

**THAI-LAO CEASEFIRE -** \*  
**MESSAGE FROM THAI PRIME MINISTER TO LAO PRIME MINISTER**

Following is an unofficial translation of the message from H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand dated 24 February 1988 to H.E. Mr. Kaison Phomvihane, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Laos:

Excellency,

With reference to the joint press statement between the Thai-Lao Military Delegations in Bangkok on 17 February 1988 on the ceasefire, disengagement of respective troops and the opening of political negotiation, I wish to highly commend the Military Delegation of both sides for having reached a brotherly compromise and success which constructively contribute to the peace of our two countries. The ceasefire and the disengagement of troops have now been smoothly and successfully carried out in a brotherly spirit of cooperation between Thailand and Laos.

In this regard, I wish to inform you that the Royal Thai Government has accepted the recommendation of the Thai-Lao Military Delegations to begin political negotiations for the purpose of finding a peaceful and political solution to the boundary problem in the area based on International Law and the provisions of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907 and relevant maps.

In order to proceed accordingly without delay, I wish to extend an invitation to your excellency to send a delegation to negotiate with the Thai side in Bangkok in our efforts to find a durable solution to this problem between both countries. The said negotiation could begin with talks between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both countries, with a view to establishing the framework and format of an agreement. From there, the next step would be negotiations between officials of both sides who would put forward their recommendations to their respective governments. Alternatively, the negotiation could begin right away between officials of both sides. I, therefore, wish to propose that the meeting commence of 29 February in Bangkok. The date of subsequent meetings shall be decided by both delegations. After both governments have given their approval, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand shall be designated to sign the said agreement in Vientiane with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Laos.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of Thailand

\* [The text of this unofficial translation was provided by the Royal Thai Embassy, Canberra.]

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**THAI-LAO CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT -  
JOINT PRESS STATEMENT 9 MARCH 1988**

1. On 3 - 4 March 1988, the delegations of the Royal Thai Government headed by M.R. Kasem Samosorn Kasemsri, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Government of The People's Democratic Republic of Laos headed by Brigadier General Thonglai Kommasit, Deputy Chief of General Political Department of the Lao People Armed Forces, met in Bangkok in order to find a solution to the Thai - Lao boundary problem in the area where Phitsanulok and Sayaboury provinces adjoin. The delegations of both governments held a frank exchange of views. In a brotherly spirit and with the determination to find durable solution to the Thai - Lao boundary problem in the said area.
2. Both delegations extensively considered the points of law involved and presented evidence including maps of the area where Phitsanulok and Sayaboury provinces adjoin. The meeting further considered the Thai proposal for the establishment of a joint committee to resolve their border demarcation problem through survey, verification and demarcation by adhering to righteousness on the basis of the provisions of the Franco - Siamese Treaty of 1907 and relevant maps. In this connection, the Lao delegation agreed to submit this matter to its government and will notify the result to the Thai side within an appropriate time.
3. The delegations of both governments agreed to recommend to their respective governments to revive and improve the work of the joint Thai - Lao cooperation committee at national and local levels, set up in accordance with the joint communique of the heads of the government of both countries in 1979 with a view to strengthening relations and promoting cooperation between Thailand and Laos so as to realize their mutual goal.
4. Noting a step forward in the process of political negotiation, both sides agreed that the ceasefire as agreed upon by the Thai - Lao military delegations on 17 February 1988, in Bangkok, shall remain in effect

Bangkok, 4 March 1988

\* [This is an unofficial translation of the Joint Press Statement provided by the Royal Thai Embassy, Canberra.]

**CAMBODIA - KAMPUCHEA - SUMMARY OF FIRST SIHANOUK-HUN SEN MEETING****JOINT COMMUNIQUE**

Prompted by the common desire to put an end to the Kampuchean conflict by peaceful means and to achieve national reconciliation, HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and H.E. Hun Sen met from December 2nd to 4th, 1987 at Fere-en-Tardenois (France).

At this historical meeting, the two parties reached the following agreements:

1. The conflict in Kampuchea must inevitably go through a political solution.
2. The Kampuchean problem must necessarily be solved by the Kampuchean people themselves, between all parties in conflict, by means of negotiations in order to end the war, the bloodshed and to rebuild a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.
3. As soon as an agreement is obtained by the Kampuchean parties, an international conference will be summoned to guarantee this agreement, to safeguard the independence of Kampuchea, peace and stability in Southeast Asia.
4. The two parties agreed to meet again during January 1988 at Fere-en-Tardenois (France).

