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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 9 April 1990 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Cambodia to the United Nations addressed to
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a new proposal dated 9 April 1990, by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Cambodia (see annex).

I should be very grateful if you could have the document distributed as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 32 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) SISOWATH Sirirath
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

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ANNEX

MY NEW PROPOSALS FORMULATED IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE TRAGIC "PROBLEM OF CAMBODIA", A PROBLEM WHICH HAS REMAINED UNSOLVED DESPITE THE VIGOROUS EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS (IN PARTICULAR ITS SECRETARY GENERAL, H.E. JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR), ASEAN, THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND AUSTRALIA, EFFORTS AIMING TO ENSURE THE RETURN TO CAMBODIA OF PEACE, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

PREAMBLE

The time has come to say things as they are: As long as the Khmers Rouges (Party of Democratic Kampuchea - FDK-; NADK - National Army of Democratic Kampuchea) on the one hand, and Hun Sen's (pro - SRV) regime, on the other, oppose and reject this or that "PLAN", this or that "PROPOSAL" or "SOLUTION", the very bloody and destructive war will continue in Cambodia, to the greatest detriment and misfortune of the Cambodian people and the Khmer race.

In this endless war, there will be neither winners nor losers (and that explains why the said war will not end). There will always be, however, an undoubted loser. This loser is that which I have called and continue to call with love "the small citizenry" of Cambodia. The latter constitutes the majority of the population of Cambodia.

It is, thus, important, to behave in accordance with the democratic and of moral responsibility principles and to help without delay and to the utmost of one's ability this people to recover peace and freedom, which are part of its sovereign rights.

In the new proposals of NORODOM Sihanouk that follow, there will be many important points which will be, undoubtedly, rejected by the Khmers Rouges and certain, no less important, points which will be rejected by the pro-SRV group of Hun Sen.

But, since the majority of the population of Cambodia and the immense majority of nations members of the international community (including certain ASEAN governments) demand henceforth that the 4 warring Khmer factions give triple evidence of their respect for the majority of our people, of their unselfishness (their lack of "thirst for power") and of their devotion to the ideal of Peace, my Party (FUNCINPEC), my army (the ANS) and myself, we give this triple evidence to our respected and beloved people and the international community by presenting to the other 3 warring Khmer factions the new "PLAN SIHANOUK" for a practical settlement of the Cambodian issue, which follows:

/. . .

I. The Five Powers, Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and the Secretary General of the United Nations, together and with the agreement of the two (2) existing Cambodian governments: The National Government of Cambodia (NGC), recognized de jure by the United Nations, and the Government of the State of Cambodia (GSOC), installed in Phnom Penh by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), proclaim an immediate CEASE FIRE in Cambodia with the (provisional) maintenance in their positions at the date of the proclamation of this Cease-fire of the 4 armies of the Khmer warring factions and, equally, of the Vietnamese army units still inside Cambodia, (Cease-Fire "in place" or Cease-Fire and standstill).

II. But, in order to avoid "placing the cart before the oxen", it is necessary that prior to the Cease-Fire proclamation, the 5 Permanent Members of the UN Security Council send to Cambodia (with the agreement of both the NGC and the GSOC) a strong armed contingent made up from their own respective armies but wearing the "UN Blue Helmets" and placed under the high Command of the (military) Representative of the UN Security General. These "Blue Helmets", whose Supreme Commander will be H.E. Javier de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations, will be charged with implementing the Cease-fire "in place" and preventing this or that Cambodian army from continuing to attack "the enemy" in order to try to take away from it additional territories.

It is important, in this regard, that H.E. Perez de Cuellar persuades the armed Khmer factions that Cambodia belongs to all the Cambodians and that, in the final settlement of the Cambodian issue, the area of territories occupied respectively by the four Khmer factions will not be taken into account and that in the last analysis, the United Nations will compel them to proceed together to a regrouping of the armed units in order to restrict them to barracks instead of leaving them in the territories currently occupied by them.

NOTE: I do not raise here the question of general disarming of the 4 Cambodian armies nor that of the reduction of their effectives.

These two questions profoundly divide the NCR (National Cambodian Resistance) and Mr. Hun Sen's faction supported by the SRV and the USSR.

Consequently, it would be more realistic from my part to propose, in the first instance, a "standstill"; and, afterwards, ask H.E. Perez de Cuellar and the 5 countries Permanent Members of the UN Security Council to proceed to the reconciliation among the warring Khmers and to the re-grouping of their units in barracks, while waiting for the day when it will be possible to form a National Army of Cambodia.

III In addition to the "Blue Helmets", whose effectives should essentially come from the armies of the "Five Perm" (the 5 countries Permanent Members of the UN Security Council), it is important that an International Control Mechanism (ICM) be established

by the Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC) and whose composition will be chosen by the PICC, in agreement with the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Leaders of the 4 Cambodian factions.

The ICM could be placed by the PICC under the Chairmanship of H.E. Javier Perez de Cuellar, represented on the spot and in permanence, in Cambodia, by a senior UN official having the trust of the Secretary General of the UN, of the PICC and of the Leaders of the 4 Cambodian factions.

