the national reconciliation and reintegration. This view is clearly reflected in “the Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia,” as its Article 4 stipulates that “in the context of the reconstruction effort, economic aid should benefit all area of Cambodia, especially the more disadvantaged, and reach all levels of society.” It also can be said that the Article aimed at the poverty reduction, if we use the recent terminology.

The third purpose is the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia. This was aimed to promptly rehabilitate the country, which had been impoverished in the long years of civil war, and to reconstruct it in long term in
such way that the ownership of Cambodian people would be frilly respected. “The Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia” sets forth also other basic principles that should be respected during Cambodia’s rehabilitation and reconstruction phase, as well as the following full-fledged economic and social development phase, which shall be pursued in collaboration with the international community.

The fourth and the last purpose is to ensure that Cambodia would receive support from the international community. The international community promised to provide every possible support in order to achieve peace and reconstruction of Cambodia, envisaging that Cambodia, after the restoration of peace and national unity, would be re-integrated into the regional and international community and would eventually contribute to the peace and stability of the region and world in the future.

**Progress after 15 years and challenges ahead**

Now, let me examine the progress made in the last 15 years in achieving these four purposes. Along with the changes of the situation inside and outside of Cambodia, what remains to be done, and what are the new tasks Cambodia is faced with? How should Cambodia tackle these challenges?

Firstly, Cambodia made a reasonably good progress in the restoration of peace and national unity. There were indeed many obstacles for peace and unification. After the Paris Agreements, the Khmer Rouge refused to participate in the UNTAC election, and continued armed attack in the border areas, without any of the members, even the senior leaders, who were responsible for the massacre in the period of the Democratic Kampuchea, being brought to justice. It is worth noting that the Khmer Rouge was eventually brought to
extinction due to Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen’s successful win-win strategy. Nevertheless, although the coalition government was created through general elections, the distrust among political parties, including coalition partners or politicians could not be totally overcome, which resulted in many political collisions and incidents taking place, including the military clash in the capital city in July, 1997. After all these difficulties, however, Cambodia attained domestic stability and is now making the utmost effort towards the economic development under the legitimate royal government. This is a remarkable achievement by the royal government and the political leaders of the country, which have placed greater importance to national political stability over anything else, and have tried hard to solve various problems in a democratic way, even though undesirable compromises were at times required to swallow.

Let’s turn to the second objective, the national reconciliation and reintegration.

On the political front through three general elections, I believe that the code of conduct in the liberal democracy with the multi-party system has basically taken root in Cambodia. This has also created an environment in which people by to overcome differences in opinion through dialogue, not by force. In this process, there were periods of political stalemate due to protracted negotiations to form a new coalition government based on the outcome of the election. However, Cambodia successfully overcame such impasses by adopting necessary laws or amending the constitution. In 2002, the commune/sangkat councils were established as an organ to promote democracy at the grassroots level. The royal government is further planning to create councils at the provincial/municipal level, in its effort for promoting decentralization and de-concentration. Thus, as far as the institutional aspect is concerned, Cambodia is making progress
in creating institutional frameworks for securing national reconciliation and reintegration.

However, these steps are still in the fundamental phase. In order to realize the reconciliation and reintegration in every aspect, it is indispensable to realize an environment where human rights and equality under the law are firmly secured for all the people. To this end, the royal government is expected to fulfill its promise without delay to adopt several basic laws indispensable for legal and judicial reform, as well as to formulate laws in those matters which concern the rights and obligations of the people in relation to economic activities in various fields and to establish a neutral and reliable judicial system. On this score, I would like to emphasize the importance of successful implementation of the Khmer Rouge Trials. These trials bring to justice the very serious crimes of the past, all of which left many deep scars on almost every Cambodian. These trials are therefore indispensable for accomplishing national reconciliation and reintegration. At the same time, by examining the responsibility of the senior leaders whose crimes have been overlooked so far, and by prosecuting them once found guilty, Cambodia can demonstrate its commitment to the establishment of the rule of law and the denial of the culture of impunity. Moreover, these trials can enhance the legal and judicial reform in Cambodia, by providing Cambodian judicial officials with an opportunity to learn from the trials as a model case that are being conducted in accordance with the international standards. Therefore, we will keep a close eye on the trials which have started in last July, and are expected to be conducted in a manner that will command the support and understanding from Cambodian people and thereby, proceed steadily within a scheduled timeframe. I think there is a yet another point which should be improved to strengthen the national reconciliation and reintegration. My observation might not be accurate, and might
be taking the risk of generalization, but I have an impression that Cambodian people have more or less a tendency of partisanship, and with a sense of precaution against others, the sense of public interest fades away and taken over by the temptation to pursue the interest of their own or of their faction, rather than the public interest. This might be a cause for the politicization of public administration and spread of corruption in the society. It is certainly difficult and time consuming to realize clean and politically neutral administrative institutions in a developing country where the government lacks the solid fiscal and financial basis and the civil servants receive very low salaries. But if we want to change the situation, a strong political commitment and a change in people’s mindset are indispensable. In this respect, while taking comprehensive measures for anti-corruption as well as administrative and financial reforms, the government may be required to promote national campaigns to raise awareness on public interest, taking every opportunity to tackle specific matters. For example, the government can review the contents of school education or make use of the television and radio spots to enhance people’s awareness for public interest.

On the economic front, as the Cambodian economy grows and is increasingly exposed to the international competition, the government is now faced with new issues, such as growing disparity between rich and poor, policies for redistribution of wealth as well as the necessity to introduce social security systems. The government can hardly cope with these issues as yet. It will take some more time to tackle these challenges.

Under these circumstances, I believe that in order to assure the participation of the majority of the population in economic development of their own country, and enjoy the fruits of growth, it is essential to promote rural development through the growth in agriculture and agricultural processing
industries. We should note as well that 80% of workforce engages in agriculture, and in fact, 75% of the poor engages in agriculture, the productivity of which is very low in Cambodia, too. For this reason, I argue that the spread of farmers’ cooperatives is essential because it is the only way to promote co-operation among farmers in rural areas where more than 80% of the population reside.

The Rectangular Strategy stresses the importance of private investment in land concession and plantations, for instance. While private investment is undoubtedly necessary we must note that the majority of farmers in Cambodia are small-scale subsistence farmers and therefore introduction of irrigation is not a sufficient measure. I believe that organizing a farmers’ cooperative is the most effective way to increase productivity and their income, to improve technology, to strengthen their bargaining power against buyers, to allow farmers to have access to financial market, and to promote agriculture processing industry.

Having said that, I am aware that people have antipathy toward farmers’ cooperatives, or rather towards so-called, Saha-kar, because of the memories of Pol Pot regime, and because of the failure of collective agriculture under the socialist regimes. It is therefore not easy to establish a co-operative in this county. Nevertheless, distrust among farmers, which hinders the concept of self-governing and mutual co-operation to take root, causes the process of rural development very slow. Farmers’ cooperative should be, however, looked at in a new light; now that the land title is recognized under the liberalist economy, a farmers’ cooperative has come to assume a totally different significance from the past.

Therefore, if the Cambodian government, with a strong political commitment and leadership, promotes national campaigns and at the same time presents successful examples of pilot projects to the people, I am confident that organizing
farmers is feasible. Japan has an experience of creating self-employed farmers through the post-war agrarian reforms, as well as of leading the farmers’ cooperatives movement toward success by overcoming various obstacles in the process.

If the Cambodian government is so inclined, we are ready to share our experience and to extend support as much as possible. Now, let us turn to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the nation, which is the third objective of the Agreement. The Cambodian constitution, which came into force in 1993, stipulates that Cambodia shall promote market economy. Transformation from planned economy to market economy thus began. Rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure also began, with the support from the international community. As a result of the investment promotion measures under the 1994 Investment Act as well as the most favoured nation status which the United States granted to Cambodia in 1997, a large number of textile and garment factories were opened in Phnom Penh and other regions, as foreign capital flowed into the county.

Reconstruction and development efforts were temporarily stalled in 1997 when the July Incident and Asian currency crises occurred. After 1999, however, Cambodia acceded to the ASEAN, and the economy began to move toward the recovery. The average rate of actual GDP growth between 1999 and 2003 marked 6.9%. In 2004, Cambodia gained membership of the WTO.

In the year 2005, GDP per capita reached $454, marking a record-breaking 13% of actual GDP growth rate. The growth can be attributed to the increase in agricultural yield, due to good weather, improved breeding techniques, and better irrigation, as well as to the expansion of the textile and garment industries. Over the last 15 years, Cambodia made a great leap from the rehabilitation and reconstruction stage to the development stage.
However, in rural areas, where a large proportion of the poor live in, agricultural productivity remains low. Since it is difficult to supply a batch of agricultural products of a certain quality constantly to the market, the agricultural processing industry has not seen any progress. We can say that economic growth of the country has been taking place exclusively in the garment, tourism and construction industries.

Under these circumstances, and, as I have described earlier on, in view of the fact that 80% of workforce consists of rural population, it is clear that the challenge facing us today is how to achieve a continued, well-balanced growth without causing a disparity between rural areas and urban, industrial areas. In the fixture economic policies, therefore, the promotion of private direct investment as well as progress in agriculture and agricultural processing industry will be extremely important. In particular, we must promote diversification of the agricultural sector as well as private investment in agriculture-related industries.

I would stress again the importance of introducing farmers’ cooperatives throughout the country. Let’s look at the fourth objective, that is, the assistance from the international society, especially development assistance. Assistance for reconstruction work by donors began in full-fledged manner in 1992. In 2002, the Cambodian government formulated the Second Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP II). Subsequently, in 2003, National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS) was adopted, as a further concrete version of SEDP II. Furthermore, in 2004, Prime Ministry Hun Sen launched Rectangular Strategy, which serves as a core of the development strategy of Cambodia at the moment. Rectangular Strategy offers a comprehensive framework of the nation’s development, placing good governance a paramount importance as a prerequisite for economic development. Under Good Governance, the strategy specifically sets forth four areas
to tackle: anti-corruption measures, a judicial reform, administrative reform and demobilization and reintegration of former soldiers. In order to achieve these goals, the strategy also emphasizes development of four areas including agriculture, private sector, infrastructure building, and human resources development.

In 2006, National Strategic Development Plan covering from 2006 to 2010 was approved at the cabinet level. This plan gives Good Governance a top priority in order to realize objectives set out in Rectangular strategy.

Development partners have carried out their support to Cambodia by building “hard” infrastructure, or physical infrastructure, as well as “soft” infrastructure, meaning intellectual, technical infrastructure including human resource development and institution building. This is aimed at providing backing to Cambodia’s own national development strategy, with full consideration to Cambodia’s ownership. Supported by such strong international assistance, Cambodia, after restoring peace and stability in the country, made a progress in terms of the integration into the region and the international community. In particular, after becoming a full member of the ASEAN in April 1999, Cambodia successfully chaired the summit and ministerial meetings of ASEAN in Phnom Penh from 2002 to 2003. In 2004, Cambodia gained membership of the WTO and of ASEM. Besides, Cambodia has now become an important actor in the Greater Mekong Sub-regional development. Today, not only bilateral economic cooperation but also multifaceted regional cooperation through multinational frameworks is being implemented with active participation of Cambodia.

Every year, the international community together provides aid to Cambodia as large as the national budget of Cambodia. This fact suggests that the international community is still active in supporting the development of Cambodia. At
the same time, problems and contentions inevitably occur with regard to the way of aid-giving. The Cambodian government and the development partners therefore engage in sincere dialogue and discussion so that the assistance to Cambodia be constantly improved. From this point of view, I would like to raise a few points that I have noticed with regard to the aid policies.

There is a universal consensus that development aid must be extended in such a way that democracy and human rights are respected in the recipient country. Even if the government of the time is perceived to have some problematic policies, as long as the government is democratically elected, we still have to work with them, in order to ensure that democracy takes a firm root in a given society. Inevitably, we must have a dialogue and must co-operate with the government. Working only with NGOs can never bring about a direct impact on improving and strengthening administrative capacity. What is more, providing good salary to NGO members may ironically hamper the recruitment of efficient human resources by the government, which might consequently make it difficult to attain politically-neutral civil service. Japan is very keen on supporting NGOs; however, we must be fully aware of their advantages and theft limit as well.

Furthermore, in order to improve the social and welfare systems in which public interest is largely involved, such as medical care, it is essential to establish a nationwide, well-organized system, by strengthening capacity of related agencies/departments in the government. To this end, comprehensive measures regarding the management of current medical institutions are needed. We must also establish a scheme under which medical care is provided free of charge for the poor, while medical fees are collected from those who can afford them. Disregarding the bigger picture and provide unduly large and exceptional support to a specific hospital will
undermine the integrity of the medical care of the country as a whole.

It is a serious concern that there is a thoughtless move toward privatization of Cambodian public services. At present, in Cambodia, overall formation of private capital is insufficient and there is a lack of experience of investment by private capital in many sectors, thus domestic capital is timid in exploring new industrial and service sectors for investment. There is also constraint of scarce human resources. Therefore, in public service provision such as railroad, airport, seaport, electricity, telecommunications, water and sewage treatment, as well as waste disposal, there are many sectors in which competition mechanism does not work well even if privatized. Under such conditions, Cambodia will gain very little by privatizing these areas. Instead, the imposition of privatization seems to simply cater to the proponents of introducing foreign capital. I believe that bolstering these services as part of public sector and concentrating scarce expertise and human resource there is the right way to go, since they are essential to the everyday life of the people.

Lastly, I would like to make a few points regarding aid coordination. After the conclusion of Paris Peace Agreement, donors across the world began to support Cambodia’s endeavor to reconstruct its society and economy that had been torn apart during the wars and political confusion. Initially, there was no concerted effort made by the donors; each donor country worked individually. Even so, donors’ assistance was effective for a certain period of time following the peace agreement, because the country desperately needed assistance in all aspects of nation-building.

As the reconstruction has come to be incorporated into the national strategy, however, it became increasingly clear that donors themselves must work together in order to effectively help Cambodia implement its national strategy. The donors’
community therefore formed the architecture as we see it today, with the CG meetings at the top, in order to enhance aid coordination. Since then, co-operation among the members of this framework has been steadily developed.

On the other hand, in recent years new donors are emerging, pumping a considerably large and increasing amount of aid into Cambodia. This new trend forces us to reconsider the significance of the existing aid coordination framework. Of course, there are emerging donors who participate actively in the coordination activities. However, there also exist some who do not. If new donors with substantial aid volume continue to act outside of the framework, then it will undermine the significance of the cooperative framework. This is contrary to the interest of Cambodia whose ownership must be respected and hiders as well an efficient and effective allocation of aid resources.

The Article 24 in Paris Accord states:

The Signatories urge the international community to provide economic and financial support for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia, as provided in a separate declaration.

The third item on the Declaration of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction which is this separate declaration requires that “International, regional and bilateral assistance to Cambodia should be coordinated as much as possible,” and continues to stipulate that “(it should) complement and supplement local resources and be made available impartially with full regard for Cambodia’s sovereignty, priorities, institutional means and absorptive capacity.”

In light of these articles, I have to point out that the new donors, especially signatories to the Paris Accord, that are now outside the structure evolved from ICORO which was established by the Accord should get actively involved in the
existing donors’ community, so that aid coordination is further enhanced.

**The role of Japan and future cooperation**

We have seen the progress of Cambodia and the problems that remain to be solved in terms of the four purposes in the Paris Agreements. Now, I will summarize the roles of Japan in the past and in the future.

Firstly, in order to achieve the restoration of peace in Cambodia, Japan played a central political role towards the conclusion of Paris Peace Agreements and in the subsequent election implemented by IJNTAC. In the first Paris Conference in 1989, Japan, together with Australia, co-chaired the third committee that dealt with the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and eventual reconstruction. Japan later hosted the Tokyo Meeting on Cambodia in June, 1990. In 1991, Japan presented an idea through an informal channel to each party, which in retrospect prompted the conclusion of the Paris Agreements in October. Furthermore, Japan actively contributed to the operation of the UNTAC, by dispatching the Self Defense Forces engineering units and the cease-fire monitoring staff, civilian police officers, election staff, etc. in support of the activities of the UNTAC. Even after the royal government was established, Japan continued its support to keep stability in Cambodia. When the armed clash occurred in Phnom Penh in July 1997, Japan contributed to the normalization of the situation by proposing the four-pillar proposal.

For the national reconciliation and integration of Cambodia, as well, Japan offered all possible supports. To promote democracy in Cambodia, Japan financed a considerable part of the budgets to carry out the elections and dispatched election monitors to ensure that the election would be free and fair. In the field of human rights, since 1999, Japan
has been playing a central role in formulating, as the main sponsor, the draft resolution on the situation of human rights in Cambodia, at the UN Human Rights Commission and has been promoting dialogue with the royal government for the improvement of human rights situations. Moreover, in order to establish the rule of law in Cambodia, Japan supports the drafting of the Civil Code and Civil Procedure Code and provides trainings to 15 judicial officials in Japan every year. Japan also started the project for the improvement of training on civil matters at the Royal School for Judges and Prosecutors and is planning to start a project to support the lawyers training school. Also, with regard to the Khmer Rouge trials, Japan contributed to the realization of the trial, by supporting the negotiations between the United Nations and the Royal Government. Japan also funded the UN with more than a half of the cost required for the trials (US$21 million), too.

Furthermore, Japan has extended a wide range of support to Cambodia for its rehabilitation and reconstruction.

First of all, Japan has so far contributed approximately $44 million to landmine and UXO clearance, through a Japanese NGO, Japan Mine Action Service (JMAS), international NGOs including Halo Trust and Mine Advisory Group (MAG), as well as through a government agency, Cambodian Mine Action Center (CMAC). Over 420 thousand landmines and UXO were cleared by these organizations.

Japan also supports Japan Assistance Team for Small Arms Management in Cambodia (JSAC), working toward the collection and disposal of small arms and light weapons, providing approximately $7.7 million in total. To date, JSAC has collected 22,000 weapons, 57,000 pieces of ammunition and 7,000 explosives.

On administrative and financial reforms, Japanese experts dispatched to the Ministry of Economy and Finance are now working on the formation of PFM-RP 2004, a reform plan in
public financial administration, in collaboration with other donors including the World Bank and the IMF. Also, Japan provides training for tax inspectors of the Tax Department as part of the Project for Human Resources Development in National Tax Authority. The ultimate goal is to increase national revenue through effective tax collection. Elsewhere, the project for the Customs Office Risk-management is underway. This project is expected to help simple and speed up the customs procedures. From a broader point of view, Japan established the Cambodia Japan Cooperation Development Center in order to nurture people who can offer their talent to Cambodian economy.

With regard to the construction of physical infrastructure, or what we call, “hard” infrastructure, Japan offered a total of $1.46 billion, $1.35 billion of which were as grant aid and $110 million were yen loans, in support of Cambodia’s reconstruction and development works. For this purpose, Japan has helped build a wide range of economic and social infrastructure such as:

- 210 kilometers of roads were built,
- Bridges with a total length of 2640 kilometers were constructed,
- The harbours and port facilities were improved (In Sihanoukville Port, freight handling capacity increased from 800 thousand tons in 2002 to 1.02 million tons in 2005. That of Phnom Penh Port increased from 587 thousand tons in 1996 to 602 thousand tons in 2004.)
- Power plants were constructed, with a total generation capacity of 20.5 megawatt,
- Waterworks were installed, which can provide 102,000 cubic meters of water per day, 185 wells were constructed,
- Bank protection was constructed; Over 17.5 square kilometers of land are now safe from flood,
Irrigation systems were introduced, covering 15,500 hectare,
- Broadcasting and telecommunication facilities were established (the National Broadcasting Station was constructed; 3 telecommunication stations were constructed in Phnom Penh; 16,800 telephone lines were installed; optical cable between Kampong Cham and Sihanoukville is due to be built.)
- Hospitals were constructed. (The Maternal and Child Health Center was established; in this center, 7,000 children are born every year. In the National Tuberculosis Center, the number of patient who can receive an appropriate treatment has grown from 15,000 in 1999 to 24,000 in 2004. Under the project for Human Resources Development for Co-medicals, 18 medical practitioners received training.)
- Schools were built; 1100 classrooms are now available to the students.

Japan also trained a few thousand people through training and technical co-operation projects, and has accepted 430 Cambodian students to study in Japan.

In terms of human resources development and institutional building, Japan sends long-term experts to the respective implementing agencies, to follow up the construction of physical infrastructure.

Furthermore, in agriculture, on top of providing technical assistance to enhance agricultural productivity, Japan not only improves irrigation facilities but also tries to establish open paddy markets so that agricultural exchange markets are put in place. At the moment, 6,000 tons of crops are handled every year. On industry, Japan is also promoting a project on the construction of a special economic zone (SEZ), adjacent to the Sihanoukville Port. At the same time, Japan is preparing
recommendations in legal and institutional aspects. Also, a team of experts from Japan is working on formulating advice to be put forward to the Cambodia side on the formulation of economic policies including industry promotion plans, along with the concrete measures to be implemented to promote investment.

Japan never forgets socially vulnerable people; Japan helped build orphanages and the vocational training facilities for disabled people.

Prevention of infectious diseases is also crucial; Japan has assisted Cambodia in implementing measures against diseases such as polio, TB, HTV/AIDS, and avian flu, offering in total $5 billion.

At the grass-root level, Japan funded 376 projects, with total amount of $32 million, under the KUSANONE, Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Projects. These projects are expected to bring about direct benefit to the poor and to support NGOs and the local authorities.

In this way, Japan has provided huge and comprehensive development assistance. Since 1992, Japan has provided $1.46 billion in total. In the last five years, approximately $100 million on average was extended annually. Japan has actively contributed to the poverty reduction and sustainable development of Cambodia. Ever since the Paris Agreement was signed, Japan has been a top donor in Cambodia. Japan is determined to continue our support to Cambodia in its effort to achieve autonomous and sustainable economic growth.

Besides, Japan played a significant role to mobilize international support to Cambodia. In June 1992, Japan hosted, in collaboration with UNDP, the Ministerial Meeting on Reconstruction of Cambodia, as one of the co-chairs. Japan also chaired the subsequent International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC), which served as a
mechanize to coordinate medium and long term international support to Cambodia. For the CG meeting, which is the successor of the ICORC, and France hosted the meetings in turns until 2001. After that, Japan actively joins in the efforts of aid coordination among donors. In the cultural sphere, too, Japan hosted the International Meeting for Safeguarding the Angkor Monuments in Tokyo in 1993, and, since then, Japan and France have been serving as co-chairs of the International Coordination Committee for Safeguarding and Conservation of the Angkor.

As we have seen so far, Japan has made the utmost effort in order to achieve the goals set by the Paris Agreement. Now, what are the challenges lying ahead of us, in our future assistance to Cambodia? If I were to make only one point, that would be the fact that trade and investment between Japan and Cambodia are very little in volume and therefore Japanese people and companies gain very little, even though Japan has provided a variety of support and contributed to the reconstruction of Cambodia. What can we do to increase bilateral trade and investment? In fact, we have already begun to implement several measures in collaboration with the Cambodian Government. Firstly, as part of the “Phnom Penh-Sihanoukville Growth Corridor” project, Japan has begun assistance for the construction of the SEZ as well as for the institutional building necessary for managing the SEZ. Furthermore, economic policy support (development studies) is underway, with an aim to increase investment from Japan into Cambodia. Japan is also considering starting the negotiation toward the conclusion of bilateral investment protection agreement, as part of the ASEAN/AFTA initiatives. Generally speaking, it takes time to promote investment from Japan. Once it starts coming in, however, Japanese investment will certainly have a huge impact on strengthening and diversifying Cambodian economy.
At this point, I would like to mention that, this year, two joint ventures were launched by major Japanese companies and their respective Cambodian counterparts. These examples show that the economic situation of both countries has been improving in recent years. In addition, I hear that some Japanese companies are planning to invest in Cambodia in the near future. Based on my observation, I am confident that the future of Cambodia is brisk.

Conclusion

Japan shares with Cambodia the memory of recent history, a history of working together towards peace and reconstruction. Last August, our Foreign Minister ASO Taro, made a policy speech in a seminar on human resource development in Asia for peace-building. Most of this speech was devoted to the explanation on Japan’s experience of the peace-building in Cambodia. Minister Also told us, in his speech, that for Japan, Cambodia provided an opportunity for Japan to learn what it really meant to build peace. And he concluded that, the peace-building involves the consolidation of peace, which is followed by the process of nation-building. These tasks require an enormous amount of time. He further added that even today, Cambodia continuously reminds us of the fact.

After 15 years since the Paris Agreement, Cambodia became our important partner to cooperate towards the stability and prosperity of the region and international society. Japan hopes to move the relationship with Cambodia to the next step, which brings mutual benefit to both sides. To this end, Japan, being on an equal footing, will further support the development of Cambodia.

Thank you for your attention.
Presentation
by Dr. P. CHRISTIAN HAUSWEDELL
Former Director General for Asian and Pacific Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

“An assessment of successes, achievements and shortcomings from a European perspective”
When the Federal Republic of Germany signed and joined the Paris Peace Agreements on the Political Settlement of the Cambodian Conflict of 1991 as its 18th signatory nation in April 1994 this was done for the following reasons:

- Germany wanted to express its sympathy and support for the people of Cambodia after the enormous human sufferings of the past;
- Germany wanted to reassert its bilateral ties with Cambodia which at various times had had bilateral relations both with the Federal Republic as well as with the former German Democratic Republic.
- And finally Germany wanted to signal its readiness to join the international effort for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia and be helpful in the process of national reconciliation.

Cambodia has a particular sympathy bonus in Germany and German - Cambodian relations have a special human dimension. The German people will not forget the noble gesture of the King who sent a special envoy to Germany to express his condolences to the parents of a German soldier who was killed here during the UNTAC- operation.

The German commitment to Cambodian national reconstruction and reconciliation is also visible through the
local activities of many institutions and dedicated individuals. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is one of those institutions and I would like to thank the KAS for having contributed so decisively to bring this conference about.

When we meet here today to assess the success stories and the shortcomings of the Paris Peace Agreements our overall judgment is - on balance - clearly positive, despite some of the outstanding problems which remain. How can our judgment be different? These agreements ended the third Indochina war, the most important conflict of the Asia-Pacific region between 1969 and 1991 after the Vietnam War ended in 1975. Two decades of war, internal genocide and incredible human suffering and dislocation were finally overcome.

Today Cambodia is living in peace, though it is not yet completely in peace with itself. But it is living at peace with its neighbours. Its national sovereignty and territorial integrity were guaranteed by the Paris Agreements. Its neutrality is ensured and enshrined in its Constitution. It is a respected and active member of ASEAN and the United Nations system. It is a multilateral actor in the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) and the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). Its WTO membership has given Cambodia credibility as a commercial partner. So for Cambodia’s international stature the Paris Agreements have clearly been positive, since they ended the previous years of international isolation and sanctions. They also gave the green light for the reconstruction aid of the international donor community which continues till today.

Cambodia’s success story becomes especially apparent when seen in perspective: In comparison with other countries where the United Nations community was equally involved, i.e. East Timor, Afghanistan and Somalia, it has fared far better. The rebuilding and reconsolidation of the nation has succeeded. Cambodia was the most complex and difficult
conflict resolution exercise ever undertaken by the United Nations. The international community has through the United Nations invested a good deal of financial and political capital into the rebuilding of Cambodia and today we can say, that – on balance – that was a necessary and sound investment.

But in retrospect it is also fair to say that the international aspects of the Paris Agreements were solved better than some of the domestic agendas. Our criticism of certain domestic shortcomings should, however, take account of the following considerations: The Paris Agreements could not solve difficult problems of national reconciliation and build all the institutions of a functioning democracy overnight. It could not recreate trust and heal the wounds of civil war in one instant. For the Khmer Rouge national reconciliation was not the most important objective. We therefore have to be aware of these mitigating circumstances when we arrive at a more critical assessment of the domestic shortcomings of the Paris Agreements.

When we look at the major objectives of the five annexes of the Paris Agreements it is fair to say that four of them were executed successfully: UNTAC generally fulfilled its mission, even if it never established full and strict control over the administrative structures it was supposed to control. The Repatriation of about 370,000 refugees and displaced persons was achieved and the complete withdrawal of foreign troops was secured. Most importantly a new Constitution for Cambodia emerged and the first election of 1993 set democracy in Cambodia on track.