The two parties also agreed to meet for the third time at Chhang Sou On Palace of HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on a date which will be fixed later.

On the basis of the abovesaid agreement and in the supreme interest of the Kampuchean nation, the two parties invite other Kampuchean parties to join them in the negotiations in order to attain a quick solution to the Kampuchean problem, contributing thus to insure peace and stability in the Southeast Asian region.

Done at Fere-en-Tardenois,  
December 4th, 1987

HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk

H.E. Hun Sen

ABSTRACT OF SIHANOUK-HUN SEN MEETING

Here are excerpts of the discussions between Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen which were held at the "Hostellerie du Chateau de Fere-en-Tardenois, about a hundred kilometers north-east of Paris, France, on 2, 3 and 4 December 1987 to explore ways to bring peacefully an end to the current conflict caused by the invasion and subsequent military occupation of Cambodia since late 1978 by the army of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

FERE-EN-TARDENOIS, FRANCE, 2 DECEMBER 1987

HUN SEN, among other things, said this: What is the origin of this conflict which, since March 1970 until now, causes the misfortune of Cambodia?

Under the leadership of Samdech (Monseigneur) Sihanouk, our khmer people benefited 16 years of peace, happiness and progress in the fields of national building.

The Lon Nol clique unjustly overthrew Samdech Sihanouk on 18 March 1970 and deliberately plunged our Kampuchea into the blaze of the US imperialist war of aggression. All of our misfortunes come from there.

These misfortunes reached their paroxysm under the reign of Pol Pot, a worse regime than that of Hitler; a regime of a cruelty without parallel in the history of Humanity.

Therefore, all sacrifices that our national Resistance (FUNK with Samdech Sihanouk as President) made between 18 March 1970 and 17 April 1975 to vainquish the US imperialism and its lackeys were worthless, except to bring Pol Pot and his clique to power with the fatal consequences known to everybody.

The Lon Nol regime and that of Pol Pot are consequently responsible of unspeakable misfortunes of our people and Kampuchea for 17 years and of the current conflict.

If Kampuchea were remained under the leadership of Samdech Sihanouk between 18 March 1970 until this year 1987, our country would have made enormous progress in all fields of our national building; we would have become a developed, prosperous nation, Oh! how happy we would be!

However, left to ourselves alone without the leadership of Samdech Sihanouk, our people and we (Hun Sen, etc...) were forced to struggle alone against Pol Pot and his accomplices (Ieng Sary etc...). Our resistance against Pol Pot did not start in 1978. In some regions of Cambodia, we began the struggle since at the end of 1973, since 1974. Our comrades in other regions of Cambodia decided to fight Pol Pot in 1975, 1976, 1977.

Unfortunately, until 1977, we were not yet able to liberate our people martyred by Pol Pot who had a big army of 23 divisions with 180,000 men.

Before deciding to come to rescue our people, martyred and ruined by Pol Pot, Vietnam continued to maintain friendly relations with Democratic Kampuchea. But in 1978, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam realised that the regime of genocide of the Khmer people led by Pol Pot was unbearable. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam had to respond to the desperate appeal for help of our Khmer people.

Some of our enemies accused us of "alienating the independence of Cambodia to the benefit of Vietnam". This accusation is unjust. We are, like you, Samdech, for a 100% independent Cambodia. But, for this reason, should we sacrifice our martyr-people and let Pol Pot exterminate them?

And then, apart from Vietnam, who else or which countries accepted or were willing to come to rescue the Khmer people in danger of extinction? No one amongst all those who pretended to have compassion on Kampuchea and her people raised their small finger to threaten Pol Pot.

But on the contrary, they continued to maintain better relations with Pol Pot and with his "Democratic Kampuchea".

We had no choice: there was only the Socialist Vietnam to save our people. Vietnam had done it.

But I can assure you, Samdech, that the Vietnamese troops will all leave Cambodia at the latest in 1990. On the part of SRV, it is an irreversible decision.

However, if we, Khmers, achieve the national reconciliation and solve the Kampuchea problem between ourselves before 1990, that is to say in 1988 or 1989, the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia will be done "ipso facto" in that same year either in 1988 or 1989.

