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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

2 London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

17 June 1988

Prince Sihanouk

*has sent the letter attached to all
Summit leaders.*

Dear Nigel

N. C. W.

Cambodia: Prince Sihanouk's Letter

17.6

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Thank you for your letter of 16 June.

At first sight, Prince Sihanouk's letter is a basic restatement of his position on Cambodia. As is the usual practice for letters addressed to Summit leaders, we will consider a reply afterwards. The British position on Cambodia remains that the recommendations emerging from the UN-sponsored International Conference on Kampuchea (ICK) 1981 offer the best formula for a just and lasting solution (i.e. withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia and free elections under UN supervision). While we welcome the recent Vietnamese announcement of its intention to withdraw 50,000 troops this year and participate in informal talks in Jakarta in July, we will judge Vietnam by deeds not words. We believe that Sihanouk is likely to be crucial to any settlement and have invited him to visit the UK in the autumn to demonstrate our support. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have agreed to see him. We hope that the Prime Minister will have an opportunity to meet Sihanouk if she agrees to visit Site B during her brief stay in Thailand in August.

Cambodia may come up at the Summit during discussions on East/West Relations. Briefing has been provided. There is no plan at present to refer to Cambodia specifically in the East/West statement but a general reference to the need for the Soviet Union to make a constructive contribution to resolving regional conflicts is included.

Yours ever

Bosker

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

Nigel Wicks Esq CBE
10 Downing Street

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MESSAGE FROM NORODOM SIHANOUK OF CAMBODIA ADDRESSED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES MEETING IN TORONTO

(Unofficial Translation)

FIRST PART

I offer my profound respect to their Excellencies, the Heads of State and Heads of Government of the industrialized countries currently meeting in Toronto. I wish them all the success in their noble tasks, and express my profound gratitude for their sincere sympathy and compassion towards the Cambodian people; the most unhappy and unfortunate people in the world. Its martyrdom started in April 1975 at the beginning of the reign of Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge and has continued until now under the domination of the communist Vietnamese who came from Hanoi to subdue Cambodia, a sovereign and peaceful country, and full member of the UN since 1955.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has added to its military aggression and to its colonialization and Vietnamization of Cambodia, extremely serious and repeated human rights violations against an increasing number of Cambodians, whose only crime was not to accept this colonialization and Vietnamization of their country. Amnesty International London in its annual reports provides several details on these human rights violations in Cambodia by Vietnam who, although a member of the UN, does not respect its charter.

It is about time that all countries who strongly believe in justice, freedom and peace, stop the process of colonialization and Vietnamization of Cambodia by Vietnam, and put an end to the intolerable human rights violations committed against the Cambodian people by the Vietnamese colonialists and their puppet the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, by using all peaceful means in their possession.

Personally, I have always had a great friendship with the Vietnamese people. At present, when this people is suffering not only from the dictatorship of its own government, but also of starvation, I do not want them to suffer further by being denied humanitarian assistance from rich countries, such as yours. But, sending humanitarian aid and other types of aid would not help the people because this aid would be used, not to improve the fate of Vietnamese people a little, but rather to reinforce Vietnam colonialist position and to feed Vietnam's army in Cambodia. Neither should one believe the commitment of the government in Hanoi which has stated that it will withdraw 50,000

troops from Cambodia this year and all its occupation troops by 1990.

SECOND PART

I wish to thank wholeheartedly his Excellency Noboru Takeshita, Prime Minister of Japan, who kindly accepted to transmit this present message respectfully addressed to your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government meeting in Toronto.

Your Excellencies know that I dared to hold talks in December 1987 and in January 1988 with Mr Hun Sen, Head of the Vietnamese puppet Kampuchean government, despite harsh criticism from my partners (Cambodgiens Rouges et Bleus) in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), the dissatisfaction of some foreign powers sponsoring the CGDK and insults from minor Cambodian demagogic political groups in France.

The two extensive discussion sessions I conducted with Hun Sen permitted me to arrive at the conclusion that neither Hun Sen's People's Republic of Kampuchea, nor its master, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, have any desire or even agree to facilitate a resolution of the Kampuchean problem and even less to solve this problem which is in fact a problem between Vietnam and Cambodia and not a problem between Cambodian factions. Without the participation of Vietnam in the discussions on this issue, it cannot be possible for the foreign powers and the Cambodian factions to progress in the search for an equitable solution to this problem. Therefore, if Vietnam continues to pretend the Kampuchean problem is a problem between the four major Cambodian factions and still refuses to participate in a round table or in a conference on the Kampuchean problem, it will be necessary to resort to the most efficient and peaceful means likely to force the government of Hanoi to agree to participate in our common efforts towards the resolution of the Kampuchean problem and to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia. These means include the stopping or denying of any economic aid or other forms of aid to Vietnam and in stopping or denying any trade and cooperation with the colonialist, expansionist and aggressive country, which is subjugating Laos and Cambodia and increasingly threatening peace in Asia and the security of Thailand and other Asean states. In the absence of military interventions by your government in favour of the liberation of Cambodia, the action described above is the only way to have, one of these days, Vietnam's participation with us in the process of finding a solution to the so-called Kampuchean problem.

THIRD PART

Here are, for your information, my precise position and points of view concerning the way to make concrete progress in searching for an equitable solution to the so-called Kampuchean problem. Firstly, I support totally the content of the joint communique signed last year in Ho Chi-Minh City by H E Mochtar

Kusuma-Atmadja, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and Mr Nguyen Co Thach, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. I would support without any reserve all proposals your countries or the Asean states or UN Secretary General would wish to formulate in order to facilitate the hastening of peace, independence and neutrality in Cambodia.

Secondly, since the Socialist Republic of Vietnam understands only the language of military confrontation, I consider that peace and independence will never return to Cambodia if the Vietnamese colonialist army in Cambodia is not sufficiently weakened and destabilized by the United CGDKS armies. I must say, without any chauvinism or parti pris, but with objectivity and realism, that my army, the ANS, is the only CGDKS army to merit from you maximum aid. With your aid, the ANS would grow from 18,000 anti-Viet fighters to 30,000 fighters by 1989 and 50,000 anti-Viet fighters by 1990. Indeed, the ANS is the only CGDK army which does not violate human rights; the only non-communist nationalist army which really fight against the Vietnamese army; and the only one to be really popular within Cambodia and strongly supported by the Cambodian people and even by many units of the PRK army of Heng Samrin. The United States and certain other wealthy countries should not hesitate in helping massively the ANS to become in due course, an effective army able to destabilize the colonialist army of Vietnam in Cambodia, and to prevent Pol Pots Khmer Rouge from inflicting martyrdom, once again, on the Cambodian people after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the Cambodian territory.

Thirdly, everyone indeed is talking about giving back to the Cambodian people its right to self-determination but the so-called free elections in Cambodia cannot really be free unless they are held outside the illegal framework of the pro-Vietnamese PRK and of the framework of the Khmer Rouges Democratic Kampuchea.

Personally, I, Norodom Sihanouk, will not accept returning to Phnom Penh, if, even after a total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the ANS is not strong enough to protect the Cambodian people and to assure freedom, sovereignty and security, and if, beside the ANS there is not a powerful IPKF (International Peace Keeping Force) to act as police force and caretaker of peace in Cambodia.

I present my highest regards to your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government, meeting in Toronto.

SIGNED NORODOM SIHANOUK
OF CAMBODIA