But the stipulations of Annex 2 on Withdrawal, ceasefire and demobilization of the warring factions in Cambodia were never fully carried out and the negative consequences of this failure are still felt today. Especially the lack of implementation on demobilization and the lack of a provision on the final disposition of forces can be seen as the Achilles
heel of the Paris agreements. In Paris it was agreed that “at least” (!) 70 % of the 4 armies of the different factions had to be demobilized. But since the Khmer Rouge never intended to honour these clauses, was never committed to the ceasefire and did not participate in the 1993 elections internal distrust and civil strife continued and a true national reconciliation proved elusive.

It is probably also fair to say that also the dire economic and social situation of Cambodia was not conducive to comprehensive demobilization. Demobilization would have been far easier if the economy had provided jobs for the demobilized soldiers. This was not possible. But the consequences of this failure of demobilization are still evident today in the present size of the Cambodian Armed Forces: with almost 110 000 men under arms is simply very big for a country threatened by no one and in peace with its neighbours. The army’s share of the national budget is disproportionate when compared with the social budget.

The lack of a through demobilization has also contributed to the existence of too many guns in the country. But here again, I am aware of the difficult circumstances: the civil war, the brutality of the Khmer Rouge and the foreign occupation from 1979 to 1989, have left a legacy of distrust not easily overcome. And if I think about the abundance of arms in Afghanistan then Cambodia is already in a much better shape.

But other domestic issues settled in Paris have fared far better: Through the Constitution and the elections the democratic process in Cambodia has been set on track. The first election of 1993 were still organized by the United Nations and held in conditions of insecurity with an incomplete ceasefire – but they were held nevertheless. Given the handicaps under which Cambodia has been operating, i.e. the dramatization of the civil war, the destruction of the physical and social infrastructure, the new beginning was not without
birth pangs. If democracy has to be built from scratch problems will always occur. So it would be wrong of us to ask for a standard of perfectionism which the more established democracies of the West have only achieved after centuries or decades of democracy. We cannot expect Cambodia to function like a Westminster Democracy overnight: its social and economic problems and dislocations are much more severe and its political handicaps were evident back in 1991.

Three elections and three periods of very difficult formation of Government have left a track record of Cambodian politics which leads to certain observations. The first is that Cambodian politics is characterized by a very high degree of personalization and that sometimes the personal animosities and legal battles of leading politicians can paralyze the whole political system. Whether the recent legislation against inflammatory remarks in the National Assembly will solve this problem remains to be seen.

A second observation concerns the difficulties to form a Government. I think that the previous constitutional clause requiring a two thirds majority to form a Government was a handicap for the effective functioning of Government in Cambodia. This clause necessitated complicated, long-lasting coalition arrangements and rendered the opposition too small to be effective. In my view, the former necessity of power sharing became a source of instability and resulted in a bloated Government, because power sharing increased cabinet positions and ministerial appointments to a size unfamiliar in the West. The change of that constitutional requirement to simple majority must now have made the formation of a Government easier and it should make for a clearer separation between Government and Opposition. But I am aware that the pros and the cons of this constitutional change are still hotly debated in Cambodia so I better withhold my judgment.
A third aspect concerns the slow acceptance of the value and importance of an opposition in a democratic system. Let us not forget that the institution of an opposition was not legitimate in Cambodia until 1993! Previously there was rather a feeling that an opposition was something disloyal and unpatriotic. So there was lack of acceptance and respect for the opposition as well as the lack of the institutionalization of that opposition in Cambodia. This handicap has to be overcome. A capable and loyal opposition should be accepted as a necessary element of the checks and balances of a democratic Government. The opposition party needs to be given the parliamentary representation and the material and legal facilities to effectively question and challenge the Government. Its activities should not be seen as high treason. In this context it was welcome news that the opposition party is again engaged in the Committee work of the National Assembly and now chairs two Committees.

In theory, the opposition is a Government in waiting – if the ruling government fails for whatever circumstances it must be able to immediately produce a shadow government to take over. Since in the Cambodian balance of power the Executive is a far stronger actor then the legislative and the judiciary it would increase the international legitimacy of the Cambodian government if it allowed the opposition more breathing space. But the burden of proof is also on the opposition: it must convince the public and the government that its judgment is sober and that it acts responsively. The acid test for any democracy is the possibility that today’s opposition may be tomorrow’s government and that the loser of an election accepts this change.

I have heard people characterize Cambodia as a one party democracy. But the problem of Cambodia is not that one party is too strong and well organized - but rather that the other parties are too weak and poorly organized to play their proper
role as opposition in a checks and balances system. If the CCP indeed has 3.8 Mio party members then that is quite astonishing for a country of this size. May be the other Cambodian parties should get better organized in order to be a credible counterweight to the CCP. This would correct the balance of power in Cambodia.

We should not blame the Paris Agreements for some shortcomings in present day Cambodia which could simply not be foreseen when the signatures were put to the agreement in Paris in 1991. After 20 years of civil war there was an operating environment devoid of regulatory mechanisms, laws or rational systems of control. Cambodia had to formulate the laws and build institutions to overcome these shortcomings. It has developed since then and Cambodian democracy has the right to develop according to its own characteristics. Some of the problems Cambodia faces now could simply not be anticipated then. But if the land issue is really the most acute and pressing problem Cambodia faces today, then it is worth while to look at the Annex 5 of the Paris Agreement dealing with the Principles for a new Constitution for Cambodia. It is said there that the constitution will contain “provisions about protection from arbitrary deprivation of property or deprivation of private property without just compensation.”

National reconciliation as foreseen under the Paris Agreements would have fared better if the economic and social dislocations would not have been as severe as they were. What strikes me is that presently social welfare is under funded in the national budget and that the Government has a very weak revenue base. Collecting taxes is always unpopular and does not win you elections, but may be it would be helpful for the Government to spend more on social welfare, health, education and capacity building.

There is one success story which tends to be overlooked because it is taken for granted: Cambodia has become a market
economy. Its recent growth rate of almost 13 % can only be envied by West European standards. This is no small feat.

So, on balance, let us conclude that the Cambodia of 2006 is far better off today than it was in 1991. And let us hope that the democratic system which was set on track then will over time also solve the outstanding problems of national reconciliation and national reconsolidation in the country.

*Thank you!*
Presentation
by Mr. NICK ETHERIDGE
Former Deputy Head of the Canadian Delegation to the
Paris Peace Negotiations
Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, distinguished participants,

I am most honored to be present at this historic gathering of Cambodian leaders and of those from the international community who were prime architects of the Paris Agreements and key players in their subsequent implementation. I congratulate the organizers for their initiative and success in so impressively marking this important anniversary.

I am also much honored that the Canadian Government asked me to speak at this meeting. My own direct involvement in the Cambodia peace process was as Deputy Head of the Canadian Delegation to the 1989 Paris Conference, and as Canadian Representative to the Supreme National Council based in Phnom Penh from January to July 1993. Though my involvement was modest and episodic compared to the roles of some in this room, I have to say that it was an experience that gave me optimism about how societies and individuals can, given time, recover from catastrophe, and how effective international help can be.

I have been asked by the Canadian Embassy to speak about Canadian views on human rights, democracy and sovereignty, why these concepts were included in the Paris Peace Agreements, and what this means for Cambodia today. Perhaps what I can best contribute is something of a historical Canadian perspective on these issues, and then finish with some suggestions for steps which Cambodia could take to promote human rights in particular.
The Paris Agreements are notable for several reasons, but the most important by far was the hope they brought to ordinary Cambodians after more than two decades marked by fear, oppression, international isolation, refugee flows, economic hardship and, in Khmer Rouge times, ideologically motivated murder on an unimaginable scale. Though in times, other nations around the world have been caught in a web of civil discord and outside intervention and have suffered grievously as a result, perhaps no country has been as ravaged in human and material terms as Cambodia.

In the late 1980s, when international attempts to bring about a settlement moved into high gear, Cambodia remained a political and humanitarian black hole in a region that was rapidly becoming prosperous and cohesive. By late 1993, when UNTAC withdrew, Cambodia had returned to the world stage, had held its first democratic internationally supervised election, and was beginning to receive assistance in its rehabilitation and reconstruction. At last, its people could dare to hope for a brighter future.

As a small personal aside permit me to cite a memory from the May 1993 elections. As the Canadian Representative to the Supreme National Council based in Phnom Penh, I had gone to Kompong Cham to assess the election in that key province. The night before the elections began there was a violent thunderstorm, and lying sleepless in bed, it was very easy to think that some of the flashes and crashes might be incoming fire intended to disrupt the election, rather than simple monsoon thunder and lightning.

When I went outside my hotel at 6am, the sight that met my eyes through the mist, however, was not a fear or destruction, but rather long lines of Cambodians already silently queuing to vote, even though the polls were not yet open. At that moment, I fully realized how much pent up hope Cambodians had, how badly they wished to turn a page in their
history, and how important our mission really was.

The Paris process was particularly notable in another ways. In many respects, it marked the international community’s finest hour, or certainly one of them. It was the Cambodia settlement that both heralded and ushered in a new and much more hopeful era of political cooperation, pragmatism and detente in East and South East Asia following Cold War rivalries and conflicts. Countries in the immediate region, notably Indonesia and Thailand, were leading players in resolving the Cambodia conflict, working with others such as France, Australia and Japan, to promote national reconciliation and provide an appropriate international framework including reconstruction.

The UN Secretariat played a leading role from the very early 1980s, and after the first Paris Conference the P5 worked together very effectively and with the Secretary General to move the process forward. Once on the ground UNTAC, despite setbacks and challenges did remarkable work in Cambodia. No accomplishment was greater or more lasting than the repatriation and resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons under the leadership of the late and very sadly missed Sergio de Mello.

For its part, Canada was deeply committed to, and strongly involved in, both the Paris peace process and the implementation of the resulting agreements. The horrific, massive human rights abuses in Khmer Rouge times and the ravages of so many years of war were, in themselves, ample grounds for Canada to help out. Certainly, Canadians were very much seized of humanitarian crises as compelling as the one in Cambodia and wanted their government to be involved in their solutions.

But there were other compelling motivations. Canada is an Asia-Pacific country with strong and growing ties to countries in the region and historic involvement in the
Indochina commissions from 1954 to 1973. We could not think of Asia-Pacific simply as a promising market and source of immigrants, but had to play a role in helping to resolve the regions’ political and security challenges as well.

Moreover, Canada strongly supported the UN as an instrument for peace building. We saw the UN, rather than some rehash of the problematic Indochina commissions, as the right vehicle for providing international recognition for Cambodia and the full service international support it needed, including with respect to elections and human rights.

Our contribution at the time was substantial. With India, Canada co-chaired the First Committee at the first session of the Paris Conference in 1989. Later that year, at the request of the Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark, Ambassador Alan Sullivan, who had been First Committee Co-chairman in Paris, visited the region to help re-launch the dialogue after the inconclusive result of the Paris Conference, urging especially a full role for the UN. Taking advantage of our non-permanent seat on the Security Council, we also worked closely with the P5 in New York as they sought to move the Cambodia file forward.

Once it was up and running Canada contributed some 400 military personnel and civilians to UNTAC. As the Canadian representative in Phnom Penh, at the time, I know what a great job they did in election organizing; cease fire monitoring, logistics and building mine clearance capacity, to name just some tasks these Canadians performed. I was especially proud of the young Canadian UN Volunteers who often worked alone in remote locations for months, and of the Canadian polling stations observers who, with observers from other countries, spread out all over Cambodia to verify that the May 1993 elections were free and fair.

From what I have said so far, I hope you will have understood that for Canada the issues of sovereignty,
democracy and human rights, so prominently cited in the Agreements, were absolutely central to the Cambodian settlement. At all stages of the Paris process and its implementation, we did our best to help elaborate these three key concepts and then to help Cambodians to act on them.

First, unless Cambodia was returned to fill sovereignty, operating as one country, speaking with one voice, and free of outside intervention, little else was possible. The core ingredient of sovereignty was, of course, national reconciliation, which, given the brutal divisions of the past, was an enormous challenge. It was largely the inability of the four Cambodian parties to achieve that reconciliation in Paris in 1989, though much else was achieved there, that prolonged the settlement process by 2 years.

Second, if they were to endure, sovereignty and national reconciliation, needed to be underpinned by the will of the Cambodian people. This meant giving the Cambodian people the opportunity to vote in free and fair elections, something that became the core of the civilian UNTAC mission. That nearly 90% of eligible voters cast their ballot in generally calm conditions throughout the country showed that the Cambodian people understood this was their chance to help move their country forward.

Of course, it was a perilous exercise, and elections are never a panacea in themselves, especially if the historic paradigm in a country is top down power rather than bottom up democratic choice. The power sharing arrangement that emerged after tensions in the aftermath of the elections succeeded in averting a breakdown in the very fragile national reconciliation at the time, but it also showed the country had a long way to travel before elections, no matter how free and fair, could be a mean for peacefully transferring power.

Third, given the horrors that had been visited on Cambodia, the promotion of human rights was in many ways
the most compelling task that confronted Cambodians and the international community. But it was also in a way the most difficult. UNTAC included a small, dedicated and highly active human rights component headed by Dennis McNamara. This component was, I believe, a groundbreaking innovation in UN operations, and was able to make considerable headway on human rights education, a key part of its mandate. However, investigating human rights complaints was much harder. Who would investigate? Who would arrest and detain? Who would try? Who would defend? These were all questions that were highly problematic in 1993.

But in the end human rights are not simply some kind of legalistic process involving enforcement through courts, lawyers, police, and constitutions, much as they are all obviously involved. At base, human rights are really a culture, and one that relies heavily on a vibrant and confident civil society, as well as on a free press, and on a pluralistic and tolerant political system to sustain and defend it. In 1993, this culture was mainly lacking, though a few courageous non governmental organizations such as Licadho were starting to appear.

Let me close by addressing what these concepts mean for Cambodia today. I would suggest that the terrible past entitles Cambodia to a particularly bright future. And in many respects Cambodia is lucky. It now lives in a highly dynamic, prosperous and peaceful region. It is a member of ASEAN and fully reconnected with the wider world. Its infrastructure, as I have already noted in just a few rather jet lagged hours, is unimaginably better than it was 15 years ago.

But it seems more work is needed if Cambodia is to achieve the stability, shared prosperity, recourse to justice and sense of personal freedom that will truly guarantee that the past never returns, and that Cambodia reaches its full potential.

As a precondition to a stable future, respect for human
rights in particular is of fundamental importance. And, as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights noted during her visit to Cambodia in May of this year, the first task is the development of an independent judiciary to provide impartial justice to Cambodians. This was specifically called for in the Paris Peace Agreements, as negotiators, including Cambodian negotiators understood clearly the importance of the rule of law to the Kingdom’s future.

It is an undertaking that still needs work, although I understand there have been welcome efforts in this regard.

Like many other Canadians, I was heartened by the establishment, earlier this year, of the Extraordinary Chambers to try the leaders of the Khmer Rouge. It is Canada’s hope that the Tribunal will have a positive effect on the justice system writ large.

Other basic human rights should be better protected. People need to be protected from land-grabbing that robs them of their livelihoods. The right of assembly and freedom of expression are important rights that strengthen the exchange of information and the sharing of aspirations, so important in our globalized world.

So there are continuing challenges ahead for Cambodia. However, the country also has much to share with the rest of the world. In June, a former colleague of mine, Michael Small, now the senior officer in our Foreign Ministry responsible for Global Issues, spoke to an IRIC-organized forum here in Phnom Penh and suggested the following:

- efforts might be undertaken to create regional mechanisms within ASEAN that would entrench human security as a norm. There is a work already underway to develop an ASEAN human rights commission, on which Cambodia would be well positioned to play a major role.
that Cambodia is uniquely placed to lend its voice in support of the Responsibility to Protect as the international community works to strengthen this norm, (given global endorsement by leaders at the 2005 World Summit), and put it into practice.

- that Cambodia run for election to the new Peace building Commission. As a country, it has many lessons to share.

Canada has been and remained a partner with Cambodia in working to promote these goals. I will close by urging that this meeting and this historic anniversary be the occasion on which Cambodians not just celebrate what has been achieved, but recommit themselves to continue building, with the continuing support of their international friends, a united, free and tolerant society that will ensure Cambodia stays firmly on the path to a bright future and banishes forever the horrors of the past.

*Thank you for your kind attention.*
Presentation
by His Excellency Mr. IGOR A. ROGACHEV
Former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union
Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the Soviet Union to the People’s Republic of China
and Member of the Senate of the Soviet Union
Presentation
by His Excellency Mr. IGOR A. ROGACHEV
Former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union
Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the Soviet Union to the People’s Republic of China
and Member of the Senate of the Soviet Union

Dear members of the Bureau,
Dear participants in the Conference,
Dear colleagues,

It is a great honor and pleasure for me to take part in today’s event, which of course, can be regarded as a very important not only for Cambodia but for all the parties involved in the process of the peaceful settlement of the Cambodian conflict. The in-depth analysis and understanding of the lessons and outcomes of the implementation of the Paris Agreements have a paramount importance for the future of your country and provide an invaluable experience for the whole world community, in particular the United Nations, in settling regional and local conflicts.

From the very beginning, our country took an active part in the Cambodian settlement as well as in the preparation and work of the Peace Conferences in Paris. As our colleagues who are present here, we perfectly remembered the first plenary meeting on 1st August 1989. We were generally aware of the complexity and magnitude of the tasks that we faced, though nobody, naturally, could foresee the difficulties and hidden reefs on the way to peace in Cambodia. Moreover, the world community had no experience of the settlement of such conflicts with the involvement of many states and the United Nations.

For our part, we proceeded from the fact that the participants in this process should work out such a form of
settlement that could not only allow to put an armed conflict to
the end, establish peace in Cambodia and to ensure its
sovereignty and territorial integrity, but also to create necessary
conditions for further progressive development of your
country.

As you know, long and hard multilateral negotiations
finally ended with the signature on 23\textsuperscript{rd} October 1991 at the
Paris International Conference on Cambodia of the Agreement
on Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodian
Conflict, the Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty,
Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality
and National Unity, as well as of the Declaration on
Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of the country. But that was
only the beginning of the uneasy and ambiguous process of the
settlement that required mobilization of the political will of the
Cambodian parties and international mediators, as well as of
considerable financial and human resources. Russia, as the
other states, made its considerable, from our point of view,
contribution to the future peacekeeping operation of the UN in
Cambodia which took place from November 1991 till May
1993.

General coordination of this activity was carried out by
the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
(UNTAC). Throughout this operation, the highest authority in
the country was the Supreme National Council and its activities
were regulated by the provisions of the Paris Agreements. It
should be noted that opposing forces in Cambodia maintained
untill the general elections of their own government bodies and
military formations. In this connection, it should be recognized
that the military component of the UNTAC met with
considerable difficulties while trying to ensure the cease-fire
and the demilitarization of Cambodia. For example, the
“Democratic Kampuchea” Group that controlled the northern
and western regions of the country (about 20 percents of the
territory) refused to perform demobilization and disarmament of its forces, and in November 1992, the UN Security Council had to impose economic sanctions against it. In early 1993, this Group completely withdrew from the Supreme National Council of Cambodia.

Unfortunately, as you all remember very well, the UN operation in Cambodia, as not without casualties among the peacekeepers. Nevertheless, we are convinced that every effort made by the UN has not been wasted. Certainly, such a large-scale and complicated exercise was not without mistakes and miscalculations. However, as I have already mentioned, it was the first large-scale operation of such kind in history. Besides, it took place in the time of global geopolitical transformations resulted from the end of the cold war.

The restoration of peace in Cambodia was paralleled by the reconstruction of economy and other spheres of the Cambodian society which were seriously damaged as a result of the long internal armed conflict. In this context, in June 1992 in Tokyo, the international conference on Cambodia restoration was organized. It allowed to set up the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia and to allocate financial support in the amount of 880 million US dollars for the program of assistance (in September 1993 the donor countries declared that they were ready to increase it by another 110 million US dollars). We considered it important that the donor countries continue to fulfill their obligations in this sphere and allocate 500-600 millions USD annually for the development of Cambodia. We are proceeding from the fact that this aid will allow to resolve the main problems of development and poverty alleviation in your country. The first democratic multiparty elections to the Constituent Assembly, held under international monitoring and UN control in May 1993, became an outstanding event in the recent history of Cambodia. The main political parties and movements took part
in them. In June 1993, Prince Norodom Sihanouk was proclaimed the Head of the State. The new Provisional National Government of Cambodia was formed by the representatives of all the four parliamentary parties. On 21 September 1993, the Constituent Assembly adopted a new Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia. According to it, the country became a constitutional monarchy with a multi-party system. On 24 September His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk, a politician respected all over the world, returned to the royal throne. You know that after the adoption of the new Constitution, the UN completed its mission in Cambodia that had required 3.2 billion US dollars and 22 thousand employees. In the post-UN period, the new Cambodian authorities faced no less difficult tasks of maintaining peace and achieving national reconciliation, which the UN peacekeepers, unfortunately, were not able to implement completely. It should be recognized that, due to the continuous efforts by the royal government, the situation started to stabilize and the authorities could induce a split in the “Democratic Kampuchea” formations, most of which turned to the central government. In March 1999, the governmental forces subdued the last hot spots of rebels and arrested their odious leader Ta Mok, who is known to have passed away recently before he could face the tribunal over the former Red Khmer leaders, that is being prepared now.

We remembered that 1997 became a serious ordeal for the young Cambodian nationhood. It is important that the Cambodian political forces showed their wisdom and foresight and did not let the country fall into the abyss of a new civil war. Here it is necessary to recognize an important intermediary role played by ASEAN countries in the crisis settlement. In July 1998, scheduled parliamentary elections were held. In November 1998, a coalition government was formed from the representatives of the People’s Party and the FUNCIPEC party. The new cabinet began large-scale political
and socio-economic reforms that were supported by the international community and regional neighbors. As a way of recognizing the country’s success in this field, Cambodia was granted membership in the ASEAN in 1999. At present Cambodia is also a member of such authoritative mechanisms of dialogue as the ASEAN Regional Forum for Security (ARE) and the “Asia-Europe” Forum.

The political stabilization went along with the economic recovery and a gradual improvement in the population’s living standards. There has also been an increase in international capital flow into the country. The number of visiting tourists has risen significantly. As far as I know, around 1.5 million foreign guests visited your beautiful country last year. A logical outcome of Cambodia’s growing involvement in the world economy has been its affiliation with the World Trade Organization. We state with satisfaction that Cambodia has started to play an active role in regional and global matters. This was very well demonstrated by its ASEAN and ARE Chairmanship (2002-2003) when a set of important initiatives was launched to improve regional and sub-regional integration, in particular in the Greater Mekong zone. Moreover, the Kingdom does not maintain aloofness towards other global problems of key importance such as combating international terrorism, trans-border crime, drug trafficking and poverty. Cambodia is also making a considerable contribution to the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. As far as the Cambodian-Russian relations are concerned, they have been traditionally friendly. This year, we have celebrated the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries. Russia has always sympathized the long-suffering Cambodian people and rendered a timely and comprehensive assistance and support to it. We proceed from the fact that our mutual links in various areas will be progressively developing. The analysis of
outcomes of the Paris Peace Agreements allows, in my opinion, to conclude that through our joint efforts, we have implemented the basic ideas proposed in these documents. Peaceful and progressively developing Cambodia is the evidence of it. I would like to wish to the Cambodian people further successes in building-up their beautiful country.

Thank you for your attention.
PLENARY SESSION II
His Excellency Mr. Sum Manit
Chair of the Presentation

Presenters
Prof. Dr. Sukh Deo Muni
His Excellency Mr. David G Reader
His Excellency Mr. Yvon ROE d'ALBERT
Presentation
by Prof. Dr. SUKH DEO MUNI
Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India to the Republic of Laos
Scholar and Senior Researcher of India, and the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affair in India
His Excellency, Sum Manith, Advisor to the royal government of Cambodia and the coordinators organizer of this conference,

Excellencies, distinguished participants in this conference, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank to the royal government of Cambodia and the institute of international relation of Cambodia for inviting my country to participate in this conference. I have the honor to convey the best researches of the government of Indian for peace and prosperity for Cambodian people and the success of this conference. Indian had always been stood by the Cambodian people in all their trials and tribulation, and we extend whatever help and cooperation possible in an endeavor to struggle to the realization of the respiration.

Making and preserving peace has been the perennial quested period of the society and nation throughout history. United Nations and international communities have always come forward to address the challenge your peace. This challenge had become far more complex and compelling in the recent decades. When the search to peace from within the nation, we have reached the stage where the United Nations has become seriously engaged in legitimated exercises to use force to ensure that the state do not fail and the follow of failure do not vitiated stability and order of other members of the international communities. The questions of human security
and development are occupied much greater attention and the
effort of the international communities, in contrast to the
care for the state security and sovereignty. The Paris
international conference on Cambodia held in two sessions and
spread over few years of intense and difficult negotiation was a
historical conference in search of peace. It produces the city of
agreement and comprehensive political settlement of Cambodia
and conflict that had raised for several decades in different
forms resulting in massive death and destruction of the
Cambodia people and their society. The results of the
conference have a time come under critical assessment on
diverse count. However, the critics who made such advert
assessment do not fully realize the nature of challenge that be
stood before the conference and the former tasks of peace
building in the war-ravaged, frustrated society.

The international law order that was now gearing up to
result the conflict in Cambodia. Paris peace conference had
itself during the cold war phase contributed significantly in
participating and perpetuating this conflict. The conflict in
Cambodia was multi-faced and fraction so deeply intense
which is historical and political overlooked that simple curtail
right solution was inconceivable. Mutual understanding and
confidence among people and the diverse social and political
group could not be imposed. It has to evolve to the direction
provided by the conference agreement. It is no mean
achievement, therefore, that the Cambodian people have seen,
treated the democratic election generally free and fair and the
outcome has compelled as well hostile political group to
cooperate and co-exist with each others.

Most of those, who left Cambodia during the conflict
year had returned to their home and had been rebuilding their
lives. The genocide and violence had died out. Cambodia had
regained its place in the committee of nation both regionally
and globally. We, therefore, certainly have a reason to
celebrate not only to view the achievement but also to reach the
decade ourselves to the result that what has not been achieved
need to be accomplished adequately and perfectly. The
conference provides lessons in both success and failures to
improve the international communities’ engagement with the
tasks of peace building and peace preserving in relation to the
persisting and potential conflict situation all over the world.
The celebration also reminds us and re-enforce the
commitment of both the Cambodian group and the
international communities to the consolidation of democratic,
pluralist, peaceful and prosperous Cambodia.

