



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/45/83 ✓

S/21086

16 January 1990

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-fifth session
THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 16 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative
of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the open letter dated 14 January 1990 from H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to the Powers of the free world whose Governments are prepared to "Drop Sihanouk and the CGDK" and to "Embrace" the (Phnom Penh) Hun Sen régime.

I should be very grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

OPEN LETTER OF
H.R.H. SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK

TO THE POWERS OF THE FREE WORLD WHOSE GOVERNMENTS
ARE PREPARED TO "DROP SIHANOUK AND THE CGDK" AND
TO "EMBRACE" THE (PHNOM PENH) HUN SEN REGIME

- January 14, 1990 -

I. You are sovereign States. As such, Your "Cambodian policy" depends only on yourselves. You can modify or change it completely at Your will. I do not have to interfere in Your affairs even if they are directly connected with my Motherland and the fate of my people.

I respect Your sovereignty.

However, today, I would like to draw Your high attention to some particularly important aspects of the so-called "problem of Kampuchea."

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II. If the Hun Sen-Heng Samrin regime is maintained for a long time in Cambodia, the latter (Cambodia) will become, de facto, not only a satellite (--she is already--) of the S.R. of Vietnam and the USSR, but also, which is more serious and even mortal for her (Cambodia), a colony of Vietnam, in particular with regard to the settlement, and the unlimited exploitation, the catastrophic pillage of natural resources of the colonized country.

You confine the "problem of Cambodia" to the sole question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from my country.

You rule, without any serious verification, that "all Vietnamese troops have already left Cambodia and gone definitively back to Vietnam."

In view of the information I have, I cannot follow You when You proclaim that the problem of the military occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam is already completely settled.

But here I do not want to linger over this aspect of the "Cambodian problem."

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I would like You to look into the far more serious problem, both for Cambodia and the Cambodian people, of the physical Vietnamization and extensive pillage of the natural resources of Cambodia by the "Hanoi" Government with the full consent of the Hun Sen-Hong Samrin regime.

In this respect, please do have the courage to ask the Khmer military, diplomats, civil servants, intellectuals and students of the Hun Sen-Heng Samrin regime, who have been able to desert this regime and take refuge in several countries of the Free World.

Those "defectors" will tell You very clearly the following:

- a/- The Hun Sen-Heng Samrin group is thoroughbred Khmer Rouge; this group is as bad as the Pol Pot group; the two Khmer Rouge factions (Hun Sen's and Pol Pot's) differ only on the question of their dependence: The Polpotians depend on the P.R. of China and the Hun Senians depend on the USSR and, in particular, on the S.R. of Vietnam.
- b/- The Hun Sen regime (just like Lon Nol's from 1970-1975) breaks all the records in corruption, and the so-called "socio-economic progress" benefit only the leaders' families and the upper social classes and not the real Cambodian people.
- c/- The Hun Sen regime constantly and seriously violates human rights.
- d/- The Hun Sen regime is absolutely not independent. It is at the "Hanoi" Government's beck and call. In all the ministries, services and administration of the Hun Sen regime, it is the Vietnamese "advisers" who act as masters and control those ministries, services and administration. And it is "Hanoi" who controls the internal and external policy of the Hun Sen regime.
- e/- Inside Cambodia now there are more than one million Vietnamese settlers, illegal immigrants, who have come from Vietnam to colonize physically the Cambodians' lands and exploit Cambodia's natural resources (precious stones, forests, rubber, grains, fruit, fish, etc...)

At the present time, Cambodian coastal islands are filled up with Vietnamese fishermen, just as in the regions of the (Tonle Sap) "Great Lake", the Mekong and Bassac rivers. Several hundreds of formerly Khmer villages are today peopled with Vietnamese men and women, and they are given Vietnamese names. The same thing happens to some formerly Khmer boroughs and small towns near Vietnam's borders. In some places, Cambodia's borders have been modified for the benefit of Vietnam.

In the cultural field, the Vietnamization (especially in the linguistic field) is proceeding at full speed. Cambodians (Khmers) who do not speak and write Vietnamese fluently are outrageously discriminated (in obtaining diplomas or jobs, in administrative promotion) vis-à-vis those who speak and write brilliantly Vietnamese.

