Reproduced from Cambodia:Progress and Challenges since 1991 edited by Pou Sothirak, Geoff Wade and Mark Hong (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at < http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

CAMBODIA

The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

CAMBODIA

PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES SINCE 1991

EDITED BY POU SOTHIRAK GEOFF WADE MARK HONG



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

Singapore

First published in Singapore in 2012 by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Pasir Panjang Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg *Website*: http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2012 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the policy of the publishers or their supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Cambodia : progress and challenges since 1991 / edited by Pou Sothirak, Geoff Wade and Mark Hong.

- 1. Cambodia-Politics and government-1979-
- 2. Cambodia—Economic conditions—20th century.
- 3. Cambodia—Social conditions—20th century.
- 4. Cambodia—Foreign relations—20th century.
- 5. Cambodia—Foreign relations—Southeast Asia.
- 6. Southeast Asia—Foreign relations—Cambodia.
- 7. United Nations. Transitional Authority in Cambodia.
- 8. International police-Cambodia-History.
- 9. Mekong River.
- I. Pou Sothirak.
- II. Wade, Geoff.
- III. Hong, Mark.

D\$554.842 C97 2012

ISBN 978-981-4379-82-3 (soft cover) ISBN 978-981-4379-83-0 (e-book, PDF)

Typeset by Superskill Graphics Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

CONTENTS

Fore	word by HRH Norodom Sirivudh	ix
Mess	sage by K. Kesavapany	xi
Con	tributors	xiii
Time	eline of Recent Cambodian History	xxv
	CAMBODIA AND SINGAPORE	
1.	Forging Closer Bilateral Relations between Cambodia and Singapore <i>Sok An</i>	3
2.	My Cambodian Story <i>Tommy Koh</i>	11
3.	Cambodia-Singapore Synergy: A Paradigm for Cooperation and Connectivity <i>Mark Hong</i>	18
	CAMBODIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA	
4.	ASEAN and the Cambodia Campaign Rodolfo C. Severino	43
5.	Cambodia-Indonesia Relations <i>Benny Widyono</i>	48
6.	Cambodia and Vietnam: Good Fences Make Good Neighbours <i>Carlyle A. Thayer</i>	62
	CAMBODIA AND OTHERS	

7.	Cambodia's Relations with China: A Steadfast Friendship	81
	Julio A. Jeldres	

8.	Cambodia-United States Relations Carlyle A. Thayer	96
9.	Japan's Roles in Cambodia: Peace-Making, Peace-Building and National Reconciliation <i>Lam Peng Er</i>	108
10.	Cambodia-Japan Relations Pou Sothirak and Yukio Imagawa	119
11.	Cambodia's Relations with France since the Paris Agreements of 1991 <i>Julio A. Jeldres</i>	134
	PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN CAMBODIA	
12.	An Assessment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) <i>Yasushi Akashi</i>	153
13.	The 1991 Paris Peace Agreement: A KPNLF Perspective <i>Son Soubert</i>	166
14.	The Role and Performance of UNTAC: An Australian Perspective <i>Ken Berry</i>	173
15.	Justice and Reconciliation in Cambodia Jean-Marc Lavergne	188
16.	How has Cambodia Achieved Political Reconciliation? <i>Phoak Kung</i>	205
	CAMBODIA TODAY	
17.	The Contemporary Political Landscape in Cambodia <i>Wolfgang Sachsenröder</i>	231
18.	The Cambodian Economy: Charting the Course of a Brighter Future <i>Hang Chuon Naron</i>	246

vi

19.	Changing the Course of Cambodia through the Business of Empowering People <i>Ing Kantha Phavi and Winta Ghebreab</i>	281
20.	Progress and Challenges of Education in Cambodia Today <i>Pou Sovachana</i>	292
21.	Buddhism in Cambodia since 1993 <i>Ian Harris</i>	320
22.	Managing Poverty in Cambodia <i>Pou Sothirak</i>	337
	CAMBODIA'S FUTURE	
23.	The Mekong: Uncertain Future of a Great River <i>Milton Osborne</i>	369
24.	Reflections on the Future of Cambodia: From My Vantage Point <i>HRH Norodom Sirivudh</i>	384
Inde:	X	403

