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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 10 July 1990 from the Permanent Representative
of Cambodia to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, the transcript of an interview given by His Excellency Mr. Khieu Samphan, Vice-President of Cambodia in charge of Foreign Affairs, to a correspondent of the Xinhua News Agency on 8 July 1990.

I should be most grateful if you could have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 32 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* A/45/50.

ANNEX

INTERVIEW OF H.E. MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN
VICE-PRESIDENT OF CAMBODIA
IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
WITH THE CORRESPONDENT OF XINHUA NEWS AGENCY

- 8 July 1990 -

Question:

According to reports, the Five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council (Perm Five) will hold the 5th round of consultations on Cambodia in Paris this month, what result would you wish this new round of meeting to produce?

Answer:

Before answering your question, permit me to recall the past efforts in the search of a political settlement to the conflict in Cambodia. As you know, the root cause of the Cambodian problem has been Vietnam's war of aggression and occupation, which has not only caused tremendous sufferings and devastations to the Cambodian people, but also endangered peace, security and stability of South-East Asia.

That is why the problem of Cambodia has become a problem of great concern to the world community which has made sustained efforts aimed at bringing about a comprehensive political settlement.

In this respect, the ASEAN countries have done their utmost to put an end to that war over the past 11 years. The United Nations General Assembly has also discussed, as one of its main agenda, the Cambodian issue since 1979, and has adopted each year a resolution calling for the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia.

Yet the Hanoi authorities have persistently opposed the ASEAN's efforts and the relevant UN resolutions.

Under such circumstances, the Five Permanent Members of the

UN Security Council have decided to take up themselves the Cambodian issue.

We deem it most appropriate because the UN Security Council, in which the Perm Five have their own role to play, has primary responsibility, under the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Perm Five have already held four rounds of talks on Cambodia. Their latest Summary of Conclusions issued on 26 May 1990 is a well-planned document and the basis of a comprehensive political settlement in which the UN will be entrusted with an effective role of control and verification of all the aspects of the settlement process. The Perm Five have rightly reaffirmed that "only a comprehensive political settlement will bring lasting peace and stability to Cambodia" and the comprehensive political settlement must be carried out "under an effective United Nations Peacekeeping Operation".

Thus, the ASEAN countries and the UN General Assembly have consistently called for a comprehensive political settlement, especially the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia under the UN control and verification. And now the Perm Five have also called for a comprehensive political settlement with the UN control and verification of the whole settlement process.

Vietnam has persistently rejected the call of the ASEAN countries, the UN General Assembly and the Perm Five. It has rejected the comprehensive political settlement and the UN control and verification of the whole settlement process.

We are convinced that the Perm Five will, during their 5th round of meeting in Paris, continue to work on the basis of their 26 May 1990 Summary of Conclusions, the only way to speed up a comprehensive political settlement.

Question:

During the last round of Perm Five meeting in New York, the Perm Five decided to invite all the Cambodian factions to attend the new round of consultations to further study the plan concerning a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian issue. Do the three parties of the resistance have decided to attend the Paris meeting? What about the basic stands you have adopted for this meeting?

Answer:

During their 3rd and 4th rounds of talks, held separately in Paris and in New York, the Perm Five have decided to invite the four Cambodian parties to attend their 5th round of meeting scheduled for July 1990. The fact that the Perm Five have decided to invite all the Cambodian parties to hold discussions with them on a comprehensive political settlement is quite appropriate. The

three parties of the Cambodian National Resistance headed by H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK are ready to attend the proposed meeting with the Five.

The Perm Five's efforts to arrive at a comprehensive political settlement will certainly lead to the reconvening of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia. After their four rounds of meetings on Cambodia, the Five have agreed on the basis for a comprehensive political settlement as contained in their 26 May Summary of Conclusions. Therefore, the next logical step would be the invitation of the four Cambodian parties to hold discussions with them: they want to have the endorsement by the four Cambodian parties of their agreement and to discuss with the four Cambodian parties details and practical steps of the whole settlement process. They know full well that it is necessary to have the endorsement and the cooperation of the four Cambodian parties if their efforts are to be successful.

It is to be recalled that the Paris International Conference has already adopted the fact that Cambodia is represented by the four Cambodian parties. And the Summary of Conclusions of the Five has also clearly indicated that the Five would like to hold discussions with the four Cambodian parties.

Yet the Hanoi authorities and the puppets, in their attempt to block the meeting between the Five and the four Cambodian parties (the "Five plus Four formula") have been trying hard to impose the "Five plus Two" formula.

