



Perseus Strategies
1775 K St. NW, Suite 680
Washington, D.C. 20006

Jared Genser and Brian Tronic
info@perseus-strategies.com
T +1 202.466.3069

VIA EMAIL freedex@ohchr.org and srcambodia@ohchr.org

November 23, 2020

Ms. Rhona Smith
UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia
Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
Palais Wilson
52 rue des Pâquis CH-1201
Geneva, Switzerland

Ms. Irene Khan
UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression
Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
Palais Wilson
52 rue des Pâquis CH-1201
Geneva, Switzerland

RE: Request for URGENT ACTION – Forthcoming Trial of Cambodian-American Human Rights Lawyer and Advocate Theary Seng – November 26, 2020

Dear Ms. Smith and Ms. Khan,

We are writing with this request for urgent action on behalf of our client, Theary Seng, a prominent Cambodian-American human rights lawyer and democracy advocate who has been summoned to appear in court for trial on November 26, 2020, to answer criminal charges of “incitement to create social disorder” and “conspiracy to commit treason.” Approximately 60 other people have also been summoned to appear on that day – most are members of the banned opposition and non-violent Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP).

The charges against Ms. Seng are politically motivated and directly connected to her political and social advocacy. Over the past 20 years, she has established herself as an outspoken critic of Prime Minister Hun Sen, both domestically and internationally. Ms. Seng has been a leader in Cambodia’s civil society since 2006 and is widely known for her involvement in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. As the founding president of CIVICUS, she has also played a major role in facilitating civic education for Cambodians. In recent years, Ms. Seng has repeatedly called on Hun Sen’s regime to allow exiled political opponents to return to the country and participate meaningfully in Cambodia’s political process.

Ms. Seng’s advocacy and education efforts have been entirely peaceful, and in fact, much of her work has focused on educating Cambodians on how to participate in politics and bring about change through non-violent means. Despite this, she has been the target of harassment by the regime for over a decade, including having been physically assaulted in 2012.

This summons is just the latest attempt by the Cambodian government to intimidate and harass Ms. Seng and punish her for her advocacy. The specific charges against her come as no surprise – charges of incitement and conspiracy are routinely brought against journalists, human rights defenders, and political opponents in Cambodia. Furthermore, the fact that she has been summoned to appear alongside leaders and members of CNRP, despite having no affiliation with the party, is a clear nod to her outspoken advocacy on their behalf, both domestically and internationally. If she is convicted of the charges against her, she could be sentenced to over a decade in prison.

Therefore, we respectfully request an urgent communication be sent to the Government of Cambodia regarding Ms. Seng’s situation, emphasizing that peaceful activism and speech cannot be criminalized or punished and that human rights defenders have the right to carry out their work without interference.

Background on Cambodia

Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge perpetrated a genocide that killed nearly two million people through mass executions, torture, forced labor, and the rampant spread of disease and famine.¹ The Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, aimed to create a society without competition, based in radical agrarian reform.² In a brutal program of violence, it executed intellectuals, professionals, foreigners, factory workers, the religious, and others.³ Cambodians were condemned to death for seemingly trivial characteristics, such as wearing glasses or knowing a foreign language.⁴ Cities were forcibly evacuated and millions forced to walk to the countryside to work on collectives, toil in labor camps, or languish in prisons. The country’s flourishing rice paddies became mass graves – referred to as “the killing fields” – as the regime massacred and buried over one million Cambodians.⁵

In January 1979, Vietnamese troops seized Phnom Penh and ended the brutal reign of the Khmer Rouge.⁶ Violence continued until the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991, which ended the Vietnamese military occupation and created the United Nations Transitional

¹ *Khmer Rouge: Cambodia’s Years of Brutality*, BBC NEWS, Nov. 16, 2018, available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-10684399>.

² *Id.*

³ *Id.* and *Genocide in Cambodia*, HOLOCAUST MUSEUM HOUSTON, accessed Nov. 20, 2020, available at <https://hmh.org/library/research/genocide-in-cambodia-guide/>.

⁴ *Khmer Rouge: Cambodia’s Years of Brutality*, *supra* note 1.

⁵ Reena Shah, *Rice Crop Sprouts in Killing Field*, TAMPA BAY TIMES, Oct. 17, 2005, available at <https://www.tampabay.com/archive/1990/05/18/rice-crop-sprouts-in-killing-field/>.

⁶ Casey Quackenbush, *40 Years After the Fall of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia Still Grapples With Pol Pot’s Brutal Legacy*, TIME, Jan. 7, 2019, available at <https://time.com/5486460/pol-pot-cambodia-1979/>.

Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).⁷ The UNTAC facilitated the drafting of a new constitution, written in 1993, which guaranteed regular elections, universal suffrage, and equal representation.⁸ By the early 21st century, a vibrant civil society had emerged in Cambodia, as the country with the assistance of foreign development aid, made a concerted effort to uphold human rights. After 10 years of diplomatic negotiations between the Cambodian government and the United Nations, the internationalized Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Khmer Rouge Tribunal) began operations in the mid-2000s and offered Cambodians hope for justice and an end to impunity for the perpetrators of the genocide.⁹

However, the new approach to respecting and protecting human rights and democracy that Cambodia hoped to usher in has not come to pass, as the country now finds itself in a “human rights freefall.”¹⁰ Cambodia is increasingly becoming a one-party state, as the Cambodian Peoples’ Party, in power since 1979, consolidates power and eliminates opposition. Prime Minister Hun Sen, in power since 1985, is one of the five longest-serving autocrats in the world, and his rule has been catastrophic for human rights in Cambodia.¹¹

Due to consistent moves by Hun Sen to undermine it, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal only resulted in the conviction of three individuals while costing hundreds of millions of dollars, destroying any chance for accountability for the genocide.¹² Hundreds of opposition figures have been killed; politically motivated attacks on journalists and union leaders have become commonplace; and civil society critics, including activists, human rights workers, and bloggers, have been arrested, beaten, and intimidated.¹³ The Cambodian government has severely restricted free speech by detaining journalists and revoking media licenses; between January and May 2020, Cambodian police and judicial authorities questioned at least a dozen journalists for their reporting.¹⁴ Enabled and emboldened by a loyal cadre of senior security force officers, Hun Sen has cemented his repressive rule in Cambodia, to the detriment of free speech, democracy, and human rights in the country.

Biography of Theary Seng

⁷ *Cambodia – 20 Years on From the Paris Peace Agreements*, OFFICE OF THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, Oct. 21, 2011, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Cambodia-20yearsonfromtheParisPeace.aspx>.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ Josh Kurlantzick, *The Death of Nuon Chea and Cambodia’s Failed Khmer Rouge Tribunal*, WORLD POLITICS REVIEW, Aug. 15, 2019, available at <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/28121/the-death-of-nuon-chea-and-cambodia-s-failed-khmer-rouge-tribunal>.

¹⁰ CAMBODIA’S DIRTY DOZEN: A LONG HISTORY OF RIGHTS ABUSES BY HUN SEN’S GENERALS, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Jun. 27, 2018, available at <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/06/27/cambodias-dirty-dozen/long-history-rights-abuses-hun-sens-generals>.

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² Josh Kurlantzick, *The Death of Nuon Chea and Cambodia’s Failed Khmer Rouge Tribunal*, WORLD POLITICS REVIEW, Aug. 15, 2019, available at <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/28121/the-death-of-nuon-chea-and-cambodia-s-failed-khmer-rouge-tribunal>.

¹³ *Id.*; see also *Political Prisoners Cambodia*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Jan. 24, 2020, available at <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2020/01/24/political-prisoners-cambodia>.

¹⁴ Joint Statement, *Cambodia’s Government Should Stop Silencing Journalists, Media Outlets*, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ET AL., Nov. 2, 2020, available at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ASA2332942020ENGLISH.PDF>.

Theary C. Seng was born on November 10, 1973 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in the midst of the Cambodian Civil War. When Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge took power, she was forced to evacuate to the Svay Rieng province along the Vietnam border, which became the epicenter of the violence during the Cambodian genocide. The Khmer Rouge killed both of her parents and, while she was still a small child, arbitrarily detained her for nearly six months in Boeung Prison, where she was shackled at night and forced to do manual labor during the day. Following her detention, she fled across the Thai border in 1979 with her surviving family members and emigrated to the United States a year later.

During her time in the United States, Ms. Seng became a citizen and attended Valley Christian High School in Cerritos, California. She excelled academically and was accepted to Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where she obtained her B.S. in international politics in 1995. Following her graduation, she began splitting her time between the United States and Cambodia, where she was volunteering with various labor and human rights groups. In Fall 1997, she began law school at the University of Michigan, where she graduated with a J.D. degree in May 2000. In January 2004, she moved back to Cambodia permanently and began work as a Senior Legal Adviser at the law firm DFDL. In 2005, while at DFDL, Ms. Seng published *Daughter of the Killing Fields: Asrei's Story* with Fusion Press. The book documents her survival of the Cambodian genocide, drawing on her own memory and that of her family members.

After working for two years in the private sector, Ms. Seng joined civil society and became the Executive Director of the Center for Social Development (CSD) in 2006. While there, she expanded the organization's platform to engage with both victims and perpetrators of the genocide through public fora on issues of justice, peace, and reconciliation. These efforts were undertaken in light of and in cooperation with the newly established Khmer Rouge Tribunal. In addition to this professional involvement with the Tribunal, Ms. Seng was the first recognized "civil party," a mechanism that allowed any survivor who suffered physical, material, or psychological harm to become a direct party, apart from the prosecutors, to the legal proceedings.