When I was requested to draft a foreword for this book, I inquired into the origins of the book proposal, and was immediately struck by its timeliness, as 2011 is the 20th anniversary of the 1991 Paris Peace Conference which brought about a diplomatic resolution of the protracted Cambodia conflict. I also liked the way it focused on the future prospects of Cambodia, looking ahead and putting past acrimony behind, which is in tune with the concept of national reconciliation, which we practice in Cambodia. Thirdly, I was amazed by the appropriate nationalities of the three scholars from ISEAS, who are the co-editors of this book. One is a Cambodian, another is Singaporean and the third is Australian. Those who know the history of the diplomatic efforts to help resolve the Cambodian conflict will recognize that these were the three countries intimately involved in bringing the conflict to a negotiated settlement. Let me express my appreciation for the hard work, organization and initiative of the three co-editors who guided this useful book to fruition.

2011 is also the year in which Singapore's Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew's thoughts, recorded through interviews by a team of journalists from the Singapore Straits Times, were published in a book entitled: Lee Kuan Yew: Hard Truths to Keep Singapore Going. What struck me most was a quotation from Mr Lee, who said: "Singapore is my concern till the end of my life." (Straits Times, 22 January 2011) When I read it, I was impressed by the dedication and passion of Mr Lee, whom we all know as the Father of Modern Singapore. I have been lucky to meet Mr Lee, and also know that it was his strong support for King Sihanouk and for Free Cambodia that kept the efforts going for over ten years.

What I wish for my Cambodian compatriots is that same patriotism and drive to make our country a modern, peaceful, prosperous and forwardlooking country. After all the terrible conflicts, killings, sufferings and turmoil, all Cambodians would surely share my wishes for our beloved country. In a sense, I wish to dedicate this book to our two great leaders, HM King Sihanouk and to MM Lee Kuan Yew, and their ministers and officials, who achieved peace and freedom for democratic Cambodia. Now we need to draw some lessons in economic development from the Little Red Dot. After all, if even great China can learn from Singapore, why not Cambodia? Lastly, in regard to the future of Cambodia, let me touch upon the three principles which may guide our nation-building, just as the French have chosen: Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité, for their founding principles. I suggest Buddhism, Education and National Unity as our guiding principles. Every one will have their own mix, but bearing in mind our tragic history, our culture and the need to build knowledge for our future, these three principles seem as appropriate as any. Let this timely book serve as a foundation and compass for future generations of Cambodians, who need to look back at our history, and forwards towards a glorious future: we who are the children of Great Angkor.

> HRH Norodom Sirivudh Phnom Penh, Cambodia June 2011

This timely book commemorates the Twentieth Anniversary of the October 1991 Paris Peace Agreement on Cambodia. The Paris Conference on Cambodia itself was the high-water achievement and culmination of a long and determined campaign by the ASEAN countries to bring about a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Cambodian conflict. It succeeded where previous attempts had failed, primarily because the international, regional and domestic Cambodian parties were now supportive of a negotiated peace settlement. Various papers in this book describe how the various factors fell into place, which enabled the many participants to be ready to accept an UN-organized, Permanent Five UNSC members-brokered, Cambodian factions-accepted peace settlement.

Cambodia was one of the first major challenges confronting the decadeold ASEAN, to test how it would face up to the question of whether ASEAN could countenance the overthrow of a small state in its region by armed force. What about its hallowed principles, such as the non-use of force to settle disputes; of respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of all states; of the use of consultation, consensus and dialogue to settle disputes? It was because of these deeply-held principles that ASEAN decided to oppose the foreign invasion and occupation of Cambodia for over a decade, until the conditions were ripe for a peaceful settlement.

Now that the UNTAC PKO and UN-supervised general elections of 1993 have peacefully come and gone, key questions remain, such as: what is the state of Cambodia today, eighteen years later, and after millions of dollars in ODA by various countries and generous assistance by numerous NGOs have been provided to Cambodia to recover and reconstruct its economy and society? What will be the future of Cambodia in the 21st Century? The various papers in this volume seek to address these complex issues of socio-economic development, of human resource development, of good governance, and of Cambodia's foreign relations. The story of the liberation and reconstruction of Cambodia is one of the noblest achievements of the international community and one of ASEAN's finest successes, and it is a story well told within this book.

That is not to say, however, that there are no difficulties or that all sides are happy with the current situation within the Kingdom of Cambodia. The centralised power which is often advantageous during a period of reconstruction at times results in the exclusion of some groups from development and the stilling of alternative voices within the social milieu. Cambodia certainly still has many issues with which to grapple and we hope that this volume will provide the background for more people to understand the history of Cambodia over the last 20 years and the potentials yet to be realized. I commend the great efforts by the many paper writers and the three co-editors for a job well done.

