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Royal University of Phnom Penh
Department of International Studies
Field of Study: Global Governance

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Author Name :EL Monineath
Date: 24/01/2014

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I. Introduction

As we know that Cambodia during cold wars was fallen into civil war nearly 30 years. In the 1960s and 1970s, Cambodia was suffered by side-effects of war in Vietnam including massive bombing by US forces (Keller, 2005). After that civil war was started from 1970 after a coup de-ta by Lon Nol government, Khmer rouge guerrillas stood up to oppose the Lon Nol government. Khmer rouge under Pol Pot led Cambodia from 1975-1979 with massive killing of Cambodian people. After overthrown of Khmer rouge by invasion of Vietnam and People Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), there are three more parties to oppose the government of PRK. Those three parties were FUNCINPEC (Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independent, Neutre, Pacifique, et Cooperatif), KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) and the loss Khmer rouge regime (Keller, 2005 & Sophal, 1997). The four parties still fought with each other with the support from some countries such as China, US, Soviet Union, Vietnam, some ASEAN member states. After decline of Soviet Union and time to an end of cold war, it gave an opportunity to peace settlement in Cambodia. As a result, Peace settlement agreement known as Paris Peace agreement was signed in Paris on 23 October 1991. This peace agreement was the outcome of long series of process, factors in pieces of global governance- external factor, internal factor, mediation from state actors and non-state actor.

II. Historical overview

Cambodia is located in Indochina in Southeast Asia that situated both historically and geographically between culture of India and China (Keller, 2005). After gaining independence from France in 1953, Cambodian people live in happiness, prosperous, peace and stable. Because of cold war, Cambodia has played flexibility of its role in the international affair to prevent

influence from both super powers: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) & United State (US). So Cambodia has decided to join Non-Aligned Movement that was born at the Bandung Conference in 1955 and stayed neutral (Weatherbee, 2009). Cambodia that tried to maintain neutrality and lack of leadership were violated by external factors from both super powers; as a result, King Sihanouk was ousted in a 1970 coup by leaders aligning with US (Weatherbee, 2009). This brought to civil war between government of Khmer Republic that led by Lon Nol and Khmer Rouge guerrillas. Khmer Rouge that depended and were supported by China had overthrown government of Lon Nol, depending on US support in 1975; then Communist Party of Kampuchea known as Khmer Rouge named the country “Democratic Kampuchea” (Keller, 2005). By committing genocide in killing many Cambodian people in their poor leadership, this regime is not last long forever. People started to stand up against this regime by movements everywhere inside the country and the external invasion of Vietnam in 1978. This comes to an end of this regime.

III. Background to Paris Peace Agreement

After invasion of Vietnam on Christmas day in December 1978, Khmer Rouge regime was collapsed in January 1979; then Vietnam set Hun Sen and Heng Samrin to rule Cambodia as communist regime, known as People’s Republic of Kampuchea (Keller, 2005). The invasion and setting leader to rule Cambodia brought a challenge on both national and international level. In the national level, PRK faced with three parties. First party is no-communist royalist opposition party known as FUNCINPEC (Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independent, Neutre, Pacifique, et Cooperatif) that was headed by former King, Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Sopha, 1997). Second party is former government of Khmer rouge under the nominal presidency of Khieu Samphan; and third party is KPNLF (Khmer People’s National Liberation Front) that

emerged from publican opposition to Sihanouk comprising the warlords and remnants of Lon Nol regime from 1970 to 1975 (Keller, 2005). All four parties fight against each other that is obstacle to block bringing Cambodia into peace in the national level. On other hand, in the international level, involving from super power like USSR, US, China & ASEAN member states and Vietnam were in one way or another involved in the conflict. We can see that cause of conflict brought from both internal and external factors. Because of dependency of each party to different countries such as- Khmer rouge, KPNLF, FUNCIPEC by China US & ASEAN Countries and PRK by USSR & Vietnam, it brings conflict more serious because each party has fully support both economic and weapon from those countries. This finds so difficult to reach ceasefire and find peace. In accordance of Sophal, (1997) stated that “FUNCIPEC and KPNLF have created coalition building by mix these two parties into one party called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK)”. From external dynamics pitted the PRK against the CGDK. This pitting brings them not having powerful enough to put sufficient pressure on PRK regime. From internationally, there were patron states interested in pushing their own interest such as-China backed the Khmer Rouge; Vietnam’s interest was headed by PRK while FUNCIPEC had long ties with France and KPNLF with United State (Sophal, 1997). So we can see that the power steering from external actors brought conflict to be ceased.