In 2009, Ms. Seng was forced to step down from her role at the CSD due to a politically motivated injunction order. Undeterred, she founded the Center for Justice and Reconciliation (CJR) that same year to remain involved in the country's transitional justice efforts. The following year, Ms. Seng also founded CIVICUS (Center for Cambodian Civic Education). Eventually, CJR was integrated into CIVICUS and CIVICUS became the primary platform for Ms. Seng's advocacy.

Through her work with these organizations, Ms. Seng has established herself as one of Cambodian civil society's most prominent voices. She has been featured in several documentary films on justice and reconciliation in Cambodia, including *Judging Genocide* and *Facing Genocide: Khieu Samphan and Pol Pot*. She is known primarily for her work on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal and her outspoken criticism of longstanding Prime Minister Hun Sen – an endeavor that is both professional and personal, as he acted as one of the Khmer Rouge's commanders in the Eastern Zone during the genocide, which included the Svay Rieng province. During the height of her advocacy, Ms. Seng was travelling across Cambodia and throughout the

world to advocate for human rights and democracy in her country and giving 10 to 15 interviews per week. Notably, in 2011, CIVICUS partnered with the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights campaign Speak Truth to Power, which aims to educate people on human rights by reflecting on the successes and experiences of prominent human rights defenders across the globe. CIVICUS painstakingly translated the entire curriculum into Khmer and held 15 training sessions across a dozen provinces between 2011 and 2012.

Ms. Seng's criticism did not go unnoticed by the regime. Over the years, she has been subjected to multiple instances of intimidation. Leading up to then US President Barack Obama's visit to Cambodia in November 2012, unidentified men attempted to confront her outside CIVICUS's headquarters, and the day before President Obama's visit to the US embassy, she was physically assaulted by a group of plain-clothed security officers and district officials.¹⁵ When Ms. Seng attempted to peacefully hold a banner in protest of war crimes in front of the embassy on the day of his visit, she and her assistant were surrounded by 30 top security officials and blocked from view. During the Speak Truth to Power campaign, despite Ms. Seng having permission to hold the events, police and security officers were sent to 10 of the 15 public fora and often engaged in disruptive behavior, such as tearing down posters and playing loud music.

Activism Prior to the Summons

As a part of Hun Sen's crackdown on civil society and political opposition in recent years, NGOs have been subjected to increasingly restrictive policies, which impeded CIVICUS's operations and eventually caused the organization's registration to lapse. Accordingly, Ms. Seng has shifted her advocacy to online platforms, using her personal website and Facebook page to voice her criticisms, often making multiple posts per day. Her daily activities have focused more on modernizing inscription of the Khmer language, which lacks basic punctuation and clear grammatical structure. She has edited over 60 books and countless articles, and she planned to transition into publishing such works and creating a standardized system of writing to better capture the Cambodian story and improve the country's weak education system. As a result, Ms. Seng engaged in less direct activism in 2019 than in prior years.

One of Ms. Seng's few external advocacy engagements for the year was the 19th Informal ASEM Seminar on Human Rights Education and Training in Tromsø, Norway, which she attended as a participant through the Asia-Europe Foundation. The ASEM Seminar, which took place in early November 2019, took place only a few days prior to when exiled opposition leader Sam Rainsy was set to return to Cambodia on November 9. Throughout the seminar, Seng used her meetings and conversations to emphasize the need and right for the exiled opposition to return to the country and be allowed to meaningfully participate in the political process. She also would hold up nine fingers at the events, a gesture that had become symbolic of Mr. Rainsy's expected return date.¹⁶ Although Ms. Seng has no formal affiliation with Mr. Rainsy's CNRP

¹⁵ Luke Hunt, *Kissinger in Cambodia*, NEW YORK TIMES LATITUDE BLOGS, Nov. 20, 2012, available at <https://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/11/20/protests-greet-obamas-visit-to-cambodia/>.

¹⁶ Theary C. Seng, FACEBOOK, Nov. 6, 2019, available at <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10157211114166281&set=a.426820856280&type=3&theater>.

political party, she has long advocated on behalf of its leaders and shared hundreds of posts in their favor on Facebook.¹⁷

Following the trip, Ms. Seng primarily engaged in advocacy through her website and Facebook page, as she had previously been doing. Her posts have continued to support the opposition – for example, she has repeatedly condemned the Hun Sen regime for blocking Mr. Rainsy’s flight on November 9, effectively stopping his return.¹⁸ The attached **ANNEX** contains examples of her posts to Facebook and her website from 2019.

Initiation of Legal Proceedings

On Friday, November 6, 2020, Ms. Seng received news from a relative, who informed her that the local police had called about a summons for her. A single-page summons was delivered the following morning requesting her to appear in court on November 26, 2020, for charges of “incitement to create social disorder” (Criminal Code Articles 494 and 495) and “conspiracy to commit treason” (Criminal Code Article 453) in 2019. The content of the summons and its method of service did not comport with Cambodia’s Criminal Procedure Code.¹⁹ First, Article 470 provides that the bailiff serving the summons must make a written note of the identity of the person receiving the summons and also the date of delivery, and the person receiving the summons must sign the original.²⁰ The summons of Ms. Seng did not have this information. And second, a summons must include a copy of the indictment, which provides the detailed alleged evidence in a case, enabling a person charged with crimes and their counsel to prepare for trial.²¹ There was nothing attached to the summons for Ms. Seng.

Through the news, Ms. Seng learned that numerous others – including Mr. Rainsy, his Vice President Mu Sochua, and other CNRP leaders and members – were also summoned to appear on November 26 to face similar charges.²² The number of reported defendants for the November trial varies slightly between news sources, but appears to be around 60.²³ Additionally, shortly after the defendants in that trial received their summons, over 60 more

¹⁷ Theory C. Seng, FACEBOOK, accessed Nov. 20, 2020, available at <https://www.facebook.com/theory.c.seng>.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Code of Criminal Procedure of the Kingdom of Cambodia, June 7, 2007, available at <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/82933/91164/F2106937002/KHM82933.pdf>.

²⁰ *Id.*, at Art. 470 (“The bailiff shall make a written note on the original summons that a copy of the original summons has been delivered to the person who was present at the residence. The bailiff shall make a written note of the identity of such person and the date of delivery.”).

²¹ *Id.*, at Arts. 294 (“A copy of the indictment shall be attached to the summons to be delivered to the accused.”), 474 (“In all cases, a copy of the indictment shall be attached to the summons.”).

²² Hul Reaksmeay, *More Than 60 Former CNRP Members Summoned for “Incitement” Trial*, VOA, Nov. 17, 2020, available at <https://www.voacambodia.com/a/more-than-60-former-cnrp-members-summoned-for-incitement-trial/5665755.html?fbclid=IwAR3kwin6urs6cQgSPG6GnHCgaKoDQgwfKqWBxdOQrve961ucy5qZInhqshw>.

²³ *Id.* and Paul Eckert, *Cambodian-American Lawyer Vows to Challenge Treason Charge in Court*, RADIO FREE ASIA, Nov. 19, 2020, available at <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/cambodia/lawyer-treason-11192020220236.html>.

CNRP officials and members were summoned to appear in court in late December for the same alleged offenses.²⁴

Once notified of the summons, Ms. Seng posted a statement on her Facebook page that she would be appearing and representing herself in court on November 26 to fight the charges.²⁵ As she has never engaged in violent protest and has dedicated her life to teaching and encouraging non-violent engagement, Ms. Seng believes the charges against her are politically motivated and intended to make her quietly leave the country. Rather than give in, she is using the trial as a platform to highlight the rampant human rights abuses and repression in Cambodia and is urging foreign countries to send observers. She has completed several interviews, including a live television interview with *Radio Free Asia* in which she cut her hair to demonstrate that she is preparing to enter prison.²⁶ In a Facebook video immediately following the interview, Ms. Seng stated “I am prepared for jail. I do not fear. I do not fear intimidation, I don’t fear harassment, I don’t fear bullying. I’m not under any illusion. I know this regime, but I will not succumb to fear.”²⁷

Context of the Charges Against Ms. Seng

The charges against Ms. Seng under Cambodia Criminal Code Articles 453, 494, and 495 mirror those filed against many other activists, journalists, and human rights defenders in Cambodia. As the Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders noted in July 2020, “The authorities have repeatedly pursued criminal cases against human rights defenders, invoking ‘incitement to commit a felony’ and/or ‘incitement to discriminate against a person or group’ under Articles 495 and 496 of the Criminal Code respectively, as a legal basis to punish individuals for any online criticism of the government or its officials.”²⁸ Similarly, on November 2, 2020, 57 NGOs – including Amnesty International, Article 19, Human Rights Watch, Reporters Without Borders, and PEN International – published a statement which condemned Cambodia’s “crackdown on independent media and social media” and noted that “the Cambodian government . . . [has] resorted to provisions in the penal code – in particular articles 494 and 495 – to silence critical reporting and its reporters.”²⁹ And Freedom House’s 2020 report on Freedom on the Net explains that, in Cambodia, “Criminal code provisions have been used to criminalize certain forms of expression The charges generally used have been

²⁴ Hul Reaksmey, *More Than 60 Former CNRP Members Summoned for “Incitement” Trial*, VOA, Nov. 17, 2020, available at <https://www.voacambodia.com/a/more-than-60-former-cnrp-members-summoned-for-incitement-trial/5665755.html?fbclid=IwAR3kwin6urs6cQgSPG6GnHCgaKoDQgwfKqWBxdOQrve961ucy5qZInhqshw>.