> K. Kesavapany Director ISEAS Singapore 6 June 2011

HRH Prince Norodom Sirivudh was born in 1951. He graduated with a Master's Degree in Economics at Paris IX of Dauphine University in 1976. He began his political career in 1971 when he joined the Paris-based royalist movement, GRUNC/FUNK. In 1981, he joined the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), and he was the Chief Representative of Prince Norodom Ranariddh (who assumed the leadership of the FUNCINPEC Party in 1983). In 1988, he was appointed as Chief of FUNCINPEC's Humanitarian Department and was designated Secretary-General of the FUNCINPEC-Kampuchea from 1989 to 1990. At the Cambodian Peace talks in Jakarta, Indonesia in 1988, Prince Norodom Sirivudh was one of FUNCINPEC's delegates until the final agreements were signed in Paris on 23 October 1991. On 7 November 1991, Prince Norodom Sirivudh returned to his beloved motherland Cambodia for the first time in 20 years. He laid the groundwork for FUNCINPEC's participation in the electoral process, mandated under the Paris Peace Agreement. He was the FUNCINPEC's Bureau Chief in Phnom Penh during the United Nations-Administered Elections. Prince Norodom Sirivudh was elected to the Parliament in 1993 as a representative of Kampong Cham Province. Following the 1993 Elections, Prince Norodom Sirivudh was appointed Co-Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government. In late 1993, the Prince was also appointed as Secretary-General of the FUNCINPEC Party. In 1994, the Prince was appointed as Chairman of the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), a non-government Phnom Penh-based research and policy organization. In October of the same year, the Prince resigned from the post of Co-Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In April 1999 he was nominated as Supreme Privy Counsellor to His Majesty the King. On 5 July 2001, Prince Norodom Sirivudh was reappointed for the second time as Secretary-General of the FUNCINPEC Party. And in August 2001, Prince Norodom Sirivudh was elected as Senator. In the July 2003 General Elections, Prince Norodom Sirivudh was elected as Member of Parliament for Kandal Province and became Deputy Prime Minister and Co-Minister of Interior of the Royal Government until March 2006. From March 2006, Prince Norodom

Sirivudh has been Privy Counsellor to His Majesty the King and Member of Parliament.

K. Kesavapany has been ISEAS Director since 1 November 2002. Prior to his appointment, Ambassador Kesavapany was Singapore's High Commissioner to Malaysia. In his 30-year career in the Foreign Service, he served as Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva (December 1991–March 1997) and held key staff appointments in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore. Ambassador Kesavapany was an active participant in the final phase of the Uruguay Round negotiations and was the first Chairman of the WTO's General Council in 1995.

Sok An is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister in charge of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia. He graduated from the Royal University of Phnom Penh with a Bachelor's degree in Geography, History and Sociology in 1972. In 1981, he was the Chief of Cabinet of HE Samdech Hun Sen, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and later on in 1988, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1983, he was the Secretary General of the Cambodian National Peace Committee. In 1985, he was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cambodia to India. In 1988, he was Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1991, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Interior. Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and in 1990, Vice Minister of Interior. In 1991, he was the Supreme National Council representative and also the Head of the Central Cabinet of the Cambodian People's Party. In 1993 he was elected as Member of Parliament of the Takeo Constituency of the National Assembly and nominated as the Co-Minister in Charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers of the Royal Government of Cambodia. In 1996, he was awarded the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws by Wesleyan College, Iowa. His other positions include Chairman of the Council for Public Administrative Reform, Chairman of the Cambodian National Petroleum Authority (CNPA) and Chairman of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal.

Tommy Koh is Ambassador-at-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Centre for International Law at the National University of Singapore (NUS), and Special Adviser to the Institute of Policy Studies. He had served as Dean of the NUS Faculty of Law, Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York and was Ambassador to the United States of America, Canada and Mexico. He was President of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and chaired the Earth Summit. He served as the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy to Russia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. He was Singapore's Chief Negotiator for the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement. He had chaired two dispute panels for the WTO. He acted as the agent of Singapore in two legal disputes between Singapore and Malaysia, which were adjudicated by the ICJ and ITLOS. He chairs three committees for the National University of Singapore (NUS) relating to law, Asia research and environmental management. He was the founding Chairman of the National Arts Council; founding Executive Director of the Asia-Europe Foundation; and Chairman of the National Heritage Board. He was recently appointed Rector of a new College at NUS, the Tembusu College, and Chairman of the SymAsia Foundation of Credit Suisse.