Excellencies, lady and gentleman,

India has had a binding interest and the state in
Cambodia’s peace and stability that flow from the civilization
link between the two countries that flourished during the early
century of Indians and Angkor era. Angkor Wat extends one of
the most magnificent living monuments of those linkages that
was knotted two cultures and commons and not to military
mission and expanded exploitative adventure. Such link and
concern for the welfare of the people of Cambodia and the
whole of Indochina region. Let India actively get involved in
the internationally control commission for Indochina region
constituted during the fifty to supervise peace in this country
and the term of Geneva conference. India’s role in the ICC, has
been widely appreciated in Cambodia and other regional
countries. This role also brought King Sihanouk and the first
Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, personally closer. Some of the
meetings between the two had been recalled by the former king
with great fondest in his memorial recently released. King
Sihanouk said and I quoted “I have visited Nehru just to reach
after my obligation. The Indian leader was enthusiastic that I
had taken such a step and he strongly advised me to pursue a
neutral course on foreign affairs. Some things which I had been turning over in my mind any way. Nehru and I got a long well together and he influenced me in obtaining for neutrality. Years later, while talking to a senior Indian diplomat ambassador, Lakhan Magutra, who had worked with the Cambodian people’s issue for a long time in different capacities. King Sihanouk described Nehru as his political goal. India extends itself from the Khmer rouge regime not because of regime ideological projection but because of the genocide death character that was the principal factors prompting India to recognize the regime of Cambodia in 1980. Though that regime was a product of military intervention. This was such a gain this position of many other countries but all these countries eventually came to realize the darker side of the Khmer rouge. India is interested his Excellencies in the restoration of peace and stability in Cambodia started even before the former establishment of the Paris international conference. In India’s perception, the key to the Cambodia settlement was the building up of mutual confidence and bridging the trust deficit between the principle political players. India established contact with them and work quietly with them for the meeting between these leaders which fortunately materialized in Paris in January 1988. It was this that such emotion the process which brought the Jakarta informal meeting, JIM, into existence, leading eventually to the establishment of the Paris peace conference. India was always attended during the JIM to facilitate method and it smoothen rough ages of misunderstanding whenever required. India was indeed happy to be invited to participate in the Paris peace conference and co-chaired with Canada. Its first committee on military affair, the committee was to result of difficult and complex issues of the withdrawal of foreign forces, arm, demobilization and security. The basic strategy of India’s participation was a quiet approach. As ambassador, Magutra’s verse “our primary
concern in Cambodia had been to bring to an end the terrible trauma of the Cambodia people. It was our endeavors to work quietly and behind the scene to knot the peace process forward when it seemed to stumble rather than to take a high profile for we failed that a quiet approach was more likely to induce the cooperation of Cambodian factions as well as our international partners in the Cambodian peace process. In India’s perception, national reconciliation was the only way to forward toward the lasting peace and to this, there were four essential components at that time, namely, ceasefire among the competent, stop of arms supplies to various factions, demobilization and at least the workable understanding and trust between the key players, not all these conference participants share our view, there were the fringe perception and the fringe priorities. Many wanted to see ceasefire and arms stopped only part of the comprehensive political settlement. India, however, are happy to see that the Jakarta meeting, one of the JIM in June 1991, the principal of unlimited ceasefire was agreed too.

\emph{Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,}

The conclusion of the Paris peace agreement was the method of realizing in their lives for all the participants but the real challenge of implementing this agreement was the still a head of us to deal with. India had remained engaged with this challenge all a long to the UNTAC and even otherwise. India was happy to contribute man and materials to ensure that UNTAC performed this obligation efficiently. We had also made our modest contribution for the effective functioning of the extra ordinary chamber in the court of Cambodia that are engaged in bringing the genocide and the crime of the Khmer rouge to book order, stability and promise of development that we have seen Cambodia today that attributed to the Paris peace conference which reflected to the vision of peaceful and
prosperous Cambodia based on this spirit of accommodation and adjustment of the Cambodian leaders of all factions.

The conference and the subsequent implementation of this agreement are also reflected the commitment of the international communities to ensure that Cambodia, without relapsing into violence and chaos, move forward as a stable, strong and self confident nation. While there is such a faction for achievement made no room exists for comprehensive and casualness. We needed to re-affirm and re-enforce our vision, the spirit and commitment. We all need to focus more on realizing the promise of future than on dwelling on the past. The role of the international communities remained critical in helping the Cambodian realize their dreams. Indian has shown its model way will certainly not feel them in their expectation.

*Thank you very much for your patience and the post lunch session.*
Presentation
by His Excellency Mr. DAVID G. READER
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland to the Kingdom of Cambodia

“Cambodia: 2020 Vision”
When the Paris Peace Agreements were signed on 23rd October 1991 the people of Cambodia hoped they had finally put their long nightmare behind them. But as the nightmare was ending there was the stirring of a dream. A dream of a land where peace and stability were normal, a dream of a genuinely independent Cambodia is free from foreign interference, and a dream, and hope of prosperity.

The United Kingdom recognized the significance of the Paris Peace Agreements. Minister Goodlad said to the British House of Commons at the time “this major achievement offers the people of Cambodia a new future in which they can be free from tyranny and the threat of genocide and from foreign occupation”.

From that signing 15 years ago, it took more years of success and failure to achieve a final reconciliation of the civil war. It was never going to be possible to transplant a perfectly working parliamentary democracy to Cambodia in a short period of time. But the people had hoped. The international community, who had the commitment and resolve, and were willing to provide the resource to make the transition happen, shared the hope of all Cambodians.

Your Excellencies
The UK played an active role within the UN Security Council’s permanent members to negotiate the framework that led to the Paris Peace Agreements. Indeed, it was our Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who during a visit to Thailand in 1989, suggested that the Security Council’s permanent members become more involved in the peace process. The United Kingdom provided over $100m of UNTAC’s costs. Today Britain continues its development partnership with Cambodia and is a leading voice urging Cambodia to take greater ownership of its development agenda. The talk now is of mutual accountability but the responsibility rests firmly and clearly with Cambodians.

But in the late 1980s one needed to be a real optimist to believe that after so many years of bitter conflict it was possible to bring peace to Cambodia through negotiation and that one side, particularly the Khmer Rouge, would not wreck any settlement if it proved detrimental to their interests. That the Peace Agreements happened is a major achievement. The UNTAC operation had its own, sometimes serious problems but we can all agree that overall, it was a considerable success. The Cambodian process has in fact positive lessons for other areas mired in conflict.

However, that transition marked by the 1991 Agreements remains a work in progress. But, firstly, let us not forget the achievements. There was an effective end to civil war. There was effective verification of the withdrawal of foreign forces. There was the return of some 350,000 refugees. There was an education of the public in a basic understanding of human rights. There was the holding of genuine elections. And there was the establishment of a framework of parliamentary democracy.

Nevertheless, the government recognizes there is more to be done, so too do the people of Cambodia. That is the challenge for year 2020. But to meet that challenge, it will be
for Cambodia to navigate its own path to greater democracy. We all acknowledge there is not a one size fits all type of democracy. But we all know what the rules are. An important, indeed essential element, of a parliamentary democracy is real dialogue with the people. Voters everywhere can quickly sift words from action.

*Your Excellencies*

Today’s Cambodia is a young Cambodia. 60% of the population are under 30 and either never knew or do not remember much about the traumatic years 1975-1979. The young and increasingly educated generation has a growing expectation. News travels faster than ever, even to Cambodia’s most remote rural areas. They see growing prosperity in other Asian countries and they too want it. The government is right to concentrate on the economy. Because without sustained economic growth there is no resource to provide the skills and tools that are necessary to take advantage of the opportunities. Economic well-being is an essential pillar for the building of sustainable democracy.

Everyone here knows that with fast economic development there are risks. Not least vested interests in the country who think first of themselves, is hardly ever about the state and rarely about the people. Without the determined and above all effective application of the law, of rules and regulation, elements of society, which will flourish that, will undermine not only the political will, but also the building of sustainable democracy. Vested interests see no benefit in a more democratic society – light exposes them, lack of information only helps them hide. In its deliberations, the government needs to weigh carefully the prospect of long-term damage against seductive short-term gain. I recognize that I can say this from the comfortable standpoint of coming from a
country that went through this phase many years ago. However, it is a self-evident truth. Impunity, corruption and rent seeking are the corrosive forces, which continue to beset the country. Vested interests want profit today regardless of the future cost to a 2020 vision.

*Your Excellencies*

Cambodia is currently undergoing another transition. The country has embraced the globalised world. Hard choices have to be made and this new transition will not always be easy. Cambodia has made an excellent start and embraced many international conventions that will help it reach a more prosperous 2020. Adapting to worldwide rules such as those demanded by the WTO means tackling hard truths and inevitably those vested interests once again. But the rewards are worth it once the credibility of Cambodian institutions is established. Investors do watch progress and as we can observe they are increasingly interested in the Cambodian market. That interest of course needs to be speeded up.

There are now signs of a more sustained economic growth but this could still be fragile. The economy needs to be more diversely based. Job creation needs to be a priority in order to absorb the 200,000 new workers who enter the job market each year. The biggest impact over the next 15 years could well be revenues from oil, gas and minerals, which will come on stream in only a few years time. This will bring renewed challenges to a system that is still emerging from its history of conflict where human and material resources were decimated. The political will and determination to embed good governance and ensure that revenues are properly used will be key. The country needs to embrace international standards to ensure transparency of revenue from the oil, gas and resource industries, as for example in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative.
At the start, I spoke about the hope of the people. The new generation is tomorrow’s seed. Cambodia is a country of farmers who know that they must protect and nurture their seed in order to survive the following year. They also know that a little bad seed can rot all the good seed. That bad seed needs to be winnowed out. The Cambodian economy is growing but from a very low base. For most people their daily thought is how to earn enough for tomorrow’s meals. But development research shows that people often put peace and stability above all other considerations. Achieving that has been the great success. The people want that to continue. What they do not want is to have their land grabbed, their forests stolen or their water polluted. The poor as well as the rich expect to be treated with dignity, their human rights respected and treated as equal in the eyes of the law.

*Your Excellencies*

Cambodia 2006 is very different from 1991 but the demands are no less and the hopes no different. At some point Cambodians want those hopes and dreams fulfilled, as people do everywhere. The Khmer work hard. What they want is for all their leaders to work hard for the benefit of all. Perhaps a symbol and mark of real change will be whether the Extraordinary Chamber in the Courts of Cambodia delivers real justice. If that happens then the next 15 years really could mark another transition. As your partner Britain wishes Cambodia and its people well over the coming years.

*Thank you.*
Presentation
By H.E YVON ROE d’ALBERT
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of France to the Kingdom of Cambodia
and High Representative of the Government of France
J’ai quelques scrupules à intervenir devant vous ce soir au nom des autorités françaises pour commémorer ce quinzième anniversaire des Accords de Paris, n’ayant pas eu à l’époque le privilège de me trouver impliqué dans ce qui apparaît chaque jour un peu plus comme une étape historique majeure dans la vie du peuple khmer. Mes scrupules sont d’autant plus grands que m’exprimerai en lieux et place des acteurs français de cet événement historique, dont ils partagent avec vous la paternité. J’ai d’ailleurs à vous transmettre les profonds regrets du Président Roland DUMAS, qui a tout fait jusqu’au dernier moment pour être des vôtres aujourd’hui, mais qui se trouvait retenu par un engagement à Paris hier et aujourd’hui. Quant à Son Excellence Jean-David LEVITTE, retenu à Washington par ses fonctions d’Ambassadeur auprès des Etats Unis d’Amérique, il m’a demandé personnellement de vous prier de l’excuser pour son absence de ce soir.

C’est donc avec le regard indiscret d’un observateur postérieur que je m’efforcerai d’apporter ma modeste contribution à vos débats. Je dois d’ailleurs reconnaître qu’à une quinzaine d’années de distance, ce regard a du mal à accomoder. Quinze ans, c’est la moitié d’une génération humaine, et l’on sait par conséquent qu’une grande partie de la
population de ce pays n’a pas connu, pas vécu, l’immense soulagement, l’immense acte d’espoir qu’a représenté la signature des Accords du 23 Octobre 1991. Mais quinze ans, c’est aussi la durée qui sépare la chute de Phnom Penh, le 17 Avril 1975, de cette Conférence de la réconciliation nationale. C’est donc par cette comparaison que ces deux périodes de temps successives s’éclairent mutuellement et prennent toute leur signification. Il est évident que le Cambodge de 2006 est bien différent du Cambodge de 1991, lui même si douloureusement rattaché à celui de 1975.

Ce n’est pas le même Cambodge, mais ce n’est pas non plus le même monde. Le monde des années soixante-dix portait encore les traces de la division en deux blocs, et l’on pouvait alors s’interroger sur la façon dont le monde communiste allait réagir à la disparition de l’URSS. Aujourd’hui, un constat s’impose : les anciennes structures ont été balayées par le vent de la mondialisation, sans d’ailleurs que l’on sache vraiment si ce vent nous mène vers un monde plus sûr, vers un monde plus stable, vers un monde plus juste. Avait-on alors plus de certitudes ? Etions-nous alors plus optimistes en face des défis que l’histoire nous lançait? Il faudra peut-être attendre une nouvelle période de quinze ans pour pouvoir apporter une réponse à ce type d’interrogations.

J’ajouterai enfin, à ce stade, une troisième remarque : les accords internationaux relèvent de plusieurs catégories : les uns ont pour but de codifier, de figer une situation présente, les autres de constater un accord de volontés à un moment donné, d’autres enfin de lancer un processus appelé à se déployer dans le futur. Les Accords de Paris, complexes par leur forme, puisqu’ils se composent d’un acte final, de cinq annexes, d’un accord et d’une déclaration sur le relèvement et la reconstruction du Cambodge, le sont encore plus par leur matière. Ils constatent un accord de volontés, mais anticipent aussi sur un processus dont les différentes étapes, plus ou
moins éloignées dans le temps, ne revêtent pas par voie de conséquence le même degré de précision, la même portée normative.

Co-présidente de la Conférence de Paris, la France a tenu à s’engager résolument dès la période de transition et à prendre, au sein de l’administration intérimaire comme de l’APRONUC les responsabilités auxquelles elle s’était engagée. Avec le recul du temps, la tentation est grande de sous-estimer les risques de ces deux années qui devaient sceller l’avenir du processus. Certes, la réussite du mandat de l’APRONUC n’entraînait pas ipso facto la réussite de l’entreprise, mais son échec en aurait à coup sûr définitivement compromis l’achèvement, et l’on n’ose songer aux conséquences pour le Cambodge, pour les Cambodgiens, pour l’Asie du Sud-Est dans son ensemble, d’un tel échec. Il s’agissait là, ne l’oublions pas, d’une des opérations les plus importantes et les plus risquées engagées dans le dernier quart du vingtième siècle par l’Organisation des Nations Unies. Aussi, quelles qu’aient pu être les imperfections ou les limites de l’établissement du cessez-le-feu, du regroupement des forces ou de la démobilisation des groupes armés, nous retiendrons que l’APRONUC a pu, avec l’aide de ses partenaires cambodgiens, maintenir un ordre civil fragile, mais suffisant pour permettre la mise en place d’une administration provisoire et surtout l’organisation des élections de mai 1993. Entre-temps 350 000 réfugiés avaient pu quitter les camps où ils étaient regroupés, près de 200 000 déplacés avaient regagné leur village, les khmers de la diaspora rentraient au pays, les prisonniers de guerre étaient libérés. De cette période, je retiendrai surtout l’engagement, le dévouement, l’espoir des milliers de khmers et d’étrangers qui ont lutté côte à côte pour rendre un avenir à votre pays. Quant à l’Organisation des Nations Unies, justice doit lui être rendue que sans son
implication totale et massive, cette convergence des bonnes volontés serait sans doute restée stérile.

Mais les Accords de Paris étaient plus ambitieux, puisqu’ils visaient à donner les moyens à la nation et au peuple khmers de restaurer l’État du Cambodge dans la plénitude de ses droits et dans la réconciliation nationale. La communauté internationale s’engageait pour ce faire « à apporter le soutien économique et financier nécessaire au relèvement et à la reconstruction du Cambodge ». Elle n’a pas failli à sa mission, puisque l’effort de solidarité s’est maintenu d’année en année jusqu’à aujourd’hui, même si l’on n’avait peut-être pas envisagé à l’époque que la tâche serait si dure et qu’elle prendrait tant de temps. Avec l’aide des pays amis, le Royaume du Cambodge a courageusement, pierre après pierre, mené cet effort de reconstruction dont nous pouvons mesurer aujourd’hui l’ampleur : l’ordre constitutionnel a été rétabli avec la Loi fondamentale du 24 septembre 1993, les élections législatives de 1993, 1998 et 2003 ont rythmé le retour à la démocratie. Dans le même temps, votre pays s’engageait dans une entreprise de restauration de l’État de droit dont on a peu d’exemples dans l’histoire récente. Il vous a fallu reconstruire un État, réinventer le droit. Tout cela sans perdre de vue l’essentiel, à savoir la restitution au peuple khmer des droits économiques et sociaux élémentaires : la santé, l’éducation, la prospérité économique, autant de défis d’autant plus difficiles à relever après tant d’années d’épreuves. Nous mesurons le chemin parcouru, mais nous voyons aussi ce qui reste à faire.

Faut-il rappeler ici la part qu’avait pris la France à la conclusion comme à l’application des Accords de Paris ? Lors de sa visite au Cambodge, en novembre 1993, M. Roland DUMAS avait replacé cet engagement dans des perspectives à long terme en soulignant que la France n’avait jamais perdu l’espoir au cours des années dramatiques vécues par votre pays,
qu’elle était convaincue que l’âme khmère ne disparaîtrait pas, mais sortirait victorieuse de l’épreuve. Le Co-Président de la Conférence de Paris vous assurait ici même, à Phnom Penh, que la France prendrait sa part dans ce grand chantier de reconstruction qui s’ouvrirait, et le Président Jacques CHIRAC confirmait cet engagement à Paris, le 22 avril 1996, lors de la visite d’Etat de Sa Majesté NORODOM SIHANOUK : « C’est, affirmait-il, dans tous les domaines du redressement de votre pays que la France entend agir ». Non seulement par son aide bilatérale, qui n’a jamais cessé depuis lors, mais aussi en mobilisant tous les acteurs bilatéraux et multilatéraux, y compris l’Union Européenne, pour qu’ils se joignent à elle dans cette formidable entreprise. Cet appel a été entendu, puisque votre partenariat au développement s’est étendu à l’ensemble de la communauté internationale. Il nous reste à espérer, pour que votre pays puisse enfin participer pleinement à la croissance exceptionnelle de l’Asie du Sud Est, que les investisseurs privés prennent le relais des partenaires institutionnels et des ONG.

vous aurez reconstitué votre cadre juridique national, plus vite vous serez en mesure de répondre à ses attentes, sans céder à la tentation de lui confier – ce qu’elle ne demande d’ailleurs pas – des responsabilités qui sont celles du gouvernement, de vos juges et de votre parlement. Nous sommes convaincus de votre détermination à parachever l’édifice dont les fondations ont été jetées il y a quinze ans à Paris, mais vous serez plus à même de résister aux intempéries lorsque vous aurez placé les dernières tuiles du toit…
ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION

AND COMMENTS
His Excellency Mr. Khieu Kanharith
Chair of the Discussion

Presenters

His Excellency Mr. Pit Chamnan
His Excellency Dr. Peou Samy
Mr. Teruo Jinnai
His Excellency Dr. Ros Chantraboth
His Excellency Mr. Tep Darong

Commentators

His Excellency Mr. Dith Munty
General Mr. Tea Banh
His Excellency Mr. Im Chhun Lim
Ms Margo Picken
Her Excellency Ms. Lisa Kim Filipetto
Mr. Ork Serey Sopheak
His Excellency Mr. Khieu Kanharith
Minister of Information
Paper
By His Excellency Mr. PIT CHAMNAN
Secretary of State of Education, Youth, and Sports
Cambodia as well as some other countries in the world was the victim of cold war for many decades. 23 October 1991, was a historic day of Cambodia which brought new hope for all Cambodian people and it is now 15 years passed. During last fifteen years, the royal government of Cambodia headed by Samdech Hun Sen, has been doing its best to develop the country all fields in and made remarkable achievement. Above all else, the royal government promotes and focuses on fundamental freedom and human rights in Cambodia.

In fact, the Paris Peace Agreement led to establish UNTAC to run elections in Cambodia in May 1993. Paris Peace Accord finished the controversial ideas between the countries in which some governments recognized Khmer Rouge regime while the others recognized People’s Republic of Kampuchea established after liberational day of 7 January 1979. Now members of the United Nations recognize Cambodia. Cambodia enjoys development through foreign assistance, investment and tourism.

Paris Peace Agreement also opened the door for repatriating of approximately 370,000 Khmer refugees from Thailand’s border and some of them were old enough to vote. Even though the elections were not conducted throughout the country (because some areas controlled by Khmer Rouge, UNTAC was not allowed to run elections), it was said a successful one which brought Cambodia the multi-party liberal democratic system, established national assembly and adopted the supreme law of the country namely the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia of 1993.
All these achievements could be made possible through the kind assistance of the international communities, especially United Nations that we always highly appreciate. At the same time, after UNTAC completed its mission and left Cambodia in September 1993, UNTAC remained some complicated problems in which Khmer Rouge issue was the big one. Khmer Rouge did not integrate itself into the society as stated by the Paris Peace Agreement. This brought political instability and fragile social security. After UN-sponsored elections, Khmer Rouge still politically and militarily attacked on the royal government and people everyday. In this difficult situation, we highly appreciate Samdech Hun Sen’s talent, who proposed the Win-Win policy that was the only great guide and key to successfully solve Khmer Rouge issues.

Through the Win-Win policy, Khmer Rouge’s political and military was definitely defeated. Another 1993 post-election remarkable achievement was the national unity and real peace in Cambodia. The peace condition, allowed the government to conduct free and fair elections in 1998 with countrywide coverage. The secession zones demolished in 1993 were abolished and all citizens went to vote.

The 1998 elections success conducted by Cambodia itself, reached the new phase starting from the rehabilitation to development of Cambodia with stable political and socio-economic situation and regional good condition. This situation enabled Cambodia to quickly and widely integrate itself into the region and international communities. Cambodia became the member of the ASEAN in 1999 and that of WTO in 2004 etc. Meanwhile, the royal government of Cambodia of the first and the second mandate of legislature, has been trying its best to maintain and expand significant achievements made by the government and that made by UNTAC. For third mandate, the government still has high commitment to make new achievements as stated in the political platform of the
government including strengthening peace, developing democratic liberty multi parties system and respect of human rights. The government always strictly protects and promotes the civic freedom as stated in the constitution, in the universal declaration on Human Rights of the United Nations and in other conventions and treaties related human rights.

In this regard, it is obvious that the government strongly promotes press freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of meeting that are motivating factors to freely develop individual and social consciousness. All the public forums are encouraged to mobilize the opinions of all walk of life and those of political trends for national development. Obviously, in term of promoting fundamental rights of the people, the government allows state-run and private, local and international TVs, radios and print media to freely run many kinds of programs. According to the report of the ministry of information showed that in Phnom Penh, there are 95 TV stations (8 state-run stations, 23 public-private stations, 2 foreign stations and 53 cable TV stations) that process every day. There are 51 radio stations (10 state-run stations, 13 semi-public-private-run stations, 20 private stations and 8 foreign-owned stations) in all the provinces in country, and there are 37 print media institutions and other foreign news agencies located in Cambodia. Public forum’s opinions mobilized by non-governmental organizations and Human Rights Organizations are also available on air by some radio stations. Moreover, the report and tables issued by Reporters Without Borders in 2005 and those by Freedom House in 2006 clearly show that freedom of press in Cambodia is better than that of southeast Asian countries and the others ones.

While the entire country has peace, stability, respect of human rights in democratic framework, many political parties were established and are freely operating their activities. Other human rights associations were also established to watch out
the legal implementation and respect of human rights. Political parties, national and international organizations are using their rights and freedom of expression in accordance with legal framework. Additionally, the government allows being established national and international print media and organizations operating in Cambodia with the respect of democratic principles as it was said Cambodia is the heaven of the civil society. Some NGOs and news agencies have been operating their activities over their ethics, but they are still not taken any legal action. In this regard, we must distinguish between the freedom and anarchy. Rights and freedom must be practiced in accordance with constitution and existing laws with honor and dignity with no harm to individual dignity, good social tradition, public order and national security. On the other hands, we can say that in Cambodia in the last decade, civil society is rapidly growing.

Another significant achievement is that the government successfully conducted the commune elections in 2002 and the senate elections in 2006. In addition, the government continues democratization process through decentralization policies at the communal level and deconcentration at the district and provincial level. In this framework, it is to establish a close administration to provide on time public service to the people as Prime Minister often raises that it is a big revolution while the country lacks of human resource and finance while the central administration is not strong and we move a step forward to implement decentralization and deconcentration policies. This is the government’s strong political commitment to strengthen democracy and human rights providing more power to local people.

In conclusion, Cambodian people as well as the royal government of Cambodia remember all the efforts and attention made by senior personalities of the United Nations as well as Khmer dignitaries who took part to make Peace Paris
Agreement possible as a key solution to end the Cambodia conflicts. At the same time, Cambodian people feel fortunate and proud of having great leader who paves the way for national reconciliation and unity, social security, peace and national development in a democratic and multi-party society in Cambodia in which Win-Win policy of Hun Sen is a key factor.

References

Paper
by His Excellency Mr. PEOU SAMY
Secretary-General of the National Disaster Relief Management Committee

“The Process of Democratization, National Reconciliation and Harmonization in Cambodia”
SUBSTANCE:

I- Introduction

It was a great pride for Cambodia and its people to have adopted the harmonious approaches to end the war and bring about national reconciliation and harmonization necessary to open the opportunity for the country’s rehabilitation and reconstruction following the two-decade war and internal conflicts surrounded by the ideological and political revenge of various forms.

With regards to the spirit of the Paris Peace Agreement of 23 October 1991, all parties in Cambodia conflict strictly adhered to all the provisions stipulated in the text of the agreement. The former State of Cambodia, a successor of the previously known People’s Republic of Kampuchea, adhered to all the fundamental principles and fully took part in the 5-year negotiation process (1987-1991) although it had control of almost the entire territory of Cambodia. These clearly reflected the commitment of the then-government to integrate itself into international community adhering to the following fundamental principles.

- Liberal plural-party democracy
- Respect for fundamental human rights
- National reconciliation
- National Harmonization
II- Democratization Process in Cambodia

1. Different governments interpreted and implemented democratic principles differently in various stages of Cambodia’s political history although each claimed that democracy was there to stay in their political agenda. As a result, democratic principles were embodied in their respective constitutions. In certain periods, the term democracy was even included in the state’s official name as witnessed in the so-called ‘Democratic Kampuchea’ ruled by the Khmer Rouge. It was, actually, nothing but a complete totalitarianism regime which killed innocent people, deprived individual liberty, and eliminated religious beliefs, education system, and freedom of expression.

2. The consequences of implementation of democracy in the early stage

   Democracy was imported into Cambodia without taking into consideration the Cambodian common practices in past leading to wrong application of its core principles which were outlined below.

   - There have been cases where the concepts of democracy were misinterpreted resulting in copying completely the foreign cultures, while ignoring their own customs, values, and dignity. In other words, the application of democracy went beyond those boundaries being applied elsewhere in the region and in other places known for its championship in democracy. To put it simply, democracy was more like a business which was advertised with the support and assistance of foreign countries at the expense of Cambodian dignity. They desperately enjoyed their freedom while
forgetting their moral ethic, value, and dignity. Specifically, it induced internal hostility leading to segregating individuals in society and provoking sense of hatred and revenge. In certain cases, violence occurred or the lawsuit was filed, so on and so forth.

Over exercising of democracy resulted in the following consequences:

- social segregation
- widespread of immoral culture such as dirty or uneducated words and expressions, and unprofessional written critic in media.
- induce violence and lawsuit because things become unbearable
- it seems that they want to satisfy foreign powers who back them, which was contrary to the past when foreign interference was thought to be an offensive violence to the nation.
- Unlike some superpower countries that have large population with least political parties, Cambodia has too many parties participated in general elections, meaning that Cambodian people are not united. The country was like a bunch of communities.

3. The fruition of implementation of democracy

A number of lessons can be learnt from the implementation of the principles of democracy in the past years in Cambodia, the advantages of which are outlined below.

- The government in its efforts to maintain political and social stability and security took pain to accept all the criticisms and considered them as a mirror to reflect on
the performance of official under supervision and as a policy to follow.

- Open opportunities for people from all walks of life to have access to training on the right path to exercising the principles of democracy and promoting individual morality. It is not a suppression of individual freedom, but in general term it lays the foundation for their respective freedom and dignity. If the principles are applied incorrectly, they would be reacted upon. Such reactions and counter-reactions have enabled people to grasp understanding of root of violence and legal action. As a result, people gradually learnt to behave themselves in a manner that was acceptable and harmonious. And the destructive criticisms were turned to constructive ones. The practice of liberal plural-party democracy was, thus, flourished in Cambodian context.

- In democratic platform, all parties involved in responding to common socio-economic concerns. It was no longer a platform where individual parties blame one another for the sake of blaming. It must be applied in accordance with the practical context of Cambodia, or it would be trapped in the party crisis which could evolve to a national crisis as experienced by other countries.

- The civil society plays a role in educating people about this issue and shall be aware of government’s political sovereignty in making decision. They shall avoid any pre-judgment or pessimistic assumption on the government political agenda.