²⁵ Theary C. Seng, FACEBOOK, Nov. 6, 2020, available at <https://www.facebook.com/537161280/posts/10158317667206281/>.

²⁶ Paul Eckert, *Cambodian-American Lawyer Vows to Challenge Treason Charge in Court*, RADIO FREE ASIA, Nov. 19, 2020, available at <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/cambodia/lawyer-treason-11192020220236.html>.

²⁷ Theary C. Seng, FACEBOOK, Nov. 19, 2020, available at <https://www.facebook.com/537161280/posts/10158346307631281/?d=t>.

²⁸ DOWN, BUT NOT OUT: REPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS IN CAMBODIA, OBSERVATORY FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS, July 2020, at 18, available at https://www.omct.org/files/2020/07/25954/cambodia_hrd_report_2020.pdf.

²⁹ *Cambodia’s Government Should Stop Silencing Journalists, Media Outlets*, *supra* note 14.

‘conspiracy plotting’ under Article 453, ‘defamation’ under Article 305, ‘falsifying information’ under Article 425 and ‘incitement to commit a felony’ under Articles 494 and 495.”³⁰

There are numerous specific examples of how these kinds of charges have been deployed. For example, between July 2013 and May 2017, Amnesty International documented 201 individual cases involving criminal proceedings against human rights defenders, and political and other activists – 28 of the cases involved charges under Article 453, and 47 of them involved charges under Article 495 (though in one case, the charges under Article 495 were later changed to another crime).³¹ Listed below are additional, more recent examples of how the Cambodian Government misuses Criminal Code Articles 453, 494, and 495 to intimidate, persecute, and punish any criticism or opposition:

- (1) On September 22, 2020, seven CNRP activists were sentenced under Article 453 for posting Facebook comments in 2018 and 2019 that supported CNRP acting chief Sam Rainsy’s plans to return to the country.³² Five of the activists were sentenced to seven years’ imprisonment, while the other two, who had defected to the ruling party, were given five-year suspended sentences.³³
- (2) On September 6, 2020, three activists associated with Mother Nature Cambodia – Thun Ratha, Long Kunthea, and Phoung Keorasmey – were charged under Articles 494 and 495.³⁴ The charges were based on “information they shared on social media about their plans to organise a one-woman march to the Prime Minister’s house to raise environmental concerns over the filling in of the Boeung Tamoke lake in Phnom Penh.”³⁵
- (3) On July 31, 2020, prominent political activist and President of the independent Cambodian Confederation of Unions, Rong Chhun, was arrested without a warrant at his home in Phnom Penh.³⁶ A municipal court charged him under Article 494 and 495 the following day and sent him into pretrial detention at the Phnom Penh Correctional Center 1, where he remains.³⁷ The charges appear to be linked to his work supporting farmers

³⁰ FREEDOM ON THE NET 2020: CAMBODIA, FREEDOM HOUSE, accessed Nov. 18, 2020, available at https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-net/2020#footnoteref17_cb3xmq7.

³¹ CRIMINAL CASES AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS, AND POLITICAL AND OTHER ACTIVISTS IN CAMBODIA, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, May 30, 2017, available at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ASA2363392017ENGLISH.pdf>.

³² *Arrests of Activists Dangerously Escalate While Draft Public Order Law Draws Flak in Cambodia*, CIVICUS, Oct. 16, 2020, available at <https://monitor.civicus.org/updates/2020/10/16/arrests-activists-dangerously-escalate-while-draft-public-order-law-draws-flak-cambodia/>.

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Three Environmental Rights Defenders Arbitrarily Detained*, FRONTLINE DEFENDERS, accessed Nov. 18, 2020, available at <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/case/three-environmental-rights-defenders-arbitrarily-detained#case-update-id-12347>.

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Cambodia: Free Prominent Trade Union Leader*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Aug. 4, 2020, available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/08/04/cambodia-free-prominent-trade-union-leader>.

³⁷ *Id.*

along the Vietnamese border, whom he had met with on July 20.³⁸ Several of his supporters have been jailed for protesting his detention.³⁹

- (4) On June 28, 2020, journalist Ros Sokhet, publisher of the privately owned *Cheat Khmer* (Khmer Nation) newspaper, was charged under Articles 494 and 495.⁴⁰ Phnom Penh Municipal Police Chief Sar Thet stated that Sokhet was arrested for criticizing Prime Minister Hun Sen.⁴¹ The day before his arrest, on his personal Facebook page, Sokhet had written posts accusing the prime minister of failing to adequately help people who were in debt, and calling for him to refrain from nominating his son to be the country's next leader.⁴² Sokhet had also recently criticized the police force and the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴³
- (5) On May 15, 2020, journalist Sok Oudom, owner of an FM radio station and a news website, was charged with incitement to commit a felony (Article 495).⁴⁴ The charges were based on a May 12 news broadcast aired on the station about a local land dispute, which authorities alleged incited people to encroach on state-owned land.⁴⁵
- (6) On April 8, 2020, journalist Sovann Rithy, director of the TVFB news website, was charged with incitement to commit a felony under Article 495 for posting a quote of Prime Minister Hun Sen on his personal Facebook page.⁴⁶ The quote was from a press conference in which the prime minister said that local motorcycle-taxi drivers should sell their vehicles if they go bankrupt due to the coronavirus crisis and that "the government does not have the ability to help."⁴⁷
- (7) On October 18, 2019, CNRP member Kong Meas was convicted of incitement to commit a felony (Article 495) and sentenced to 18 months in prison.⁴⁸ He had criticized the government on Facebook, including by saying that the EU was planning to impose a tariff on Cambodian rice.⁴⁹

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ Edward Markey et al., *Letter to Secretary Pompeo on Cambodia*, Nov. 16, 2020, at 2, available at [https://www.markey.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/\(11.16.2020\)%202020-11-11%20Letter%20to%20Sec%20Pompeo%20on%20Cambodia_with%20sig_PDF.pdf](https://www.markey.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/(11.16.2020)%202020-11-11%20Letter%20to%20Sec%20Pompeo%20on%20Cambodia_with%20sig_PDF.pdf).

⁴⁰ *Cambodian Journalist Ros Sokhet Detained, Charged With Incitement*, COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, June 30, 2020, available at <https://cpj.org/2020/06/cambodian-journalist-ros-sokhet-detained-charged-with-incitement/>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Cambodian Journalist Sok Oudom Detained on Incitement Charges*, COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, May 19, 2020, available at <https://cpj.org/2020/05/cambodian-journalist-sok-oudom-detained-on-incitem/>.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Cambodian Journalist Sovann Rithy Detained for Quoting Prime Minister on COVID-19*, COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, Apr. 9, 2020, available at <https://cpj.org/2020/04/cambodian-journalist-sovann-rithy-detained-for-quo/>.

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Cambodia: Events of 2019*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, accessed Nov. 18, 2020, available at <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/cambodia>.

⁴⁹ *Id.* and *Cambodia: Drop Case Against Opposition Activist*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Mar. 21, 2020, available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/21/cambodia-drop-case-against-opposition-activist>.

- (8) On October 10, 2019, May Hong Srieng, a CNRP member, was sentenced to 18 months in prison for incitement to commit a felony (Article 495).⁵⁰ The charges related to posts he had made on Facebook that allegedly insulted government leaders.⁵¹
- (9) On September 26, 2019, eight leading members of the CNRP who had left Cambodia ahead of the July 2018 election – Sam Rainsy, Mu Sochua, Ou Chanrith, Eng Chhai Eang, Men Sothavarin, Long Ry, Tob Van Chan, and Ho Vann – were charged with conspiring to commit treason (Article 453) and incitement to commit a felony (Article 495).⁵²
- (10) In July 2019, two student activists – Kong Raya and Soung Neak Poan – were arrested for commemorating the third anniversary of the killing of political commentator Kem Ley.⁵³ Kong Raya had printed T-shirts in Kem Ley’s memory and sold them on Facebook.⁵⁴ Soung Neak Poan had participated in a gathering at the gas station where Kem Ley was killed and distributed posters calling for an end to extrajudicial killings.⁵⁵ Both were charged for incitement to commit a felony (Article 495).⁵⁶
- (11) On March 23, 2018, Chhun Sithy, an ex-CNRP commune councillor in Pailin, was sentenced to one year in prison for incitement to commit a felony (Article 495) and insulting public officials.⁵⁷ He had posted a video to Facebook in which he “apparently doubted the smartness of the Prime Minister.”⁵⁸

Violations of International Law

Cambodia is a state party to the ICCPR,⁵⁹ and Cambodia’s prosecution of Ms. Seng violates her rights as protected under this treaty.

Article 14(3)(a) of the ICCPR provides that anyone facing a criminal charge has the right “[t]o be informed promptly . . . of the nature and cause of the charge against him.”⁶⁰ The Human

⁵⁰ Niem Chheng & Long Kimmarita, *CNRP Activist Hong Srieng Sentenced to 18 Months*, PHNOM PENH POST, Oct. 10, 2019, available at <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-politics/cnrp-activist-hong-srieng-sentenced-18-months> and Niem Chheng, *Breaking: Former CNRP Activist Charged With ‘Incitement’*, PHNOM PENH POST, Aug. 1, 2019, available at <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/breaking-former-cnrp-activist-charged-incitement>.

⁵¹ *Political Prisoners Cambodia*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Jan. 24, 2020, available at <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2020/01/24/political-prisoners-cambodia> (scroll down and click on “Mai Hongsreang”).

⁵² *Cambodia: Events of 2019*, *supra* note 48.