Mark Hong is a Visiting Research Fellow, ISEAS. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics from Cambridge University, UK in 1969 and a Master of Science degree in International Relations from Georgetown University, Washington DC in 1982 on a Fulbright Scholarship. He served in the Singapore Foreign Ministry from October 1969 to March 2002, with postings in Cambodia, Hong Kong, Paris, New York as Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Russia and Ukraine. He has edited five books, two on energy issues, two on ASEAN-Russia relations and one on Southeast Asia, with chapter contributions to each.

Rodolfo C. Severino is the head of the ASEAN Studies Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore and a frequent speaker at international conferences in Asia and Europe. Having been Secretary-General of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations from 1998 to 2002, he has completed a book, entitled *Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community*. His views on ASEAN and Southeast Asia have also been published in *ASEAN Today and Tomorrow*, a compilation of his speeches and other statements. He has coedited two books: *Whither the Philippines in the 21st Century?* and *Southeast Asia in a New Era*. Before assuming the position of ASEAN Secretary-General, Severino was Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, the culmination of 32 years in the Philippine Foreign Service. He twice served as ASEAN Senior Official for the Philippines and is one of the Philippines' Experts and Eminent Persons for the ASEAN Regional Forum. Severino has a Bachelor of Arts degree in the humanities from the Ateneo de Manila and a Master of Arts degree in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He is a member of the Advisory Board of *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, the journal of the Fletcher School of Tufts University.

Benny Widyono holds an M.A. and Ph.D. in Economics and served as a United Nations diplomat in Bangkok, Santiago, New York, and Cambodia, 1963 to 1997. He was a peacekeeper in Cambodia with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, from 1992 to 1993, and then returned to Cambodia as the UN Secretary-General's Representative from 1994–97. His recently published book, *Dancing in the Shadows: Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge, and the United Nations in Cambodia* was written while Dr Widyono was a visiting scholar at Cornell University. He is currently adjunct professor of economics at the University of Connecticut in Stamford, Ct., a board member of CKS and PIO, and an adviser to Leopard Cambodia enterprises.

Carlyle A. Thayer is Emeritus Professor, University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra. He was educated at Brown University, holds an M.A. in Southeast Asian Studies from Yale and a Ph.D. in International Relations from The Australian National University. He was a United Nations-accredited observer for the May 1993 elections in Cambodia. He is the author of over 400 publications dealing with the domestic politics, foreign policies and security issues of Southeast Asia including *Southeast Asia: Patterns of Security Cooperation* (ASPI 2010).

Julio A. Jeldres is a Ph.D. Candidate and an Adjunct Research Fellow at Monash University in Australia. He served as Senior Private Secretary to King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia and has been since 1993 his Official Biographer. He is a graduate of Swinburne University in Melbourne and has published three books on the Cambodian Royal Family and the Cambodian Monarchy as well as translating the Memoirs of King Sihanouk from French into English. He has been a Visiting Research Fellow at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand and a Guest Lecturer at CASS (Beijing) and ISEAS (Singapore). He was awarded the rank of Ambassador of Cambodia (Honorary) in June 1993 by the King of Cambodia. His Ph.D. research proposal is entitled: "Norodom Sihanouk Charismatic Authority and Cambodia's Foreign Policy". He has published numerous articles about Cambodian politics, human rights, democracy development, relations with China and the monarchy. He has also worked as a consultant with several UN agencies in Bangkok, mostly on human rights issues. Lam Peng Er is a Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. He obtained his Ph.D. from Columbia University. A Japan specialist, his latest single-authored book is Japan's Peacebuilding Diplomacy in Asia: Seeking a more active political role (2009). Lam's forthcoming books are: Japan's Relations with Southeast Asia: The Fukuda Doctrine and Beyond, (co-edited with Victor Teo), Southeast Asia between China and Japan, Japan Chronicles: 2001–11 — A Second Lost Decade? (co-edited with Purnendra Jain), Japan's Strategic Challenges in a Changing Regional Environment and (co-edited with Qin Yaqing and Yang Mu), China and East Asia in the Post-Financial Crisis World. Lam has the vision to build a school for young children in Cambodia.