I fully share the opinion of Samdech concerning the necessity to have the faction of Mr. Khieu Samphan and that of Mr. Son Sann with our two parties in order that a "cocktail party" in Jakarta or elsewhere be conceivable. If the four Khmer factions are not all present at that "cocktail party", this would not have any meaning and there would only be the continuation of the efforts of our two parties (PRK and FUNCINPEC) to make the search of an equitable solution to the Kampuchea problem progress.

NORODOM SIHANOUK, amongst other things, said this: You (Hun Sen) offered me a "high position" in Phnom Penh (PRK). Please excuse me for being unable to accept it. I will not go back to Phnom Penh but only to preside over a quadripartite government (FUNCINPEC, PDK, KPNLF, PRK) within

the framework of a new Cambodia State, the State of Cambodia (with a political, economic etc... system very close to that of France), a Cambodia that would be neither "people's" [republic], nor "democratic", nor communist, nor socialist, but whose political system will be parliamentary "of the French style" and pluri-party (consisting of one or many communist parties alongside with non communist parties), a 100% independent Cambodia, a Cambodia without foreign troops on her soil, a Cambodia neutralised under international control.

I look forward to having eventual discussions on Cambodia with "Moscow" and "Hanoi". But I will not go to Moscow or to Hanoi before a visit at my residence (Fere-en-Tardenois) by a high ranking Soviet or Vietnamese official.

Our Cambodia and her people are victims of the hatred which sets up one against the other Vietnam and China and of the mutual distrust that still characterises the relationship between PRC and USSR.

You and I, we must deploy from now on a great deal of efforts to bring these great friends of the Khmer people (PRC, USSR and SRV) to put an end as soon as possible to their dispute, to their misunderstandings. It is not enough to work toward bringing to "our table" Mr. Khieu Samphan and Mr. Son Sann. It is a must, I repeat, that you and I together make approaches to China, the USSR and Vietnam demanding them to end their dispute on Cambodia's back. Only the return of China, the USSR and Vietnam together to friendship between themselves will put an end to our miseries.

After having said this, we must not neglect the question of our relations with Thailand and with the USA.

I congratulate the Phnom Penh regime and the SRV for seeking to improve their relations with the USA, for instance through the MIAs question.

The future "State of Cambodia" will be much better for the great benefit of our Khmer people if she is a loyal friend of all countries in the world, in particular with her two great neighbours (Thailand and Vietnam) and with the three "super-powers": USSR, USA and PRC.

We will continue the misfortune of our people and our country if we continue to be "with" China "against" the USSR and Vietnam, or "with" USSR and Vietnam "against" the USA, or "with" the USA "against" Vietnam.

Our peace, our survival as Khmers and Cambodia will be assured the day when our four Khmer factions, in a common accord, will choose once and for all to be friends, good and loyal ones, at the same time with the PRC, the USSR, the SRV and with the kingdom of Thailand

POST SCRIPTUM: To a question by Norodom Sihanouk, Mr. Hun Sen answered that his "PRK" and its allies (USSR and SRV) will always reject the "UN resolutions on the Situation in Kampuchea" and that his "PRK" accepts the proposition of NS for an international conference of the "1954 Geneva"--"1961 Geneva" type. NS proposes that India will be again President of the ICC after a "3rd International Conference of Geneva".

FERE-EN-TARDENOIS, 3 DECEMBER 1987

NORODOM SIHANOUK: At our yesterday meeting (2 December 1987), I had the honour to let you, as well as your "government in Phnom Penh, know that the CGDK (FUNCINPEC, PDK, KPNLF) considers and will always consider null and void all agreements and treaties (in particular those concerning the frontiers and coastal islands of Cambodia) signed by you (Phnom Penh regime called People's Republic of Kampuchea) with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. If one day, the State of Cambodia is established and the quadripartite government (FUNCINPEC, PDK, KPNLF, PRK) is formed under my Presidency, this quadripartite government must officially confirm that all agreements and treaties signed by the "People's Republic of Kampuchea" with the SR of Vietnam are totally rejected and must be considered null and void.

Having said this, I have some other questions to put to you.

I start with that of Khmer refugees living at present in Thailand.

Personally, I think that every one of these refugees must recover their right to self-determination, a sacred right recognised to all human beings by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Those Khmer refugees in Thailand who, freely, choose to go back to Cambodia, must have the right to do so without the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer Bleu and others having the right to oppose it. But, from your side (Phnom Penh regime), you must give the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), etc... and myself the explicit assurance that the Khmer refugees currently in Thailand, I talk about those Khmer refugees who, in one way or another, will succeed in leaving the camps of "Site 2", "Site 8", etc... to return to Cambodia, will not be in any case threatened by your regime or by your Vietnamese protectors.