⁵³ *Cambodia: Activists Charged for Participating in Memorial*, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, July 12, 2019, available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/12/cambodia-activists-charged-participating-memorial>.

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CAMBODIA, U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/73/Add.1, Sept. 7, 2018, at ¶ 26, available at <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/39/73/Add.1>.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, U.N. TREATY COLLECTION, accessed Nov. 19, 2020, available at https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?chapter=4&clang=_en&mtdsg_no=IV-4&src=IND.

⁶⁰ *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 999 U.N.T.S. 171, entered into force Mar. 23, 1976, at Art.

Rights Committee has explained that this “applies to all cases of criminal charges, including those of persons not in detention,” and “requires that information be given as soon as the person concerned is formally charged with a criminal offence under domestic law, or the individual is publicly named as such.”⁶¹ Importantly, “both the law *and the alleged general facts on which the charge is based*” must be provided.⁶² Cambodia has failed to provide this latter information to Ms. Seng – as detailed above, the indictment was not attached to the summons (as is required under domestic law), leaving Ms. Seng blind as to the factual basis of the charges against her. Instead, on November 26, the prosecutor will present the case against her in an opening statement, and that will be the first time she learns of the specific allegations against her.

The ICCPR further provides an accused the right “[t]o have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence.”⁶³ Ms. Seng has been denied this right, as it not possible for her to prepare a defense without knowing the factual basis of the charges against her (as set forth in the indictment). The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention found violations of the right to a fair trial in three cases in which the “lack of specific details in the charges brought [did] not allow the accused to defend himself appropriately,”⁶⁴ the “charges . . . were formulated in a general and imprecise manner, without defining the specific acts that constituted the criminal offences concerned,”⁶⁵ and a detainee’s counsel was not provided access to the case file, which included the indictment.⁶⁶ Moreover, Ms. Seng will not have adequate time to prepare a defense because she will learn of the allegations in the indictment on November 26 and will have to prepare her defense then and there, with no additional time to discuss them with counsel, map out a legal strategy, or gather evidence.

Article 14(3)(e) of the ICCPR guarantees the right “[t]o examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him.”⁶⁷ However, Ms. Seng right cannot be prepared on November 26 to cross-examine witnesses she knows nothing about, nor can she identify and prepare witnesses for her defense without knowing what factual assertions she needs to rebut or disprove.

In addition to violating her due process rights, Ms. Seng’s prosecution violates her right to freedom of expression. As a threshold matter, Article 495 is unlawfully vague. While the ICCPR provides that the right to freedom of expression can be restricted in certain circumstances, such restrictions must be “provided by law.”⁶⁸ As the Human Rights Committee

14(3)(a) [hereinafter ICCPR].

⁶¹ *General Comment No. 32 on Article 14: Right to Equality Before Courts and Tribunals and to a Fair Trial*, U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/GC/32, Aug. 23, 2007, at ¶ 31, available at <https://undocs.org/CCPR/C/GC/32>.

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ ICCPR, *supra* note 60, at Art. 14(3)(b).

⁶⁴ *Moussa Kaka v. Niger*, Opinion No. 7/2009, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/13/30/Add.1, U.N. WORKING GROUP ON ARBITRARY DETENTION, *adopted* May 7, 2009, at ¶ 27.

⁶⁵ *Francisco José Cortés Aguilar v. Bolivia*, Opinion No. 12/2005, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/2006/7/Add.1, U.N. WORKING GROUP ON ARBITRARY DETENTION, *adopted* May 26, 2005, at ¶ 19.

⁶⁶ *Tran Thi Thuy, et al. v. Viet Nam*, Opinion No. 46/2011, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/WGAD/2011/46, U.N. WORKING GROUP ON ARBITRARY DETENTION, *adopted* Sept. 2, 2011, at ¶¶ 12, 23.

⁶⁷ ICCPR, *supra* note 60, at Art. 14(3)(e).

⁶⁸ ICCPR, *supra* note 60, at Art. 19(3).

has clarified, “a norm, to be characterized as a ‘law’, must be formulated with sufficient precision to enable an individual to regulate his or her conduct accordingly and . . . may not confer unfettered discretion for the restriction of freedom of expression on those charged with its execution.”⁶⁹ Article 495, however, criminalizes “direct incitement to commit a felony or to disturb social security” committed through (1) speech of any kind, made in a public place or meeting, (2) writing or picture of any kind, either displayed or distributed to the public, or (3) any audio-visual communication to the public.⁷⁰ This “extremely broad language”⁷¹ is utterly lacking in the kind of precision needed for an individual to regulate their conduct accordingly. Rather, as its manner of use makes clear, it provides the government “unfettered discretion for the restriction of freedom of expression.”⁷² Further, the criminalization of speech that “disturbs social security” does not appear compatible with international law, which explicitly protects expression even if it is “deeply offensive.”⁷³

Also, while the government has provided no information regarding the factual basis for the charges against Ms. Seng, it appears that she is being prosecuted for expressing support for opposition parties and/or criticizing the government and government officials. This is clear from the historical use of Articles 453, 494, and 495 (described above), the other individuals summoned to same hearing on November 26 (mostly CNRP officials or members), and the history of government persecution relating to Ms. Seng’s public advocacy. However, sharing political opinions and criticizing the government are classic forms of protected expression. As the Human Rights Committee has explained, “the mere fact that forms of expression are considered to be insulting to a public figure is not sufficient to justify the imposition of penalties” and “all public figures, including those exercising the highest political authority such as heads of state and government, are legitimately subject to criticism and political opposition.”⁷⁴ Moreover, “[t]he penalization of a media outlet, publishers or journalist solely for being critical of the government . . . can never be considered to be a necessary restriction of freedom of expression.”⁷⁵ In fact, the ICCPR provides a *higher* level of protection to precisely this kind of speech because “the value placed by the [ICCPR] upon uninhibited expression is particularly high in the circumstances of public debate in a democratic society concerning figures in the public and political domain.”⁷⁶ The UN Human Rights Council and the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression have both reiterated that the following forms of expression can *never* be restricted – discussion of government policies and political debate; reporting on human rights, government activities, and corruption in government; engaging in

⁶⁹ *General Comment No. 34 on Article 19: Freedoms of Opinion and Expression*, U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/GC/34, Sept. 12, 2011, at ¶ 25, *available at* <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/gc34.pdf>.

⁷⁰ Criminal Code of Cambodia, Nov. 30, 2009, at Art. 495 (read in conjunction with Article 494), *available at* <http://www.skpcambodia.com/storage/uploads/files/Criminal%20and%20Criminal%20Procedure%20Laws/criminal-code%20Eng.pdf>.

⁷¹ JOINT SUBMISSION TO THE UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW OF CAMBODIA, ARTICLE & PEN AMERICA, July 12, 2018, at ¶ 6, *available at* <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/2018.07.12-A19-PEN-America-Joint-UPR-Cambodia-as-submitted-1.pdf>.

⁷² *General Comment No. 34*, *supra* note 69, at ¶ 25.

⁷³ *Id.*, at ¶ 11.

⁷⁴ *Id.*, at ¶ 38.

⁷⁵ *Id.*, at ¶ 42.

⁷⁶ *Id.*, at ¶ 34.

election campaigns, peaceful demonstrations, or political activities, including for peace or democracy; and expression of opinion and dissent.⁷⁷

The charges against Ms. Seng violate international law for another reason – they are discriminatory. Specifically, she was targeted due to her political opinion (i.e., support for the opposition). But the ICCPR requires states parties to protect the rights contained therein, including the right to freedom of expression, “without distinction of any kind, such as . . . political or other opinion.”⁷⁸ By bringing criminal charges against her as punishment for her public support of Cambodia’s political opposition and other political activities, the government has violated ICCPR Article 2(1), in conjunction with Article 19(2).

Conclusion

In 2015, the UN Human Rights Committee demanded that Cambodia “[r]efrain from prosecuting journalists, human rights defenders and other civil society actors as a means of deterring or discouraging them from freely expressing their opinions.”⁷⁹ Unfortunately, the government has failed to take these words to heart. Theary Seng, one of Cambodia’s leading voices of dissent, is now facing politically motivated criminal charges in an effort to silence and punish her. The ongoing criminal proceedings constitute a severe denial of her right to freedom of expression. We therefore respectfully request that, in accordance with your working methods, you immediately send an urgent appeal to the Government of Cambodia imploring it to uphold its obligations under the ICCPR.

Sincerely,

/s/ Jared Genser

/s/ Brian Tronic

Jared Genser
International Counsel to Theary Seng

Brian Tronic
International Counsel to Theary Seng

⁷⁷ Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Human Rights Council Res. 12/16, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/RES/12/16, *adopted* Oct. 2, 2009, at ¶ 5(p)(i), *available at* <https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/RES/12/16> and Frank la Rue, REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/14/23, Apr. 20, 2010, at ¶ 81(i), *available at* <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/14session/a.hrc.14.23.pdf>.

⁷⁸ ICCPR, *supra* note 60, at Art. 2(1).

⁷⁹ *Concluding Observations on the Second Periodic Report of Cambodia*, U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/KHM/CO/2, Apr. 27, 2015, at ¶ 21(b), *available at* <https://undocs.org/en/CCPR/C/KHM/CO/2>.

ANNEX: EXAMPLES OF THEARY SENG ONLINE POSTS IN 2019

(1) Facebook, January 14, 2019




Theary C. Seng
January 14, 2019 · 🌐

REUTERS.COM
Cambodian PM warns of 'dead' opposition if EU withdraws preferences
Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen on Monday threatened to retaliate against the o...