Yukio Imagawa was born in 1932 in Tokyo. In 1955, he graduated from Waseda University, Faculty of Political Science. In 1956, he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). Besides serving at MOFA in Tokyo, he served in foreign countries such as Cambodia, France, Laos, Vietnam (Hanoi), Algeria. In 1985, he served as Consul General of Japan at Marseille and in 1988 as Minister of Japanese Embassy in France. From 1989–99, he was appointed as Co-Chairman of the third committee of Paris International Conference on Cambodia. In 1990, he was appointed as Minister of Japanese Embassy in Thailand and from 1991–96 as Ambassador of Japan to Cambodia. In 1996, Ambassador IMAGAWA retired from MOFA. In 1996 he took up a position as Professor of Faculty of Law, Kanto-Gakuen University, Gunma Japan. From 2005, he is serving as Professor Emeritus of Kanto-Gakuen University.

Yasushi Akashi graduated from the University of Tokyo in 1954. Mr Akashi then studied as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Virginia, and later at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Columbia University. He became the first Japanese citizen to join the United Nations Secretariat in 1957. He served as Ambassador at the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Public Information, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Cambodia and later for the Former Yugoslavia. He was Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs until the end of 1997. He is currently Representative of the Government of Japan on Peace-Building in Sri Lanka, Chairman of the International House of Japan, and President of the Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning (JOICFP), Vice-President of the United

Nations Association of Japan and Visiting Professor at Ritsumeikan University. Author of many books including Memoirs (2001), *The United Nations — Its History and Prospects* (2006), and *In the Valley of War and Peace — Personalities I met* (2007).

Son Soubert was born on 20 June 1942 in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia; H.E. Son Soubert is currently High Privy Councillor to His Majesty King Sihamoni, as from May 2010. He received Master Degree in Classics (French, Latin and Greek Literatures; Grammar and Philology) from La Sorbonne - Paris University, Paris France. H.E. Son Soubert was appointed Member of the Constitutional Council, appointed by His Majesty the King of Cambodia from 1998–2010. He was Professor at the Faculty of Archaeology of the Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh and served as Vice-President of Cambodian Red Cross from 1993 to 2008. He was appointed Second Vice-President of the National Assembly from May 1993-July 1998. He was elected by the Congress of the Party as President of the SON SANN Party from March 1998. He was then elected as Member of Parliament during the UNTAC supervised and organized elections from May 1993. He was elected as Secretary General of the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party by its Congress from May 1993. From 1982-91, he served as Assistant to the Prime Minister of the Coalition Government of Cambodia (recognized by the United Nations), in charge of Diplomatic Relations and participating in the Human Rights Commission of the UN every year from 1983 to 1990. From 1982-91, he served as Second Vice-President of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front and from 1979-82 as Member of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front of Humanitarian Affairs, in charge of supplying food and medicine to the Cambodian refugees at the Thai-Cambodian borders. From1974-79, he was General Manager of a Chain of Grocery Shops (Superettes) in Nice, France. H.E. Son Soubert has set up various Children's homes in Cambodia and served as Member of the Board of the Khmer Institute of Democracy and Member of the Board of the Centre for Khmer Studies in Siem-Reap. He received numerous awards, including a French Order des Palmes Académiques: Chevalier, for Culture and Several Khmer Orders and Medals.

Ken Berry was legal adviser to the Australian Task Force on Cambodia (1990–93) and participated in all negotiations leading to the signing of the Paris Agreements. He is the author of *Cambodia From Red to Blue: Australia's Initiative for Peace* (1997). He subsequently became chief of staff of then

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, Australian Ambassador to Chile, Peru and Bolivia, and Assistant Secretary for Arms Control and Disarmament. After leaving the Foreign Ministry in 2000, he became Executive Assistant to the Co-Chairs, International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2000–01), Legal Adviser to the International Crisis Group, Brussels (2002–08), and Research Coordinator of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (2008–10). He then retired to live in New Zealand.

