

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/10223

30 December 1981

South and East Asia Report

(FOUO 7/81)



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF
MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION
OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

JPRS L/10223

30 December 1981

SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

(FOUO 7/81)

CONTENTS

KAMPUCHEA

Sihanouk Describes Differences Among Coalition Forces (Norodom Sihanouk; PARADOXES, Autumn 81)	1
Correspondent Describes International Aid, PRK Infrastructure Development (Christian Scasso; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 23 Nov-6 Dec 81)	7

- a -

[III - ASIA - 107 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK DESCRIBES DIFFERENCES AMONG COALITION FORCES

Paris. PARADOXES in French Autumn 81 pp 66-72

[Article by Norodom Sihanouk: "The 'Problem of Cambodia'"]

[Text] Who is still concerned with Cambodia at a time when attention is focused on Poland, on the Near East, on Iran, or on Mexico which is promoting an attempt at reviving the North-South dialogue? It is now a good 3 years that the Vietnamese army entered Phnom Penh. Today, Vietnam and its proteges in the People's Republic of Kampuchea may be in control of "useful Cambodia" but are still being viewed askance by the international community--with the exception of the Soviet bloc and India--while the "democratic Kampuchea" of Mr Pol Pot, having withdrawn to the area along the border with Thailand, continues to represent the country legally. In democratic and military terms, the situation has hardly changed any since the international conference which was held last summer but the problem of Cambodia must be raised once again during the next session of the UN General Assembly which is to open in New York within several days. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who today lives in the south of France but who continues every day to keep track of the situation in the region with the idea of preparing for the future, has been kind enough to communicate to the readers of PARADOXES his thinkings on the conditions under which, when the moment comes, Cambodia could resume its place in the ranks of sovereign countries.

What is called "the problem of Cambodia" as a matter of fact involves only the Cambodian people who, in their vast majority, only want peace, independence, and excellent relations with all powers, in the East and in the West.

"The problem" is due to the death struggle taking place on my country's territory between two hostile communisms, the communism of Peking whose "spearhead" is the Khmer Rouge army of Pol Pot and the communism of Hanoi, supported by Moscow, which seeks to impose the "puppet" government of Heng Samrin.

These two branches of Asian communism which are hostile to each other at this time are fighting over power in Cambodia after the United States was forced to abandon

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the "Khmer Republic" of Lon Nol in April 1975 to its sad fate along, furthermore, with nationalist South Vietnam and Laos.

The fight against the United States, in the course of the second war in Indochina, was conducted by the Indochinese resistance fighters supported in every possible way by the two big red powers, that is, the PRC and the Soviet Union.

These powers had barely completed the American defeat when each of them undertook to reach for Cambodia which occupies an important strategic position.

Neither the Khmer Rouge, nor China, nor the USSR wanted to turn my country into a "buffer state"--a neutralized state which would have contributed to the stabilization of Southeast Asia.

Of course, with their hypocrisy which we are so familiar with, most of the big powers (and some medium and small powers) accepted the fiction according to which the "Democratic Republic of Kampuchea" of Pol Pot was a "nonaligned" state.

In fact, the Chinese, with the approval of the Khmer Rouge, turned Cambodia into the Indochinese "bastion" of anti-Soviet communism. The Soviets and the Vietnamese in turn decided to do everything to make sure that my country would not fall "from the American Charybdis into the Peking Scylla."

Starting in 1977, the Red Khmer and the Red Vietnamese began to clash militarily in initially secret battles and later on, starting at the end of December 1977, in open fighting in the border areas between Cambodia and South Vietnam.

I would like to introduce a parenthetical remark here to point out that, after their victory in 1975, the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot never ceased to kick out the "enemy agents" from their own ranks, that is to say, those who were not in agreement with the team of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and Khieu Samphan in order to tie Cambodia ideologically to China and to fight against "Vietnamese expansionism" and "Soviet hegemonism."

Between April 1975 and the end of 1977, the Khmer Rouge liquidated several tens of thousands of their own comrades. To escape this physical liquidation, the current head of state of the new regime in Phnom Penh, Mr Heng Samrin, with many other "anti-Chinese" and "anti-Pol Pot" Khmer Rouge cadres, was forced to flee to Vietnam in 1977. We know that in the wake of the military victory of the Hanoi army, early in January 1979, over the army of Pol Pot, Mr Heng Samrin and his supporters, chased out by the Polpotians in 1977, returned to the country in the "wagons of the foreigner" to found what is now called the "People's Republic of Kampuchea"--the other Cambodian communist state, the state of Pol Pot, being called "Democratic Kampuchea."