👍👎 5 2 Comments 5 Shares

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10156501329746281>


(2) Facebook, May 31, 2019

 **Theory C. Seng**
May 31, 2019 · 🌐

The Lord Hun. Our Very Own Statesman.

 **Radio Free Asia** ✓
May 30, 2019 · 🌐

Hun Sen said he would continue to target the opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP) and its leaders, while calling out acting CNRP chief Sam Rainsy as a 'dog that I must destroy.'



RFA.ORG

Cambodia's PM Hun Sen Dismisses Calls For Resignation, Vows to 'Wage War' on Opposition

👍👎👏 6

3 Comments 1 Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theory.c.seng/posts/10156804151501281>

(3) Facebook, July 6, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
July 6, 2019 · 🌐



YOUTUBE.COM
HUN SEN'S MILITARY COUP IN 1997
កាលពី ២២ ឆ្នាំមុន ភ្លាមក្រោយពីរដ្ឋប្រហារលោក ហ៊ុន សែន ឆ្នាំ ១៩៩៧ លោក សម រង្ស៊ី បានចេញមុខប្រឆាំង អំពើ...

👍 3

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10156891966646281>

(4) Facebook, July 29, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
July 29, 2019 · 🌐




REUTERS.COM
Cambodia says to increase arms purchases from China
Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen said on Monday that an additional \$40 million w...

  5 2 Comments 7 Shares


 Like  Comment  Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10156947386406281>


(5) Facebook, August 2, 2019




 **Theary C. Seng**
August 2, 2019 · 🌐

Pressed from EVERY direction. Hun Sen needs to go!



SOUTHEASTASIAGLOBE.COM
Cambodia's elderly left to raise a new generation - Southeast Asia Globe
Hundreds of thousands of young parents have fled rural Cambodia in search of jobs – lea...

 5 1 Comment 4 Shares

 Like  Comment  Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10156955890726281>

(6) Facebook, September 22, 2019



Theary C. Seng

September 22, 2019 · 🌐

...

Cambodia is undergoing a phenomenon, the beginning of "Cambodia flourishing", if you will.

Even amidst the current high-tension of political brinkmanship, Cambodia has reached the tipping point that is slowly but surely ushering in the Cambodia Spring. However, the season of spring of flourishing must first be preceded by the season of discontent, the period we are in now.

Recently, I witnessed first-hand this season of flourishing when I rode in the back of the pick-up truck carrying Sam Rainsy from the airport to Democracy Square upon his return from exile on 19 July 2013, and again at Democracy Square the day he left for the United States for his daughter's wedding of 6 August 2013. On both occasions, crowds in the hundreds of thousands openly, fearlessly convulsed onto the truck and stage demanding change. Their passion, palpably pulsating and electrifying the Cambodia air, acts to diminish the prior existing fear.

This season of discontent will be here to stay for some time, and will likely snowball into a monsoonal downpour of discontents, until there is a complete change of leadership. The people demand a surgical reformation in the formation of a government led by CNRP Sam Rainsy, and not band-aid changes the CPP will need to and has started to undergo in the inserting of a newer crop of parliamentarian sons.

Here are the factors and their admixture ushering in the Cambodia Spring.

1. The Voters who have no direct experience of the Khmer Rouge

Three and one-half million of the country's 9.5 million registered voters are between the ages of 18 and 30. Of these 3.5 million young registered voters, 1.5 million or fifteen percent are first time voters.

What do these numbers tell us?

One, these 3.5 million registered voters below age 30 are not directly traumatized by the Khmer Rouge. Moreover, many of them were children during the turbulent years of the 1990s, with some only coming of age in the last election 5 years ago. They, unlike their elders, have not accumulated the fear and trauma of having lived through the Khmer Rouge and having witnessed election violence and murders confronting the voters in living colors of prior elections.

I returned to Cambodia in September 1995, less than two years after the United Nations-organized elections. I joined the campaign trails of the Khmer Nation Party in 1998, when traveling to each province took an average of a day through yawning gulfs of crater-sized potholes every few yards on the national roads and each village is its own remote, isolated universe.

In 2002 I traveled the provinces as an international consultant of the US-International Republican Institute to train political party agents on the first commune elections, and once again joined the campaign trails of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP, formerly the Khmer Nation Party, changed to keep the CPP from appropriating the name by splitting the party) for this commune elections as well as the national elections the following year in 2003. The roads were semi-improved but each village was still its own remote, isolated universe.

Once again in 2007 and 2008, for the commune and national elections respectively, I joined SRP on the campaign trails.

In between these elections, I traveled the provinces for my work, first in 1997 to each provincial prison to assess the state of juveniles detained there. And since, I traveled each province on numerous occasions in my capacity as the head of the NGO Center for Social Development known for its justice and reconciliation forums, and most recently as the founding president of CIVICUS Cambodia to conduct the Speak Truth To Power (or, in Khmer, Courage Without Borders) curriculum for teachers, monks and other educational and provincial leaders.

All to say, I have witnessed first-hand the conditions across Cambodia through these eighteen years and have paid acute attention (for personal and professional reasons) to the voices and yearnings of the people in trying to understand for myself and for my work these seemingly intractable problems in search of solutions.

And one of my strong beliefs in light of what is happening now during this 2013 election season is this: we are witnessing a new phenomenon – the blooming of a Cambodia Spring, with angst of discontents as the inevitable precedent to the flourishing which will inevitably follow. The manifestation and timing of it could not have been perceived till it is actually happening, as it is now.

BUT this phenomenon did not happen out of the blue, magically; it grew organically and was nurtured along the way.

It is part and parcel of all the educational efforts and advocacy and challenging of the status quo and the demanding of each dollar raised to the wage of workers and hotel staff, of each improper land concession.

Then we are given the tools of social media and Smart phones and Unicode and English, etc. to set it off, fueled by the energy of the youth coming of age.

2. Social Media + Smart-phones + Khmer Unicode + Rising English Usage

The previous elections did not have a public venue where Cambodians, particularly young people, could exchange information and be part of something larger than themselves.

This public venue is closely connected to the growing comfort level and increasing number of Cambodians proficient in English, not only to be on Facebook, but also to have access to a broader array of information (which are mainly in English).

Even if English is the still dominant language of social media, the comfort level and increase quality of the Khmer Unicode also facilitated the growing use of Social Media.

As recent as five years ago (the last national elections), Cambodians were mired in the pictorial typing system symbolized by the Limon font. Typing Khmer was basically inhibited to drawing a letter in order to compose each word. For anyone to access a Khmer language document on the internet meant that that document had been uploaded as a JPG or a PDF.

All to say, as recent as five years ago, Cambodians could not search the internet in the Khmer language nor write posts or comments on Facebook in the Khmer language, as the pictorial Limon typing system could not facilitate such endeavors.

A few years ago, the posts and comments on Facebook were written in broken English by the Khmer Facebook users; now the majority of posts by Khmer users are in the Khmer language.

The ease of language capability in both Khmer and English is greatly inter-linked with Smart-phones which allow for instant, engaging sharing of images along with a narrative in the Khmer Unicode with an exponential multiplying impact.

We are right to worry about the vulgar, violent, crude or empty content and posts on social media, particularly on Facebook -- from soft to hard pornography, from foodstuff to graphic traffic deaths of mangled bodies and bloodied, cracked skulls -- that were initially sent en masse and continue to exist to a horrifying extent, despite social media's attempts to curb such vulgarity, violence and lewdness.

And the fear of information overload is a real concern.

However, in a place like Cambodia during this time, social media, as everyone has acknowledged, has been a major factor in ushering the Cambodia Spring.

3. The Arab Spring and other Mass Protests around the World

Freedom is an innate aspiration, but also we are all copycats, particular us Cambodians. We witnessed the mass protests elsewhere around the world and they capture our own imagination. It was only an issue of time; the July 2013 gave us the opportunity to usher in our own Cambodia Spring.

4. Father-figure Vacuum

The massive outpouring of public grief during the passing of King Father Sihanouk Norodom took everyone by surprise, even if some of it was exaggerated high emotions. It brought to consciousness of both Cambodians and the Cambodian watchers of how much King Sihanouk's rhetoric and treatment of Cambodians over the years as his "children" have shaped our identity as exactly that, oftentimes to our peril in stunting our social and political development and maturity.

Hun Sen tried excruciatingly hard in filling that void by giving himself grandiose, lengthy titles and naming educational institutions after himself – but basically to no avail as reflected by the humiliating rejection by the people of him during the July 2013 elections.

It is rumored that he regretted allowing the national TVK during the grieving week to play daily old Sihanouk movies, as these films further endeared the people to the King Father with all his public works, giving Cambodians images of a more idyllic era of charm, of genuine regal elegance, of wooded forests and exotic jungles, of a Phnom Penh that is exotic and aesthetically beautiful. And these idyllic images greatly contrasted with Hun Sen's shortcomings: his grasping of royal titles, his naming of schools after himself minus content and quality, the vast pervasive deforestation, the gaudiness of new buildings chaotically sprouting and overshadowing the colonial charm.

I've stated oftentimes that Cambodia is a land of orphans – literal and emotional ones. We do have a high rate of individuals who do not have a mother, father or both. But even ones who do have a parent, the parents are not parenting as they themselves are adult infants unconsciously grieving the loss of any parenting figure in their own lives.

Then, came Sam Rainsy back from four years of self-imposed exile. Here is a father figure orphaned Cambodians could be proud of to have as their ideal father – intelligent, courageous, dignified, non-violent, nationalistic. Sam Rainsy returned on the heels of the passing of the King Father who had left a father-figure vacuum. He naturally, unconsciously filled this vacuum in the psychology of the needy Cambodians.