Jean-Marc Lavergne completed his higher education at the Clermont-Ferrand Law School, and received his Masters in Private Law and Public Notary Certification in 1983. In 1982 he has been admitted to the Clermont-Ferrand Lawyers Training Centre (Centre de Formation Professionnelle des Avocats de Clermont-Ferrand). In 1988 after completing his magistracy studies, he was appointed to the High Civil Court of Angers as Parole Judge (Juge de l'application des Peines au Tribunal de Grande Instance). In 1997 he was appointed to the Appeals Court of Rennes as judge (Conseiller), where he has acted in particular as Presiding Judge of the Court of Assizes of Loire Atlantique and Morbihan. From 2001 to 2007, he served as Vice-President of the High Civil Court of Le Mans. In 2007 he was appointed as Conseiller at the Court of Appeal of Angers where he has also acted as Presiding Judge of the Court of Assizes of Sarthe and Maine et Loire. In 2006 he was appointed as International Judge at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Court of Cambodia (Trial Chamber). Since 2008 he serves on a full time basis as resident Judge in Phnom-Penh. Under the terms of Agreement between the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Extraordinary Chambers have jurisdiction to bring to trial senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those who were most responsible for the crimes and serious violations of Cambodian penal law, international humanitarian law and custom, and international conventions recognized by Cambodia, that were committed during the period from 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979.

Phoak Kung is a Harvard Yenching Institute Doctoral Scholar, and a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick. He is also doing research in the Department of Government and Southeast Asian Program at Cornell University. He earned a master's degree in Public Policy from Crawford School of Economics and Government at the Australian National University. He was Assistant Dean (2008–10) in the Faculty of Social Sciences and International Relations at Paññāsātra University of Cambodia.

Wolfgang Sachsenröder is a German European, born in Brussels. He finished his studies of political science and public law with a Ph.D. from Bonn University. After some years in academic exchange he worked as a political science practitioner with the German Friedrich Naumann Foundation. Postings in Asia (11 years), the Middle East (6 years) and the Balkans (3 years) gave him the opportunity to work with numerous political parties. Since 2008 he is back in Singapore where he joined the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies as a visiting fellow. His current research is focusing on political parties in the ASEAN member countries.

Hang Chuon Naron is Secretary of State of the Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Royal Government of Cambodia since 2010 and the Permanent Vice Chairperson of the Supreme National Economic Council of Cambodia. Previously, he was Secretary-General of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. He is also a Member of the Government Committee for the Preparation of the National Strategic Development Plan. He had served as the Director, Economic and Financial Policy Planning and Monitoring Unit in the Ministry of Economy and Finance, responsible for coordinating fiscal reform programmes with international financial institutions (ADB, IMF, World Bank). He was also Assistant to the Eminent Person Group for the ASEAN Charter in 2006. He was previously consultant for the World Bank (1999–2000) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (2001). Dr Hang Chuon Naron received his Ph.D. in Economics from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, Russia. In 2004 and 2008, he attended the Executive Programme at the JF Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University and the National School of Administration (ENA) in France respectively.

Ing Kantha Phavi was reappointed Minister for Women's Affairs in September 2008. She is responsible for the management and leadership of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Prior to becoming Minister in 2004, Dr Ing served five years as Secretary of State of Women's and Veterans' Affairs. In addition to her ministerial post, she was appointed in 2004 as Chairwoman of the Cambodian National Council for Women. Dr Ing was an active architect to levy Gender on the agenda of the national development (National Poverty Reduction Strategy, Cambodian MDGs, National Strategic Development Plan, UNDAF 2011–15) and was instrumental in developing an effective mechanism of gender mainstreaming at national and sub-national levels. Under her supervision, the Ministry of Women's Affairs succeeded to integrate the

gender issues in the laws such as the Land law, the Decentralization and Deconcentration organic laws, the new anti- trafficking of human beings and sexual exploitation law, and got the law on domestic violence and protection of the victim adopted in 2005. She continues to advocate for gender in ongoing state reforms and actually is promoting economic empowerment and increasing role in public decision making for women. In the 1990s, Dr Ing worked in France, as a private medical doctor then as director of the drugs trials department at ABR, a French enterprise involved in marketing and research for medical drugs. Dr Ing also served as Deputy Secretary General in a medical NGO, Association des Medecins Cambodgiens (AMC) which provides medical and social assistance to Cambodia. From 1995 to 1997, Dr Ing worked in Cambodia as technical adviser to the Ministry of Rural Development where she was responsible for community health and rural economic development programmes including micro-credit. Dr Ing holds a Doctorate of Medecine from Saint Antoine University, Paris with a specialty in nutrition and tropical diseases and a Brevet in Public Administration from Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) Paris.