- Open opportunity to Cambodian people from all walks of life to form their own political parties to compete in the general elections for the chance to lead the country following their own political agenda.
Now the government is exercising the principles of democracy by empowering the administration at the commune level to manage and develop their respective locality through the so-called decentralization and deconcentration of power.

The public at large and the civil society will learn how to make comments and/or criticisms and avoid extreme and unsubstantiated allegations on the government. They should be aware that measure will be taken if any extreme or unsubstantiated allegation is made. And that shall not be a ground for the accusation that the government suppresses freedom of expression.

However, it was not uncommon for the early-stage application of multi-party democracy where pros and cons of which are inevitable. What important was that gradually the democratization processes were improved and strengthened based on the ground of respect for individual rights and freedom as stipulated in the law.

4. National Reconciliation and Harmonization

The democratization process did have influence on the national reconciliation and harmonization policy.

We are grateful for the United Nations and other countries involved for their tremendous efforts in bringing a solution to the Cambodia war and conflicts and for their immense contributions to the country’s rehabilitation effort through Paris Peace Agreement mechanism. This agreement was obviously a positive start although it failed to reunite one of the four parties in Cambodia’s conflict who withdrew themselves from the general election organized by UNTAC and continued to lure the country into chronic civil war.

Due to this reason, Samdech Hun Sen adopted a so-called Win-Win strategy to put a complete end to the conflict,
and the result of which was to be proud of. This strategy was embodied in Samdech’s fighting strategy known as DIFID, which is commonly described as:

- Divide
- Isolate
- Finish
- Integrate
- Develop

The integration strategies were developed into a policy where their status quo was maintained; for instance, they would not be punished for their past acts, and they could keep their own property. In addition, they were promised full freedom to earn their living.

It was this win-win strategy that Cambodia could eventually achieve its national reconciliation and harmonization mission, and stability and security were brought to light, opening new opportunities for Cambodian people to rehabilitate and reconstruct their war-torn country.

Historically, the process of Cambodia’s national reconciliation and harmonization went through a long and complicated journey. In other words, it took a long time to achieve. For instance, in the 9th century, the then-Preah Bat Cheyyavaraman II established a religious ceremony in which the king was considered as both the god and the king. Thus, the ceremony was meant to scarify toward the god king on the top of Kulen Mountain, to officially declare that he was the god king so that he could reunite people in order to fight against enemy. People who believed in Brahmin and Shiva followed the ceremony, which means if they follow the Brahmin and the Shiva, they shall fellow the king. Inherently, the legacy behind was that people relied solely on the individual they believe in to bring about reconciliation and harmonization.
Specifically, the criteria for a leader who shall assume the leading role in national reconciliation and harmonization shall be as follow.
- Powerful
- Most qualified and talented
- Charismatic

Accordingly, in the process of Cambodia’s reconciliation and harmonization, all the parties involved in the general elections organized by UNTAC agreed to accept Preah Bat Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to be the top leader above all the political parties in order that he could assure the political stability and security, leaving room for national rehabilitation and reconstruction.

III- Conclusion

The spirit of the Comprehensive Agreement on Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict opens the new page of Cambodia’s history. It opens the door for Cambodia to integrate itself into international community, the challenges of which include:

1. The challenges facing the democratization process, national reconciliation and harmonization as well as the respect for freedom in a liberal plural-party democracy political environment.
2. The effort to strengthen cooperation with international community in pursuit of peace and security as well as freedom and development.
3. The effort to restore and reconstruct the country after the devastating war over the past 2 decades.

In conclusion, although the democratization process in Cambodia has faced numerous challenges, the results have been fruitful if compared to process undertaken elsewhere in and outside the region.
Paper
by Mr. TERUO JINNAI
UNESCO Representative to Cambodia
“Peace and Perspectives on Sustainable Development in Cambodia”
Fifteen years has passed since the Paris Peace Agreement and this merits an opportunity for Cambodia to reflect on what has been achieved but it is also an opportunity to provide perspective and ask questions where Cambodia has been and is heading in the coming decade.

If we look to the past we see a country with a rich and extreme history. The Angkor Wat complex is testament to a great nation that is one of the oldest countries in Asia. From the first to the fifteenth century a developed society existed which maintained peace and order, was technologically innovative and provided a cultural heritage which is still active today. In examining the past it is evident that Cambodia exerted a strong influence on the political and cultural development to its three neighbouring countries during this period.

However, a period from mid and late twentieth century has not been so kind. Here history paints a harsher portrait, a nation plagued by regional domination and an arena for war and conflict.

This is Cambodia’s history but if we look to the last fifteen years we can see a country that is healing socially, politically and economically. Since 1991 and the Paris Peace Agreement there has been fifteen years of peace, fifteen years of democracy and fifteen years of development. This journey hasn’t been taken alone, it is a product of good cooperation between political parties and the international community especially the UN, who has coordinated the development assistance. In terms of modern democracy, Cambodia’s is still
young compared to the western world. However, it should be noted that currently Cambodia is the only country in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region which is adopting the multi party liberal democracy. The UN and UNESCO are very proud to have contributed to this process. Nevertheless Cambodia still face many challenges poverty, population, health, education, HIV and AIDS. Cambodia’s future is still uncertain and paths need to be forged so that Cambodia continues to develop and overcome her obstacles. In this paper, I attempt to provide three strategic perspectives and raise some questions for different issues under each perspective. The three perspectives are:


b. Environmental Perspectives, encompassing Natural Resources, Climate Changes, Rural Development, Sustainable Urbanization, and Disaster Prevention and mitigation.

c. Economic Perspective, covering such themes as Poverty Reduction, Changes of lifestyles, Globalization and Corporate accountability.

Before I move one, I would like to raise some questions below for our reflection.

- How can Cambodia maintain peace with sustainable development?
- Will and how poverty be reduced by half by 2015 and eliminated by 2030?
- Will there be education for all by 2015?
- Can Cambodia serve as a role model for sustained development, where the present generation can meet their needs without depriving the future generations?
• Will fish still be plentiful in the Mekong River and Tonle Sap?
• Can the Kingdom maintain a good balance between economic development and nature conservation and cultural diversity?

The concept of sustainable development gained worldwide support with the publication of Our Common Future by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The Commission defined sustainable development in the publication as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” This definition considers that while development may be essential to satisfy human needs and improve quality of life, it should occur in such a way that the capacity of the natural environment to meet present and future needs is not compromised”.

(Let me speak specifically on Socio-Cultural Perspectives)

**A. Socio-Cultural Perspectives:**

Education as the foundation of sustainable development was reaffirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD). The centrality of education to the creation of a sustainable future is evident throughout the Plan of Implementation and of the Political Declaration. The Plan of Implementation recognizes education as critical for sustainable development in its own right, but also sees education as a key agent for change and a tool for addressing such questions as gender equality, rural development, health care, HIV/AIDS and consumption patterns.

The Plan also calls for synergy among global initiatives in education, specifically mentioning the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All (EFA), in which literacy, gender
issues, and quality education play central roles and are essential for sustainable development and the MDGs on universal primary education. Finally, the Plan recommends that the UN General Assembly consider adopting a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development starting in 2005.

UNESCO’s contribution to the World Summit built on its mandate in the fields of education, science, culture and communication, and its overarching commitment to sustainable development. UNESCO organized and participated in a large number of parallel and side events and prepared documents and position papers on a number of UNESCO’s action areas including:

- Educating for sustainability;
- Promoting and applying science for sustainable development;
- Supporting principles and political and ethical norms to guide sustainable scientific and technological development;
- Ensuring sustainable development through cultural diversity; and
- Contributing to sustainable development through the media and information and communication technologies (ICT).

**A New Vision of Education**

Education for sustainable development is a “dynamic concept that encompasses a new vision of education that seeks to empower people of all ages to assume responsibility for creating and enjoying a sustainable future.” The overall aim of ESD is to empower citizens to act for positive environmental and social change, implying a participatory and action-oriented approach.
ESD integrates concepts and analytical tools from a variety of disciplines to help people better understand the world in which they live. Pursuing sustainable development through education requires educators and learners to reflect critically on their own communities; identify non-viable elements in their lives; and explore tensions among conflicting values and goals. ESD brings a new motivation to learning as pupils become empowered to develop and evaluate alternative visions of a sustainable future and to work to collectively fulfill these visions.

For Cambodia, the ESD contents are integrated in secondary curriculum. But the net enrolment ratio at this level in 2005 is only 31% of the children aged 12-14. This ratio is lowest in ASEAN countries. Cambodia will not meet the MDGs and Education for All goals if more resources and efforts are not devoted to the expansion of lower secondary education and skill training to meet the labour market demand.

In term of culture, the Angkor World Heritage and other ancient temples represent the most valuable asset for Cambodia, both in terms of artistic and economic values. The diversity of people and wild life throughout the country is also attracting visitors. The tourist arrival is rising around 25% per year, which is the highest growth in the Region, even though the volume is small. In the next 15 years, the number of tourists may be equal or higher than Cambodia’s total population. Singapore is the only ASEAN country which has received tourists at the size larger than its population. Cambodia will face a similar challenge if peace is well maintained and hospitality improved. In fact, the small population Siem Reap town, has already experienced this situation. The ethnic minorities in the Northeast, comprising of 300,000 population, may be forced to receive more guests than they can absorb. Cambodia is extremely rich in ancient heritage both in forms of tangible and intangible. They are however fragile and face
destruction and even extinction if not properly protected. The work of protection documentation, preservation and restoration need be carried out by all Cambodians including local and International communities under the leadership of the RGC. This needs to be done urgently.

B. Environmental Perspectives

Biodiversity occurs at the genetic, species, ecosystem and landscape levels. Cambodia possesses the richest biodiversity in the Mekong Sub-region—millions of plant species, thousands of fresh water fish, mammals, reptiles and birds. The country is covered by 60% forest and has the largest lake in SE. Asia—for a population of only 14 million.

UNESCO is proud to have assisted the Government in declaring Tonle Sap as the Biosphere Reserve. Cambodia is also home to virgin mangrove and coral reefs that act as protection to diverse living ecosystems, shorelines from erosion, wave damage and storms, they are sources of income and food for many coastal communities, and provide biomedical resources. After five years of conservation of the Tonle Sap, a recent assessment by the Ministry & Environment found that the number of wild birds in Tonle Sap has significantly increased, while the size of fishery has declined. Cambodia has to reduce the catch of natural fish and expand aquaculture rapidly if we want the rich natural fish species to sustain.

UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention seeks to protect outstanding areas of natural heritage, including areas of special importance for their biodiversity, which are ‘flagships’ of best-protected area practice. UNESCO’s Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme, through its World Network of Biosphere Reserves, seeks ways to integrate conservation
through innovative institutional mechanisms and partnerships amongst all stakeholders.

Water is a driving force for sustainable development, vital to all living organisms and ecosystems, and essential to human health, food production, and social and economic development. Yet pollution, population growth, over consumption, climate change, and poor water management are decreasing both the quantity and quality of available water.

It is ironic Cambodia is so rich with fresh water but population suffer from access to safe drinking water.

Without safe water and sanitation, people cannot lead healthy, productive lives. More than half of rural Cambodian people (58%) lack access to safe drinking water and only 16% of rural population have access to sanitation. This has life-threatening consequences--more than seven million people in Cambodia lack access to safe drinking water and sanitation.

Since Cambodia is rich with plant biodiversity, the Government should prioritize biotechnology as a key strategy for development and stop logging concession. Biotechnology will enable Cambodia to produce plant-based medicine, energy, food and other organic products for the world market on a sustainable basis.

At the same time, biodiversity can also generate income from eco-tourism. For example, Malaysia has attracted 9 million tourists per year to her forests, wildlife, mountains, beaches and seas, generating US$ 9 billion per year.

**C. Economic Perspective**

Poverty is persistent and widespread--one third of people are living on less than one dollar a day in Cambodia. The proportion of people living below the food poverty line (not the overall poverty line) fell from 20% in 1993/94 to 14.2% in 2004. This rate can be reduced more quickly than this if land distribution and small scale irrigation are adopted for the
landless and small farmers, together with a provision for institutional credits and skill training.

**Conclusion**

If Good Governance is adopted as indicated in the Rectangular Strategy and NSDP, peace and democracy sustained, most or all citizens have access to secondary and higher education, Cambodia is poised to enjoy the economic take off and social advancement before the end of the first quarter of the 21st Century. Newly Developed countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and South Korea, all have shown that a poor country can eliminate poverty and join the club of developed countries within a period of 25-30 years. If rich cultural heritage, natural resources and well educated human resources are utilized properly and on sustainable basis, in an environment of culture of peace, good governance and democracy,. Cambodia can promise a bright future for her new generations.

*Thank you.*
Paper

By His Excellency Dr. ROS CHANTRABOT
Vice President of Royal Academy of Cambodia
INTRODUCTION

Le 17 avril 1975, les Khmers Rouges entrèrent dans un Phnom Penh enthousiasmé qui les accueillait en libérateurs. Le quotidien français Le Monde ne manquait pas de saluer l’événement et de faire l’éloge de cette libération du Cambodge.

Quelques heures plus tard, c’était le département. Et puis la suite c’est le génocide à l’encontre de son propre peuple que tout le monde n’arrive pas encore à comprendre les raisons d’être de cette barbarie de cette fin du 20e siècle.

Peu de personnes avaient pu échapper de cet enfer des Khmers Rouges. Des rares personnes, qui arrivèrent à prendre la fuite et parvinrent à se réfugier en Thaïlande, rapportaient des nouvelles très alarmantes sur les exécutions sommaires et systématiques de la population cambodgienne. Toute la presse internationale en parlait ; mais la communauté internationale faisait semblance de l’ignorer.

L’intervention vietnamienne

Les troupes vietnamiennes ne rencontraient pas de très sérieuses difficultés dans leur progression. En moins de trois semaines, ils occupaient presque l’ensemble du pays ; excepté les régions montagneuses des Cardamones et Dângrêk qui devenaient plus tard les zones des mouvements de la résistance anti-vietnamienne.

La population cambodgienne, par cette occasion, s’est vue libérer de ses geôliers les Khmers Rouges de Pol Pot. Elle avait pu quitter l’enfer pour revivre enfin une vie normale et décente. Pour elle c’est une *libération, une deuxième vie.*

Sous l’égide du *Ronakser Samaki Sangkrous Chéath Kampuchéa (Front d’Union nationale pour le Salut du Kampuchéa ou FUNSK)*, qui devint peu à près la *République Populaire du Kampuchea,* elle s’organisait pour faire face aux troupes Khmers Rouges de Pol Pot. Tout est à recréer, avec les moyens de bord et à partir de rien, pour refaire vivre le Cambodge.

**Le Vietnam condamné**

Mais pour la communauté internationale qui n’avait pas réagi au génocide des Khmers Rouges, c’était une occupation et une colonisation pure et simple du Cambodge par

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1 Il fut créé le 2 décembre 1978 dont les principales personnalités sont Pèn Sovan, Chan Sy, Chéa Soth, Héng Samrin, Chéa Sim, Bou Thâng, Hun Sèn. Son Comité central était composé de Héng Samrin (président), Chéa Sim (vice-président), Ros Samay (secrétaire général), et de 10 membres dont Mat Ly, Bun My, Mme Méan Sam An, Méas Samnang, Neou Samom, Long Chhim, Hèm Samin, Mme Chey Kanha, Chan Vèn et Prach Sun. En fin de 1979, son effectif s’est vu renforcer de 21 nouveaux venus: vénérable Koeut Vay, Chèm Sguon, You Por, Chéa Thang, Hor Nam Hong, Héng Téav, Khieu Kanharith, Kong Sam Ol, Mme Minh Kossany, Nuth Than, Nhek Huon, Peo You Léng, Pen Sân, Mme Plék Phirun, Phith Phano, Mme Sisowath Sorith Vong Monivong, Soeuy Thorméa Kèsân, vénérable Tep Vong, Thao Nging, Vandy Kaonn et Nuon Sareth.
les troupes vietnamiennes qu’elle condamnait de toutes ses forces.

Le 13 janvier 1979, les pays d’ASEAN avaient présenté à l’ONU une résolution demandant le retrait des troupes étrangères du Cambodge, et la non-reconnaissance du nouveau gouvernement mis en place par le Vietnam. La République Populaire de Chine, qui est aussi un pays communiste et un allié très important du Vietnam dans la lutte de libération contre les États-Unis d’Amérique, ne manquait pas de donner une leçon aux Vietnamiens en lançant des attaques et offensives sur les régions frontalières entre les deux pays, terre² et mer, au Laos et sur le plan diplomatique³.


Depuis, malgré sa réunification en 1975, il se trouvait de plus en plus isolé, sans compter l’embargo économique que lui avaient décrété les États Unis d’Amérique. Quant aux autres pays occidentaux, le Japon et la Chine, ils suivaient l’exemple

² Cette leçon était simplement limitée à occuper symboliquement la ville de Lang Son, le 3 mars 1979. Quelques jours après, le 16 mars 1979, les forces armées chinoises se retireraient complètement du Vietnam, tout en pratiquant la politique de terre brûlée, détruisant toute l’infrastructure économique du pays.

³ A titre d’indication, le 14 octobre 1986, seulement en une journée, la Chine avait tiré 34 000 obus sur le territoire vietnamien.
de ce dernier, interdisant toutes relations commerciales ou, tout au moins, tout crédit financier. A partir de 1980, arriva le tour de la Thaïlande, qui ferma sa frontière avec le Laos et interdit toutes relations commerciales avec les trois pays de l’ancienne Indochine, le Vietnam, le Cambodge et le Laos.


Entre temps, le Vietnam perdait les aides qu’il avait pu bénéficier auparavant de certains pays : 900 millions de dollars d’aide économique de la Chine6 ; 80 millions d’aides bilatérales, et 100 millions d’aides multilatérales. En contrepartie, l’assistance soviétique augmentait d’une façon très spectaculaire, pour compenser cette perte.


**ENVIRONNEMENT INTERNATIONAL**

Cependant, en Europe de l’Est, le monde communiste était en train de changer. L’Union Soviétique de Mikhail

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4 Nicolas REGAUD, op. cit., p.191.
5 Fonds monétaire international.
Gorbachev n’avait plus les moyens de maintenir son train de vie habituelle, comme les courses aux armements, les corps expéditionnaires en dehors du territoire national, des aides sous toutes ses formes aux pays satellites et du tiers-monde, etc. Plus grave encore, son économie était moribonde.

Pour la colmater, elle essayait de soulager le budget de la défense. Elle adoptait alors une politique qui tente de normaliser ses relations avec la Chine Populaire, sa voisine et son rival, dans l’esprit de réduire son effectif sur leur frontière commune. D’un autre côté, dans ce même esprit, elle accepta, le 14 avril 1988, de retirer ses troupes d’Afghanistan.

L’émanicipation des pays de l’Est

Dès l’instant, certains pays d’Europe de l’Est, sentant venir les grands chamboulements, commencèrent à s’émaniciper de sa tutelle.


Le printemps de Tien An Men


Vietnam : Changement d’attitude


\(^7\) Missing in Action - Prisonners of War (Disparus au combat - prisonniers de guerre).
sur le plan des aides humanitaires, économiques et diplomatiques.

L’écroulement du monde communiste en Europe de l’Est lui avait donné de quoi réfléchir. Alors, il fallait faire passer des messages à l’adresse de la communauté internationale, en faisant des déclarations d’intention de retirer ses troupes du Cambodge, avant fin 1990, tout en réservant la possibilité de revenir fouler le sol khmer, pour accomplir son devoir internationaliste, dans le cas où la RPK n’aurait pas la capacité de se défendre.

En effet, il existait depuis le 18 février 1979, un traité de paix, d’amitié et de coopération entre le Vietnam et la RPK. Son attitude devint plus souple qu’avant.

**LE CHEMIN DE LA NEGOCIATION**

En remontant dans le temps, nous apercevons que l’idée d’une solution politique au Cambodge était déjà préconisée dès les premières années des conflits. Sans pour autant trouver le chemin du succès.

**Les premières propositions**


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8 L’article 2 du traité stipule que les deux parties s’engagent « à se prêter mutuellement de tout cœur soutien et aide dans tous les domaines et sous toutes les formes nécessaires en vue de renforcer les capacités de chaque peuple à défendre l’indépendance, la souveraineté l’unité et l’intégrité de son territoire (...) à lutter contre toutes les visées et actions de sape des forces impérialistes et réactionnaires internationales ». 
Cependant, les pays d’ASEAN étaient très actifs, dans la recherche des solutions, tout en faisant des propositions à la partie adverse, qui les refusait sous prétexte qu’elle ne voulait pas de Khmers Rouges.

L’URSS soutenait aussi cette thèse. C’était l’impasse politique - due à la ferme volonté des Vietnamiens de ne pas lâcher le Cambodge - qui se traînait encore pendant plusieurs années.

**Rapprochement des pays communistes**

Il faudrait donc attendre l’agonie du communisme en Europe de l’Est, et la normalisation des relations entre l’URSS et la Chine\(^9\), pour que la situation se décante.

D’autres s’en suivaient entre la Chine et le Laos, le 20 décembre 1986. Plus tard, les rencontres entre les hauts dirigeants chinois et vietnamiens en 1989\(^10\) et 1990\(^11\). Ayant connu un grand échec social et politique, le Vietnam ne pourrait plus se permettre de s’offrir le luxe d’avoir tout seul, la guerre et l’occupation du Cambodge. La normalisation avec


\(^11\) Les 3-7 septembre 1990, une délégation vietnamienne - composée de Nguyen Van Linh (secrétaire général du PCVN), Do Muoi (premier ministre), et Pham Van Dong (ancien Premier ministre) - rencontrait secrètement Jiang Zemin (Secrétaire général du parti communiste chinois-PCC) et Li Péng (premier ministre chinois), à Chengdu en Chine. On remarquait l’absence de Nguyen Co Tach, ministre des affaires étrangères, qui fut écarté plus tard, pendant le VIe congrès du PCVN. En automne de la même année, le général Vo Nguyen Giap se rendait aussi en chine, à l’occasion des jeux asiatiques.
son grand voisin communiste, la Chine, ne fut définitive qu’en novembre 1991\(^\text{12}\). A chaque rencontre, la question du Cambodge revient toujours à l’ordre du jour.

Cette diplomatie régionale des pays du bloc communiste, avec des effets spectaculaires, était très active. Ce qui faisait penser à de nombreux observateurs occidentaux, l’ébauche d’une *solution rouge* du Cambodge, c’est-à-dire à une négociation et à un accord entre les trois pays communistes : la Chine, l’URSS et le Vietnam.


**Mutation de la République Populaire du Kampuchea**

Entre temps, la République Populaire du Kampuchea adoptait de nouvelles politiques et directives de réformes pour répondre efficacement aux nouvelles donnes.


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\(^\text{12}\) Les 5-7 novembre 1991, une délégation vietnamienne dirigée par le Secrétaire général du PCVN Do Muoi, accompagnée du Premier ministre Vo Van Kiet, se rendait à Pékin pour normaliser les relations entre les deux pays.
démontrer l’indépendance du régime, et à concurrencer la résistance.

Un nouveau drapeau et un nouvel hymne national faisaient leur apparition ; de même le Bouddhisme devint la religion d’état. La peine de mort fut abolie. Quant à l’économie nationale, elle se transformait aussi en une économie de marché, renonçant à toute référence au socialisme, et au marxisme-léninisme. La propriété privée fut reconnue comme par enchantement. L’EdC se proposait aussi d’adopter une politique de neutralité et de non-alignement. C’était son premier stade de mutation.

Son premier geste consistait d’abord à établir les codes d’investissements, et d’attirer des hommes d’affaires. De nombreux projets furent acceptés dès les premières instances.

Début d’une solution politique

Alors, le problème de règlement politique du Cambodge revenait à l’ordre du jour. Il semble qu’il y a urgence et que tout le monde voudrait en finir au plus vite de ce conflit si encombrant.

Tous ces changements dans le paysage diplomatique régional avaient permis aux factions cambodgiennes de s’approcher et d’amorcer des rencontres. Le scénario fut ainsi inauguré par les rencontres entre Cambodgiens, pour être suivi et approuvé plus tard par la communauté internationale.

12 février 1990, à Bangkok en Thaïlande, dans la résidence même du Premier ministre Chatichai Choonhavan\textsuperscript{13}.

Parallèlement à toutes ces rencontres inter khmères, une sorte de cocktail party, dénommée Jakarta Informal Meeting ou JIM I, fut organisée du 25 au 27 juillet 1988, réunissant dans un premier temps les quatre factions cambodgiennes, pour s’élargir ensuite dans un deuxième temps aux autres délégations du Vietnam, du Laos et des pays d’ASEAN. Ces JIM furent organisés quatre fois\textsuperscript{14}. Bien qu’au début, ils ne rapportent pas de résultats spectaculaires, ils permettaient quand même une prise de contact direct entre les frères ennemis. Ils pourraient ainsi se familiariser, se connaître, se parler, échanger des points de vue et discuter sur l’avenir du pays. C’est plutôt une mise en condition pour faciliter les pourparlers entre toutes les parties. Ils témoignaient aussi du parrainage des pays d’ASEAN. Plus tard, on s’apercevait qu’ils avaient beaucoup contribué à sortir les négociations de l’impasse.

On pourrait dire que c’est un grand pas en avant, dans la recherche de la paix au Cambodge.

La route pour la paix était très longue, trop longue même pour les souffrances de la population khmère. Il fallait l’essoufflement de l’URSS et la décadence du communisme pour ramener le Vietnam à se plier aux idées d’un règlement pacifique du Cambodge. Sans pour autant céder aux propositions de la communauté internationale. Dans un premier temps, il semble qu’il voudrait se cadrer seulement dans l’environnement des pays communistes.

Pour l’instant, rien ne pourrait affirmer que le Vietnam est au bout de son souffle et de ses idées. Ce n’est, peut-être, qu’une amorce de sa politique, en attendant un jour meilleur.

\textsuperscript{13} Il fut renversé par un coup d’État militaire, le 23 février 1991.

Mais, pour les observateurs politiques, ces changements d’attitude de la part du Vietnam, constituent déjà une porte entrouverte, permettant une éventuelle négociation sur le sort du Cambodge. L’espoir d’une paix prochaine faisait son apparition dans l’esprit de certaines personnes.

C’est dans ce contexte très propice à la paix qu’intervenait de nouveau la communauté internationale pour donner une ampleur plus solennelle. Des contacts et approches s’organisèrent pour monter des rencontres internationales, qui deviendraient plus symboliques, plus sérieuses et encourageantes.

La conférence internationale de Paris sur le Cambodge

Alors, sous l’impulsion de la France et l’Indonésie, la Conférence internationale sur le Cambodge - qu’on surnommera plus tard Conférence internationale de Paris sur le Cambodge ou CIPC - se réunissait à Paris.

Elle débuta par la réunion des quatre factions cambodgiennes, le 25 juillet 1989. De cette rencontre préalable, on ne connaît pas grand-chose, à part la mise en place de leur présentation en une seule délégation à l’occasion de la CIPC. Quant à la conférence proprement dite, elle devrait se tenir du 30 juillet au 30 août 1989, avec la participation de dix-neuf pays.

15 Les participants : les six pays de l’ASEAN, les cinq membres permanents du Conseil de Sécurité de l’ONU, l’Australie, le Cambodge (les quatre factions), le Canada, l’Inde, le Japon, le Laos, le Vietnam, le Zimbabwe (en qualité de président en exercice du Mouvement des pays non-alignés), et le Secrétaire général de l’ONU.

Elle s’organisait timidement, sans avoir beaucoup de succès, mais permettait quand même, une meilleure approche cohérente, équilibrée et coordonnée de l’ensemble du problème cambodgien ; surtout la création de cinq commissions de travail chargées respectivement : du mécanisme international de contrôle et du cessez-le-feu (MIC)\(^{17}\), des garanties internationales pour préserver la neutralité et la paix au Cambodge\(^{18}\), des réfugiés et de la reconstruction\(^{19}\) ; de la réconciliation nationale ; plus la création d’un comité provisoire ou Ad hoc\(^{20}\).

Toutefois, la CIPC n’apportait pas de solution concrète. Elle tournait plutôt vers une réunion de travail.