5. Tourism and Urbanization of Garment Workers from the Provinces

The exchange between Cambodians and tourists as well as between the urbanized garment workers with their provincial relatives over the years chipped away at the remote village-urban center divide of information. The presence of tourists has raised the comfort level of speaking freely and the 600,000-strong garment workers have acted as the powerful links between the provinces and the urban centers.

6. Accumulation of Human Rights Abuses

Cambodia is a sea of human rights abuses. Everyone is impacted by at least one abuse or another. The accumulation of these rights abuses finally found expression, assisted by the other mentioned factors.

Moreover, the pervasiveness and prevalence of land concessions resulting in violent evictions touched directly most Cambodians, where 73 percent of arable land have been leased to foreign companies by the end of 2012.

On the one rights abuse of land issue alone, the impact was no longer one of hearsay, but each Cambodian knows personally or of a family or close friend who fell victim to an eviction.

7. The Knowledge stored in the Heart and Mind now Finds Expression

The other side of the coin of the accumulation of rights abuses is the accumulation of rights knowledge learned and stored over the years in the hearts and minds of the Cambodian people. The Cambodian people gave expression to this accumulated knowledge in this July 2013 elections.

8. The Admixture of the Above

Each above-mentioned factor has its own importance, but is limited in pushing the point to tip. The tipping point occurs when these factors come together. We are now experiencing the Cambodia Spring (a season of discontents before flourishing) because of the admixture of the above factors.

The Cambodia Spring
Why This July 2013 Election is the Tipping Point
Ms. Theary C. Seng

COMMENTARY

[An edited version of this Commentary was published in The Phnom Penh Post, 14 August 2013]



KI-MEDIA.BLOGSPOT.COM

The Cambodia Spring (commentary by Ms. Theary C. Seng)

The Cambodia Spring in the Editorial Page of The Phnom Penh Post on Wednesday, 14 ...

Link: https://www.facebook.com/537161280/posts/10157081244171281/?_rdc=1&_rdr

(7) Facebook, September 23, 2019

Theary C. Seng
September 23, 2019 · 🌐

The violence against CNRP elected officials, activists, supporters and Hun Sen's fear of Sam Rainsy escalate in anticipation of his return on 9 November 2019.



សកម្មជនកណ្តាលក្រុមប្រឹក្សាជាតិ និង ជាប្រធានក្រុមអង្គការលោក សាម ធឿ ត្រូវបាន មិនស្គាល់ពីនាក់យកដំបងដែកលួច វាយពីក្រោយចំក្បាលលបល្អាស់ឱ្យឆេះស្បែក ធ្លាក់ខ្លួននៅថ្ងៃទី២២ ខែកញ្ញានេះ។ សកម្មជនស៊ីវិល និងមន្ត្រីបក្សប្រជាជន ស្ទើរទៅសម គួរឱ្យស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ដោយកុំប្រកាន់និយ្យការ ឧបាយកល។



ប្រធានក្រុមអង្គការលោក សាម ធឿ ត្រូវបានមិនស្គាល់មុខពីនាក់យកដំបងដែកលួច

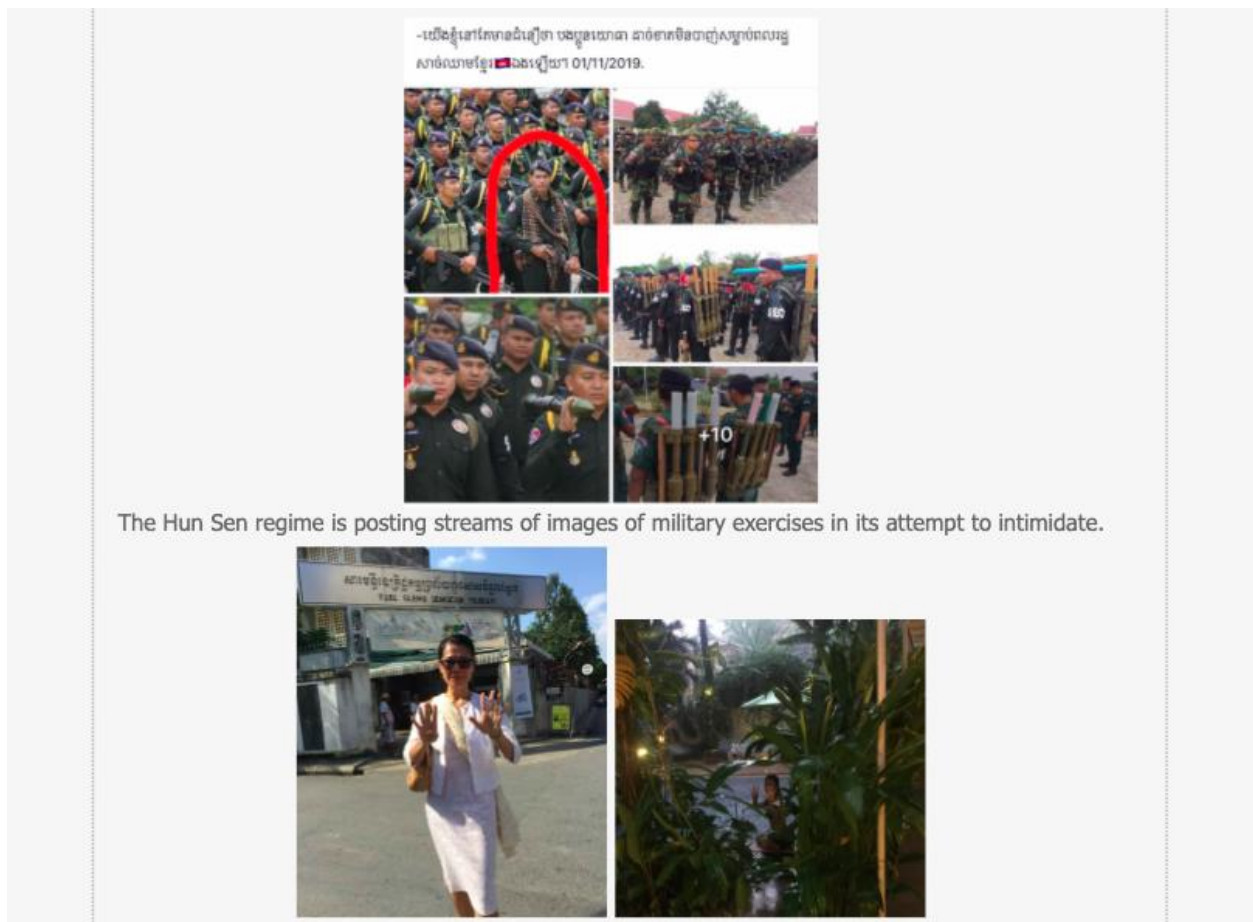


SAM Rainsy
ថាច់តាំងពីខែ មករា ឆ្នាំ ២០១៧ មេឃុំ ចៅសង្កាត់ សមាជិកក្រុមប្រឹក្សាឃុំ សង្កាត់ សមាជិកក្រុមប្រឹក្សាក្រុង ខណ្ឌ ប្រសូក ជាប់ឆ្នោត និងសកម្មជនរបស់ក ណ្តាលក្រុមប្រឹក្សាជាតិ ចំនួន ២៦ នាក់ហើយ ត្រូវបានចាប់ខ្លួនដោយគ្មានដី កាចាប់ខ្លួន និងបានឃុំខ្លួនបណ្តោះអាសន្ន ដោយកុំចាកការនៃរបប ហ៊ុន សែន។

17 Shares

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157084142451281>

(8) Personal Website, October 2019



Snapshot from: <http://www.thearyseng.com/random/554-enchanting-tromso-please-support-sam-rainsys-safe-return-to-cambodia>

(9) Facebook, October 3, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
October 3, 2019 · 🌐

RFA: "Hun Sen orders suppression of all who participate in 9-Finger Campaign and come out to welcome back Sam Rainsy"



 វិទ្យុអាស៊ីសេរី

លោក ហ៊ុន សែន បញ្ជាឱ្យបង្ក្រាប
អ្នកធ្វើយុទ្ធនាការម្រាម៩ និងហែហម
លោក សម រង្ស៊ី

BY ដោយ វ៉ែន សុមេធ
OCTOBER 3, 2019


មេដឹកនាំសហក្រុងភ្នំពេញ លោក ហ៊ុន សែន

👍 9 3 Shares



👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157111449591281>



(10) Facebook, October 7, 2019


 **Theary C. Seng**
October 7, 2019 · 🌐

Reuters: Hun Sen said that if opposition leaders and supporters returned, such declarations would mean that "the army must begin to deploy and use weapons of all kinds."
"Attack wherever they are seen, there is no need to wait for an arrest warrant or not," he said. "Supporters are arrested whenever they are seen."





 **REUTERS** 

Cambodia PM threatens to deploy troops if opposition leaders return




 



FILE PHOTO: Cambodia's Prime Minister Hun Sen speaks during a news conference at the Government Office in Hanoi, Vietnam October 4, 2019.