Winta Ghebreab is Technical Assistant to the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Cambodia.

Pou Sovachana holds a Bachelor of Arts degree (Mathematics) from the University of Oregon, USA. After a career in hospitality business and as a National Consultant at the Ministry of Tourism in Cambodia, he changed his focus and completed Advanced TESOL (Teacher of English to Speakers of Other Languages) certification in 2006 from Global TESOL College at Portland (USA). As a volunteer in Cambodia in the summers of 2005, 2006, and 2007, he taught and advised teachers and monks' on education issues. He also taught English Language and Khmer culture to vulnerable children. He graduated with a Master of Arts in Curriculum and Instruction in July 2008 from Portland State University (USA). In 2009, he volunteered teaching English language to the poor children at Wat Unnalum for Buddhism Education for Peace Centre. He has written many articles on the education progress and challenges in Cambodia. Currently, he is an Academic Lecturer on Introduction to Ethics, Cultural Anthropology, Fundamentals of Communication, and English Reading and Writing Compositions at Paññāsātra University of Cambodia and serves as an Advisor for Buddhism Education for Peace Centre at Wat Unnalum and Bamboo Shoot School in Steung Mean Chey.

Ian Harris is Professor Emeritus at the University of Cumbria and Tun Lin Kok Yuen Distinguished Visiting Professor in Buddhist Studies at the University of Toronto for 2011–12. He has held previous visiting positions at the University of Oxford, the University of British Columbia, the National University of Singapore, and the Documentary Centre of Cambodia in Phnom Penh. Initially a student of Buddhist philosophy, his current academic interests focus on the modern and contemporary history of Cambodia, Buddhism and politics in Southeast Asia, Buddhist environmentalism, and landscape aesthetics. His most recent books are *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (2005), *Buddhism Under Pol Pot* (2007), and an edited volume entitled *Buddhism, Power and Politics in Southeast Asia* (2007). A new work, *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks under the Khmer Rouge* will appear in early 2012. He is currently engaged in research on Buddhism and political conflict in Cambodia, 1940–75.

Pou Sothirak was born in Phnom Penh, received secondary school education in France from 1973–75 and settled in America from 1975–86. He received a Bachelor Degree in Electrical and Computer Engineering from Oregon State University in 1981 and worked as an engineer at the Boeing Company in Seattle Washington from 1981 to 1985. Mr Pou Sothirak joined the crusade to safeguard Cambodian from foreign occupation and internal conflict from 1986-92 serving as Humanitarian Coordinator at one of the refugee camp on the border between Thailand and Cambodia where over 60,000 displaced Cambodian resided. He had worked also in the field of education and community development program for the Cambodian refugees, under USAID programme. He was elected as Member of Parliament twice during the general election in Cambodia in 1993 and 2003. He had served as Minister of Industry Mines and Energy of the Royal Government of Cambodia from 1993 to 1998. He was appointed as Cambodian Ambassador to Japan from April 2005 to November 2008. He joined the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore in 2009 as Visiting Senior Research Fellow.

Milton Osborne has been associated with Southeast Asia for more than fifty years since being posted to the Australian Embassy in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, in 1959. A graduate of Sydney and Cornell Universities, he has held academic positions in Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States and Singapore. In 1980–81 he was a consultant to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in relation to the Cambodian refugee problem, working along the Thai-Cambodian border. In 1982 he returned to Australian government service as Head of the Asia Branch of the Office of National Assessments,

remaining in that position for eleven years. Since 1993 he has been an independent writer and consultant on Asian issues based in Sydney, and has been an Adjunct Professor and Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University, Canberra. He is currently a Visiting Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney. He is the author of ten books on the history and politics of Southeast Asia, including, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, now in its tenth edition; *River Road to China: The Search for the Source of the Mekong; The Mekong: Turbulent Past, Uncertain Future*; and *Phnom Penh: A Cultural and Literary History*. His most recent monographic publication for the Lowy Institute is, *The Mekong: River Under Threat*.

Geoffrey Wade is a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS. Dr Wade is a historian with interests in Sino-Southeast Asian historical interactions and comparative historiography. He has worked on a range of other related issues including early Islam in Southeast Asia, Chinese expansions, Asian commercial networks, Chinese textual references to Southeast Asia and the Cold War in Southeast Asia. His online database, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: An Open Access Resource* (http:// epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/) provides in English translations of 3,000+ references to Southeast Asia as extracted from the Ming imperial annals, while his most recent edited work *China and Southeast Asia* (2009) comprises a six-volume survey of seminal works on Southeast Asia-China interactions.