**L’impasse**

Maintenant, on note que les approches politiques sur la solution au Cambodge s’organisaient sur trois niveaux, dans trois directions différentes - local, régional et international - qui se rivalisaient parfois même.

Dans toutes ces démarches, de nombreuses embûches se dressaient, et des sentiments de désespoir et de déception ne manquaient pas de planer sur l’avenir incertain du pays. De nouveau, c’est l’impasse qu’on considère plutôt comme une surenchère ou le « sprint » avant l’arrivée ou, le dernier acte avant le dénouement final.

Sur le terrain, des combats étaient très violents, malgré les récents contacts et rencontres entre toutes les parties à tous les niveaux. Profitant du retrait des troupes vietnamiennes du territoire cambodgien, vers la fin de septembre 1989, qu’annonçait officiellement le Vietnam, la résistance lançait

\(^{17}\) Placée sous la présidence du Canada et de l’Inde.
\(^{18}\) Placée sous la présidence du Laos et de la Malaisie.
\(^{19}\) Placée sous la présidence de l’Australie et du Japon.
\(^{20}\) Placée sous la direction du prince Sihanouk.
des opérations d’envergure, et frappait partout au Cambodge où elle le pouvait.

Elle réussissait à lancer des offensives spectaculaires, et porter ses attaques jusqu’à Banteay Mean Chey, Banteay Chhmar, Sisophon, Battambang, Siemreap, Kampong Thom, Pursat, Kampong Chhnang, Kampong Speu et Kampot. Les forces Khmers Rouges arrivèrent à reprendre le contrôle de la région minière de Païlin, le 24 octobre 1989, qui devint leur trésor de guerre inépuisable.

**Première ébauche d’un accord**


Le trouvant adapté à la situation, et pouvant servir comme base de discussions ultérieures, les cinq membres permanents du Conseil de Sécurité acceptèrent que l’ONU prît en charge la question cambodgienne. C’était à Paris, les 15 et 16 janvier 1990. Un plan de 16 points fut publié à l’issue de cette réunion. Ce plan de paix de l’ONU, qui est le document cadre sur le règlement politique au Cambodge se base sur cinq points essentiels, notamment :

1- vérification du retrait de toutes les forces étrangères ;
2- présence efficace de l’ONU durant la période de transition en vue d’assurer la sécurité intérieure ;
3- organisations d’élections libres et équitables sous l’administration directe des Nations Unies ;

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21 Ce sont les Etats Unis d’Amérique, la France, le Royaume Uni, la Chine et l’URSS.
4- l’ensemble des processus doit être placé sous la supervision d’un représentant spécial du Secrétaire général de l’Organisation des Nations Unies ;

5- création d’un Conseil national suprême (CNS) pouvant être le dépositaire de la souveraineté du Cambodge pendant la période de transition.

C’est au terme de leur sixième réunion à New York, les 27 et 28 août 1990, qu’il parvinrent définitivement à établir le plan cadre d’accord politique global du conflit cambodgien, comportant plus de 36 articles répartis dans cinq chapitres.


Le second chapitre est consacré aux arrangements militaires. L’APRONUC se voit charger de plusieurs missions :

Pendant le JIM IV à Djakarta, du 9 au 10 septembre 1990, dans le cadre de la CIPC, les quatre factions cambodgiennes avaient accepté le plan des cinq grands. Pour la composition du CNS, le partage fut égalitaire entre la RPK et le GCKD de la résistance anti-vietnamienne (6+6). Le prince Sihanouk ne fut nommé son président que lors de sa réunion à Pékin, les 16-17 juillet 1991. Sa composition initiale fut : 1-Hun Sèn (RPK), 2-Kong Sam Ol (RPK), 3-Hor Nam Hong (RPK), 4-Téa Banh (RPK), 5-Sin Song (RPK), 6-Chèm Sgnuon (RPK), 7-Norodom Ranaridh (Funcinpec), 8-Chau Sèn Cocsal (Funcinpec), 9-Son Sann (Fnlpk), 10-Ieng Mouly (Fnlpk), 11- Khieu Samphân (Khmer Rouge) et 12-Son Sén (Khmer Rouge). Mais en février 1991, la RPK faisait remplacer Sin Song, Kong Sam Ol et Chèm Sgnuon par Dith Munty, Sin Sén et Im Chhun Lim.


contrôle du cessez-le-feu, vérification des retraits des troupes vietnamiennes et la cessation des assistances militaires extérieures, du déminage, du désarmement des différentes factions cambodgiennes.

Le troisième chapitre détermine les modalités générales afin d’organiser un scrutin démocratique sous les auspices des Nations Unies. De ce suffrage universel devait naître « une Assemblée constitutive qui élaborerait et approuverait une constitution et se transformerait en une Assemblée législative chargée de mettre en place le nouveau gouvernement ».

Quant au chapitre 4, il est consacré aux droits de l’homme, pour que « des mesures nécessaires doivent être prises pour assurer le respect des droits de l’homme et le non-retour aux politiques et pratiques du passé ». L’absence de la mention « génocide » est très flagrante, comme si l’on voulait gommer le passé sanglant et très douloureux sous le régime des Khmers Rouges.

Et le chapitre 5 de recommander au futur Cambodge de « préserver et défendre son indépendance, sa souveraineté, son intégrité et son inviolabilité territoriales, son unité nationale, ainsi que sa neutralité perpétuelle ».

De fait, par ce plan, les Khmers Rouges furent acceptés comme partenaires à part entière dans la négociation, sans tenir compte de leur crime immonde ; d’où implicitement, une reconnaissance officielle de la part de la communauté internationale. Ce qui ne satisfaisait entièrement pas l’opinion publique.

Une solution rouge ?

Durant cette dernière étape qu’on croyait s’achevaître directement vers la conclusion d’un accord de paix pour le Cambodge, on apercevait que, par des démarches différentes,
chaque partie essayait de tirer le maximum d’avantages, laissant entrevoir d’autres solutions indésirables.

Placée devant les tergiversations et les maintes manœuvres répétées de dernière heure de Sihanouk, et les rapprochements très spectaculaires des trois grands pays communistes, formant ainsi le triangle URSS-Chine-Vietnam, la communauté internationale avait de quoi s’interroger et redouter « une solution rouge », qui faisait se faire sur leur dos, à leur insu.

Ce qui poussait les États-Unis à réagir promptement, l’obligeant à mener une autre politique indépendante de la Chine, et à adopter une nouvelle attitude, face à ce changement dangereux de situation. Aussitôt, il faisait un pas en direction du Vietnam, l’invitant à des discussions bilatérales.


Ce changement dans le comportement des États Unis vise à soustraire le Vietnam du cercle communiste. Ce dernier, qui ne pourrait rien attendre de l’URSS, et qui se méfie toujours de la Chine, y voit une occasion favorable de renouer ses relations avec son ancien ennemi, et d’en profiter pour faire un partenaire.

Une nouvelle ébauche fut donc mise en place pour prévenir tout dérapage, qui risquerait de replonger le Cambodge dans ses anciennes ornières et de le pousser dans les bras du communisme. Il s’agissait de trouver une solution souhaitable et acceptable.
A présent, il semble que les accords de paix sont susceptibles d’être signés à n’importe quelle heure. Les événements s’accéléraient assez rapidement. Les négociateurs s’empressaient et se bousculaient de toute part, comme si l’on avait peur de rater quelque chose avant l’arrivée.

L’approbation de l’ONU

Enfin, le 15 octobre 1990, l’Assemblée générale des Nations Unies avait approuvé le plan de paix au Cambodge des cinq grandes puissances, par acclamation. Les quatre factions cambodgiennes devaient ensuite se réunir à Paris du 21 au 23 décembre de la même année, sous la co-présidence de la France et de l’Indonésie, pour mettre la dernière touche aux accords. A l’époque, on retient encore les propos de M. Roland Dumas ministre français des Affaires étrangères qui, en tant que grande puissance mondiale, les sermonnait et avertissait en ces termes : « Le monde a changé. D’autres priorités requièrent et requièreront notre attention. La communauté internationale ne peut se pencher indéfiniment sur le sort du Cambodge, si les Cambodgiens n’ont pas la volonté politique d’aboutir ». La plupart des points fondamentaux de l’accord furent ainsi acceptées. La RPK émettait certaines réserves, refusant le désarmement de ses forces avant les élections, tout en exigeant le maintien de tous les ministères.

Sa mise au point final fut terminée, durant la réunion des membres du Conseil de Sécurité à Paris du 25 au 27 novembre 1990.

Les dernières touches
Or, la réalité en dehors de la conférence en était autrement. La situation diplomatique semble buter sur des positions intransigeantes de part et d’autre.


La RPK lancèrent des opérations militaires de grandes envergures, soutenues par de nombreux escadrons de chars T-54, et une artillerie lourde très impressionnante. L’aviation intervenait régulièrement pour appuyer les troupes au sol. Mais les Forces armées de la RPK (FARPK) ne réussissaient pas à s’imposer par la force. Les pertes en hommes et matériels étaient impressionnantes dans les deux camps.


**Transformation de la RPK**


Il se proclamait s’adhérer à la démocratie pluralisme, à l’économie du marché et aux droits de l’homme.

**L’accord final**
Entre temps, bien qu’elle fût bloquée, la diplomatie de
tous les camps ne restait pas inactive. Les questions en
suspense furent négociées point par point, à Djakarta en
Indonésie, Pattaya en Thaïlande, Pékin en Chine, et à New
York, jusqu’au mois de septembre 1991, pour aboutir enfin à la
convocation d’une nouvelle conférence sur le Cambodge qui
approuva, entérina et officialisa la série d’accords entre toutes
les parties protagonistes.

Le 23 octobre 1991, la conférence internationale de
Paris sur le Cambodge fut rouverte sous la coprésidence de la
France et de l’Indonésie, représentée respectivement par leur
ministre des Affaires étrangères, Roland Dumas et Ali Alatas.
Les quatre factions cambodgiennes et 18 pays ²⁵ y participaient.
L’« accord pour un règlement politique global du conflit
cambodgien » fut ratifié solennellement par toutes les parties
présentes, pour le bonheur et l’espoir de tout le monde.

Après 21 ans de guerre - depuis 1970 - le Cambodge
espérait enfin pouvoir refaire sa vie, se construire, se
développer, se progresser et connaître la prospérité dans le
respect des droits de l’homme, la liberté, la démocratie et la
souveraineté nationale.

A propos de ce traité de paix, on pourrait remarquer que
le texte initial mis au point par les cinq grands - le plan de paix
de l’ONU - fut modifié sur de nombreux points. Par ce traité, le
Cambodge devait être placé sous la tutelle des Nations Unies

Il comporte neuf parties de 32 articles plus 5 annexes.
L’annexe 1 parle du projet de mandat de l’Autorité provisoire
des Nations Unies au Cambodge (APRONUC) divisé en quatre
sections ; annexe 2 : retrait, cessez-le-feu et mesures connexes
avec 12 articles ; annexe 3 : élections ; annexe 4: rapatriement

²⁵ Australie, Brunei, Cambodge (le CNS), Canada, République Populaire
de Chine, Etats-Unis d’Amérique, France, Inde, Indonésie, Japon, Laos,
Malaisie, Philip- pines, Royaume Uni, Singapour, Thaïlande, URSS,
République Socialiste du Vietnam et la Yougoslavie.
des réfugiés et des personnes déplacées, en trois parties ; annexe 5 : principe d’une nouvelle constitution.

**L’APRONUC**

Selon l’article 6, le CNS, « *l’organe légitime unique et source de l’autorité au Cambodge* », devait « *déléguer par le présent Accord aux Nations Unies tous les pouvoirs nécessaires pour assurer l’application de cet accord, dans les conditions prévues à l’annexe 1* ». Le même jour, une fois l’accord signé, tous les pouvoirs furent transmis à l’ONU.

S’ouvrit alors la période de transition qui devait prendre fin « *lorsque l’Assemblée constituante élue par la voie d’élections libres et équitables, organisées et certifiées par les Nations Unies, aura approuvée la constitution, se sera transformé en Assemblée législative, et qu’un nouveau gouvernement aura ensuite été formé* » (article 1).


\(^{26}\) Sa branche civile fut confiée à un diplomate du Bangladesh, Ataul Karim, et la branche militaire au général français Loridon.

\(^{27}\) En anglais, United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

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Le 19 février 1992, le Secrétaire général de l’ONU avait soumis un rapport au Conseil de Sécurité, proposant le plan de mise en œuvre du mandat envisagé par l’accord de Paris. D’où sa résolution n°745, du 28 février 1992, de créer l’APRONUC pour une période n’excédant pas 18 mois, et de fixer le calendrier militaire, politique et humanitaire de l’accord. Son budget est de 2,6 milliards de dollars. Elle était placée sous la direction du représentant spécial du Secrétaire général de l’ONU. Comme nous l’avons dit plus haut, conformément à l’article 6, il « exercera tous les pouvoirs pour assurer la mise en œuvre du présent Accord, y compris ceux relatifs à l’organisation et à la conduite d’élections libres et équitables et aux aspects de l’administration du Cambodge qui y sont liés »

Elle est composée de deux branches - civile et militaire - totalisant 5000 civils et 16 000 militaires ou casques bleus provenant de plu- sieurs pays. Les premiers d’entre eux arrivèrent au Cambodge, le 12 mars 1992, mettant fin à la mission de la MIPRENUC.

Sa branche civile, avec ses nombreuses composantes et ses fonctionnaires internationaux originaires d’une centaine de pays, s’y attachait aussitôt aux tâches qui lui incombent :

- les opérations de rapatriement des 360 000 réfugiés cambodgiens installés en Thaïlande devaient commencer officiellement le 30 mars 1992 ;
- le déminage de certaines régions frontalières ou autres, en pré- vision de l’arrivée de ces réfugiés ;
- promulgation de la loi électorale, le 5 août 1992 ;
- l’inscription des électeurs qui devait débuter le 5 octobre 1992, durant trois mois à travers tout le pays, par des

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28 Paragraphe 1 de la section A, de l’annexe 1 de l’Accord de Paris sur le Cambodge.
29 France, Pays-Bas, Bulgarie, Indonésie, Malaisie, Bangladesh, Inde, Pakistan, Tunisie, Ghana, et Uruguay.
bureaux fixes, temporaires ou mobiles. 4 640 430 Cambodgiens\(^{30}\) étaient venus s’inscrire sur les listes électorales ;
- l’inscription provisoire des partis politiques\(^{31}\) et des candidats fut mise en œuvre le 17 août 1992.
- mettre en œuvre le vaste programme de formation et d’instruction civique au sein de la population,
- élaboration et diffusion tout un programme d’éducation en matière de Droits de l’Homme, en collaboration avec les groupes locaux de défense des Droits de l’Homme. La notion de Démocratie en fut ainsi semée...

Sans entrer dans les détails, l’APRONUC avait mis tous ses efforts dans la création d’un environnement politique neutre et propice à la tenue d’élections libres et équitables, qui sont la clef de voûte de l’Accord de Paris.


Toutefois, le processus de démobilisation des forces armées ne fut pas total. Elle fut fixée à 70% pour la démobilisation des effectifs armés et le cantonnement des 30% restants sous la surveillance des observateurs des Nations Unies. L’autre modification fut le mode de scrutin. C’est la proportionnelle au niveau provincial qui fut adoptée.

**Le relèvement et la reconstruction du Cambodge**

Le *relèvement* et la *reconstruction* du Cambodge furent le second volet de l’intervention onusienne.

Il représentait l’autre aspect de l’Accord de Paris, que stipule l’article 24 : « *Les signataires demandent instamment à

\(^{30}\) Chiffre arrêté au 31 janvier 1993.

\(^{31}\) Pour pouvoir s’inscrire, chaque parti politique doit avoir au minimum 5000 adhérents.
la communauté internationale d’apporter le soutien économique et financier nécessaire au relèvement et la construction du Cambodge dans les conditions prévues dans une déclaration séparée ».

Cette clause n’était pas une nouveauté, elle n’était que la reprise d’une disposition déjà prévue lors de la CIPC, du 30 juillet 30 août 1989. Le Japon et l’Australie sont les présidents de cette commission.

Son but est de restaurer un environnement économique favorable à l’essor du pays, après la tenue d’élections libres et équitables en mai 1993. Neuf domaines furent concernés par ce plan: 1- le rapatriement des réfugiés, 2- le soutien à la réinstallation, 3- l’entretien des services essentiels, 4- la santé, 5- la formation et l’éducation, 6- l’infrastructure et les services publics, 7- l’administration, 8- l’industrie, et 9- l’assistance aux organisations non gouvernementales (ONG).

Un budget de 880 millions de dollars était prévu à cette entreprise de grandes envergures.

Le 22 juin 1992, à Tokyo, sur l’initiative du Japon, se tenait une Conférence internationale sur le relèvement et la reconstruction du Cambodge à l’échelon ministériel, pour trouver du fonds à la mise en œuvre de certains programmes dans les deux ans à venir. Trente-quatre pays32 et de nombreuses agences internationales33 y participaient, sans oublier la délégation des ONG actives au Cambodge. L’APRONUC était représenté par son dirigeant, Yasushi Akashi.


33 Il s’agissait de : le PNUD, co-président de la conférence, la Banque d’Asie pour le Développement (BAD), la Banque Mondiale, la FAO, le FMI, l’ILO, l’OMS, le PAM, l’UNESCO, l’UNHCR, et l’UNICEF.
A l’issue de cette conférence, plusieurs pays et organisations avaient promis d’apporter leurs aides financières, de 880 millions de dollars. Les contributions les plus importantes provenaient surtout du Japon, de la France, des États-Unis, de l’Australie et de la Suède.

Entre temps, il fut créé un Comité international pour la Reconstruction du Cambodge (CIRC) - ou en anglais, The International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) - placé sous la présidence du Japon et de la France. Il était prévu que sa réunion se faisait alternativement entre Tokyo et Paris.

Cette décision voudrait dire que l’assistance de la communauté internationale ne s’arrête pas à la fin de la mission de l’APRONUC. Elle avait commencé pendant ses premières opérations, et devait continuer sa mission bien au-delà.

Le retour du Prince Sihanouk


Le Premier ministre Hun Sèn, en personne, était allé à Pékin pour l’accueillir. Il fut accueilli avec grande pompe qui faisait dire à certains observateurs occidentaux que la mobilisation des foules, pour l’acclamer à l’aéroport de Pochentong, le long du parcours et devant le palais royal, fut faite comme dans le temps du Sangkum Reastr Niyum.

En guise de bienvenue et encore, pour lui combler d’honneur et de bonheur, le 20 novembre de la même année, l’EdC et le Parti du Peuple cambodgien (PPC) lui offraient un grand cadeau inestimable, qui touchait profondément l’ancien monarque. Dans une déclaration officielle, d’une façon très

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34 625 millions de dollars provenaient des 34 pays, et 253 millions des diverses organisations internationales.

Durant cette période, on a pu constater qu’il existait une mésentente entre le prince et l’APRONUC, et à travers elle le Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies. Ce dernier ne cédait pas à ses tentations et se tenait absolument au texte de l’Accord de Paris que l’on ne devrait pas se permettre de les corriger, ni de l’amender au gré de son humeur et de ses intérêts.

LES ELECTIONS DE MAI 1993


A propos de ces mesures, il est à signaler que depuis la signature du 23 octobre 1991 à Paris jusqu’à l’arrivée de l’APRONUC le 15 mars 1992 à Phnom Penh, elles n’avaient pas encore réussi à imposer la paix et la démocratie, ni l’ambiance sereine que l’on attendait.

L’insécurité

35 Cette reconnaissance de Sihanouk comme Chef de l’État du Cambodge «légal et légitime» fut signée par Hun Sèn, et non pas, par Chéa Sim président de l’Assemblée nationale de l’EdC.


Cette incapacité est liée à son tour à la prudence de la communauté internationale qui ne voudrait, peut-être, pas que les affaires prenent une tournure dramatique dans le sens de l’affrontement, tant sur le plan politique que militaire.

Partout, la situation était très tendue. De graves exactions régnaient impunément durant les quelques mois qui précédaient les élections. C’est son attitude mal définie, manque de fermeté - qui n’avait pas respecté les accords de Paris à la lettre - qui encourageait cette insécurité. Certains observateurs prédisaient déjà l’échec de sa mission.

Alors les factions armées ne rataient pas l’occasion pour grignoter de nouvelles positions ou de consolider leurs acquises. Celles qui continuaient toujours à braver son autorité, furent les Khmers rouges et le PPC de l’EdC.

**Les Khmers rouges**

Les premiers à violer le cessez-le-feu furent les Khmers Rouges qui relancèrent partout des opérations militaires contre les troupes des anciens communistes de l’EdC, et celles de l’APRONUC. Leurs objectifs visaient donc à étendre son territoire, à semer la panique et surtout à torpiller le processus de la tenue des élections.

Ils commencèrent à lancer de violentes attaques à grande échelle à partir du 11 mars 1992, dans la province de Kampong Thom. Elles se poursuivaient ensuite dans la province de Préah Vihear qui tomba peu après sous leur


Cependant, après les élections de mai, le 8 août 1993, les trois composantes armées du PPC, Fnlpk et Funcinpec coordonnaient leurs actions, pour combattre les Khmers rouges et pour consolider leurs positions dans les provinces de Kampong Thom, Préah Vihear, Siemreap et Banteay Mean Chey.


Des Vietnamiens - environ 17 000 vers la mi-avril et 25 000 dès le début de mai 1993 - pour des raisons de sécurité, préféraient retourner dans leur pays d’origine.

Quant à leur attitude vis-à-vis de l’APRONUC, ils n’avaient pas cédé à ses exigences. Depuis le 13 juin 1993, ils...
refusaient la démobilisation, le désarmement et le
cantonnement des 70% de leurs troupes\textsuperscript{36}. Leurs zones de
contrôle restaient toujours fermées et interdites à toute
inspection. Ne pouvant plus exécuter les recommandations de
l’Accord de Paris, le 15 novembre 1992, le Secrétaire général
de l’ONU, dans un rapport au Conseil de Sécurité, annonça
l’arrêt de l’ensemble du processus de démilitarisation. Le 30
novembre 1992, le Conseil de Sécurité condamna l’attitude des
Khmers Rouges et décréta l’embargo des produits pétroliers à
destination de leurs zones. L’interdiction de l’exportation du
bois et des pierres précieuses, déjà décidée le 22 septembre
1992 par le CNS, fut soumise au contrôle de l’APRONUC.

Enfin, leur dernière décision de ne pas s’inscrire
comme parti politique, dans la course aux prochaines
élections\textsuperscript{37}, marqua définitivement sa rupture avec la
communauté internationale, et son isolement total.

Les Khmers Rouges ne se contentaient pas simplement
de ne pas respecter les accords, ils la défiaient encore, en
lançant des opérations militaires contre les forces et
fonctionnaires de l’APRONUC, qui furent arrêtés, kidnappés,
blessés et même tués de sang froid. Depuis le début de son
opération le 15 mars 1992 jusqu’au 15 mai 1993, l’APRONUC
déplorait 15 morts et 64 blessés.

La tension monte. Alors, les familles, épouses et
enfants, du personnel des Nations Unies recevaient l’ordre
de désarmement, le 14 mai 1993. La menace des Khmers Rouges
devenait de plus en plus très pesante, quand ils avaient
distribué des tracts, appelant à tuer les membres de la CIVPOL.

\textsuperscript{36} Au 17 août 1992, le cantonnement des troupes était ainsi présenté :
Fnlpk 5 876 hommes, Funcinpec 2 445, PPC 9 817, Khmers Rouges
(Kampuchéa Démocratie) 0 (zéro).

\textsuperscript{37} La date limite de la clôture de l’enregistrement des partis politiques est
Ceux-ci, pris de panique, avaient déserté leur poste, le 16 mai 1993.

**Le dispositif électoral**

La campagne électorale avait touché à sa fin le 18 mai 1993. Vingt partis politiques issues de diverses tendances politiques et groupes sociaux avaient fait prévaloir leur programme et idées, qui sont presque identiques les uns aux autres, quant à leur contenance.

Il comprenait :


- 1 400 agents de surveillance internationale, représentant 58 pays et 130 membres d’agences de l’ONU ;

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38 1-Parti du Peuple Cambodgien, 2-Parti Républicain de Coalition, 3-Parti Républicain de Développement Libre, 4-Parti des Khmers Neutres, 5-Rassemblement pour la Solidarité Nationale, 6-Parti du Cambodge Neutre et Démocratique, 7-Parti Démocrate, 8-Parti du Cambodge Libre, Indépendant et Démocratique, 9-Parti Libéral Démocratique Bouddhique, 10-Parti Libéral de Réconciliation, 11-Parti Cambodge Renaissance, 12-Parti d’Action pour la Démocratie et le Développement, 13-Parti Nationaliste, 14-Parti Républicain Libéral, 15-Parti Paysan Libéral Démocratique Khmer, 16-Parti Molinaka et de la Résistance khmère pour la Liberté, 17-Parti Démocrate Libéral, 19-Parti pour la République Démocratique Khmère, et 20-Parti Congrès National Khmer.
- 47 observateurs internationaux, dont 38 appartenaient au corps diplomatique en poste au Cambodge ;

- 1 700 observateurs nationaux, membres des quatre associations cambodgiennes des droits de l’homme ;

- les militaires de l’APRONUC, dont les charges étaient de surveiller et protéger les bureaux de vote, et du transport des urnes.

**Le jour « J », les 23-28 mai 1993**


Au contraire, dès le premier jour, elles se déroulaient dans une atmosphère très calme et sereine, avec une grande participation de la part de la population, sous la protection et la surveillance des militaires de l’APRONUC. Des files d’attente se formaient sagement devant chaque bureau de vote. Les personnes armées n’étaient pas autorisées à s’approcher de plus de 200 mètres du lieu de vote.

Au premier jour, on avait pu noter qu’il y avait 42% des 4 764 430 électeurs qui avaient rempli leur devoir de citoyen. Au deuxième jour, leur nombre s’éleva à 70%, pour atteindre les 89,56% au sixième jour. Alors que les menaces et les recommandations de boycottage étaient toujours présentes dans leur esprit.

Cependant, à l’approche de la date fatidique des élections, les Khmers rouges adoptèrent une attitude toute nouvelle, et plus calme. Ils n’osaient pas réagir, ni pousser plus loin leurs actions. Ce qui faisait croire qu’il y aurait certainement un arrangement de dernière minute entre toutes les parties - Chine, Thaïlande, Funcinpec et Khmers Rouges et autres - et, que les promesses étaient faites de part et d’autre.
Plus surprenant encore, des centaines de cadres khmers Rouges de Phnom Malaï étaient venus même à Poipet pour voter. Dans différentes provinces où ils étaient implantés, le Funcinpec avait fait un bon score. Ce qui n’empêche pas certains observateurs étrangers à faire le rapprochement sur l’alliance entre les deux mouvements.

Quant à l’organisation du vote, de nombreux observateurs avaient remarqué que, pour des raisons économiques, l’APRONUC n’avait imprimé qu’un bulletin de vote unique, d’une longueur de vingt-cinq centimètres, en noir et en blanc, comportant en réduction le nom et sigle des vingt partis inscrits.

Or, un tel procédé ne facilite pas la transparence. Beaucoup d’électeurs n’arrivaient pas à le lire et à distinguer les partis de leur choix. Surtout pour les personnes âgées qui n’ont pas de lunettes, et qui ne savent pas lire. Pour les femmes, qui n’avaient pas l’habitude d’aller à l’école, c’était presque une mission impossible. Ils faisaient des efforts surhumains. Mais, ils ont une détermination et une franche volonté de voir le Cambodge sortir du communisme, de la guerre, et de vouloir vivre enfin dans la paix et la prospérité. Ils tournaient, retournaient et scrutaient le bulletin dans tous les sens pour repérer leur parti préféré. D’autres qui ne savaient pas lire ni écrire, tenant parfois même le bulletin à l’envers. D’autres s’efforçaient de se référer à une autre astuce, que chaque parti leur recommandait. Elle consiste à compter la case des partis et leurs rangs respectifs pour arriver au choix voulu. Cette méthode, avec tous les risques qu’elle comporte, avait causé beaucoup de surprise, dépassant même l’entendement. En juillet 1998, cette même méthode de comptage refaisait encore surface, provoquant encore de nouvelles consternations dans les rangs des principaux partis politiques.