The main phases of the big-power struggle over possession of Cambodia can be summarized in the following manner:

(a) First phase: struggle against the United States, on the one hand, and the communist powers (PRC, USSR, and Vietnam) on the other hand.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

(b) Second phase: after the American defeat, struggle against China and the Khmer Rouge, on the one hand, and the USSR and Vietnam on the other hand, with the Chinese and the Khmer Rouge taking control of Cambodia from 17 April 1975 until 6 January 1979; the Vietnamese and Soviets managed to seize my country on 7 January 1979.

(c) This brings us to the third phase, the phase in which China and Khmer Rouge received (and this only very logical) backing--which does not surprise me--from the United States, from ASEAN (Association of Noncommunist Countries of Southeast Asia: Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines), Japan, and some other powers in the free world (the FRG, in particular).

The United States wanted revenge against Vietnam who defeated it in 1975 and naturally is interested in "stopping" the advance of the Soviets and the Vietnamese toward noncommunist Southeast Asia. The United States and China consequently agreed to support (in the UN, etc.) and to aid (materially) "democratic Kampuchea" (Khmer Rouge) whose very tough guerrilla fighters serve as cannon fodder for the anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese camp.

Directly threatened by the danger from Vietnamese expansionism and Soviet imperialism (Thailand in particular now has a very long common border with Vietnamized and Sovietized China), the ASEAN countries are naturally getting together with China and the United States in helping and (very strongly) supporting the Khmer Rouge in their fight to keep "democratic Kampuchea" in the United Nations and to drive the Vietnamese out of Cambodia. The FRG, Italy, and some other Western powers have also joined the anti-Vietnamese, anti-Soviet, and pro-Chinese camp for reasons that are easy to understand. These are the same reasons that guided Japan which, with China and the United States, is the most dynamic in the militantism in support of "democratic" and anti-Vietnam "Kampuchea" (Japan went so far as to cut food supplies off to the Vietnamese people as punishment inflicted upon Vietnam for occupying Cambodia). The United States, Japan, the ASEAN, the FRG, etc., find this policy very easy to pursue as they are all in the same boat especially since China, for them, is a vast potential market capable of absorbing a large part of their industrial and agricultural products.

The Khmer Rouge have an extremely bad reputation due to the odious crimes which they committed against their own people in 1975-1979; the anti-Vietnam camp desperately seeks to improve this very bad image of "democratic Kampuchea" both in the eyes of the Cambodian people and in the eyes of the international community, urging Norodom Sihanouk and the former premier of Cambodia, Son Sann to agree to join the state and government of that "democratic Kampuchea" which is still considered the legal state and government of the people, the nation, and the country of Cambodia by the UN, by UNESCO, etc.

On 4 September 1981, ASEAN managed to obtain the signature, at Singapore, of a "joint declaration" by the president of the Khmer Rouge state (Khieu Samphan) and the two principal leaders of the nationalist "patriotic forces" (Son Sann and myself). This declaration states that three Khmer leaders desire to unite their patriotic forces in the struggle against the enemy of the fatherland, Vietnam, who must be driven out of Cambodia. An "ad-hoc committee"--made up of nine members (three Khmer Rouge, three followers of Son Sann, and three followers of Sihanouk),

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

was established and is now working in Bangkok (Thailand) in an effort to put together, not a united front, but a "tripartite government," a so-called "coalition" government.

A real coalition among the three movements, the Khmer Rouge (extreme left-wing), the Sonsannians (extreme right-wing), and the Sihanoukists (center), could not be put together any time soon because the following obstacles have always been and always will exist on the road toward the materialization of this coalition which is so desired by ASEAN:

(a) Insurmountable animosity, not to say hostility, between the three movements for reasons of an ideological nature (confrontation between three incompatible ideologies: atheistic and murderous communism, reactionary, republican, and anti-monarchist right wing, and more or less royalist Sihanoukism) and for reasons of a personal nature (it is impossible to deny that the Khmer have a predilection for hating each other and even tearing each other to pieces and that explains why they lost Cambodia in the end).

(b) Serious difference between the various approaches, that is to say, the concept for the solutions to the "Cambodian" problem. The Khmer Rouge and the Sonsannians believe that they can in the long run defeat the Vietnamese army and kick it out of Cambodia. I think that a political solution is more reasonable than the search for a military solution which I consider to be impossible. For me, the only chance for Cambodia to get Vietnam to give it back its independence resides in the complete neutralization of the Khmer country which would prevent its slipping toward China or any other power, the disarmament of all Khmer factions and their replacement in Cambodia with an "international peace maintenance force"--in English: "International Peace Keeping Force"--and the promise of general elections under international control in which even the pro-Vietnamese and pro-Soviet Khmer could participate (the Khmer Rouge do not agree that the pro-Vietnamese and pro-Soviet Khmer should have any place in the Khmer society of tomorrow).