NOTE: It is important to place the "Blue Helmets" and the ICM under the High Command of the same personality (H.E. Perez de Cuellar), and that in order to avoid any confusion in the minds and differences (always possible) "on the ground" between the "Blue Helmets" Command and that of the ICM.

The mission of the ICM will be:

Primo: to assist the "Blue Helmets" to "neutralize" the armies of the NCR and those of the Viets and Hun Sen, among which there could be certain units which would not hesitate, after the proclamation of the Cease-Fire, to try to violate this Cease-Fire in certain spots, by indulging in acts of revenge or of intimidation against civilians;

Secundo: to ensure the peace for the whole of the Khmer land and the freedom of the Cambodian people;

Tertio: to prepare in close co-operation with the Supreme Council of the Cambodian State the general elections and to monitor these elections during their progress.

IV. The 2 governments (NGC and JSOC) could be maintained, in conformity with the demand of Hun Sen, on condition that all their administrative powers are transferred, pending the general elections, to the United Nations Administering Authority (UNAA), and their powers, as far as foreign policy and diplomacy are concerned, are transferred to the Supreme Council of the Cambodian State.

V. A Supreme Council of the Cambodian State (SCCS) will be established. It will be composed of 6 members from the National Cambodian Resistance's side and 6 members from the Phnom Penh regime's side.

The President of the SCCS will be chosen by consensus of the 12 members of this SCCS.

In the event that, the Council reaches an equal number of "yes" votes and "no" votes, when making decisions, the President has the casting vote.

The Supreme Council of the Cambodian State will symbolize the sovereignty of Cambodia. It will entrust, pending the general

elections, the administration of Cambodia to the United Nations Administering Authority (UNAA).

VI. As far as the United Nations Administering Authority is concerned, its Chief will be the Secretary General of the United Nations, who will delegate a High Representative to take charge of operations, in permanence, on the spot, pending the general elections.

The person chosen to be this High Representative should receive the approval of the PICC and the Leaders of the Cambodian factions.

VII. The following non-political and non-legislative public services and technical administrative services of the Phnom Penh regime will be maintained and placed at the disposal of the UNAA: Public Works, Refuse Collection, Cadastral survey, Doctors, Nurses, Primary and Secondary School Teachers, Postal-Telephone and Telegraphic Services, Technical staff at Ports, Airports and Railways.

VIII. The general elections in Cambodia, will be jointly organized by the Supreme Council of the Cambodian State and the United Nations Administering Authority. They will be monitored by the ICM.

But, these general elections will not take place, as long as the following tasks have not been completed:

a) The control and dismantling of the caches of arms of the Vietnamese, the Khmers factions and other armed groups Cambodian or Foreign.

This will be the task of the UNAA, of the "Blue Helmets" and the ICM, assisted by qualified representatives of the SCCS.

b) The verification of the presence of armed Vietnamese elements and illegal immigrants, which should be repatriated under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

This will be the task of the UNAA and the ICM, assisted by qualified representatives of the SCCS.

c) The census of the population of Cambodian nationality and that of non-Cambodian nationality in Cambodia, with information on the date of birth of each person of both sexes.

This will be the task of the UNAA, assisted by qualified representatives of the SCCS.

d) Verification of the original line of the land and sea borders

of Cambodia internationally recognized until the 17th march 1970 (the eve of Lon Nol's Putsch), and in conformity with the official maps prevailing in 1969.

This will be the task of the UNAA, the ICM and the SCCS.

NOTE: Taking into consideration the very great importance, the difficulty and the unavoidable length of the above mentioned tasks, the general elections should not take place before 2 or 3 years, as from the date of the proclamation of the Cease-Fire.

Besides, it is well understood that the preceding tasks (a, b, c, d) can only be undertaken (practically) after the Cease-Fire with standstill (the freezing of the positions of the warring forces) on Cambodia's soil.

Furthermore, this freezing of the positions (...) will have as notable advantage, the avoidance of the de facto partition of Cambodia because, as it can be seen currently, none of the warring armies in Cambodia is able to avoid that enemy forces do not come in between this or that zone under its control.

For example, the Khmer Rouge Army (NADK) is able to establish itself a little everywhere in Cambodia, including in those provinces neighbouring Phnom Penh, while Hun Sen's and Vietnam's units occupy zones in between the NADK zones and those of the ANS in the provinces of Battambang, Oddar Meanchey and Kompong Thom.

Thus, there is no demarcation line between the armed forces of the NCR and those of Phnom Penh and Vietnam, except as far as the provinces of Stung Treng, Rattanakiri and Mondul:ri by the Vietnamese, whose repatriation is necessary.

IX. The SCCS should proclaim the neutrality of Cambodia and the PICC should offer its recognition and guarantee to Cambodia as a neutral State.

Freedom Village (ANS zone),
Province of Oddar Meanchey,
Cambodia
On the 9th April 1990

(signed)

NORODOM SIHANOUK