Devant cette ampleur de participation, tous les observateurs s’accordaient à dire que le scrutin était « libre et
équitable », même si des incidents mineurs restaient à signaler. Le 29 mai 1993, un jour après, le représentant spécial du Secrétaire général de l’ONU, Yasushi Akashi, avait fait une déclaration confirmant cette observation.

Les résultats

Le dépouillement du scrutin durait plus d’une semaine et ne prenait fin que le 10 juin 1993. Ce jour, lors d’une réunion du CNS, Akashi le représentant du Secrétaire général de l’ONU, lui avait présenté le résultat des élections, tout en affirmant qu’elles s’étaient déroulées d’une manière « libre et équitable ».

Le lendemain, le 11 juin, l’APRONUC avait publié officiellement les résultats des élections, et la liste des 120 élus de l’Assemblée constituante.

Les résultats se présentaient comme suit :

- Funcinpec : 1 824 188 voix, soit 45,47% = 58 sièges
- PPC : 1 533 471 voix, soit 38,22% = 51 sièges
- PLDB39 : 152 764 voix, soit 3,81% = 10 sièges
- Moulinaka : 55 107 voix, soit 1037% = 1 siège
- les 16 autres partis politiques totalisaient 446 101 voix, soit 11,12% du suffrage. Ils n’étaient pas en mesure d’avoir des sièges;
- 12 761 bulletins furent invalidés, et 141 800 autres rejetés après vérification.

A la lueur des résultats, il n’y avait que quatre partis politiques qui seraient représentés dans la future Assemblée constituante. Le parti royaliste devint alors le premier parti politique, possédant le plus grand nombre de sièges. Avec ses 45,47% de voix exprimées, qui n’atteignent pas la majorité

39 Le Front national de Libération du Peuple Khmer (Fnlpk) de Son Sann s’était transformé en Parti Démocrate Libéral Bouddhique (PLDB).
absolue, le Funcinpec ne pourrait pas non plus prétendre que tous les Cambodgiens sont royalistes. De ce scrutin, les grands perdants sont les Khmers Rouges ou le Kampuchéa Démocratique.

Les réactions ne tardèrent pas à se faire attendre. Le Funcinpec et le Fnhpk acceptèrent immédiatement le résultat. Le jour même de la proclamation des résultats, le 11 juin, ils annonçaient leur alliance, leur permettant ainsi de regrouper 68 députés. Mais, ils ne possédaient pas les deux tiers (2/3) de sièges ou de voix, exigés par la loi électorale de l’APRONUC, pour adopter la future constitution du Cambodge.


Ces réactions, cette atmosphère et ce nouveau paysage politique reflètent fidèlement les relations étroites et l’union sacrée des trois factions de la résistance et leur opposition aux forces de l’EdC. L’échiquier politique cambodgien fut ainsi divisé en deux camps opposés qu’il est très difficile de trouver une force politique intermédiaire.


Les contestations

C’est un fait que le PPC ne pourrait jamais accepter.

40 Dont Hun Sèn, Chéa Sim, et Héng Samrin.

Les principaux griefs du PPC étaient les suivants :

1- **manque de neutralité** de la part de l’APRONUC : recrutement de Cambodgiens très marqués politiquement; diffusion des informations susceptibles de porter préjudice au PPC, par la radio de l’UNTAC, durant la journée des élections;

2- **manipulations de la loi électorale** en l’absence de toute consultation du CNS;

3- **interdiction aux observateurs** des différents partis politiques de visiter les lieux où devaient être entreposés pendant la nuit, les bulletins de vote ;

4- **irrégularités** : les sceaux protégeant plus de 1000 urnes furent brisés⁴¹ ; des urnes scellées, mais vidées de leur contenance ; pas de concordance entre les procès-verbaux et le nombre exact de bulletins de vote ; erreur de calcul ; etc.

Par la voix de leur radio, les responsables de l’EdC - Chéa Sim, Hor Nam Hong et Sok An, respectivement président de l’Assemblée nationale, ministre des Affaires étrangères et vice-ministre de l’Intérieur - faisaient maintes déclarations pour les dénoncer. Ils affirmaient avoir suffisamment de preuves, prouvant l’existence des fraudes, et demandaient la tenue de nouvelles élections dans les provinces de Battambang, Kampong Chhnang, Prey Véng, Kampong Cham, Kandal et la capitale de Phnom Penh.

Des mouvements de troupes à travers la capitale, des manifestations devant le palais royal, des manœuvres et des pétitions en tout genre plongèrent le pays dans une atmosphère d’attente et de panique.

⁴¹ Selon certains observateurs étrangers, il y avait évidemment des bris de serrures, qui sont au nombre de 126 urnes à travers tout le pays.
L’APRONUC les rejeta en bloc.
Toutefois, il fallait attendre le 21 juin 1993, pour que le PPC se décide à reconnaître officiellement le résultat du suffrage du 23-28 mai 1993.
Le 29 juin 1993, l’Assemblée Constituante avait voté Son Sann comme président, Chéa Sim et Ing Keat vice-présidents.

Retour de la monarchie


Ainsi, le 24 septembre 1993, la nouvelle Constitution du Cambodge fut promulguée par le prince Sihanouk et présentée à la foule devant le palais royal.
Le même jour, dans la foulée, il se faisait couronner roi précipitamment dans le palais royal, selon les articles 136, 137
et 138 prévus dans les dispositions transitoires de cette nouvelle Constitution.

Ce fait accompli relégua l’APRONUC au second plan et avait mis un terme à sa mission avant la date prévue. Par la suite, elle ne faisait que s’adapter aux événements, en attendant la fin de sa mission effective qui devrait se terminer dans les trois mois à venir. Et la politique cambodgienne devint une affaire inter cambodgienne qui ne regarde plus que les Cambodgiens.

LES APPORTS DE L’ACCORD DE PARIS

1- La paix et la sécurité qui commencent seulement à se concrétiser vers la fin de 1998 avec la réintégration totale des forces khmers Rouges d’Along Véng (par rapport à la démocratie en France ou aux USA)
2- La reconstruction du pays
3- La longue marche de la Démocratie, de la Liberté et du Droit de l’Homme

Bien que le temps ait changé, si l’on faisait un retour sur son passé récent, on pourrait constater que la communauté internationale, notamment les Nations Unies, lui avait énormément apporté et joué un rôle de grandes importances historiques et inoubliables dans la recherche et le processus de paix ; pas seulement pour le Cambodge, mais aussi pour toute la région.

Jeter les premières fondations

Comme nous l’avons déjà parlé plus haut, durant des années, elle travaillait à débroussailler le chemin d’un règlement au Cambodge, en organisant des rencontres, des
réunions et conférences pour ramener toutes les factions en conflit à se fréquenter, se parler et échanger leurs points de vue.


Cette paix, qui n’est pas totale, avait pu arriver, quand même, faire son chemin; ce qui permettait l’orientation du Cambodge vers un nouveau horizon que toute sa population a toujours attendu. Ainsi, il n’a pas raté le grand tournant de l’histoire.

Par ces accords, la Communauté internationale avait déjà à jeter les premières bases d’un Cambodge moderne que nous voyons aujourd’hui, tant sur la plan de la politique intérieure qu’internationale et, de même dans le domaine de l’économie nationale. Il a ainsi pu rejoindre le peloton des autres pays de la région.

Une autre base, qui consiste à consolider cette paix si fragile, est de l’aider à la reconstruction. Evidemment, dans cet Accord de Paris, il est prévu qu’elle devrait se concerter et se cotiser pour honorer cette obligation. Ce qui se faisait dans presque tous les domaines - comme l’éducation nationale, l’administration, l’agriculture, l’économie, la culture, et les infrastructures par exemple- avec des résultats très encourageants. Ces aides internationales continuent encore à être accordées au Cambodge, pour renforcer encore davantage les récemment bâties.

Une autre réalisation, qui mérite d’être citée et qui est la plus importante et vitale pour son avenir, est la promotion et le développement de la Démocratie et du Droit de l’Homme, dans l’esprit et l’espoir de faire accepter par tout le monde le nouveau concept plus humaniste, plus juste et égalitaire d’un monde moderne.
La continuité

Toutefois, les objectifs fixés par l’Accord de Paris de 1991 n’ont pas tous atteint les buts en temps voulu. Certes, il n’est pas possible d’établir d’un coup de baguette magique la paix et faire ressortir le Cambodge de ses cendres. D’autre part, les plaies causées par une guerre larvée de plus de deux décennies, avec en prime le génocide des Khmers Rouges de Pol Pot, ont de quoi laisser des cicatrices indélébiles, prêtes à rouvrir à tout moment. Le fardeau est trop lourd pour que l’on puisse le relever.

Le départ des troupes de l’ONU vers la fin de 1993 avait laissé perplexes les observateurs nationaux et étrangers, tous connaisseurs des affaires cambodiennes. Pour eux, le paysage politique et économique du Cambodge est très sombre, pour ne pas dire désespérant, vu l’instabilité politique, l’insécurité et la guerre civile imposée par les troupes de Pol Pot, qui avait toujours rejeté le plan de paix des Nations Unies.

Bien sûr, ils n’avaient pas tort durant cette période de transition qu’est le premier mandat qui s’étalait de 1993 à 1998.

Cependant, quand arriva le deuxième mandat de législature et du Gouvernement Royal de Samdech Hun Sèn en 1998, la situation au Cambodge changea complètement de visage, offrant à sa population la sécurité et la paix, démentant ainsi tout pronostique pessimiste.

Grâce à sa politique connue sous le slogan de *Chneas* - *Chneas* (victoire – victoire), il arriva à établir la sécurité et la paix, en mettant fin au mouvement des Khmers Rouges de Pol Pot et à les faire intégrer dans la communauté nationale. La

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42 Pendant ce premier mandat, le Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge possède deux Premiers Ministres dont le prince Norodom Ranaridh, Premier Premier Ministre, et Samdech Hun Sèn, Second Premier Ministre.
sécurité et la paix ne sont retrouvées que vers la fin de 1998. Ce qui revient à dire que le Cambodge n’est en mesure de respirer l’air de la sécurité et de la paix que cinq ans après le départ des troupes onusiennes (1993-1998).

C’est la continuité de l’œuvre fixée par la Communauté internationale à Paris en 1991, inaugurée par l’ONU, mais réalisée par un Khmer, qu’est Samdech Hun Sên, le Parti du Peuple Cambodgien (PPC) et les autres Khmers de tout bord.


Pour faire du Cambodge un Etat de droit, il se lance dans des réformes de fond en comble, suivant ses principes réalistes connus sous la dénomination de stratégie trei kôan (triangulaire)\textsuperscript{43} et chakto kôan (rectangulaire)\textsuperscript{44}. C’est un long chemin qu’il serait difficile de percevoir à première vue et en un clin d’œil. Ces réformes demandent du temps et de la formation des ressources humaines que le Cambodge avait quasi perdu sous le joug du Kampuchea Démocratique de Pol Pot.

Cette continuité se retrouve encore sur le plan de l’éducation nationale, sous toutes ses formes, en se basant sur l’enseignement pour tous. Rien n’est négligé et laissé au hasard. Des écoles, lycées et universités poussent partout, même dans des régions les plus reculées. Sans compter les

\textsuperscript{43} Stratégie adoptée par le Gouvernement de Samdech Hun Sên lors de son second mandat en 1998.

\textsuperscript{44} Stratégie adoptée par le Gouvernement de Samdech Hun Sên lors de son troisième mandat en 2004.

Quant à la Démocratie et au Droit de l’Homme, en huit ans, le Gouvernement Royal de Samdech Hun Sèn ne manque pas de les favoriser et promouvoir dans l’esprit même de l’Accord de Paris, tout en facilitant le travail des nombreuses Organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) dans leurs tâches d’éduquer la population. Il n’a jamais négligé cette question et la tient toujours à cœur.

Sur ce point, si l’on faisait la comparaison avec la France et les Etats-Unis – qui les ont bâtis depuis plus de deux ans -, avec les pays de la région et, si l’on regardait l’histoire contemporaine du Cambodge, on ne manquerait pas de conclure sans hésitation que le Cambodge d’aujourd’hui a connu une ère nouvelle, pleine de promesses et différente du passé. La Démocratie, la Liberté et le Droit de l’Homme sont en train de se propager, s’implanter et s’enraciner profondément la société cambodgienne. Une telle réalisation, en espace de huit ans, c’est un événement louable. Pour en faire un jugement raisonnable, il serait souhaitable de considérer le contexte historique, national et international.

Depuis, l’esprit de l’Accord de Paris sur le règlement du conflit au Cambodge ne manque pas de poursuivre son chemin, servant de référence, de base de réflexion, de temps à autres aux hommes politiques khmers. Sa continuité se poursuit dans la plupart des domaines de la reconstruction du pays et autres.

Grâce à cet Accord de Paris, le Cambodge n’a pas raté le grand tournant de son histoire. Il parvient enfin à s’adapter et s’intégrer dans la communauté internationale avec une aisance incroyable.
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Paper
by His Excellency Dr. TEP DARONG
President of the Royal Academy for the Judicial Profession
Your Excellency Mr. HOR NAMHONG, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

Your Excellency General Mr. TEA BANH, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defenses

Your Excellency Mr. IM CHUNLIM Minister of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction

Your Excellency Mr. KHIEU KANHARITH Minister of Information

Your Excellency PIT CHAMNAN Secretary of State of Education, Youth and Sport

Your Excellency Mr. PEOU SAMY Secretary General of the Committee for Disaster management

Your Excellency Chum Teav TY BORACY chairman of commission of Foreign affairs and International Co-operation and Information of the Assembly

Your Excellency Mr. CHEAM YEAB chairman of Commission of Economy Finance Bank and Audition of the Assembly

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Speakers and Participants

First, I would like to express my deep thanks to the organizing committee of the forum that arranged the meaningful round-table discussion and invited me as honorable speaker in the occasion.

The agreement of comprehensive political settlement of Cambodia conflict on 23 October 1991 brought all conflicted fractions to negotiation table in order solve Cambodia
problems which had existed for two decades. This agreement placed Cambodia to be an independent, neutral, and non-aligned state; therefore, there are many regulations to enforce all parties to abide as follow:

- Cease-fire.
- Each arm forces of Khmer parties had to stay in their base.
- Commitment of each party is to participate in free and fair elections and to create a coalition government, which is formed by people’s wills through elections and under international supervision.
- Reintegrate refugees and migrants back into the home land.
- Implement many measures including human rights education program to ensure the past politics and activities would not reoccur.
- The guarantee of international society on the Cambodian conflict solutions and the battle of assistance finding for rehabilitation of Cambodia.

Actually, All of these agreement did not achieve all, such as Khmer Rouge fraction did not join in general election in 1993 and caused insecurity at north-west area of the country. As for that election also was not implemented all area because of insecurity made by Khmer Rouge fraction. Therefore, national security did not exist in whole country; just in 1998, Khmer Rouges’ force was integrated in the Royal Government of Cambodia. This was because of carrying out of Win-Win policy of the Prime Minister Samdech HUN SEN through Triangle Strategy of the government in which security and stability are an important one.

Thus, we made out security, stability, social order, democracy, human rights respect, and good governance, and also encouraged to glorify sustainable and equal growth of
economy in order to release Cambodia from the cycle of poverty.

In poverty reduction strategy of government, state reformation program is the most important task which government should execute for fitting Cambodia to regional and global politic trend, where was developing both economic and technology by using modern information technology of the government and spread out the achieved activity plan of good governance as following:

- **Legal and Judicial Reformation**: strengthening rule of law, justice, and social stability and eliminating violence.
- **Public Administration Reformation**: Capable official, proper salary, and accelerating from of people and investor.
- **Public Financial Reformation**: Income and expense management is strengthened.
- **Anti-corruption**: Corruption is reduced; private investment is increased.
- **Gender Equality**
- **Natural Resource Management including land, forest and fisheries**: ensuring the use of natural resource sustainably, so environment is protected.
- **Social Development**: distributing fruits of economic growth equally between rich and poor, and urban and rural area.
- **Reformation and military reduction**.

We are walking on a way, which provided hope and belief that problems facing were solved and are being solved gradually. Now, the royal government practiced decentralization policy at commune/Sangkat level in order to narrow the gap between public service and people and at Province/City level government also practices deconcentration policy, but
incomplete yet; as nowadays, we are drafting law of competency determination of Province/City. For practicing of “ONE WINDOW SERVICE”, we are also applying experimentally in two districts, Seamreap district in Seamreap province and Battambang district in Battambang province, which we got the positive result in the past period, and we may spread this project into the whole country in the future. The royal government had already done the national reconciliation, unity, territorial integrity and independence.

The royal government is strengthening human resource in all sector of economic by standing on quality of education, improvement of ability and training by each specification. For “education for all, all for education,” the government afforded to improve education both intrinsic and extrinsic system, in order to make people have knowledge responding to the needs of living as well as to reduce poverty and the social economic gap.

On judicial sector, civil procedure has enacted by assembly already, and will apply next year; it is to say that on July, 2007; as for, civil code draft was passed inter-ministries ready and was waiting for enacting from assembly. We have law already. So, we have to conduct kept-on-training any new laws to judges, jurisdictions and clerks, who are working in whole country, such as law on domestic violence control, civil process code, land law, law on commercial arbitration, law on commercial enterprise, law on examination drug, law on the suppression of human kidnapping, trafficking and exploitation… We remain only law on anti-corruption which we have debate ready, yet did not pass from assembly, now waiting for passing inter-ministries meeting. It is late because this law involve with new penal law which is preparing to pass inter-ministries. For penal procedure, we have passed the office of the council minister already and is putting to assembly. Penal law and
penal procedure are base law; therefore, we have to wait until this base law was passed.

Now, we have enough peace, stability, independence, and natural resource for further improve. Cambodian vision for 21st century, in the name of a researcher, I consider that perspective for 2020, we have to does something fit to the perspective of ASEAN for 2020 including:

- to develop human resource in all economic sectors by quality of education, developing skills and training
- to respect and conduct justice and rule of law
- to reduce poverty and the gap between rich and poor and urban and rural area by helping investor to construct medium and small enterprises.

The current state reformation have progressed a large part; and in order to applying ASEAN perspective 2020, we have to strengthen human resource training continually and train specification deeply by standing on the needs of market economic. Thus, we should establish technical and agricultural high school at each area of where have varies training technique as the need. For example, an agricultural high schools base on rubber, bean, banana..., and rice and fruits are created in Kompongcham and Battambang respectively. We have to create primary school before high school. This creation bases on 80% of Cambodian are farmer and depends on policy of government putting agriculture as an important object for developing national economic. This way of training makes people capable have works at place in where they live, which obstruct the movement of home-leaving finding job in Phnom Penh and some big cities or neighbor countries, especially, in order to keep stably natural resource (land, forest, fisheries…) in safe and make rural area be green all season.

For tourism, we should establish the school of hotel and tourism at the area where it has high potential like Siemreap,
Phnom Penh, Sihanouk Ville, and so on. Once is the practice of open sky policy that is ruled by Samdech HUN SEN, prime minister of Cambodia.

On educational sector, we have to do something to make all people know how to read, write, and calculate by using education for all policy.

On people’s welfare front, it is ensured to be well in order to support growing of intelligence, spirit, body, and work capacity. Thus, for food, we need careful test.

Finally, my vision for 2020 can achieve unless we have enough human resource in order to response the certain need.
Comments
by His Excellency Mr. DITH MUNTY
President of the Supreme Court of the
Kingdom of Cambodia
Co-Chairman of the Council for Legal and Judicial Reform
First and foremost, allow me to elaborate on the underlying reasons for the UN intervention in Cambodia through UNTAC. The reason for intervention came from the prolonged war and the internal fraction of Cambodia. The war stemmed from the coup d'etat against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The fact that I raise this particular issue is not meant to overindulge any individual but it is a historical fact which was widely known. The coup against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk provides an opportunity for foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Cambodia by supporting respective parties. In the meantime, the Khmer Rouge with its small growing forces participated in the so-called anti-Lon Nol movement. The Khmer Rouge gained its resisting strength due to the following factors. First was the war factor. The heavy bombardment on Cambodia soil had brought about so much suffering and destruction that people fled into the forest and joined the resisting forces. Second was because the then-Samdech Sihanouk, in his efforts to defend his good name following his unjust deposing, appealed to people who had supported him to flee into the jungle to form resisting forces. The Khmer Rouge took advantage of this opportunity, thereby transforming itself into unwavering forces overnight. Allow me to take this opportunity to point out the reasons for the success of the UNTAC mission in Cambodia, which was not the case in other countries.

Noticeably, I have found three concrete reasons as follow.

- First, the presence of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk who is well respected as an experienced leader and
is noted for his great achievements in leading the country. Furthermore, he gained the trust from all the parties in conflict.

Second, all the Cambodian parties in conflict had willingness to seek comment solution to national reconciliation, and made concession toward one another in pursuit of national unity and conflict settlement, of which the Khmer Rouge was an exception to the rule.

Third, the end of foreign interference in Cambodia, while swiftly turns to seek peace for Cambodia and provide support and assistance in pursuit of Cambodia rehabilitation and reconstruction.

I would also like to take this opportunity to note on the non-participation of the Khmer Rouge in the general election administered by the UNTAC. Obviously, such non-participation had been a strategic mistake on their part which led to the dismantling of their leadership and armed forces structure. The first apparent mistake of the Khmer Rouge after their victory was the evacuation of city people to the countryside. The evacuation itself was not resisted, but what was unacceptable was the massacre of those innocent people. What is more, the Khmer Rouge invaded the neighboring countries. Last but not least, the denial to participate in general election to conclude the political resolution to Cambodia conflict. These had been the serious mistakes leading to the dismantling of the Khmer Rouge. It should be noted that following the collapse of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, the Democratic Kampuchea enjoyed its status in the United Nations for another 10 years i.e. 1979 – 1989 as a lawful representative of Cambodian people.

Had the Khmer Rouge agreed to participate in the then-general election, their structure and armed forces would still have been in existence until today. Moreover, they would have established a political party and could have had some
representation in the National Assembly as well as two members in the Supreme National Council. Specifically, had they decided to take part in the general election, there would be no Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, which is mandated to bring to trial the senior leaders of the Khmer Rouge. Luckily, had the Khmer Rouge taken part in the elections, they would have had a lawful political party, forces, and supporters, meaning that the genocidal regime would have continued as the seed of genocide was still in existence. If it had been the case, nobody could have had a peace in mind concerning the recurrence of the genocide and the serious violations of human rights. These are the key points I wish to point out about the Khmer Rouge.

I tend to agree with previous speakers that after the withdrawal of the United Nations, Cambodia had not regained full stability and peace as yet. On top of that we had not achieved the so-called national unity as the attacks and ambushes were observed in certain regions across the country. The shortcomings of the United Nations which failed to implement certain dispositions of the Paris Peace Agreements have all been addressed by the Royal Government of Cambodia under the leadership of Samdech Hun Sen. What important was that the latter efforts have led to the complete dismantling of the Khmer Rouge’s administrative and military structure, and now their leaders are standing charges before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. It is worth noting that the amendment of the constitution, bringing the 2/3 majority down to a majority of 50% of the votes plus one vote marked a significant progress in democratic process necessary to avoid political deadlock which was experienced in the previous elections.

Thank you!
Comments
by GENERAL Mr. TEA BANH
Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister of the National Defense
Comments
by GENERAL Mr. TEA BANH
Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister of the National Defense

Excellencies, Lok Chumteav, Ladies, and Gentlemen!

Now, I would like to share my opinion on the topic of the “the Peace Process from the Initiative to the Paris Conference on Cambodia” as follow:

First of all, we should remind ourselves about the recent history of our country from 1960s so that we can see some of the root causes that let to crisis and war in Cambodia. The internal crisis of Cambodia had strongly shaken from mid-1960s. Actually, under the noble leadership of our King father at that time, Cambodia had strongly determined itself to escape from war that could be easily spreaded out form our neighbor.

Unfortunately, there was a coup to overthrow our King Father from his throne on March 18, 1970 by Lon Nol and since then till March 18, 1970 to April 17 1975, the war had flamingly occurred in Cambodia. The Khmer Republic of Lon Nol did not strengthen economic and social situations but also make the whole national situations became deteriorating. People lost their confidence and no longer support to the Khmer Republic. This led to the collapse of that regime on April 17, 1975.

The smiling and hoping faces of Cambodian people for living in security, peace, freedom, and democracy was suddenly vanished since the Democratic Kampuchea of Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot took power and turned the whole country and the people into the severe genocidal regime for three years, eight months, and twenty days. On December 02, 1978, the Cambodian National Liberation Front was established by the
real national patriots aiming at saving and liberating the country from such a darkness regime. The glorious victory over that regime on January 07, 1970 had liberated and given new lives to our people and country. Then, the government of the Kampuchea People’s Republic was established and took control over the country until 1989 and changed its name into the “State of Cambodia.”

Until late 1980s, the world just found itself for the massacred and genocidal of Khmer Rouge. As a matter of fact, James Baker, the was then the US Secretary of State, released the declaration of not recognizing the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea anymore which was then changed into the National Government of Cambodia at the United Nations. Then, the Cambodian seat at the UN was left free since October 1990.

In early December 1987, there was the first talk between King Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Hun Sen at Fer en tar de noi near Paris, France. Since then, there some more meetings as bilateral and multilateral parties were held till moving up to JIM1 and JIM2 and the International Conference on Cambodia which Paris Peace Agreement was finally signed. This led to the general election in May 1993 under supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). However, the commitment and maintenance proceeding along this agreement were very complicated. The Khmer Rouge issue is the most critical and dangerous since they still wanted to return and took over the country again.

It is noticeable that there were four main ministries that had to be closely watched by UNTAC during the implementation of the Accord such as, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Ministry of Economics and Finance, and Ministry of Interior. In such complicated and tense situations, the
Ministry of National Defense had to be strict and serious, wise, and flexible aiming at stabilizing and providing opportunities for the implementation of the Accord.

1. For the military issue, in order to abide by the Paris Peace Accord, all the factions had to demobilized and downsized 70% of its troops in the three different phases. As a matter of fact, only the party of the State of Cambodia had actually demobilized its forces 30% both troops and weapons in the first stage. Ironically, other factions could not gather their forces and weapons so they did not demobilize 30% of their troops in the first stage; and Khmer Rouge faction was still keeping their strong force and they banned UNTAC from supervising and controlling their force. They only used a bamboo as their barrier and the UNTAC couldn’t do anything but to turn back. Sometimes, UNTAC was attacked and kidnapped by Khmer Rouge troops. In short, there was factions always blamed and unfairly accused the local authorities of doing this and that. But later, UNTAC lost their trust and confidence to those unreasonable accusations after monitoring and observing together at the scenes. Based on that fact, UNTAC acknowledged the truth and our local authorities had been used as core and foundation in keeping peace and stability during the 1993 election.

2. At the same time, we had to maintain our crucial in order to keep social stability and the safety of our people in different areas; and especially to absolutely prevent those who did not exercise the Accord and the return of the Democratic Kampuchea’s regime. The efforts for keeping a
strong military force was not an easy job since military were not lawyers, economists, businessmen, or engineers, but they were people equipped with weapon fighting for lives. There were many reasonable means and theosophical methods to educate and persuade them when it was time to demobilize and combine together under one government.

3. It is noticeable that we sometimes needed to have some forces to help UNTAC for their mission in case there some immediate attacks from the Khmer Rouge forces.

All of these complicated obstacles had been achieved by the Ministry of National Defense.

Even we implemented the Paris Peace Accord in 1991 and even UNTAC could not entirely succeeded its mission, that was the stage that Cambodia as well as all military united together aiming at working and facilitating for later stages and especially the adoption and implementation of win win policy which was wisely led by Samdech Hun Sen that finally eliminated the regime of the Democratic Kampuchea both its structures and military in 1999.