(c) The widely differing treatment given to the armed forces of the possible tripartite coalition by the powers which say they are in favor of this coalition. The Khmer Rouge are getting massive aid from China. China gives aid in many ways to Son Sann and his front and on the other hand gives only significant aid (3,000 small arms) to the fighting Sihanoukist groups; this Chinese aid furthermore is currently "blocked" by Thailand. The United States and Japan give considerable "humanitarian" aid to the Khmer Rouge and to the Sonsannians and give nothing to the Sihanoukists. ASEAN supports the Khmer Rouge and Son Sann much more than Sihanouk. The Sihanoukist movement in Thailand cannot grow because Thailand much prefers to aid the Khmer Rouge and the Sonsannians. In short, China, the ASEAN, and the United States, without really aiding him, are trying to get Sihanouk into the "coalition" for the simple reason that, according to surveys and frequent investigations on the spot, it appears that Sihanouk remains very popular among the little people of Cambodia.

(d) Conflicts of interest between the Khmer Rouge and the Sonsannians, both of whom are very ambitious and demand "full powers" (sic) for their own movements in a so-called "tripartite" coalition government. The Khmer Rouge are ready to let Son Sann and Sihanouk into the state or government machine of their "democratic

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Kampuchea" only if the latter two agree to play the role of "puppets," good enough only to lend respectability and popularity to their regime which is so hated in our country. Mr Son Sann on the other hand demands almost dictatorial powers for himself, while Sihanouk refuses to cooperate in fact with the Khmer Rouge and (symbolically) will stay in the possible coalition only if his supporters get more substantial aid from China, the United States, and the ASEAN.

I want to emphasize that I agree to participate in the anti-Vietnamese guerrilla movement in Cambodia on the condition that this will not be a war that is "fought for the sake of war" but rather a war for peace and for honorable compromise with Vietnam, that is to say, that we must cause the foreign occupier in our country to face such difficulties that Vietnam and the USSR will agree to go to the conference table in order peacefully to resolve the "Cambodian problem" with us.

(e) Stiffening of the position of the Khmer Rouge following their very brilliant political and diplomatic successes in the UN (they got 77 votes in September 1981 against 71 votes "for" in 1980). The Khmer Rouge thus are not at all interested in getting together with Son Sann. It will therefore be up to him to make a choice between refusing to join the coalition government and joining it with his supporters while agreeing that the Khmer Rouge should continue to be the real and only masters of "democratic Kampuchea."

The prospects regarding the future of an independent Cambodia are not encouraging. Here is why:

(1) Unless the Chinese and Americans decide to intervene physically in Cambodia, by sending "volunteers" to help the Cambodians get rid of the Vietnamese (and the Russians)--as far as the Chinese are concerned, such an eventuality is a priori improbable and as far as the United States is concerned, it is inconceivable--one cannot see how the Khmer Rouge (who are fighting) and the Sihanoukians (who are armed and untrained but who do not dare face the Vietnamese army) could, in short-range, medium-range, and even long-range terms, drive out the very numerous and very well-equipped Vietnamese soldiers.

(2) Here is something that is extremely important: the vast majority of the Cambodian people, humiliated though they may be by the fact that their country is no longer independent, but has become a Vietnamese "protectorate," very clearly prefers to remain--until the new order is established--under Vietnamese armed protection rather than getting the Khmer Rouge back in power in Phnom Penh. The vast majority of the Cambodian people strongly disapproves the "joint declaration" of the three Cambodian leaders in Singapore on 4 September because it states that a tripartite coalition will only give the Khmer Rouge more of an opportunity to seize power in Cambodia. Because he signed that declaration with Khieu Samphan, the Khmer Rouge, Sihanouk himself is in the process of losing his popularity among the little people in the interior.

(3) The Vietnamese, supported by the USSR, are serious when they definitely reject all attempts by the UN to get them to abide by the UN resolutions and other resolutions urging them to evacuate Cambodia. They have a good reason to remain stubborn in this respect: they know that, while they do not love them, the Khmer

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

inside Cambodia are so afraid of the Khmer Rouge that they gladly agree to have them stay with them to give them vital protection. The situation thus will not change inside Cambodia and this is true regardless of the maneuvers of China, the ASEAN, the United States, Japan, and other powers, so long as the Khmer Rouge mortgage has not been lifted once and for all.