The Hanoi authorities and their puppets are fully aware that with the "Five plus Four" formula there will be a comprehensive political settlement with the UN verification and control of the whole settlement process. Their own "Five plus Two" formula is only aimed at hindering the efforts of the Perm Five so that they would be able to carry out their diplomatic manoeuvres which have two-fold objectives: to take the Cambodia issue out of the UN Security Council, and to foster their partial solution especially their proposed ceasefire without a comprehensive political settlement and without the UN verification and control.

Therefore, we would like to invite the world community to make a comparison between the Vietnamese proposed solution and our own peace plan.

In a nutshell, we have proposed:

1.

A comprehensive political settlement, a simultaneous settlement of the external and internal aspects of the conflict in Cambodia; a settlement that will secure the withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces, a ceasefire, a cessation of outside military assistance to all the four Cambodian parties, free and fair elections, etc., all this as one and only un-interrupted process;

2. The UN verification and control of the whole settlement process;
3. The cooperation of the four Cambodian parties with the United Nations in the implementation of the Agreement on a comprehensive political settlement, from the start to the end.

It is in such a spirit that the Democratic Kampuchea party, on 29 June 1990, has come up with a new proposal for a comprehensive political settlement within the framework of the 26 May 1990 Summary of Conclusions of the Perm Five.

Our proposal is aimed at securing the withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia under strict UN verification and control, and allowing the four Cambodian parties -who are now engaging in a fierce fighting- to sit together and pool their common efforts with the United Nations to restore peace, security and stability in the whole country, and to lay down legal and practical conditions to ensure the holding of free and fair elections in which no Cambodian party would be advantaged and all the Cambodians should enjoy the same rights, freedoms and opportunities; the elections that will lead to the adoption of a new Constitution for Cambodia, the convening of a new National Assembly and the formation of a new national Government. Thus, each and every Cambodian will be able to live in harmony within the boundaries of one Nation that is an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia within her territorial integrity free from any foreign military forces or bases.

We believe that these are logical steps to be taken in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement to secure peace and national reconciliation in Cambodia, and to safeguard peace, security and stability in the region of South-East Asia.

As for the Vietnamese proposal, it can be summed up as follows:

1. A ceasefire without a comprehensive political settlement;
2. No UN verification and control; (when the Vietnamese talk about the UN role, they only want it to legalize their puppet regime);
3. A solution on the "two sides" formula.

A partial solution, or a solution on the basis of the "two

sides" formula, or a ceasefire without a comprehensive political settlement and without the UN verification and control of the whole settlement process, would be tantamount to keeping in place the puppet regime installed in Phnom Penh by Vietnam. This puppet regime would be able in turn to conceal the Vietnamese forces for their continued occupation of Cambodia, those Vietnamese forces that will continue to run the country from top to bottom, from the government ministries and services down to the provinces, districts, communes and villages. And the more than one million Vietnamese settlers who have been sent to Cambodia by Vietnam within the framework of the "Vietnamization" of Cambodia would be legalized. If it were so, the nearly 12 years of the Cambodian people's struggle would become useless, and the support of the world community to that struggle would by the same token become useless.

In such a case, will the Vietnamese proposal really solve the conflict in Cambodia? Will it restore peace in Cambodia? Will it bring the independence to Cambodia with her territorial integrity? Will it remove threat to peace, security and stability of South-East Asia? -Certainly not.

Hence, the difference between the "Five plus Four" formula on the one hand, and the "Five plus Two" formula on the other has become in substance a difference between a comprehensive political settlement with the UN verification and control of the whole settlement process and a partial solution without the UN verification and control.

We are firmly convinced that the overwhelming majority of the world community who want to safeguard peace, security and stability of South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific, including the Perm Five, will continue to reject a partial solution and work for a comprehensive political settlement with the UN verification and control of all the steps of the settlement process.

The just position contained in the 26 May 1990 Summary of Conclusions of the Perm Five has and continues to have the full support of the whole Cambodian people, the Cambodian National Resistance and the National Government of Cambodia headed by H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, and of the overwhelming majority of the member States of the United Nations.

Question:

Please tell us the present military situation in Cambodia, particularly the significance of victories achieved at Kompong Thom front.

Answer:

The prevailing situation on the battlefield in Cambodia is as follows:

1. In the interior of the country, the Cambodian National Resistance (CNR) forces have also increased their activities in the provinces of Kampot, Takeo, Kompong Speu, Kompong Cham (on both sides of the Mekong river), and in the Western and Eastern parts of Kratie province.