HUN SEN: I give Samdech, on behalf of my government the explicit assurance that we will not do any harm to them and that, on the contrary, we will provide them with all the facilities for them to resettle themselves in the best possible conditions with us and to live in freedom in their towns, their villages, their provinces. We have no interest to mistreat them.

N. SIHANOUK: A second question. that of human rights. Amnesty International in London, in its annual "Reports" signaled innumerable cases of (extremely grave) violations of human rights to the detriment of our innocent Khmer people, violations committed by your regime and by the Vietnamese army occupying Cambodia. I ask your "PRK" and your Vietnamese friends to stop martyring our people.

HUN SEN: I swear, Samdech, that we (the PRK, as well as our Vietnamese friends in Cambodia) have committed none of the crimes that Amnesty International and others accuse us to have committed to our people. If we have liberated our people from Polpotism, it is not, indeed, to rerun the horrors of the "Pol Pot" reign. It is true that our State has prisons. But, which State in the world has no prisons?

In the PRK, there is no torture, nor mistreatment of prisoners and others like during the time of Pol Pot.

N. SIHANOUK: Now, allow me to talk about the question of salvaging Angkor, that is the temples and other monuments in the region of Siemreap-Angkor. I know that India and one or two other countries, friends of yours, are trying to save Angkor Wat. But India and these other countries, friends of yours, have not and will not have enough means to save Angkor. And when I say "Angkor", I am talking not only of Angkor Wat, but also of Angkor Thom (Bayon), Bakheng, Preah Khan, Ta Prohm, Banteay Srei, etc... which are a priceless heritage of Humanity. The whole of ANGKOR is currently facing a mortal danger. We must hurry up, since it is already "almost too late", to save it. The only way to save it would only be this: the neutralisation and demilitarisation of the Angkor region, the appeal for assistance (financial, technical, material, scientific assistance) from all wealthy countries (in particular Western Europe, USA, Japan), the UN, UNESCO, the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.

HUN SEN: We (PRK) cannot let the Angkor region be neutralised and demilitarised.

N. SIHANOUK: At least on this "matter", you (PRK) resemble the Khmer Rouge (PDK).

FERE-EN-TARDENOIS, 4 DECEMBER 1987

HUN SEN: I express my profound gratitude to Samdech (Monseigneur) for his so warm and so kind welcome. My delegation is extremely happy and satisfied with excellent and very remarkable results of our conversations and working sessions on 2 and 3 December 1987. Our Joint Communiqué this morning marks an important and historical step of our "march" toward the settlement of the Kampuchea problem.

We only wish now that the faction of H.E. Khieu Samphan and that of H.E. Son Sann agree to join as soon as possible our two parties to solve the Kampuchea problem.



As far as the proposal by Samdech concerning the appellation and the regime of the State of Cambodia are concerned, my party will study it and carefully examine it. However, we will not be able to give an answer to it in an affirmative or negative way before the two faction leaders (H.E. Khieu Samphan and H.E. Son Sann) could join our two parties to discuss together and take a common decision on this matter

N. SIHANOUK: Excellency Hun Sen, allow me to ask you a simple question: "Will your group (PRK) accept one day to form with the three factions of the CGDK a national reconciliation government (since in your propaganda, you talk all the times about national reconciliation) within the framework of Democratic Kampuchea, strong of its de jure recognition by the UN?"

HUN SEN: We (PRK) will never recognize "Democratic Kampuchea" and the "CGDK". Never!

N SIHANOUK: I, Sihanouk, I affirm and warn you in my turn that never and never we, CGDK-DK (FUNCINPEC-PDK-KPNLF) will recognize your so-called "PRK". We are for the national reconciliation, but this will never be realised within the framework of your "PRK" and of a communist "Kampuchean" State.

We, the four factions, will not be able to solve together the Kampuchea problem and to put then an end to the miseries, sufferings and humiliations of our people and to rebuild an independent, united, neutral and peaceful Cambodia only if our Country is not called any longer "PRK"- "DK", ceases to be communist-socialist, becomes a liberal democracy and changes its national anthem and flag.