In conclusion I must render sincere homage to France who refused to participate in the troublesome games of both opposing camps that are fighting over my unfortunate country. On the humanitarian and economic level, France is generously and constantly aiding my fellow citizens--without any political afterthoughts--who need to be assisted (I am talking here of the refugees and also the Khmer people in the country's interior). On the political level, France is absolutely right in abstaining from voting, in the UN and elsewhere, for "democratic Kampuchea" which is the assassin of its own people or for the "People's Republic of Kampuchea" which only represents Vietnamese-Soviet colonialism. France's abstention in the UN is a gesture of respect toward the Cambodian people. It means that France demands that this nation should have the right to have its own government which will really be worthy of symbolizing its legitimate aspirations for peace, liberty, independence, and a life without fear, poverty, and humiliation.

COPYRIGHT: 1981 Compagnie Europeenne d'Editions et Publications Periodiques, Paris

5058
CSO:4200/10

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

KAMPUCHEA

CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES INTERNATIONAL AID, PRK INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French No 253, 23 Nov-6 Dec 81 pp 34-35

[Article by Christian Scasso: "Living Again in Cambodia"]

[Text] Three million. Three million martyrs out of a nation of seven million. That is the sad heritage bequeathed by the bloody Pol Pot. Nearly half of the population of Cambodia eliminated in the name of independence without anyone being able to justify the blind thoroughness, the destructive madness. Today, in a country just returning from the hell of the dead, the survivors of the genocide are beginning to lift their heads, to look a little beyond the ground covering so many hidden graveyards, to live again, to create a present made of hope and fear. It is difficult to learn what freedom is again when that freedom was emptied of meaning.

Hope also means believing that the world, which closed its eyes to the massacre, will not again refuse to look at the reality of the survivors. Words cannot wipe away the horror. Beyond the expression of good will, international aid must be developed and expanded. For the time being, a few associations are working on the spot, trying to build a future for the country. Among them is ADRAC (Association for the Development of Relations With Cambodia). ADRAC¹ is above all one man, one will: Father Yves Buannic, solidly built, a kind but firm expression, a handshake that cannot leave one indifferent. Totally distinct from the stereotype of the missionary fathers on a quest for religious expansion, Father Buannic is above all a humanist, of the kind that does not dream. The reality of Cambodian life is there to put things back into their proper perspective.

Horror of Genocide

It all began in July-August 1979. Liberated Cambodia gave the world the spectacle of an unspeakable genocide. The world watched, dumbfounded, bewildered. Almost everywhere, people of good will banded together to try to do something. Thus, ADRAC was formed around Father Buannic, who was joined by doctors, lawyers, journalists. France was not yet ready to respond to Cambodia's needs because of obscure political reasons, because of an international diplomatic ballet staged around the interests of peoples.

Extending the action of the Red Cross, UNICEF and the People's Aid Society, ADRAC set two objectives for itself: reconstruction of the Pasteur Institute in Phnom Penh and aid to Cambodian children, two gigantic tasks, judging by the existing

¹ Box 410, 75025 Paris, Cedex, CCP, No 1326-31, Paris 5.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

need. For Father Buannic, "200,000 orphans out of a population of 4 million is an enormous total. They represent that country's future, its live forces which absolutely must be helped."

There could be no question of having them adopted by Western families, as requested by dozens of letters from well-intending families. Uprooted, cut off from their brothers and far from their homeland, these young people would have to endure more trauma. No, their place was in their own country. The future of Cambodia depended on them. There was a solution, however: individual or group sponsorship of children or orphanages, a practice that is now spreading. For its part, the Cambodian Government is doing everything possible for the orphans. "Structures are gradually being set up. People trained on the spot are helping others, providing medical care, but also working in education. The older ones are learning trades, acquiring professional training. The others are the responsibility of the community."

Nothing is left of the Pasteur Institute in Phnom Penh. What was once an imposing building is now tumble-down, abandoned ruins, bearing witness to the witless obstinacy that destroyed everything down to the last test tube. Five floors of laboratories were completely looted. Everything must therefore be rebuilt from scratch.

The Pasteur Institute in Paris has confirmed its wish to participate in the effort, particularly by sending doctors, teams of officials. The only problem, an exceedingly complicated one at that, is finding the funds needed to rebuild the buildings and obtain new equipment for the laboratories. The importance of the existence of the Pasteur Institute is cardinal for Father Buannic, "because this country now risks experiencing the endemic epidemics characteristic of Asia. Every effort made in the past 2 years could be wiped out overnight if a major epidemic were to occur. There are no vaccines available at present. If they are needed, they are sent for from France or elsewhere. It is consequently necessary, indispensable, to promote local production. While it is impossible to rebuild everything at once, we shall start up a few laboratories in order to meet the most urgent needs: cholera, dysentery, and other diseases."