TIMELINE OF RECENT CAMBODIAN HISTORY

1953.11.9	Cambodia gains independence from France.
1954.2.21	Diplomatic relations established between
	Cambodia and Japan.
1962.3.27	Diplomatic relations established between
	Cambodia and Indonesia.
1965.8.10	Diplomatic relations established between
	Cambodia and Singapore.
1967.6.24	Diplomatic relations established between
	Cambodia and Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
1969–73	Republic of Vietnam and United States air forces
	bomb Cambodia to disrupt Viet Cong and
	Khmer Rouge.
1970.3	General Lon Nol leads coup against Prince
	Norodom Sihanouk with backing of United
	States.
1975.4	End of Indochina War with fall of Saigon to Viet
	Cong forces.
1975.4.17	Khmer Rouge capture Phnom Penh.
1975.5	Chinese embassy reopens in Phnom Penh.
1978.12.25	Vietnamese forces invade Cambodia.
1979.1.7	Vietnamese-backed People's Republic of
	Kampuchea established, with Heng Samrin as
	the Chief of State. Khmer Rouge's Democratic
	Kampuchea continues to be recognised by the
	United Nations.
1979.2	China attacks Vietnam as punishment for
	Vietnam invasion of Cambodia.
1979.10.9	Inception of Khmer People's National Liberation
	Front (KPNLF).
1981.2	FUNCINPEC established in Paris by Norodom
	Sihanouk.

1992.3.16	The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
	(UNTAC) arrived in Cambodia to commence
	implementation of the UN Settlement Plan
1992.3	The UN High Commissioner for refugees begins
	full-scale repatriation of Khmers on the Thai
	border
1993.5	Elections held throughout Cambodia, with 4
	million people participating. FUNCINPEC (58
	seats), Cambodian People's Party (51 seats) and
	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (10 seats)
	form coalition government, with Norodom
	Ranariddh(FUNCINPEC) as First Prime
	Minister and Hun Sen (CPP) as Second Prime
	Minister. Khmer Rouge outlawed.
1993.9.23	Cambodia restores monarchy and King Norodom
	Sihanouk resumes position as head of state.
1993.9.24	Royal Government of Cambodia established on
	basis of elections. New Constitution promulgated.
1996.7.18 - 1996.7.23	Hun Sen visits China.
1997.7.5	Showdown between CPP and FUNCINPEC.
	Hun Sen achieves victory. Prince Ranariddh goes
	into exile in Paris. Ung Huot elected as new First
	Prime Minister.
1997.7.23	Taiwanese diplomats expelled from Phnom Penh.
1997.8.2	Hun Sen meets with ASEAN Troika mediators
	and agrees on election in 1998.
1998.7.26	Second National Assembly elections. CPP obtains
	64 seats while FUNCINPEC obtains 43 seats
	and Sam Rainsy Party 15 seats.
1998.11.30	CPP and FUNCINPEC form another coalition
	government, with Hun Sen as sole prime minister
	and Prince Norodom Ranariddh as Head of the
	National Assembly.
1999.4.30	Cambodia admitted to ASEAN.
2002.2	First commune elections held.
2003.6	Agreement reached between Cambodia and
	United Nations on Extraordinary Chambers in
	the Courts of Cambodia for the Prosecution of
	Crimes Committed during the Period of
	Democratic Kampuchea.
	A.

2003.7.27	Third National Assembly Elections held. CPP captures 73 seats, FUNCINPEC 26 seats, and Sam Rainsy Party 24 seats.
2004	Coalition government formed between CPP and FUNCINPEC.
2004.10.13	Cambodia joins World Trade Organization.
2004.10.7	King Sihanouk announces his abdication from throne. Replaced by his son King Sihamoni.
2005.8	US lifts ban on US military assistance.
2008.7.27	Fourth National Assembly elections after Paris Agreement. Cambodian People's Party wins 90 of 123 seats. Hun Sen remains Prime Minister.
	Sam Rainsy Party win 26 seats, Human Rights
	Party win three seats, Norodom Ranariddh Party
	win two seats, FUNCINPEC win two seats and
	League for Democratic Party wins one seat.