I, Sihanouk, will always agree to see you again and to discuss with you the Kampuchea problem. However, I think that if the factions of H.E. Hun Sen, H.E. Khieu Samphan and H.E. Son Sann continue to reject my reasonable, logical and the only susceptible proposals to reunite the Cambodian nation, this Kampuchea problem will never be solved and our people - because their miseries, sufferings and humiliations will never end - will not fail to condemn you, that is to condemn your three factions (PRK, PDK and KPNLF). As far as I am concerned, ANS will continue to struggle until the end against your "PRK" and your Vietnamese "protectors".

To conclude, I propose you to go with me to Pyongyang in April 1988 to pay respect to H.E. Marshal Kim Il Sung, President of the D.P.R. of Korea, the greatest and most unselfish Friend of Cambodia and the Cambodian people, in order, always with me (Sihanouk), to ask him to make approaches with the PRC and with the SRV with a view to make these two countries stop disputing with one another and agree to be reconciled and become good friends again. It is a sine qua non condition for our country and our people to recover peace and independence within national unity.

Up to now, China says that the only obstacle to the solution of the Kampuchea problem is the presence in Cambodia of the Vietnamese troops which must be forced to leave Cambodia. Vietnam says that the only obstacle is Polpotism.

In fact, there are two "obstacles" to the solution of the Kampuchea problem:

- 1/ the danger, mortal for the Khmer people, of Polpotism,
- 2/ the presence in Cambodia of the Vietnamese troops.

We must solve these two problems which are fundamental to the Kampuchea problem.

Only the discussions and reconciliation between the PRC and the SRV will be able to help us, Khmers, to solve the Kampuchea problem.

And only H.E. President Kim Il Sung will be able to bring China, USSR and Vietnam to reconcile with one another. Because it is the dispute between PRC, USSR and SRV that causes the current misfortune of Cambodia and of the Cambodian people.

HUN SEN: In April 1988, in Pyongyang, I will be very happy and honoured to accompany Samdech to the presidential palace of the D.P.R. of Korea to pay respect to H.E. President Kim Il Sung.

HAYDEN SUPPORTS SIHANOUK'S MOVE

The Australian embassy in Paris has sent a letter to Prince Sihanouk dated 21 December 1987 forwarding the text of a message by telex from Mr. Bill Hayden, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the wake of the meeting between Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen in early December at Fere-en-Tardenois, France, a meeting in the Prince's words, to explore ways to end the conflict in Cambodia in a negotiated and peaceful manner.

Here is the text of Mr. Hayden's message:

"Your Royal Highness,

Since your decision to take leave of absence from your function as CGDK President and my visit to meet your people at Green Hill on 24 May, I have been following developments on Cambodia with intense interest and a sense of growing anticipation. I have been greatly impressed by your unremitting efforts to press on towards a political solution of this issue.

The historic meeting between Your Royal Highness and Mr. Hun Sen, which took place in France between 2 and 4 December, 1987, gives grounds for hope and optimism. I offer my congratulations and continued support for your efforts to solve the conflict in Kampuchea by effective dialogue and negotiation. We hope that further contacts between the Kampuchean parties will open the way to concrete results and that the other parties principally concerned will make their own contributions to the process of bringing about a settlement in Kampuchea in the same positive and constructive manner that you have demonstrated.

I much regret that events prevented me from seeing you in New York in October. I hope an opportunity will arise in the not too distant future to meet again with Your Royal Highness.

Yours sincerely,

Bill Hayden, MP"

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**CAMBODIA - KAMPUCHEA - SUMMARY OF SECOND SIHANOUK-HUN SEN  
MEETING**

(AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION)

I/- QUESTION OF THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE VIETNAMESE TROOPS FROM THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA.

a/- Norodom Sihanouk demands that the total withdrawal will take place as soon as possible, that is in 1988 or, at the latest, in 1989.

b/- Hun Sen replies that this total withdrawal will take place in three stages within 24 months.

II/- QUESTION OF THE DISBANDMENT OF THE "PRK" (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA), DISBANDMENT ASKED FOR BY NORODOM SIHANOUK; AND QUESTION OF GENERAL ELECTIONS IN CAMBODIA.

a/- Mr. Hun Sen tells Norodom Sihanouk that until general elections and before the results of these elections will be known, the disbandment of the "PRK" is unacceptable and impossible. However, he (Hun Sen) does not demand the disbandment of "Democratic Kampuchea" and accept that this "DK" can exist while the verdict of the Cambodian people will not be known, a verdict that our people will pronounce at general elections.

b/- Norodom Sihanouk demands that the "PRK" disappears before the formation of a "Provisional Government of Cambodia" (PGC). This provisional government must be formed to take care of organizing the general elections.