    6

4 Comments 1 Share

 Like  Comment  Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157123930501281>

(11) Facebook, October 10, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
October 10, 2019 · 🌐

Cambodia is the motherland of all Khmer citizens living inside and outside of Cambodia, regardless of their race and affiliation. All Cambodians have the right, obligation and duty to preserve Cambodia's territories, natural resources, heritage and to take part in the development and the protection of the interests and dignity of the people. There is no place for exclusion. Therefore, for the 9th November 2019 the leaders of CNRP currently in exile announce

THE RETURN FOR DEMOCRACY IN CAMBODIA

CAMBODIA NATIONAL RESCUE PARTY
UPDATE 10 Oct 2019

Repeated threats and purge of opposition grassroots members by Hun Sen authorities

What's new? Grassroots leaders , including youths of the Cambodia National Rescue Party, the main opposition party unconstitutionally dissolved by Hun Sen Courts are being arrested daily without court warrants by local police, detained and charged without any evidence and without legal representation. Furthermore, heavy surveillance of members of the opposition is conducted at every village throughout Cambodia spreading panic and an atmosphere of fear among the general population. Among the 38 CNRP elected commune chiefs and councilors being detained, 4 are women. Since January 2019, 147 have been charged and close to 100 questioned at police stations. In April, a CNRP member was found in prison with a broken neck after two days kept in police jail. Families are desperately seeking legal representation and must pay bribes to prison guards to visit their family members being incarcerated. **Anyone expressing support of the return of Mr. Sam Rainsy will be arrested and charged as accomplices. Comments and posts on social media are also closely monitored.**

What is the threat? HunSen went on a trade when addressing high school students early this week. He publicly announced that the armed forces would be deployed on November 9 when Mr. Sam Rainsy and other CNRP leaders living in exile will return to Cambodia. Among those returning will be MEPs and other politicians from different countries. The armed forces will be used to arrest and take order from him as Sam Rainsy is leading a rebel group to topple the government. Mr. Sam Rainsy and other eight members of the CNRP Permanent Committee have been charged with treason and plotting a coup. Arrest warrants against the nine have been sent to ASEAN countries for immediate arrest and extradition.

What is latest international context? This is happening while a delegation of high ranking officials lead by Deputy Prime Minister just completed their visit to Germany to gather support for the EU Everything But Arms initiative that provides employment for 700,000 factory workers, social support for their family members and sustains hundreds and thousands small businesses that cater to the factor High level representatives of the Garment Manufacturers' Association of Cambodia is currently in Brussels to discuss EBA. At the 42nd UN Human Rights Council session, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Cambodia sent a very clear message that the government must "reset the approach to rights and freedoms in Cambodia and ensure that all rights and freedoms voluntarily accepted by the government are enjoyed by everyone in the country".

Why it matters? The return of Mr. Sam Rainsy and other CNRP leaders and

Mu Sochua ✓
October 10, 2019 · 🌐

The Return for Democracy in Cambodia
Repeated threats and purge of opposition grassroots members by Hun Sen authorities.

👍 1 3 Shares

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157129390586281>

(12) Facebook, October 11, 2019

Theary C. Seng
October 11, 2019 · 🌐


The courage of my fellow Cambodians moves me to tears. I see it again and again.

In a recent conversation with someone-in-the know, deeply rooted in the CPP, I learned from this person how impressed s/he and the CPP are with the deep loyalty the Cambodians have for Sam Rainsy, IN SPITE OF intimidation, threats, killings, jailings, outright buying with gifts/positions/cash... Among the 118 elected MPs, only several defected; among the provincial elected officials, again only a few and that's through coercion; among the massive poor, again nothing noteworthy.

RFA Khmer ✓
October 10, 2019 · 🌐

សកម្មជនបក្សប្រជាជនមួយចំនួន ដែលភៀសខ្លួននៅប្រទេសថៃ អះអាងថា ពួកគេមិនខ្លាចមេដឹកនាំរបបក្រុងភ្នំពេញ លោក ហ៊ុន សែន គំរាមចាប់ខ្លួននោះទេ។ ពួកគាត់បញ្ជាក់ថា មូលហេតុដែលភៀសខ្លួន ដោយសារមិនចង់ឱ្យបាត់បង់ ធនធានមនុស្ស ដើម្បីដឹកនាំប្រជាពលរដ្ឋទៅចូលរួមអមដំណើររបបស្តីទីគណបក្សសង្គ្រោះជាតិ លោក សម រង្ស៊ី វិលចូលស្រុកវិញនៅពេលខាងមុខ...

See Translation




RFA.ORG

សកម្មជនបក្សប្រជាជនភៀសខ្លួននៅថៃ ស្មារតីមន្ត្រីលោក ហ៊ុន សែន ដែលទៅចាប់ពួកគាត់នៅ
សកម្មជនបក្សប្រជាជនមួយចំនួន ដែលភៀសខ្លួននៅប្រទេសថៃ អះអាងថា ពួកគេមិនខ្លាចមេដឹកនាំរបប...

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/537161280/posts/10157131740546281/>

(13) Facebook, October 18, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
October 18, 2019 · 🌐



RFA.ORG

Cambodian Opposition Leader Sam Rainsy Vows to Lead 'Tsunami' of Supporters to Arrest PM Hun Sen

  7

 Like  Comment  Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157157059751281>

(14) [Facebook, October 22, 2019](#)

 **Theary C. Seng**
October 22, 2019 · 🌐

<http://www.smh.com.au/.../hun-sen-is-taking-the-piss...>

JAPANESE ART  *Store* **VIEW HERE**

Advertisement

WORLD ASIA **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

'Hun Sen is taking the piss': Labor MP unloads on Cambodian dictator

By [James Massola](#)
October 22, 2019 – 7:30pm



    |   

 0 [Leave a comment](#)

Jakarta: Federal Labor MP Julian Hill has launched an extraordinary attack on Cambodia's Prime Minister Hun Sen, declaring the dictator has sold out his country to China and warning the rising superpower is using the same tactics it

   13 1 Comment 12 Shares

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157166617841281>

(15) Facebook, October 25, 2019

Theary C. Seng
October 25, 2019 · 🌐

Chuckling (scoffing if my old self) at this Hun regime



Sam Rainsy Faces 18 Years in Jail if he Returns to Cambodia

Prison Sentence	Charge
2 years	for defamation/instigation of discrimination
5 years	for conspiracy to forge public documents; inciting chaos
20 months	for incitement/defamation
4 years	for inciting armed forces to cause insecurity
4 years	for insulting the king
20 months	for instigating incitement to commit felony

Source/Graphic: RFA (October 2019)

Radio Free Asia ✓
October 25, 2019 · 🌐

Sam Rainsy Faces 18 Years in Jail if he Returns to Cambodia. Cambodia's courts have issued a series of rulings against opposition leader Sam Rainsy, with more on the way as he prepares to come home on Nov. 9, 2019.

👍❤️👎 3

2 Comments 11 Shares

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157177237591281>

(16) Facebook, November 6, 2019

In extraordinary scenes at a press conference in Jakarta on Wednesday, Cambodia's ambassador to Indonesia, Hor Nam Bora attempted to stop the exiled Sochua from speaking at what the ambassador said was an "illegal" event.

0:54
'You shut up': Cambodian Ambassador to journalist

Cambodian Ambassador to Indonesia Hor Nam Bora tells the SMH/Age correspondent to "shut up" during a press conference by exiled opposition leader Mu Sochua.

Hor Nam Bora, who barged into the press conference uninvited, initially told this correspondent to "shut up" when I tried to ask an Indonesian police officer whether the press conference - held in a major Jakarta hotel - was, in fact illegal.

Such conferences are not illegal in Indonesia and the police officer did not reply.

Theary C. Seng
November 6, 2019 · 🌐

Diplomacy at its best. A case from Cambodia. The ambassador's father is Hor Nam Hong who was a former Khmer Rouge leader and only recently retired from being Minister of Foreign Affairs. I remember vividly receiving a phone call from then Foreign Minister Hor Nam Hong about 12 or 13 years ago when I was very active attracting broad international attention on the KR Tribunal to meet with him right away. I said can it wait as it was already Friday late afternoon; I did meet with him with a compromise of either a Saturday morning or following Monday; brought along one of my senior staff to his office at his Foreign Ministry; he brought his right-hand man Long Visalo. Since the phone conversation I was so curious as to why he wanted to meet and to its urgency. He wanted to discuss Cambodian migrant workers in Taiwan. Upon later reflection, i think it was an attempt to build rapport with me so as to temper my work and public remarks on matters related to him and the Khmer Rouge. **See Less**

👍 🤔 😬 23 6 Comments 35 Shares

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Write a comment...

Link:

https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10157212013611281&set=basw.Abrr_Baj_waDZ5LJGa3n_8ApiDzd0s7wQAZwJAnM6SPPpf_6IRco0xU1GDTwEp60VWn1ypQ4Aaz4_B1SQz2xEGwIX4NUOFP_DfHicGDssgf0Ke_V_rM2e6FHcQ9zu1LAAFrFFVY-klw_lfdVyuzyulcVCVAdmBZShjKruMw1dtA-mJQYRSa6lhdc60ZkcmPJBw.10157237652456281.10157237652501281.10157212013611281

(17) Facebook, November 8, 2019



Theary C. Seng

November 8, 2019 · 🌐



**STATEMENT BY 56 MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON CAMBODIA'S
OPPOSITION LEADER SAM RAINSY'S RETURN**

We the undersigned call on the authorities of Cambodia and the neighbouring countries to permit Sam Rainsy and colleagues from the opposition CNRP free and peaceful entry in their native Cambodia on 9th November 2019, and to ensure their safety and free movement when in the country.

We are concerned with the recent actions of the Cambodian government which include surge in harassment and detention of opposition activists, deployment of the national security forces and threats against Sam Rainsy of violence, and of arrest on trumped up charges, if he and his colleagues cross into Cambodia on 9th November 2019. We are closely monitoring the situation and urge the Cambodian authorities to ensure peace and to desist from incitement of the military and police to perpetrate or to permit such violence.