On these fronts, the CNR forces have won increasing support and cooperation of the Cambodian people to their guerrilla warfare to dismantle the puppet administrative apparatus in the villages and communes, and have liberated successively villages, communes, enemy positions and districts. Thus, they have been able to liberate territories with the population and their economic life.

2. On the basis of the above-cited guerrilla warfare throughout the country, the CNR forces are now fighting forcefully in 6 major battlefronts:

- (1) Road 10-Battambang, and Railway and Highway 5 from Battambang to Maung;
- (2) Siemreap;
- (3) North-Sisophon and Oddar Meanchey;
- (4) Leach-Bakan, the Western part of Pursat;
- (5) Kompong Thom;
- (6) Kompong Speu.

These six fronts are inter-dependent as they support each other in the attacks against the enemy to liberate territories, cut off the enemy supply lines, liberate villages, communes, enemy positions, districts, the population and their economy. They have been able to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy troops. Some of these fronts have now expanded up to the gates of major cities and strategic positions currently held by the Vietnamese and puppet forces.

Such is the hard-won result we have obtained step by step since 1979, that is over the past nearly 12 years. This new development has not come up just by mere chance. It is a result of the strenuous struggle carried out by the whole Cambodian people and the tripartite CNR forces under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK with the support of countries which cherish peace and justice the world over.

The Vietnamese aggressors are now struggling in a desperate situation, not just on one or two fronts but in all fronts throughout the country and in all fields. They are at their wit's end.

The situation has now reached a stage that the military structures the Vietnamese have tried painstakingly to establish

over the past nearly 12 years are now on the brink of total collapse. The puppet army is disintegrating, so is the administrative apparatus of the puppet regime. As for the half-dozen of chief-puppets whom the Vietnamese have gathered from here and there to show to the world, they are now engaging themselves in open dire dissensions. The Vietnamese can no longer patch or cover them up. Besides, the Vietnamese troops are struck themselves by low morale. They are afraid of the fightings and tired of the war.

In Cambodia, the Vietnamese are losing the war; while in Vietnam itself they are facing very serious difficulties: economic crisis, worsening living conditions of the people, growing resentment among the people against the Vietnamese leaders, split within the leadership itself, social problems with a depth and magnitude that could explode like in Eastern Europe.

Worse still is the fact that the Vietnamese have lost their only supply sources as a result of the disintegrating of the COMECON and Warsaw alliances.

The world community has been fully aware that the so-called withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia is only a deceitful manoeuvre. In fact, the Vietnamese aggression forces have been concealed in Cambodia and new reinforcements have been brought in so as to resist the CNR forces and save their puppets in Phnom Penh from a rapid collapse.

By sending reinforcements into Cambodia, the Vietnamese aggressors have no hope of winning the war or even of withstanding the CNR forces thrusts. They try rather to prolong the war and buy time for their diplomatic manoeuvres as I have pointed out earlier.

Although they are facing inextricable difficulties at home, the Hanoi authorities still continue to wage their war of aggression against Cambodia and to sow sufferings and destructions to the Cambodian people and nation.

As the victims, the Cambodian people want to put an end to the Vietnamese war of aggression as soon as possible on the basis of a comprehensive political settlement. In this spirit, the National Government of Cambodia and the CNR under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK have put forward successive proposals aimed at reaching a comprehensive political settlement under the UN control and verification.

The Democratic Kampuchea party, like the Cambodian people as a whole, the National Government of Cambodia and the CNR, has expressed its goodwill to put an end to the Vietnamese war of aggression as soon as possible on the basis of a comprehensive political settlement and has consequently put forward successive peace proposals, jointly with the other two partners of the National Government of Cambodia or separately. Of late, we have come up with a new proposal for a comprehensive political

settlement within the framework of the Summary of Conclusions of 26 May 1990 of the Five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council.

Question:

Phnom Penh regime recently used jet fighters to bomb the resistance positions, what is your comment of that?

Answer:

Since the beginning of the current rainy season, the Vietnamese aggressors have used their Soviet made jet fighters to bomb many liberated regions and population centres under the control of the CNR. These desperate acts can only testify to the Vietnamese defeating situation on the ground.

As the military structures they have built over the past nearly 12 years are crumbling, the Vietnamese aggressors are compelled to rely themselves more and more on heavy artillery and tanks. But now as their supply lines (Highways, waterways and local roads) have been cut off, they have engaged desperately their aircrafts in the war which they are bound to lose.