Norodom Sihanouk specifies that these elections will not be held in Cambodia within the framework of the so-called "PRK", a creation and a creature of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

\* [This document was provided to the News by the Cambodian Information Office, Canberra.]

c/- Norodom Sihanouk specifies too that the general elections in Cambodia must be held under international control (ICC) and in the presence of an "International Peace Keeping Force". These elections will not take place within the framework of the "PRK" or "DK" since these elections have precisely the aim of allowing the Cambodian nation to pronounce itself on the status and the appellation of the Cambodian State which our people wish to give to our country, Cambodia.

In any case, Norodom Sihanouk will never return to Phnom Penh as long as the "PRK" will not be disbanded in compliance with his demand.

III/- Mr. Hun Sen asks Norodom Sihanouk for details on his requirements regarding the formation of the "PGC", the elections, the constitution, the international control for Cambodia.

Here are these details given by Norodom Sihanouk:

a/- A "Provisional Government of Cambodia (PGC) must be formed in Cambodia at the end of the second stage of the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. The Party of DK (Khmer Rouge), the Party of Sihanouk (FUNCINPEC), the KPNLF of HE Son Sann and the "Revolutionary" Communist Party of Messrs Heng Samrin and Hun Sen will be invited to take part in this "PGC".

Therefore, it is a quadripartite government. But, at the time of formation of this "PGC", the "PRK" and "DK" must be simultaneously disbanded.

However, one should anticipate the eventuality of a refusal of the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Bleu leaders to take part in the process of formation of the "PGC".

Should such a refusal occur, a provisional government could be formed with the Party of Sihanouk and that of Hun Sen. Once formed, this government will let the PDK (Khmer Rouge) and the KPNLF (Khmer Bleu) that they will be welcomed whenever they wish to join (on an equal footing, of course) FUNCINPEC and the Party of Mr. Hun Sen in the "PGC". As far as Sihanouk is concerned, he will quit the CGDK and DK whenever the "PGC" will be realizable.

b/- The "PGC" will be formed at the end of the second stage of the process of total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops currently occupying Cambodia.

On the request of this "PGC", a (military) "International Peace Keeping Force" (IPKF) and a (civilian) ICC will move in to establish themselves in Cambodia (at the expenses of countries which will accept to take part in the IPKF or in the ICC; these countries are those who are not involved in the current dispute on "Kampuchea").

France is in a better position to take part in the IPKF and the ICC as well.

The "PGC" will be responsible of the organizing and the smooth running of the general elections.

The ICC (International Commission of Control) will supervise the withdrawal from Cambodia of the last Vietnamese troops and then the regularity of the Cambodian general elections.

The IPKF will do whatever possible to safeguard peace in Cambodia, particularly to prevent such or such an armed Khmer faction from threatening the freedom of the people or the safety of other armed factions or political parties.

Norodom Sihanouk will not form with Hun Sen and others the "PGC" if there is in Cambodia no IPKF. The latter could consist of battalions from France, Morocco, Senegal, Sweden etc... if these countries agree to effectively help Cambodia to have peace and the Cambodian people to enjoy freedom with peace.

c/- The general elections in Cambodia as mentioned above have the aim of setting up in Phnom Penh a Constituent Assembly with deputies who will be chosen by our people in the framework of abovesaid elections (a direct and universal suffrage in secret ballot).

The Constituent Assembly will give Cambodia a Constitution. This Constitution will say what our State will be called and what will be its economic, social and political regime.

After having received from Norodom Sihanouk all details needed, Mr. Hun Sen has not expressed any opinion on the necessity to have in Cambodia an International Peace Keeping Force.

However, Mr. Hun Sen specifies that the Khmer Rouge could take part in a national reconciliation government but they must renounce to have an army.

Norodom Sihanouk replies to Hun Sen that - firstly - the Khmer Rouge and the People's Republic of China will never accept that the Khmer Rouge Army shall be disbanded and - secondly - he (Sihanouk) proposes the formation of a (quadripartite) national reconciliation government and, at the same time, a National Army of Cambodia, also quadripartite (Khmer Rouge, Khmer Sihanoukist, Khmer Bleu and pro-Vietnamese Khmer) with a quadripartite General staff and a quadripartite Ministry for National Defence (4 co-ministers for National Defence).