We express our expectation that PM Hun Sen and the government apparatus will act in conformity with Cambodia's constitution and accepted international civilised norms and allow Sam Rainsy to meet with supporters of the now-banned CNRP unhindered and without harassment from the authorities or their agents.

We reiterate our call on the Cambodian authorities to release opposition leader Kem Sokha and all political prisoners, and cease its intimidation of those domestic and international journalists who are not full regime supporters.

Fearing for stability arising from the banning of an opposition party that enjoys the support of half the electorate, from Cambodia being prima facie in breach of the provisions of crucial trade agreements, and from other economic vulnerabilities such as the very rapid influx of large scale unsustainable investments from China, we call on all international stakeholders to undertake immediate action and prevent any further deterioration in regional stability caused by Cambodia.

We call on other signatories to the 1991 Paris Accords, and UN system institutions, to take steps to encourage the Cambodian authorities to meet their treaty obligations, respect international human rights norms, and implement a genuine pluralist political system as envisioned by the Accords.

Petras Auštrevičius, MEP, Lithuania
Javier Nart, MEP, Spain
Ilhan Kyuchyuk, MEP, Bulgaria
Phil Bennion, MEP, UK
Abir Al-Sahlani, MEP, Sweden
Hilde Vautmans, MEP, Belgium
Malik Azmani, MEP, Netherlands
Dinesh Dhamija, MEP, UK
Vlad-Marius Botoș, MEP, Romania
Christophe Grudler, MEP, France
Luisa Porritt, MEP, UK
Izaskun Bilbao Barandica, MEP, Spain
Shaffaq Mohammed, MEP, UK
Katalin Cseh, MEP, Hungary
Liudas Mažylis, MEP, Lithuania
Bernard Guetta, MEP, France
Martin Horwood, MEP, UK
Margarida Marques, MEP, Portugal


Juozas Olekas, MEP, Lithuania
 Irina von Wiese, MEP, UK
 Svenja Hahn, MEP, Germany
 Klemen Grošelj, MEP, Slovenia
 Bill Newton Dunn, MEP, UK
 Frédérique Ries, MEP, Belgium
 Jane Brophy, MEP, UK
 Assita Kanko, MEP, Belgium
 Caroline Voaden, MEP, UK
 Andreas Glück, MEP, Germany
 Sheila Ritchie, MEP, UK
 Salima Yenbou, MEP, France
 Lucy Netshingha, MEP, UK
 Martin Hojsik, MEP, Slovakia
 Catherine Bearder, MEP, UK
 Engin Eroglu, MEP, Germany
 Barbara Gibson, MEP, UK
 Aušra Maldeikienė, MEP, Lithuania
 Helmut Scholz, MEP, Germany
 Nicola Beer MEP, Germany
 Isabel Carvalhais MEP, Portugal
 Lars Patrick Berg MEP, Germany
 Antony Hook MEP, UK
 Karin Karlsbro MEP, Sweden
 Reinhard Bütikofer MEP, Germany
 Fredrick Federley MEP, Sweden
 Maria Soraya Rodríguez Ramos MEP, Spain
 Moritz Körner MEP, Germany
 Isabel Santos MEP, Portugal
 Irena Joveva MEP, Slovenia
 Bronis Ropė, MEP, Lithuania
 Attila ARA-Kovács MEP, Romania
 Cristian Terhes MEP, Romania
 Jytte Guteland MEP, Sweden
 Evin Incir MEP, Sweden
 Viktor Uspaskich MEP, Lithuania
 Pascal Durand MEP, France
 Atidzhe Alieva-Veli MEP, Bulgaria



ថ្នាក់ដឹកនាំគណបក្សសម្រាប់ជាតិ ៣ រួម ជាមួយសមាជិកសភាអឺរ៉ុប ៣ រួម

Three CNRP leaders with three Members of the European Parliament
Brussels, 4 November 2019

Sam Rainsy
Politician

 Send Message

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157216986246281>

(18) Facebook, November 11, 2019

 **Theary C. Seng**
November 11, 2019 · 🌐



 South China Morning Post **Explainer**

SCMP.COM

Rainsy's in Malaysia, Sokha's out of jail. Is Hun Sen in a pickle?
Cambodia's strongman leader is under pressure not only from a reinvigorated oppositio...


   11

2 Comments 8 Shares

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157228534806281>


(19) Facebook, November 11, 2019

Theary C. Seng
November 11, 2019 · 🌐



CNRP Dissolved: SR Returns; Toxic ecosystem of Betrayal, Sokha's Lies (govt videos): "UNITY BEHIND CNRP", "UNITY BEHIND KEM SOKHA"? How Sokha betrays Democracy, FAUSTIAN PACT with HS (Oct-Nov 2017)

Theary C. Seng
I place the blame equally on Strongman Sen and his Strongman Sokha.
SR without hesitation stepped aside for HS to prevent dissolution. (The only SR stepped aside to be a regular CNRP MP while Sokha took on VP of the NCFK, 10 years his senior) Legit SR to a greater position, that Minority Leader, even that Sokha claimed to be a political debt for power on the back and sweet and taste of Democracy.
HS gave impetus for the dissolution in his lies of being "the" US man since 1993 despite no English skills or any Western connections, no wealth or any other resources and perceived as "pro-Sen" not even trusting his pick of Pol-Han to succeed him.
BREAKING: Cambodia's Supreme Court orders dissolution of country's main opposition party



osition leader released from house
.net

CBN Khmer
November 10, 2019 · 🌐

SOKHA MUST RESIGN FROM HIS POSITION; IF NOT, SAM RAINSY SHOULD CUT OFF PUBLICLY ALL TIES WITH HIM: Upon Hun Sen's public release of his lengthy communications with Sokha on 5 March 2017 (audio recording 28 minutes in length and extensive text exchanges), I called for Sokha to relinquish his CNRP position if he had any self-respect left, even if to his hand-picked VP. Because he didn't, Sam Rainsy with super-human efforts did everything to maintain CNRP unity, at least the semblance of it, even in spite of the vitriolic public abuses and efforts from Sokha's daughter, Mona, a former friend and the CNRP public relations chief (among other senior CNRP positions she demanded from her dad which Sam Rainsy succumbed to in the beginning, again for the sake of a united front).

See <http://thearyseng.com/.../451-cnrp-dissolved-sr-returns...>

Now, more than ever, Sokha must resign from his CNRP position of "president", if he has any empathy and sympathy for Cambodia and if he wants to redeem his self-respect.

IF NOT, it is time for Sam Rainsy to publicly cut off ties with Sokha. Or else, the Sokha card be will an ongoing internal cancer, an ENDLESS political struggle on two fronts.

- Theary C. SENG, Phnom Penh

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157226095806281>

(20) Facebook, November 12, 2019

 **Theory C. Seng**
November 12, 2019 · 🌐




RFA.ORG
Cambodia's Crackdown on Opposition Activists
Prime Minister Hun Sen's government has jailed or threatened with prosecution scores of ...

 3

 Like  Comment  Share


Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theory.c.seng/posts/10157231488666281>

(21) Facebook, November 12, 2019


 **Theary C. Seng**
November 12, 2019 · 🌐

 **Radio Free Asia** ✓
November 12, 2019 · 🌐

"We would let the EU discuss [the EBA] with Hun Sen, as they are stronger [than the CNRP] and have the ability to negotiate with him," Sam Rainsy told reporters. "The EU, however, has not softened its stance and is clear [about its requirements] on the EBA issue for Cambodia."



RFA.ORG
Opposition Leader Sam Rainsy Says EU Pressure Over Trade Status Will Further His Goals

  8


1 Comment 1 Share

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/theary.c.seng/posts/10157231472381281>

(22) Facebook, November 23, 2019

មាន សម រង្ស៊ី រាប់លាននាក់ នៅស្រុកខ្មែរ | There are millions of Sam Rainsys in Cambodia.

ពលករខ្មែរ នៅប្រទេសថៃ និងគ្រួសារ លើកបដា ដែលមានសរសេរថា «ខ្ញុំជា សម រង្ស៊ី» | Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand... See More



ខ្ញុំ សម រង្ស៊ី។
I am Rainsy.

Theary C. Seng
November 23, 2019 · 🌐

«ខ្ញុំ សម រង្ស៊ី» "I am Rainsy"

មាន សម រង្ស៊ី រាប់លាននាក់ នៅស្រុកខ្មែរ | There are millions of Sam Rainsys in Cambodia.

ពលករខ្មែរ នៅប្រទេសថៃ និងគ្រួសារ លើកបដា ដែលមានសរសេរថា «ខ្ញុំជា សម រង្ស៊ី» | Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand and their families show their support for Sam Rainsy.

From Radio Free Asia (RFA), 20 November 2019

Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand told RFA they are returning to their jobs after having gathered at the border to accompany Sam Rainsy home, but said they will be available to join him when he is able to enter the country.

Chhorn Sokhoeun, a construction worker, said he still has hope and continues to support Sam Rainsy's plan to repatriate. "Even though Sam Rainsy could not make it to Cambodia on Nov. 9, we remain firm in our support for him because we know the situation there, and Hun Sen is pressuring us in all aspects of life," he said.

Another worker, Lon Peiseth, said it was not Sam Rainsy's fault that he was unable to return on Nov. 9. "He was prevented from returning home, so we don't blame him and will be ready to accompany him [when he is able]," he said. See Less

Write a comment

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10157263148631281&set=a.492355761280>