Living Web

The medical infrastructure is taking shape little by little. The school of medicine is open once again. Some 50 doctors are already practicing, unable, no matter what they do, to meet the demand. Students who survived the Pol Pot regime are resuming their studies, more intensive, more practical now. Here again, the French presence is very noticeable. "It is the French who helped get the medical school going again. Instruction is in French, the documents are in French and even the school supplies come from France," Yves Buannic emphasizes.

France, always France. People talk only of France, without completely understanding its political position or its scarce eagerness to participate in the effort to rebuild the country. And yet, everything bears the stamp of the close bonds that link France and Cambodia: the railroad, destroyed by Pol Pot but whose infrastructure and equipment are of French origin; the culture, which, through the use of the French language, continues to weave a tenuous but living web of mutual understanding between two peoples joined by history.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

For the time being, the French presence is semi-official, discreet but effective, because doctors, surgeons and pediatricians come one after the other to spend several months in Cambodia.

And yet, in the Cambodian governmental team, one constantly hears the same complaint: "We cannot understand why you would drop us like that in the United Nations. We thought that you were friends, when in fact, you are still following behind the United States."

Things do not seem quite mature between the two governments, which Father Buannic bitterly notes: "I do not believe that France is ready to recognize the current government of Cambodia. Naturally, cooperation between the two countries will grow, particularly in the cultural field, with aid to restoration of the Angkor Vat site, but caution remains the prime rule of French politics."

If that caution continues, it will cause France to lose, in the long run, the privileged place it now enjoys in this region of Southeast Asia.

At the present time, any change in the situation seems to run up against the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia. The argument goes as follows: "If the Vietnamese leave Cambodia, our recognition of the current government will be immediate and our aid to reconstruction substantial."

Cooperation of Vietnam

Here again, the response of a high Cambodian official is not long in coming. It reflects all the suffering of a people seeking its future: "We are the survivors of genocide, of an unspeakable nightmare. We are all going to die. The notion of 'nation' had no more meaning because there was no more future for us. There was a single question: Who will save us? You did not come. They, the Vietnamese, came. We said 'thank you'." How can they ask those men to leave, when 40,000 Khmers Rouges are waiting for nothing more to invade Cambodia? "We are in a hurry to do just one thing," continues that same official. "Rebuild our army, our administration, in order to handle things by ourselves."

The army, nonexistent only a few months ago, is being rebuilt. The administration at all levels no longer requires the physical presence of Vietnamese advisers.

The Cambodian minister of foreign affairs, far from excusing that Vietnamese presence, justifies and explains it: "Naturally, we cooperate closely with the Vietnamese, our neighbors. We want only one thing: to be independent one day. We will be. But we cannot move too hastily. Look at the situation our country is in. We need money to rebuild a minimum infrastructure, hospitals, schools. If you French would help us, we could go much faster."

In Cambodia, the survivors of the living hell are learning what life is again, its rhythms, the gestures and words of every day. They bear witness to our past silence and appeal with all their might for the humanitarian aid which, on the excuse of politics, is so long in coming. "Big politics determines many things," Father Buannic observes. But this time, one can no longer refuse to see the truth or close one's eyes to the burial grounds uncovered every day, the schools whose classrooms were turned into torture chambers by Pol Pot.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Every Cambodian has seen death up close. It is right that they now know that a future exists. And the future depends on us, on our will to make everything available to this nation being reborn.

"The country is being born again; it is almost miraculous. At the time of my first visit to Cambodia in July-August 1979, Phnom Penh was empty. Not a cat, not a single person could be seen. The streets were deserted, the furniture on the sidewalks, the buildings gutted. There was no water or electricity. Six months later, at Christmastime in 1979, everything had changed. The city was once again inhabited. There were a few scooters in the streets. By June 1980, life in Phnom Penh had resumed: motorscooters, motorcycles, merchants and a little traffic could be seen. By August 1981, the Phnom Penh market was busier than the one in Ho Chi Minh City. The birth rate is growing. Children play in the streets," Father Buannic says.

Relations must be normalized between France and Cambodia. Exchanges must be developed and people must remember that Cambodia has a great deal to offer the world, at every level.

COPYRIGHT: 1981 Afrique-Asie

11,464
CSO: 4200/12

END