Mr. Hun Sen has not said whether he is interested or not with this type of a quadripartite National Army and National Defence.

Before taking leave from his host (Norodom Sihanouk), Mr. Hun Sen informs Sihanouk that Mr. Son Sann (Khmer Bleu leader) asked to secretly meet with him. Mr. Hun Sen asks Sihanouk for his opinion on the usefulness for him (Hun Sen) to see Mr. Son Sann or to refuse to meet with Mr. Son Sann.

Norodom Sihanouk replies to Mr. Hun Sen that he is and he will always be "for" national reconciliation and, to his opinion, it is in the national Khmer interest to encourage meetings or talks between Khmer leaders. Norodom Sihanouk is in favour of a meeting - or many meetings - between Hun Sen and Son Sann.

Mr Hun Sen concludes that, in this case, he will let HE Son Sann know that he (Hun Sen) will see him (Son Sann).

Transcript prepared and written in French by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Roissy-en-France on 22 January 1988.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

1- On 16 January 1988, HRH Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the Personal Representative of HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia and Asia, and Commander-in-Chief of the Sihanoukian National Army; HE Mr. Son Sen, Minister, member of the Co-ordination Committee on Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea; and HE Mr. Im Chhou Deth, Minister, member of the Co-ordination Committee on Defence and Representative of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front; met to discuss the current situation on the battlefield in Kampuchea.

2- The meeting expressed its satisfaction with the favourable development and with the victories of the three patriotic forces in their common struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors during the past year 1987, the struggle that has driven the latter in a more bogged down situation.

3- The meeting exchanged views and was unanimous on the strategy and tactics in pursuing more actively their common fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors on the battlefield during this year 1988 until the last Vietnamese soldier is driven out of Kampuchea.

4- The meeting was also pleased to note that the Kampuchean people as well as the Khmer soldiers, self-defence guards and civil servants forcibly enlisted by the Vietnamese have more actively participated in the national liberation struggle.

5- The meeting seized this opportunity to appeal:

a/- to the three armed forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) to increase their co-operation in the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, in pursuance to the instructions of HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea;

- to the three armed forces of the CGDK to continue to struggle until the Socialist Republic of Vietnam accepts to negotiate with the CGDK having HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as President of Democratic Kampuchea a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea by withdrawing all its forces from Kampuchea so as to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination free from any outside interference;



b/- to the whole people of Kampuchea as well as to the Khmer soldiers, self-defence guards and civil servants forcibly enlisted by the Vietnamese to join more actively in the national liberation struggle;

c/-to peace-justice and independence-loving countries and people in the world to continue to support the Kampuchean people's struggle under the leadership of the CGDK with HRH Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as President of Democratic Kampuchea.

6- The meeting took place in a very cordial and fraternal atmosphere.

16 January 1988

Signed:

HRH Prince Norodom Ranariddh  
HE Mr. Son Sen  
HE Mr Im Chhou Deth

Since 7 May 1987, I have put myself in a "leave of absence" from the presidency of Democratic Kampuchea. However, this "half-measure" has only complicated further the search of an equitable solution to the "problem of Kampuchea" and, indeed, is not in the interest of my people whose sufferings and humiliations have no end.

I reach, therefore, now the conclusion that, considering my impossible relationship with the KPRLF and with Mr. Son Sann and in the interest of everybody, better to "burst the abscess", that is, as far as I am concerned, to resign from my functions as President of Democratic Kampuchea.

I have, therefore, the honour to declare that, as from this 30 January 1988, I definitively (that is irrevocably and irreversibly) quit my functions as "President of Democratic Kampuchea" and the tripartite coalition of Democratic Kampuchea.

However, I designate my son, HRH Prince Norodom Ranariddh, as my replacement within the abovesaid Coalition, in his capacity as anti-Vietnamese Resistant and Commander-in-Chief of the ANS (Sihanoukian National Army).

My Army (ANS) will continue to take part in the anti-Vietnamese Resistance and the tripartite Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea and this applies as well to my Party, FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia).

To conclude, I express my eternal gratitude to the People's Republic of China, to its leaders, to its Communist Party, to its government, to its great People for their kindness toward me, toward my family and toward my "Country and her people". My gratitude toward and my love for the People's Republic of China and for the Chinese People will only die out with my life.

Signed: Norodom Sihanouk

Done in Beijing, 30 January 1988"