Therefore, in a few decades, Cambodia will be peopled with a majority of Vietnamese and the Khmers [just as in Kampuchea Krom (Lower Cambodia) which had become South-Vietnam since the "colonial" French came to Cochinchina in 1860] will become an ethnic minority in their own Motherland, who will also see her territory lessened in size due to the modifications of her land and sea borders for the benefit of Vietnam.

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III. You want to "trade" with the Hun Sen regime.

And that is why a growing number of Your companies (banking, trade, industry, exploitation and plantation, etc...) have settled or get ready to settle in Cambodia.

This is not shocking at all.

However, I wish to draw Your high attention to some (very serious) dangers Cambodia (as far as her future is concerned) would face if Your companies were to conduct some activities, such as the extensive cutting of trees in Cambodian forests (cutting of trees no to be followed by mandatory, extensive and systematic reforestation), the intensive exploitation of piscicultural resources in our lakes, rivers and sea, and the trade of antique objets d'art (from Angkor, etc...)

The Hun Sen regime allows the destruction of Cambodia's forests. That destruction which is going on at an accelerated rate has already brought about (great) changes in rainfall condition, in the growing imbalance between positive and negative elements of ecology in Cambodia, in the progressive and irreversible desertification of Cambodia, once an exporter of grains, fish, fruit and livestock, today an importer of food and a mendicant of humanitarian aids and "tomorrow" an arid and unproductive country, not being able anymore to survive by herself.

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IV. You want to eliminate the Khmer Rouge. Good!

But even Your de facto or de jure recognition of the (Phnom Penh) Hun Sen regime will not be enough (quite the contrary!) to have the Khmer Rouge danger disappeared.

Such a recognition would only exacerbate the passions which divide politically and ideologically the Khmers.

In the military field, this would incite the Khmer Rouge to fight even more fiercely against the Phnom Penh regime. The non-communist and non-Khmer Rouge resistants too would be compelled to raise several "notches" in their combativeness against Vietnamese colonialism (represented by the Hun Sen regime.)

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the "Cambodian problem", would be tantamount to adding fuel to a fire which is going to destroy not only the Khmer country and nation, but also the Hun Sen regime, Your "darling" whose survival You want to secure at all costs.

You claim that You know how to love the Cambodian people more than I do.

Nevertheless, it is my family and myself who have (terribly) suffered and who have been humiliated to the highest extent under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary rule. During the Pol Pot rule, You did nothing to rescue my people. Some of You had even given their de jure recognition to the Pol Pot regime.

If I told You that I love Your peoples more than You do, You would be fully right not to believe me, to make fun of me and to denounce my "hypocrisy."

I would not permit myself to cast doubts on the sincerity of Your sentiments of mercy and compassion for the Khmer people. But what I do not accept is that You cast doubts on my patriotism and my love for the Khmer people.

You have never been the victims of the Polpotian Khmer Rouge. My family is one of the victims of these Polpotians. Consequently, more than yourselves, I have reasons to hate these Khmer Rouge.

But Cambodian realities are such that the "Khmer Rouge problem", instead of being resolved by means of strengthening the Hun Sen regime in the international field, would become even more unsolvable and more bloody and tragical with the arbitrary "legalization", through Your care, of the Hun Sen regime.

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For at least 90 per cent of the Cambodians, men and women, inside and outside Cambodia, the "legalization" through Your care of the Hun Sen pro-Vietnamese regime will mean that You cynically sacrifice Cambodia on the altar of Vietnamese colonialism, of the Vietnamization of Cambodia and the long term integration (as was the case of Kampuchea Krom in the 19th century), of today's Cambodia into Greater Vietnam, which had always been the dreams of Vietnamese emperors and, after them, HO CHI MINH.

Consequently, Your idea of "legalization" of the Hun Sen regime, if implemented, will only give prestige to the Khmer Rouge (who will appear as being the greatest and most effective champions of the nationalist struggle of the Khmers against the multiform process of Vietnamization of Cambodia.) And it will only further reinforce the union of Khmer patriots and the unity of the CNR.