Following the political agenda and the Rectangular Strategy of the Royal Government in the third mandate of Assembly, the Royal Government of Cambodia Armed Force has worked very hard with their roles, duties, and obligations until achieving many fruitful results such as defending territory integrity, fighting against the tactics of enemy (like terrorism, armed robberies, murders, kidnappings, drug trafficking, women and children trafficking, law violations, illegal businesses…etc), and keeping and building peace along all borders with neighboring countries with stability, friendship, and development.
Following the Government’s plans and orders, the Royal Cambodia Armed Forces has actively participated in restoring infrastructures like roads, bridges, buildings and more in the purposes of cutting down difficulties of people and to reduce poverty.

Besides the duty of defending territory integrity, political stability, public and social orders, restoring infrastructures, and even with the deduction of national budget for the Ministry of National Defense to Social welfare, education, health, and rural development, the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces still have the capacity to flex along the reform themselves aiming at creating jobs with competency and capacity by focusing on some crucial aspects such as, reforming forces, locations, structures ranks and also human resource development and so forth.

For the border issues, we have appropriately performed by following government’s plans and politics. Furthermore, there has been much great success for our Royal Cambodian Armed Forces to strengthen their capacity based on the issues of bilateral military relation and cooperation (like Australia, China, France, Thailand, Vietnam…) and multilateral ones (like ASEAN, ASEAN regional Forum…).

Nowadays, we have long walked far away from the UNTAC period to the UNMIS which we is the proud and honor for our Armed Forces and our country as well that we have sent our force to Sudan for humanitarian mission under the name of the United Nations Peace Keeping Operation (UNPKO). In the future, we do also hope that we will send our forces to other places upon requests of the United Nations aiming at providing peace, stability, social safety, and development both regional and the world as a whole.

In summary, it has been a great success and effective in the commitment of the strategic implementation and national defense policies including during the talks for national
reconciliation, UNTAC period, and in the final phase of eliminating the regime of Democratic Kampuchea through the **win win** policy of Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia; and now actively continue implementing the Rectangular Strategy of Government in the third mandate also including the foreign policies for humanitarian.

*Thank You.*
Undoubtedly the signing of the United Nations brokered agreements in October 1991 brought hope for a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian tragedy which for more than twenty years had plunged Cambodia into chaos, turmoil, civil war and deep despair as a victim of big power Cold War and post Cold War maneuverings. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was created to implement the Paris Peace Agreements. Now, fifteen years later we are here to commemorate the signing of this important agreement. This is the time to evaluate, in retrospect, the success and failures of the agreements and of UNTAC which carried out the mandate of the Paris Agreements.

As many of you know, I witnessed the critical years in Cambodian history after the Paris Agreements first hand in two capacities: First as part of the UNTAC process and secondly, after UNTAC left in September 1993, as the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the newly elected government of Cambodia, 1994-97. I love Cambodia like my own country Indonesia.

When I had arrived in Cambodia in April 1992, I had been greeted by faces of people for whom war and genocide had almost become a way of life. Although UNTAC came to Cambodia more than ten years after the genocidal Khmer Rouge had been driven out of power, the unjust political and economic isolation imposed by the United Nations in faraway
New York on the People’s Republic of Cambodia throughout the 1980s resulted in a continuing suffering of the Cambodian people for at least ten more years after the genocidal Khmer Rouge was ousted. Also, the psychological trauma caused by the Khmer Rouge still haunted Cambodia and its people.

Before coming to Cambodia, I was posted in the United Nations in New York where I witnessed first hand and with dismay the diplomatic maneuverings that allowed the genocidal Khmer to be Cambodia’s representative in the UN for more than ten years after their ouster from power in 1979, thereby denying the solution of Cambodia’s tragedy for more than ten years. Being in the field I realized more and more that during the cold war and its aftermath, Cambodia had been a tragic victim of its geopolitical location. With a few exceptions, most other UNTAC officials did not come from New York and were not so familiar with the tragic background of the origin of Cambodian tragedy.

Thirdly, during the past three years, I was a visiting scholar at the Kahin Center for Advanced Research in Southeast Asian Studies at Cornell University In the academic atmosphere of one of the best Southeast Asia Research Center and Library in the world I wrote my memoirs of my Cambodia years, combining the experience in New York and in Cambodia.

Before analyzing the successes and failures of the Parris Peace Agreements and UNTAC, I like to take the reader to the origin of the Cambodian problem. During the 1960s Cambodia, like many other parts of Southeast Asia, became a defenseless pawn in the Cold War. Like President Sukarno of my native Indonesia, Cambodia’s Prince (later King) Sihanouk long had struggled to remain neutral. However, while premier Zhou En Lai promised the prince during a lunch at the Asian African conference in Bandung 1955 that China will respect Cambodia’s neutrality, neutrality during the cold war was unacceptable to the United States.
The existence of the Ho Chi Minh trail passing through Cambodia considerably upset the United States, and relations between the two countries continued to deteriorate. Two actions of the United States indirectly helped the meteoric rise of the Khmer Rouge. First, the bombardments of Cambodia and second the ouster of H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk by pro American general Lon Nol. US president Nixon President Nixon, authorized massive secret bombings of Cambodia beginning on 18 March 1969. In total, more than 500,000 tons of bombs were dropped in the four years of U.S. air raids. It was estimated that the bombardments killed somewhere between 50,000 and 150,000 people, most of them civilians. 45 Just like recent bombings of Iraq had radicalized and increased the number of insurgents there, the U.S. bombings in Cambodia had unleashed a huge flow of refugees into the cities, radicalized the youth in the rural areas, and drove many people into the ranks of the Khmer Rouge.

Secondly, on 18 March 1970 H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk was overthrown by right wing General Lon Nol. The people of Cambodia, especially the farmers, rose up in support of their beloved monarch H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk but to no avail. Sihanouk, who was enraged by the coup, accused the United States of orchestrating it and pointed out the role played by the CIA-financed guerilla Son Ngoc Thanh in it. 46 H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk, responded by forming a front and a government in exile in Beijing. The prince embraced Pol Pot which lend the Khmer Rouge moral credibility. The Khmer Rouge soon became the dominant force in the front and the government in exile.

Encouraged by H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk’s call for


46 Norodom Sihanouk, My War with the CIA, Norodom Sihanouk, as related to Wilfred Burchett, My War with the CIA, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
Cambodians “to struggle against the U.S. imperialists who have invaded our Indochina and are oppressing its peoples and breeding injustice, war and all kinds of calamities, hostility and disunity, troubles, crimes and misery among our three peoples—Khmers, Vietnamese and Laotians.”47 thousand of young men and women joined the Khmer Rouge now aligned with the popular prince. The ties between the Prince and Pol Pot also meant that a massive flow of weapons from China and North Vietnam went to the Khmer Rouge as China was no longer bound by the neutrality pledge in Bandung Indonesia. It was a turning point in Cambodian history. As a result, the Khmer Rouge grew from about 3,000 guerrillas fighting Sihanouk to around 30,000 guerrillas allied to him.

I do not need to elaborate to this audience, most of them victims of the Khmer Rouge terror regime themselves, of the vastly destructive rule of the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot from 17 April 1975 to 7 January 1979, when between two and three million Cambodians, about one third of the country’s population, perished, leaving the remaining population permanently scarred in ways not yet fully comprehended.

On 7 January 1979 patriotic anti Pol Pot forces united under the banner of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea led by H. E. Samdechs Heng Samrin, Hun Sen and Chea Sim together with the Vietnamese army ousted the murderous Khmer Rouge regime from Cambodia. This however did not end the suffering of the Cambodian people already reeling from the Khmer Rouge misrule since April 1975. In fact, the battle now shifted to the corridors of the United Nations in New York. Incredibly, as a punishment of Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia, throughout the 1980’s and until the Paris Peace Agreement was signed in 1991, the

United Nations, spearheaded by the US, ASEAN and China voted to continue to recognize the murderous Khmer Rouge, now exiled in the jungles near Thailand, as the legitimate government of Cambodia. To give it legitimacy, the Khmer Rouge regime was persuaded to unite with two other non-communist factions, FUNCINPEC the Royalists and KPNLF in an unholy alliance known as the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. (CGDK). The Khmer Rouge flag continued to flutter over the Manhattan skyline throughout the 1980’s. No one asked the Cambodian people whether they liked this. More importantly, as a consequence of these United Nations decisions, Cambodia under the PRK was isolated politically and economically thus prolonging the suffering of its people by a further eleven years. In the field, the Khmer Rouge was resuscitated and rearmed by China while the FUNCINPEC and KPNLF factions received support from the USA and ASEAN. All three factions were perched on the Thai border where they controlled 370,000 refugees and guerilla soldiers and continued their low intensity guerilla warfare against the PRK.

Meanwhile, a minority of UN members consisting of the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the East bloc, as well as India, continued to recognize the de facto government reigning in Cambodia, the People’s Republic of Cambodia (PRK). Thus we had two governments of Cambodia each recognized by a different group of countries in the United Nations. This stalemate continued until the Paris Agreements were signed.

In order to solve this stalemate, the Paris Agreement was signed by the CPP and the three factions united in the CGDK, including the Khmer Rouge and by eighteen countries and witnessed by the United Nations Secretary-General. Thus, instead of bringing the Khmer Rouge to trial, the Paris Agreements granted legitimacy to the Khmer Rouge as one of the four legal factions which constituted the Supreme National Council, (SNC), the sole legitimate source of authority in
Cambodia during a transition period, headed by H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk.

However, since the two existing governments, the CGDK and the PRK, later renamed SOC (State of Cambodia) continued to be recognized by two groups of countries in the world. UNTAC (the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia) was created to implement the Paris Agreement and the SNC was authorized to delegate to UNTAC "all powers necessary" for the implementation of the peace agreements. Thus UNTAC was granted limited powers of governance in the country until elections could be held to be organized by UNTAC. The idea to give the United Nations the power of limited governance was proposed by Gareth Evans from Australia based on an idea first mooted by the then H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk and Senator Stephen Solarz of the United States.

Massive in size, comprehensive and most intrusive in scope, UNTAC was at the time the largest, most expensive and most integrated peace-keeping operation ever undertaken by the UN. It brought together 20,600 military, police and civilian personnel from more than 100 countries. Its mandate included, *inter alia*, to disarm and demobilize the four warring armies, to control civil administration of the four “existing administrative structure”, (which virtually meant the *de facto* SOC government), to supervise the control the Cambodian police force, (which again meant de SOC police force), to repatriate refugees and to organize elections to a new National Assembly.

So far so good. In this august open forum, many speakers come from countries who have directly contributed to the solution of the Cambodian problem. I will not duplicate their efforts and will go straight to the point of the main agenda item of this forum: what were the successes and failures of the Paris Agreement and its offspring, UNTAC?

Let me deal with the successes first. The Paris Agreements spearheaded the end of the Cambodian stalemate
since January 1979 when Cambodia had two governments each recognized by a different set of governments. The stalemate was ended with the conduct of UNTAC organized elections in May 1993 in which 90% of the registered votes participated and resulted in the legitimate Royal Government of Cambodia. Now recognized by all members of the United Nations this government has joined the community of nations and has ushered in a period of rapid economic growth with the help of three Fs: Foreign aid, foreign investment and foreign tourists. Growth was also spurred by a dynamic and thriving domestic sector which was resuscitated by peace and big spending UNTAC. UNTAC also succeeded in bringing home 370,000 refugees from Thailand whose adult population was able to participate in the elections. I wish to commemorate the tragic death of Sergio de Mello in Iraq whose initiative in Cambodia had greatly contributed to this success. Other benefits included the restriction on travel, the emergence of a free press and a thriving civil society as well as exposure to the international world after decades of isolation.

Now we come to the failures of the Paris Agreements and UNTAC.

The most regrettable failure of UNTAC was its failure to demobilize the four armies and to leave the Khmer Rouge in control of more territory from before UNTAC arrived. This allowed the Khmer Rouge to resume hostilities as soon as UNTAC departed. Secondly, UNTAC also failed to exercise control over the “existing administrative structures” as stipulated under the Paris Peace Agreements.

I trace these failures to some flaws in the Paris Agreements. The Paris Agreements and UNTAC were convenient vehicles for the big powers to extricate themselves from the Cambodian proxy war when the cold war was over. In my opinion, however, a major flaw of the agreement was the inclusion, and continued coddling of the genocidal Khmer Rouge throughout the UNTAC process, rather than putting it to
trial in a tribunal like the ones organized for the Rwanda and Former Yugoslavia massacres. No, I am not suggesting that the Gareth Evans/H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk/Solarz idea to give executive powers to the United Nations was not a brilliant idea. It certainly was.

However, other scenarios could have been pictured which could have profoundly a different impact on the course of events in Cambodia. In the first place, what if the Cambodian seat in the UN was left empty throughout the 1980s rather than allowing the Khmer Rouge, cloaked in the CGDK mantle, to continue occupying it in a series of United Nations resolutions?

Let us go back to history and recall the events at that fateful United Nations General Assembly meeting in September, 1979, when representatives of the two Cambodian governments, the Khmer Rouge and the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, jockeyed for Cambodia’s UN seat. I was stationed at the United Nations in New York at the time and remember vividly what has happened. At the instigation of the United States, the nine member credentials committee proposed to seat the Khmer Rouge as the representative of Cambodia. After some heated debate and ignoring the submission by Congo, of a compromise proposal that would have left Cambodia’s UN seat open, the Committee voted 6-3 to award the UN credentials to the Khmer Rouge. It ignored the proposal by Congo, member of the committee, to leave the seat vacant.

This proposal then went to the entire General Assembly where the delegation of Vietnam challenged the credentials of what it called the “Pol Pot /Ieng Sary Clique” (the Khmer Rouge delegation) which it claimed “did not represent

It should be noted that the Khmer Rouge had been seated in the UN from the time it ousted the Lon Nol government in 1975. UN sources.
anybody.”  

Before the Credentials Committee resolution was put to a vote. Indian Ambassador Mishra introduced an amendment to the resolution of the Credentials Committee (UN Document (A/34/L.3 and Add 1), proposing that that the Cambodian seat vacant. He argued that this was in conformity with the decision of the Sixth Summit of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned countries in Havana held just prior to the General Assembly session.  

Ambassador Tommy Koh from Singapore, brilliantly maneuvered the General Assembly to vote on the Credentials Committee resolution before the Indian amendment even though according to General Assembly practice amendments should be voted on first. After intense debate with charges and counter charges leveled, the General Assembly voted 71 to 35, with 34 abstentions, and 12 absentee, to approve the report of the Credentials Committee, and thus to continue recognition of the genocidal Khmer Rouge government in exile as the legitimate representative of the

49 It is ironical to recall that the Cambodian UN seat held by right wing General Lon Nol was challenged, in December 1973 and 1974, though unsuccessfully, on behalf of Sihanouk’s revolutionary government in exile in Beijing which included the Khmer Rouge, supported by Vietnam.

50 Based on a previous draft of this book which I shared informally with Tom Fawthorp in July 2003 in Phnom Penh, the following passages were quoted by him without acknowledgement on p.28-30 of Tom Fawthrop and Helen Jarvis. Getting away with genocide? Elusive justice and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal/ / - London; Ann Arbor : Pluto, 2004.

51 It is worth noting that unlike in the United Nations, subsequent summits of the Non Aligned Movement, in New Delhi (1983), Harare (1986) and Belgrade (1989) upheld the Havana decision to keep the seat of Cambodia empty. It should be noted that NAM makes its decisions by consensus and not by voting. The NAM resolutions appealed for a peaceful solution of the Cambodian problem without outside interference. See Op Paliwal, Cambodia Past and present, New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, page 49.
Cambodian people! 52 This was a defining moment for the continuing suffering of Cambodia’s people. If the Indian proposal were accepted, for humanitarian reasons, aid could have flowed to both sides of the conflict rather than only to the CGDK partners while imposing an economic blockade on the long suffering people of Cambodia within the country, which was what actually happened. Furthermore, the diplomatic stalemate could have been solved sooner rather than later.

Actually the thawing of the stalemate took place in 1987. In December 1987 and for a second time in January 1988, after a decade of interventions, H.R.H Samdech Norodom Sihanouk met H. E. Samdech Hun Sen for the first time, in Fer-en-Tardenois (France). These were not only the leaders of the two opposing factions but also were and still re the two most astute Cambodian statesmen. If left to themselves, they could have undoubtedly have worked out a Cambodian solution to the intractable stalemate which is really foreign made. However, since Cambodia’s civil war was a proxy war, the foreign big powers must have a say and certain powerful countries with veto powers in the Security Council insisted on a “comprehensive solution” to the Cambodian problem, which is a euphemism for including the Khmer rouge as an equal partner in any solution.

Another scenario would be that by 1988 there was reason to believe that changes in geopolitics, in particular in Sino Soviet relations meant that China’s interest in the Khmer Rouge was decreasing. Moreover, Vietnam withdrew all its troops in 1989, which was the original reason given why the PRK continued to be blocked as the representative of Cambodia in the United Nations. There was also evidence that

52 UN document, A/34/PV.3 and A/34/PV.4 and Cor.1. Official Records of the UN General Assembly, 34th session, Volume 1, 3rd and 4th plenary meetings, September 21, UN, New York, 1979. The following account of the debate in the general assembly draws heavily from this document.
one or the other western country say perhaps Australia or France, could have broken ranks and recognize the PRK. Even H. R. H. Prince Sihanouk was quoted as saying that “Washington should be realistic” and “flexible” taking into account the real situation in Cambodia. The USA continued to insist on a “comprehensive solution” and that only elections could solve the Cambodian stalemate.

Because of these lopsided provisions, whereby the Khmer Rouge was granted full legitimacy, UNTAC who strictly followed the Paris Agreements mandate, was persistently weak on dealing with the recalcitrant faction thereby failing to solve the Khmer Rouge problem. In the famous “bamboo pole incident” on 30 May 1992, Akashi and Sanderson, the two leaders of UNTAC, were denied access to Khmer Rouge territory in Pailin by a young unarmed Khmer Rouge soldier who refused to lift a bamboo pole to let their vehicles through. The Akashi convoy chooses to obey the soldier which was a defining moment in UNTAC Khmer Rouge relations. The Khmer Rouge considered UNTAC a paper tiger. Consequently, the Khmer Rouge also refused to be disarmed which was the principal reason behind UNTAC’s failure to demobilize the four armies in Cambodia, one of its major tasks in Cambodia. Finally, despite cajoling and persuasion by the UN and others, the Khmer Rouge steadfastly refused to take part in the elections. This however, to me was a blessing in disguise as it prevented the Khmer Rouge from participating in the elections, thereby securing seats and probably cabinet posts, which would have added insult to injury to the long suffering Khmer people.

Thus the most regrettable failure of UNTAC was the failure to demobilize the four armies and to leave the Khmer Rouge in control of more territory from before UNTAC arrived. This allowed the Khmer Rouge, fully armed to resume hostilities as soon as UNTAC departed. UNTAC also failed to exercise control over the “existing administrative structures” as
stipulated under the Paris Peace Agreements. The Khmer Rouge territory was out of bounds since the bamboo pole incident while the other two factions controlled only hamlets in Phum Khu, Ampil, O Smach Thmar Pouk and Banteay Mean Rith. Control in reality therefore meant controlling the SOC/PRK. For this purpose, UNTAC’s personnel, most of them not knowing a single word of Khmer, was obviously ill equipped and inadequate. Non recognition by the United Nations might have succeeded in imposing a political and economic blockade against SOC/PRK. However, to think that the handful of UNTAC civilian personnel appointed to do the job meant that the people behind the Paris Agreements actually believed the myth that PRK/SOC as a government did not exist. Despite of non recognition by the United Nations, SOC/PRK had, for better or for worse, the facto ruled Cambodia since January 1979. The low intensity civil war with the CGDK never dislodged even one provincial capital.

This had repercussions on Cambodia after UNTAC left. In the newly elected government, H. E. H. E. Samdech Hun Sen’s wing of the government continued to control the army and the security police forces as well as the civil service which the new government inherited intact from the PRK. Although FUNCINPEC was given 50% of all ministerial and gubernatorial posts, they had to rule over a civil service loyal to the CPP and hostile to them. FUNCINPEC’s army was also amalgamated into the new Royal Government armed forces. It was long on generals but short on troops and effective power. Clad in the cloak of the Royal Government, H. E. Samdech Hun Sen was then respected by the entire world. The donor community no longer shunned him as they had in the 1980s. On the contrary, aid had begun pouring in at a rapid pace. Foreign aid financed the entire development budget of the Royal Government and provided a compelling reason for Ranaridh to stay with the new regime.

What about the Khmer Rouge. As soon as UNTAC left, in April 1994, the Khmer Rouge, from its headquarters in Pailin,
which UNTAC left intact, launched an attack which put their
tanks at one point on the doorstep of Battambang, Cambodia’s
second largest city. Their victory was however short-lived. On 7
July 1994, the Royal Government passed a bill in parliament to
officially outlaw the Khmer Rouge. The coddling of this
faction would finally cease. There was unconfirmed
speculation, still unresolved until today, that the bungled coup
attempt by Norodom Chakrapong and Sin Song, two
disgruntled high ranking CPP officials, on the same day might
have been linked to efforts to stop this outlawing of the Khmer
Rouge.

A major breakthrough came when in 1996 the Khmer
Rouge leader Ieng Sary defected to the government with the
bulk of the forces in the Pailin areas. The rump Khmer Rouge
perched in the An Long Veng area continued to oppose the
Royal Government of Cambodia although at one point they tried
to join the National United Front, an alliance of
FUNCNPEC, Sam Rainsy's KNP, the Son Sann faction of the
BLDP, and the small Khmer Neutral Party. Finally, in 2003,
with the death of Pol Pot and the surrender of its remaining
leaders, the Khmer Rouge movement was finally dissolved.
While the Khmer Rouge’s rise to power and significance were
very much products of foreign intervention, its final demise
was basically accomplished by Cambodians alone.

Meanwhile, after seventeen years of international
amnesia, in June 1997 Co Premiers H. R.H. Prince Ranariddh
and H. E. Samdech Hun Sen wrote a joint letter to the United
Nations asking its help for bringing the Khmer Rouge to trial.
This initiated a process of negotiations and finally the long-
awaited Khmer Rouge trials were becoming a reality. On 13
May 2003, the United Nations had adopted resolution 57/228B
endorsing an agreement between the Cambodian government
and the UN to hold the trials. They will be essentially a
Cambodian process, held in a Cambodian court, with the
United Nations only providing technical assistance. As you all
know, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) has now begun its operations near Pochentong Airport..

Cambodia was a perfect example of what Walter La Febre, a noted historian from Cornell University once said: “during the cold war era, many Americans were sent abroad to die by the thousands, while Asians, Latin Americans and Africans were sentenced to death by the millions, simply because US officials disagreed with foreign leaders about what each believed was true in terms of needs of their own national interest.” Today the cold war is over. What lessons can we learn from Cambodia? Recent elections in Iraq, Iran and Palestine clearly resulted in outcomes not desired by the west. In Iraq more than 2,800 US soldiers died for this. To bring democracy?

In conclusion, I would argue that the successes of the Paris Agreements and the UNTSC process far outweigh its failures. After the factional fighting of July 1997, the 1998 elections finally brought political stability, and those in 2002 and 2003 were relatively peaceful and fair. Foreign aid continues to pour in reflecting the confidence of the international community in the Royal Government of Cambodia. Foreign tourists are “invading” Siemreap in ever larger numbers creating a boom in that once sleepy town where I served during my UNTAC years as UNTAC’s “governor”. Of course, many problems remain. The battle against poverty is far from won. However, Cambodia is rapidly becoming a “normal” developing country with “normal” problems of human rights, democracy and combating poverty, disease and ignorance.
THE CLOSING SESSION
Summary Report
by His Excellency Mr. VAR KIM HONG
Senior Minister, Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia in charge of the Border Issues, Chairman of Borders Committee, Executive Advisor to the Royal Academy of Cambodia in charge of International Relations
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- Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia
- Your Highnesses,
- Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates
- Ladies and Gentlemen

Today is an auspicious day that the International Relations Institute of Cambodia (IRIC) organizes an Open Academic Forum to commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. On behalf of the management and officials of the IRIC and on behalf of the organizing committee of the Open Academic Forum and on my own behalf, I have a great honor and testimony of satisfaction to highly express my warmest welcome to Samdach Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia to highly preside over closing ceremony of the Open Academic Forum” on this occasion.

This Forum is great occasion for discussion and analysis on the strength and weakness of the Paris Peace Agreement (PPA) and the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC) that the United Nations established to implement this agreement.

Today Forum, the many speakers as representatives from the signing countries of the PPA, representative of the United Nations (UN), representative of European Union (EU), representative of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations
(ASEAN), diplomatic corps, the high ranking officials of the Royal Government of Cambodia, researchers, civil servants, the representatives from the private sector, media, professors and students, around 630 participants totally.

Samdech Prime minister!

The full day forum, all participants paid careful attention to the interventions and roundtable discussion respective five topics regarding the implementation of PPA including:

- First, the Peace Building Process: from initiatives to agreements,
- Second, the Commitment to Paris Peace Agreement for promoting the respect and to observation of the human rights and fundamental rights in Cambodia
- Third, the Process of democratization, national reconciliation and unity, human rights, democracy and the process of democratization in Cambodia,
- Fourth, cooperation between Cambodia and international communities: Peace and Security, freedom and development,
- Fifth, envisioning Cambodia 2020: prospects, development and the challenges: Efforts, Dynamics and achievements of Cambodia until now.

Presentations of all the distinguished speakers particularly reflect the UN’s roles for resolving conflict in Cambodia after the cold war leading to the Paris Peace Agreements. In implementing the PPA, UNTAC mobilized peace keeping force to Cambodia which spented much money. As stated by Samdach Chea Sim, President of the Senate, in his opening address this morning, UN’s mission in Cambodia is considered as the most successful peace keeping mission in the
era of post-cold war even though the group of Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot) one of the a signatory factions, did not participate in the UN-sponsored elections.

The result of the agreements have brought peace to Cambodia and prosperity to Cambodian people, nonviolent and non-human rights abuse, territorial integrity, neutrality, and national unity. Through this agreement, political and economic isolation was terminated. Moreover, hundred thousands of Cambodian refugees during genocide regime and civil war had successfully repatriated.

As we have seen, Paris Peace Agreements introduced a new ideology for Khmer society that is liberal, democratic multi parties. In addition speakers commented that “democracy is unlike sowing rice” it takes some time to spread out to the local people and to be implemented by them.

Similarly, the democracy by raised by the speakers is that they want to see Cambodia to respect the rule of law as the Royal government under the brilliant leadership of Samdach Hun Sen Prime Minister of Cambodia, has tried his best to achieve this goal. In conclusion, the Rectangular Strategy of the Royal Government has been being implemented is the center of good governance that covers four kinds of reforms as bellow:

1- Anti-corruption,
2- Legal and judicial reform,
3- Public Administrative reform,
4- Armed force reform.

In general, the resolution internal conflict in Cambodia through UN’s roles and Cambodian own efforts, specially win-win policy of Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister, in national unification, as stated by Samdech Chea Sim, this morning, Cambodia successfully achieved peace goal as it was not made possible by UNTAC.
Cambodia today enjoys economic development with increasing growth through promotion of private sector and foreign direct investment which actively contribute in reducing unemployment and poverty. Moreover, Cambodia has integrated into the region and the world through participation in international communities and received both financial and technical assistance from foreign countries. Cambodia became an active member of ASEAN and UN.

All above-mentioned points raised, are proceedings of a full day Forum.

Once again, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Samdach Hun Sen Prime Minister of Royal Government of Cambodia who spared his busiest time today to highly preside over the Closing Academic Forum on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement on a Comprehensive Political settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. At the same time, I would like also to express my deep thanks to distinguished guests for their busiest time to share with us their experiences today!

Thank you for your attention!
Closing key-note Address
by Samdech HUN SEN
Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia
Closing key-note Address
by Samdech HUN SEN
Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia

Highly Respect to Venerable Buddhist Monks
Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

Today, it is my honor and pleasure to participate in the closing of this “Open Academic Forum” in order to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of Paris Peace Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. In this auspicious occasion, may I congratulate and highly appreciate the International Relations Institute of Cambodia for organizing this important and beneficial open academic forum which has got the supports from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the Conrad Adenauer Foundation.

On behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia and my own self, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my warmest thanks to the distinguished national and international guests, to all Cambodian friends, and bilateral and multilateral development partners who present here to commemorate the Fifteen Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement. Indeed, your contribution, both in terms of time and knowledge devoted to and your presence in this "Open Academic Forum", is very much valuable not only to witness the efforts made in overcoming all the difficult challenges on the path of development and poverty reduction during the past 15 years after the Paris Peace Agreement but also to highlight future prospects and share best ideas on how to keep Cambodia on the right track toward progress and prosperity.

This open academic forum on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace
Agreements on A Comprehensive Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict, happens in a situation where Cambodia has very actively moved on negotiations and national reconciliation, reaching territorial integrity and firm foundations for democracy and respect for human rights in Cambodia, and the country is now poised to develop itself into a prosperous nation.

Venerable Buddhist Monks,
Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

In fact, though we are living in a very difficult time when the world is full of challenges resulted from terrorism, chaos, wars, epidemic diseases and serious natural disasters across the globe, Cambodia has been making steady progress and has produced many achievements. Specifically, in the last 10 years, Cambodia has gone through a quick transformation not only in political and security aspects but also in social and economic dimensions. Clearly, peaceful resolution, patience, concession, accommodation and mutual understanding are key to resolving Cambodian conflicts, and those solutions have opened up opportunities for economic and social development. Cambodian people themselves are aware of the virtue of accommodation and concession. These sacraments form the foundations of our “Win-Win” policy.

I remember that, in October 2001, I delivered a keynote address in the Commemorative Ceremony of the Tenth Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement. At that time, I revealed some of the historical secrets related to the negotiations process and the implementation of peace agreement. I believe that the keynote address is of utmost importance to historians and political analysts who are interested in Cambodian politics. Indeed, as one of the leaders who initiated the negotiations for peace and participated deeply
in all aspects of negotiation and implementation of this peace agreement, I have in my hands all the details related to this process. Those information are extremely sensitive that I cannot reveal them now, though they are all about important historical events and played the key role for the success of the peace process. I have compiled all these information and intend to write up this complicated history of politics in the future to serve as reference for researchers and the public.

Nevertheless, I think it is also very important for me to recall some events and reasons why Cambodia could reach an agreement on national reconciliation and development. I clearly remember that the search for resolution of Cambodia’s issue was happening during the cold war, the period of arms races and ideological confrontation, which were very intense at the global level. At the regional level, then it was the period when Southeast Asia was divided into two confronting blocks that sometime tried to accommodate each other. At the national level, Cambodia was facing on one hand the risk of the return of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot supported by the United Nations, and on the other hand was facing the unjust economic embargo by a number of countries supporting the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, and put sanctions on the Cambodian people who survived from the bloody thirsty claws of Pol Pot clique.

The situation at that time is that, for the former State of Cambodia which I was the Prime minister, the choice of continuing war in search of peace was the easiest and least risky one. But for the long term future of the country, we could not choose this easiest choice by using war to end war. We were committed to electing the choice of high political risk for the government (State of Cambodia) by working hard to negotiate peace basing on two strategies: first, to achieve a political solution that prevents the return of Pol Pot genocidal regime and second, to maintain national achievements built
from bare hands and sufferings since the collapse of Pol Pot’s regime in 1979.

I would like to reiterate that it was neither easy nor difficult path, but it was the very dangerous path for us as victims and vulnerable. However, our efforts in meeting a common interest let to the historical meeting on the 02nd December 1987 between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and Hun Sen at Feren-Tardenois in France which opened up to many other political negotiations on Cambodia even though some countries and factions, especially the Khmer Rouge, did not agree. Since then, the bilateral and multilateral meetings have happened in many different places and different forms such as Sihanouk-Hun Sen, Sihanouk-Hun Sen-Son San, Sihanouk-Hun Sen-Son San-Khiev Sam Phan, JIM 1, JIM 2, IMC in Indonesia and the failure of the First Paris International Conference in 1989 etc.

The patience, accommodation and the art of making concession had steadily led us to a framework solution and a draft agreement which was prepared by the 5 Permanent Members of United Nations and the formation of the Supreme National Council (SNC) with 12 members. The SNC had to confront with countless obstacles that need to be solved in order to reach an agreement at the time that Khmer Rouge continued to hold their ambition to use force in solving problems.

The negotiation process to achieve the Paris Peace Agreement had many problems but the most challenging problem was the solution on military issues which were very difficult to be agreed upon. As I mentioned, there are two key factors to make Khmer Rouge to accept the solution on this military issue.

First, after two private meetings between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and me in Jakarta on 2nd and 4th June 1991 respectively, Their Majesties Samdech Preah
Norodom Sihanouk and the Queen decided to return to Cambodia regardless of a political solution to create the National Leader Committee, with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk as the Head, and myself, Hun Sen as the deputy Head, while the constitution, national flag, national anthem, parliament, and the whole structure of the former State of Cambodia remain unchanged, in which H.E. Heng Samrin was the Head of State Council, H.E. Chea Sim as the Head of the Parliament, and myself, Hun Sen as the Prime Minister. The decision to return to Cambodia by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk was the sacred stick hitting the Khmer Rouge and their allies to re-consider their strategies for survival.

Second, the art of achieving the agreement on demobilization by 70%, which I call “serving Hun Sen with his own-made cake by some body’s hands”. We still remember that the Khmer Rouge faction proposed to reserve about 2,000 soldiers for each faction, therefore the tripartite coalition government would have about 6,000 soldiers while the government of the former State of Cambodia which controlled more than 90% of territory and 140,000 soldiers could have only 2,000 soldiers. This would allow the Khmer Rouge with an easy path to come back to power through their hidden military force in their control area. In the private meeting between me and a representative from a major country during a working meal, I expressed the idea of demobilization by 70% but I did not raise that proposal by myself because the Khmer Rouge leaders always oppose to my proposals. Therefore, this formula had to go through a major country to Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk who was the Head of SNC's meeting and was later submitted into the SNC’s meeting. Myself and others including Khiev Sam Phan and Son Sen who were the representatives of the Khmer Rouge all supported this proposal. Therefore, the military issue was the most difficult in
achieving the agreement and it was solved through serving Hun Sen with his own-made cake by some body’s hands approach.

Venerable Buddhist Monks,
Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

Before continuing the prepared text, I think it is an opportune moment to clarify some of the facts at this moment concerning the establishment of the Supreme National Council for Cambodia. I think this is important for the younger generation or those historians and researchers to know of the origin of the SNC. I have here with us a close friend or I may consider him a brother of mine – H.E. Igor Rogatchev who may have witnessed most of the situation. He was in Cambodia in 1979 at the time when Phnom Penh had about 3000 population. A Vietnamese military helicopter took him to Phnom Penh and as a Foreign Minister then 27 years old, I hosted him. He was the one who ordered then Soviet Ambassador to Cambodia – H.E. Khamidulin to France to help cover the hotel cost for us. The former Soviet Union sent Cambodia a special plane for flying me to negotiations in Jakarta.

The negotiation at that stage had been very dangerous because it was at the time of serious confrontation of ideology, and only a word of revisionism would result in death to me. It was not a period of reform yet. We did what we had to for this country and if I were to have another life, I would not go away from this country but wow to be a Cambodian again. It recalled me about our hard lives in those days - especially all of my colleagues and secretaries because we then had no computers but typewriters. We had heaps of papers to carry through. Later some of them had become members of the Supreme National Council. Despite the fact that there were tremendous difficulties to do we finally achieved a unified country which
had never existed in the past 500 years. Since 1470, Cambodia has been in deed ruled in division of not less than two parts.

Well now let me come to the SNC. There have been different versions in the way people write about it. From where did SNC come? First of all, representing the State of Cambodia I put forward a suggestion to set up a National Reconciliation Council for Cambodia (NRCC) in the first JIM (Jakarta Informal Meeting - I) in Bogor on July 25-26, 1988. On July 27, 1988, there was this secret meeting between Hun Sen and Chaovalit Yongchayut who was then the Thai military commander in Vientiane, with help in arrangement was rendered by HE Sisawat Keobunphan, former Prime Minister of Laos. The meeting took place after the proposal for NRCC formulation was rejected in JIM-I. We then sought the Thai assistance in lobbying the tripartite coalition to support the idea of establishing such a council.

We also propose the formula to the third meeting between Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and Hun Sen, and the first meeting of Shihanouk - Hun Sen - Son San on November 6 - 8, 1988. This was how it went about. I added further in those meeting to have a President and three Deputy Presidents but it was again rejected. After the failure of the first Paris Conference, with constant efforts for the establishment of such a council and later with helps given by H.E. Chaovalit, H.E. Chatichai Chunhavan, then Prime Minister of Thailand, and others, we came to a Bangkok Declaration on February 21, 1990. One should not forget that it was indeed the declaration to establish the SNC itself. I communicated from Bangkok to Sisophon to launch military attack and occupy Svay Chek by 3:30 so as to help me in my negotiation with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. It was fighting and negotiating at the same time. A little before 3:00 we had the news that we occupied Svay Chek.
There followed a closed meeting between me and Chaovalit and then another one between Hun Sen - Chaovalit - Imagawa of Japan who was then the Minister Councilor of Japan's Embassy to Bangkok. On May 4 - 6, 1990 there was this meeting in Tokyo in which Samdech Sihanouk and I, in the presence of Chaovalit Yungchayut and the Foreign Minister of Japan, on the declaration. Son Sen and Khiev Samphan did not join the event. Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk was the head of the coalition of tripartite and I headed the Phnom Penh Government, but it was not yet applicable. We needed to convene another meeting coordinated by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan and it was in that meeting that there came out these formulas of $6 + 6 = 12$ or $6 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 12$. This is the point to be well remembered and one should not always mix that up with just the United Nations. I do not deny the role played by the United Nations but certain things have been contributed by the Cambodian intellect.

At the informal meeting in Jakarta on September 9 and 10, we already had a framework paper from the United Nations. We then moved to the composition issue of the SNC. I wish to tell some more about this. The SNC at that time put out its composition of six members - Hun Sen, Tia Banh, Hor Namhong, Kong Sam Ol, Chem Snguon, and Sin Song, which eventually HE Chem Sguong, Kong Sam Ol and Sin Song were replaced by HE Dit Munti, Im Chhun Lim and Sin Sen. The Son San faction proposed their members of Son San and Ieng Moly, the Democratic Kampuchea proposed Khieu Samphan and Son Sen, whereas the Funcinpec faction proposed its members to be Preah Norodom Sihanouk and Prince Ranaridh. I opposed the candidacy of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk because he was not present at the meeting due to sickness in Beijing. I could not accept it because what would happen if Preah Norodom Sihanouk did not approve the meeting's outcome. It was because of this that the first list of the 12
members of SNC did not include Preah Norodom Sihanouk. Samdech Chaosen Kosal was named later in replacement of Preah Norodom Sihanouk. This is history. However, we have come to an agreement to have a place possible for the thirteenth person if the SNC feels in need for the President.

The first meeting of SNC from September 17 to 21, 1990 in Bangkok, Samdech Chaosen Kosal chaired the meeting with his opening short statement that the meeting today is to select Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk as the President of SNC and that is it. I interrupted him and said in fact we had many things to discuss in the agenda and that was just one of them. I insisted to include 1) arranging and dispatching members of the SNC to occupy the Cambodian seat at the United Nations, 2) declaration of a cease-fire and cessation of foreign military assistance. But the meeting was in disarray and closed after declaring opening. Then we had a meeting between the co-chairmen of SNC with the special representative of the General Secretary of the United Nations with the participation of France and Indonesia - co-hosts of the Paris Peace Conference. We still did not have a chairperson for SNC. On May 6, 1991, there was a meeting between the co-hosts of the Paris Peace Conference and its agenda was indeed the discussion between Hun Sen and Preah Norodom Sihanouk in which Samdech Preah Norodom decided to return to Cambodia with or without a political solution.

The May-2 meeting was very important because it is relating to the return of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk to Cambodia and May 4 was to decide about the venue. The decision to repair the Royal Palace was not after the Paris Peace Agreement at all but prior to that. Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk asked me about security issue and said, "Please protect me or the Khmer Rouge would infiltrate the Royal Palace to kill me." I offered Samdech Preah Norodom with my assurance but also to propose if he would be more
confident with foreign bodyguards. Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk said he preferred the Koreans. That they continue their presence up to this moment is indeed a different matter.

Returning to Bangkok was an urgent and secret one but there is nothing as secret in this world. After the coup to oust Chatichay Chunhavan, Prime Minister Anan Panharachun requested for a meeting with me and it was the first time that the Prime Minister of Thailand did so during my stay. He said to me that he heard that Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk is to return to Cambodia. I said in return, yes it is true. What to do with the Son San and Khmer Rouge factions? I felt the move aimed to hinder but not a total hindrance in the sense. That was the inclusion of Samdech Sihanouk into the SNC framework. When I arrived in Bangkok there was this move to replace Samdech Chaosen Kosal with Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk in the SNC. At that time, we still did not offer him the chairmanship of the SNC yet, only the chairman of the SNC meetings. The meeting of May 24 through to 26, 1991, the Khmer Rouge accepted a ceasefire on status quo and declared cessation of foreign military assistance due to such a strong pressure.

When Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk became the chairman of the SNC and what to discuss was indeed a mystery. Only two people - Samdech Preah Norodom Sahanouk and Hun Sen - were to know issues of decision making of the SNC and the electoral system. The SoC proposed for a consensus with final decision made by the chairman. The United Nations proposed a consensus with final decision made by the UNTAC head. Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk sent a letter to the General Secretary of the United Nations arguing that decision making power will rest with the Head of UNTAC or SNC would be a matter to be decided by the Cambodian Prime Minister. I had no options in the Security Council but to answer "yes". As far as the electoral system is
concerned, according to the agreement it had to be a proportionate system at the country level. But later it was decided to have a proportional system at the provincial level. That is what I wish to share with all of you in relation to where SNC idea was coming from and how it was taking shape.

_Venerable Buddhist Monks_
_Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen_

After the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement, the King, the Queen and royal family members returned to Cambodia with warm welcome from the people while Khiev Sam Phan and Son Sen were welcomed by demonstration. The United Nations sent UNAMIC in order to prepare the UNTAC’s operation. Three among the four factions implemented the Paris Peace Agreement, especially the cease-fire and troops concentration to prepare for mobilization and opening up of areas and institutions for inspection by UNTAC while the Khmer Rouge did not only implement the agreement but also agitate other factions and UNTAC in implementation of this agreement. UNTAC as the guarantor of the agreement implantation was able to impose only on those respecting the agreement but not to the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge area was totally inaccessible by UNTAC. Every time that the Khmer Rouge attacked the former State of Cambodia armed forces, UNTAC’s spokesperson always declared that the Khmer Rouge and State of Cambodia factions violated the cease-fire agreement. This is the unjust action of UNTAC which imposed the same guilt to both perpetrator and the victim. Moreover, in addition to not punishing the Khmer Rouge for their violation, UNTAC had made other serious violations in many forms and approaches against factions respecting the agreement from cease-fire, demobilization to
The second Kingdom of Cambodia born with the departure of UNTAC after spending more than two billions US dollars while Cambodia remains in the situation of “one country two administrative regions and two governments”. Wars still continued both along the border with Thailand and in a number of areas within the country, which was characterized as “tiger skin situation”. Within the new coalition government, the conflicting ideas continue to exist, which later led to the event in July 1997. After that with the support from generous friendly country, Cambodian initiated an idea to achieve the concession and new agreement without any influence from outsiders. We have adopted the Election Law, created National Election Committee and the Constitutional Council to prepare for election and to solve conflicts. With the technical and financial supports, Cambodians prepared the election by ourselves.

The conflicting idea between the parties elected by people were solved in the benefits of the people and future of Cambodia in the presence and idea of His Majesty Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk. As a result, the coalition government was formed by two main political parties, the Cambodian People Party and the FUNCINPEC Party and started their works until the election of the third mandate of the national assembly and to the present time.

In this new era, the iron erosion strategy of the Khmer Rouge met with the Win-Win policy of the Royal Government. This is the final stage of the national reconciliation. Only 25 days after the government started their work in 1998, the Royal
Government totally disbanded the military and political organization of the Khmer Rouge. The remaining Khmer Rouge Force defected to the government and others were arrested. There is no guerilla force, leaders or Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. Therefore, what the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement intended to achieve could not be realized during the UNTAC have now become reality because Cambodian factions have agreed with each other without any order and influence from outside. Once again, the patience and concession are the key to ensure price and cooperation and to avoid division and conflict. In all of these processes, the "Win-Win" policy is the core and an important instrument of our peace concept. It is also the most important lesson, which Cambodia has learned from the experiments and many decades of struggle in order to achieve full peace and tranquility. The key point in the "Win-Win" policy is to recognize that there will be no winner in the destructive war, and the revenge also cannot bring peace to the people and country. Therefore, I decided to apply the three "safety policies" to end the war and conflict in the country. Those are:

First- to guarantee the personal and family safety for those who are willing to end the war and return to live in the society.

Second- to guarantee the career safety by providing enough opportunity to continue their professions that they used to have.

Third- to guarantee the safety of their properties that they have had without confiscation and alteration.

The three policies are the most sacred and effective medicine to cure the wound and division caused by many decades of civil war and internal conflict. However, the "Win-Win" policy did not stop there. To continue this policy, I set out an urgent integration strategy for those who live in the
former Khmer Rouge controlled area to return to live in the society in order to provide them with opportunities to contribute and to get benefits from the national development through providing the appropriate physical and economic infrastructure. This is an important complementary strategy strengthening and ensuring the "Win-Win" policy to be comprehensively succeeded.

If we take stock of what happening for lesson learned and experiences in this peace process, we would see that the collapse of the political and military organization and national reconciliation have been made possible due to many mixed factors that include:

1. The King and Queen are always the core of the National Reconciliation.

2. The coordination among the political parties through the multi-parties democracy under the motto of "Nation Religion King" by considering the long term benefits of the nation rather than the short term benefits for the parties.

3. The brightness and correctness of the Royal Government's policy, especially the "Win-Win" policy and other socio-economic policies and other sector policies to support the "Win-Win" policy which were appropriate to the desire of Cambodian people.

4. The support from international community in the process of national reconciliation, democracy, respects for human rights and rehabilitation of Cambodia.

5. The policy mistakes of Pol Pot genocidal regime since 1975 to its end.

6. The non-retaliation among people, who live in the different controlled areas and from different groups of
soldiers that used to fight with each other is another important reason, which provides favorable environment for the government to implement the "Win-Win" policy successfully. The good point for Cambodia is the non-retaliation, disregard of who win or loss, in which every one is the winner. Peace and national reconciliation is for all, which is why the internal border from one area to another area has been demolished. The people regard each other as only one race, achieve the same development and benefits under one constitution, one law and one government. The arm forces that used to fight with each other have joint together without discrimination and division in terms of uniform and patriotism.

Indeed, we have clearly understood about the undeniable obligation in search of justice for the people, who used to suffer from the genocidal regime in the past. In this sense, the Royal Government is strongly committed to fulfilling the remaining necessary tasks in order to bring those responsible for the past genocidal crime to court. However, I just want to recall that those, that now demand to bring the former Khmer Rouge leaders to court, used to forgive, support them to continue the civil war, and allow those criminals to sit at the peace negotiating tables in 1991. The perception of crime committed by the former Khmer Rouge leaders during the past and now is not different. What is different is the fact that Cambodia have fought for and achieved peace by ourselves in the past ten years.

Anyway, I would like to reiterate that our rationales and morals will not let the genocidal crime committed upon Cambodian people during the Khmer Rouge leader's rule from 1975 to 1979 go unpunished. The masterminds of this crime will have to come before the court and the people to be
responsible for what they have done. This is the demand for justice and the effective warning for those leaders who will be responsible for the future of the country and the people. In this sense, the Royal Government will continue to push the trial process to make sure that it will be successful. I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound thanks to all development partners for support in the preparation of this difficult trial process.

Venerable Buddhist Monks
Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen

The successful and peaceful end of war and national fraction is hardly earned. However, ensuring sustained peace and further strengthened culture of peace achieved so far is even more difficult. To this end, we must work harder and double our efforts in order to nurture all the key elements which are the roots of peace, including the promotion of non-violence culture, respect of human rights, democracy and good governance, especially the efforts in poverty reduction and raising the living standard of the people. Without efforts and concrete results in the implementation of these works, we do not have any hope to maintain sustainable peace which we have just achieved.

In this sense, we all have worked hard in the last two decades by passing through many difficulties and small or big obstacles in order to build and rehabilitate the country from the genocidal regime and many years of civil war in order to ensure that Cambodia is able to regain its destiny and be able to equally participate in the regional and international affairs as a nation with respect and admiration.

The Rectangular Strategy, which is the political platform of the Royal Government in the third term of the National Assembly, reflects all of these efforts, especially the efforts to promote rights and dignity of the Cambodian people.
by respecting all kinds of freedom, both in politics and socio-economy, especially rights in development.

In foreign policy area, Cambodia has been quickly integrated into the region and the world and is now playing an active role on equal footing in the regional and global affairs. Cambodia has transformed from a country which used to have the UN peace-keeping force into a country which is now sending its troops to help other countries in the UN peacekeeping missions. We have achieved another fruitful and historical result in solving border issues with neighboring countries based on the principles of transforming those border areas into peaceful, cooperative and development ones.

In domestic policy, the Royal Government mainly focuses on the strengthening of peace, stability and social order, especially the strengthening of freedom of expression and participation rights in the democratic process for all people. The election has been conducted regularly. The promotion of the rights to join the free political movement through multi-party system as well as the freedom of expression and freedom of information through numerous national and internal media with thousand of NGOs that have operated freely in Cambodian is the clear evidence reflecting unwavering commitment of the Royal Government in promoting democracy, and respect of human rights and human dignity.

Moreover, the first Commune/Sangkat election in 2002, conducted under a democratic governance and decentralization system, was a comprehensive reform in the contemporary history of Cambodia's administration, further confirming the strengthening of democracy, especially at local levels across Cambodia. The decentralization policy will be sustained and further strengthened through the Second Commune/Sangkat election, which will be held on April 2007.

The Royal Government considers the development of institutional capacity and good governance is key to sustainable
and equitable development. This work is closely linked to the preparation and strengthening of the rule of law, aiming at improving transparency, accountability and anti-corruption through Judicial Reform, Public Administrative Reform, Public Finance Management Reform, Forestry Management Reform, Fishery Sector Reform and Land Management Reform. All of these reforms not only have direct impacts on the business and investment promotion and the distribution of the fruits of economic growth to every level of society, but also contributing to the promotion of rights, freedom and dignity of the human as well as democracy.

At the same time, the Royal Government has mobilized resources to invest in prioritized physical infrastructure, including the enhancement of agricultural production in order to build a strong foundation for sustainable economic growth. By implementing this policy, the infrastructure system and other physical facilities such as roads, irrigation, water supply and distribution, electricity as well as telecommunication have been rehabilitated and built all over the country.

As a result, in the last decade, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has averaged at more than 8 percent. The poverty rate reduced from 100 percent in 1979 to 47 percent in 1994, and after 10 years when the situation in Cambodia improved the poverty incidence dropped to 35 percent in 2004.

While promoting a sustainable economic growth and trying to put tremendous efforts into distributing the fruits of economic growth with equity between the rich and poor, urban and rural and between genders, the Royal Government has also been trying to promote social and cultural development through providing more opportunities for the poor in receiving education and health services, clean water and hygiene, electricity, rural credit, information and proper technology. As a result, social indicators of almost all sectors made noticeable achievements and are being recognized and highly valued by national and international public opinions.
I just have made deliberation on the key mechanisms in ensuring sustainable peace and prosperity for the country and Cambodian people. Peace and development do have a close correlation which is mutually inclusive. On the one hand, peace is the sole and most important objective for social and economic development. On the other hand, promoting democracy, respecting human right, improving public service delivery and good governance as well as all the development policies which meant to support the poor are necessary conditions in ensuring the sustainable peace that we have achieved so far. The Royal Government fully understood this very close verbal connection and has been very determined in bringing about continued and progressive development for Cambodia.

Now, we can confidently make a strong statement that Cambodia has emerged as a nation which is united by a common objective of avoiding past conflict and separation, and plays a meaningful role in the international community in order to ensure a prosperous future of mankind. Now, Cambodian people can look into its future confidently and optimistically, given the achievements made so far through national reconciliation, national unity, compromise and forgiveness given to each another while pursuing long-term national interest over the interests of political parties or individuals which are short-term in nature. This can be done by carefully implementing broader economic and social development policies of the Royal Government.

Once again, I would like to highly appreciate the International Relations Institute of Cambodia for the excellent organization of this meaningful Open Academic Forum. Finally, I would like to wish Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen with the Five Gems of Buddhist blessings.
PART III

Conclusion
Conclusion

Having got supports from the Office of the Council of Ministers, cooperation from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, and supports from International Organizations, and Embassies, International Relations Institute of Cambodia organized an Open Academic Forum to commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict, was occurred on 21st October 2006 in Phnom Penh Hotel, under high presidency of Samdech Chea Sim, the President of the Senate of the Kingdom of Cambodia, in Opening session, and Samdech Hun Sen, the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia, in Closing session. This Open Academic Forum was finished smoothly with high positive results.

Through their speeches, presentations, papers, remarks, and comments, speakers addressed the importance of the Paris peace agreements, which brought Cambodia forward to full and completed peace, and economic and social growths, by changing from challenging culture to peace and negotiated culture. With these agreements, Cambodia has achieved many successes in the last 15 years in economic, social, and political areas.

On the economic front, after agreements, Cambodia has enjoyed economic growth in tourism, agriculture, and garment industry. Cambodia stepped in the World Trade Organization, which is an important phase to spread out the Cambodian products to the international market, and bring up the Cambodian equal-rank to the international society. In addition, Cambodia was hopped to get high income from oil, gas, and minerals. With the economic growth, Cambodia, however, is facing a big gap between the poor and the rich.
On the social front, Cambodia got many supports from international community, especially, on physical infrastructure, health care services, education, de-mining, Khmer Rouge trial, and civil organization spreads which is a significant core in country development. Cambodia, today, is organizing the Khmer Rouge trial. However, Cambodian people have more or less a tendency of and taken over by the temptation to pursue the interest of their own or of their faction, rather than the public interest. This tendency is identified a cause of politicalization in the public administration and the spread of corruption in society.

On the political front, these agreements provide Cambodia peace, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Cambodia had conducted free and fair elections, which was organized by international community and own self. Moreover, press liberty and public comment was spread out in Cambodian society, especially, democracy and human right. Nevertheless, democracy is applied in long term.

At the same time, speakers provided recommendations as below:

On the economic front, Cambodia ought to promote more and more people’s participation in economic development through the growth of agricultural and agro-industrial sector. Cambodia ought to extend the farmers’ cooperatives because it is the most effective way to grow their productivities and income. Furthermore, Japan had many experiences on it, and was ready for deep sharing these experiences on the organizing of farmers’ cooperatives to the Royal Government of Cambodia. Moreover, government needs to weigh carefully the prospect of long-term damage against seductive short-term gain. Therefore, Cambodia should manage national income transparently. Another point, the national parks and resorts ought to be standardized internationally, look
after the natural resources carefully, and expand tourist broadcast system widely in order to attract more tourists.

On the social front, Cambodia ought to govern the country by law and bring good governance as core in order to build strength in management, especially, in land dispute and deforestation. And the legal and judicial reform is a significant point. Another point which needs to finish quickly is the Khmer Rouge trial; and government ought to pay attention on sustainable education, and health, especially, HIV/AIDS information ought to spread out to all level of people, and sanitary water ought to contribute sufficiently to people. Furthermore, the government ought to reduce the gap between the poor and rich. Another point to do, the government ought to pay attention on current aids which hugely provide to Cambodia outside aid coordination framework. If donors still continuously provide aid in this way, it will destroy the significant role of cooperative framework. For the poverty reduction strategy, it is not yet success, and diseases and ignorance are still available.

On political front, human right and democratic problems are still being normal in Cambodian society.

Thus, all points, expressed by speakers, are the need of peoples’ direct-participation in country development.
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