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I have mentioned "Cambodian realities." Among the realities You ignore or You refuse to "see", there is the following:

The ascendancy of the Khmer Rouge over the "countryside" ("Cambodia's heartland," that of the peasants) has greatly been increasing these past months (in the military, geographical, ideological, political and even administrative fields) and, concurrently, the infrastructure of the Hun Sen administration, Party apparatus and army has been disintegrating and collapsing in an increasing number of places, outside the big cities which (including Phnom Penh, the capital) are not anymore sheltered from the attacks and acts of terrorism or sabotage of the Khmer Rouge who, in this connection, are helped by accomplices and even by "supporters" among townspeople and even by the people working in the Hun Sen administration, police and army.

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You would excuse me for having to say this to You: Your reasoning on the Khmer Rouge is simplistic. You believe, wrongly, that the Khmer Rouge are rejected by the entire Khmer people and You are convinced that those Khmer Rouge rule over such or such districts or provinces of Cambodia through terror and their "policy of genocide."

The reality does not correspond to this too simple picture You have of the Khmer Rouge, in the midst of the Khmer people.

I (Sihanouk) am among those Khmers who most ardently wish the fading away of the Khmer Rouge from my unfortunate country, but I wish as ardently as much to be able to remove forever the danger of Vietnamese expansionism and colonialism from Cambodia.

To come back to the Khmer Rouge, it is useless to conceal the following reality:

Indeed, the great majority of the Khmers fear, hate and reject the Khmer Rouge. But there is quite a number of Khmers (Cambodians, men and women) who adopt, help and support the Khmer Rouge, and endorse their ultra-nationalist and proletarian ideology.

The Khmer Rouge army comprise 40,000 purely Khmer combatants, who are not only formidably equipped in terms of fighting materials, but who are especially highly motivated in their ideology and, -why not to recognize it?- their patriotism.

In an article published in August 1989 the great French newspaper "Le Figaro" said that in their 10-year-old war in Cambodia against the Khmer Rouge, the troops of the great Vietnamese army lost 50,000 combatants, were defeated and lost face (sic).

In the face of this reality, what measure are You going to take in order to eliminate the Khmer Rouge army?

The August 1989 issue of "Le Figaro" wrote the following in connection with the great Vietnamese army in Cambodia: "They (the Viets) had dreamed of conquering Cambodia. They have lost face (-that is the war-)."

Where are Your international brigades whose task, taking the place of defeated Vietnamese troops, is to make war against the Khmer Rouge?

Who prevents You from setting up these international brigades and from sending them as soon as possible to Cambodia in order to "bludgeon" the Polpotians.

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It is easy to wage war against the Khmer Rouge in Your speeches and in the columns of Your newspapers, by at the same time rejecting the realistic and reasonable proposals I have submitted to You in order to put an end to the war in Cambodia and to enable the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination.

But by "legitimizing" the Hun Sen regime in Phnom Penh, a creation and a creature of the S.R. of Vietnam, You will only gag the Cambodian people, while it is this people, and they alone, who are the owner of Cambodia and not Hun Sen or anyone else.

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What "gains" are You going to have with Your multiform policy of support to the Hun Sen regime?

In Hun Sen's Cambodia, Your trade, industry, exploitation, plantation enterprises, etc... will not thrive for long because the war, instead of slowing down, will have spread more and more all over the Khmer territory; and this will be Your fault because, instead of giving a realistic, logical and reasonable solution to the "Cambodian problem", You prefer to allow Yourself to be guided by passional, partisan and, in some cases, mercantile considerations.

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You are aware that more than 90 per cent of the Cambodians, men and women, do not admit communism in Cambodia; not even "liberal Hun Senian" communism.

At a time when in Romania the Communist Party is outlawed; at a time when many other countries of Eastern Europe vigorously turn their backs to communism and break away from the USSR, You do not hesitate to embrace the Communist, marxist-leninist, hochiminhian and pro-Soviet regime of Hun Sen, Heng Samrin and Chea Sim.

And it is in the name of Human Rights and the ideals of the Free World that You will consolidate Vietminhian communism in a Cambodia, profoundly nationalist, thoroughly anti-communist and "viscerally" neutralist. You will force Cambodia to stay in the Soviet bloc at a time when, in Europe, this bloc is disintegrating. And You will have contributed to make today's Cambodia a second Kampuchea Krom

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In this respect, I can assure You that Cambodian patriots, men and women, will not be grateful to You.

And this is my conclusion and the end of my open letter addressed to You.

Please accept my respects.