IV. Process of Cambodia peace agreement to Paris Peace Agreement

Peace settlement agreement in Cambodia was signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 was the outcome of long series of process and factors- external factor, internal factor, mediation form state actors and non-state actor.

1. External Factor

From late 1980s to 1991, there were some change of international affair & environment- decreasing of tension between US & USSR, the economic downturn of USSR and collapse in 1991 and the end of Cold war. This changing brought more pressure on Cambodia conflicting parties to change their behavior in finding peace (Frost, 1992). Settling peace in Cambodia conflict can be occurred because of external factor- Vietnam, China and USSR; those three countries made decision to remove Cambodia as a central irritant in their bilateral relation (Frederick, 1992). There was an opportunity for conflict transformation was identified when both China and Russia had to pay more attention to their own internal problems than supporting their peripheral allies in Cambodia (Zasloff, 2002). As we can know that USSR had faced economic downturn in mid-1980s and continued to collapse in 1991, so it had neither resource nor political straggles to struggle of its policy in Indochina. Moreover confrontation of Vietnam with ASEAN, China and US bring Vietnam to start abandoning its support to PRK; as a result, it had withdrawn almost all its military force from Cambodia by September 1989 (Frederick, 1992). In agreeing of Cambodia settlement, Vietnam agreed to China's demand that it must withdraw its entire military and legitimize the role of Khmer Rouge in Cambodia; by doing this, Vietnam got relief from China's pressure on its northern border and was to satisfied ASEAN's demand with US (Frederick, 1992). From these external pressure and influence, the Cambodian conflicting parties had reach to negotiation meeting. First round was started with a bilateral talk between PRK and CGDK in 1987, following by several other negotiations including multilateral dialogues until 1989 (Peou, 1997). As joining a meeting in Pattaya on 23-29 August, the four parties represented in the Supreme National Council (SNC) announced agreement on control of

the ceasefire, cessation of foreign military assistance; demobilization of military force (Frost, 1992).

2. Internal factor

Cambodia can reach peace settlement not only by external factor but also internal factor. Even external factor as mentioned above gave more milestones for Cambodia peace settlement, internal factor played more important role. If there is no green light from inside, how other states and non-state actor can help to bring to peace settlement. There two main actors that can influence the process of this agreement such as Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen. Prince Sihanouk continues to be of central importance to the peace process; his approach to his role in politics, however, has been undergoing some change since his triumphal return to the country on 14 November (Frost, 1992). He used to be a king and leader in from 1953-1970 and many Cambodia people so much because he is the father of independence; so he is only one person that has influence in Cambodia. He tried to persuade and urge all of his citizens to stop fighting and find compromise point to build peace in Cambodia. Before he used to oppose the PRK government, now he praised the achievement of Hun Sen's regime in education, health and the beginning of rehabilitation (Frost, 1992). According to Frost (1992), "The prince brought his own role in the peace process into further question in mid-January when he threatened to resign in protest against the continuing violation of the ceasefire: this was evidently meant as a threat to exert pressure on the Cambodia faction. Moreover, his role remains crucial and his attitudes towards the other major participants will continue to be very important". On the other hand, Hun Sen, the leader of PRK government, also support with Prince Sihanouk to bring peace settlement in Cambodia. Hun Sen said "we support Prince Sihanouk" (Frost, 1992). Furthermore, he said that "it is an honor and pride of my life that royal father given justice to my mission to sever the

nation. The relation between two leaders gives a highly significant factor in bringing peace to Cambodia. So we can see that internal factor play more important role in finding peace in Cambodia.

3. Mediation from state Actors

Mediation is a mode of negotiation in which a third party helps the parties find a solution which they cannot find by themselves (Karns & Mingst, 2010). Idea of mediation is one that one often sees in other type of dispute settlement mechanisms (Sophal, 1997). Applying to Cambodia conflict of four parties, we find so difficult to bring peace, so we need third parties to help; as a result, France and Indonesia came to help Cambodia settle peace. At the initiative of the French and Indonesian government, perceiving an opportunity to break the stalemate that had emerged at both national and international level, “Conference on Peace in Cambodia or Paris Peace Conference was convened from July to August 1989 (Keller, 2005). In many ways, Indonesia was acting in a manner supportive of mediation; it had sponsored the first “Cocktail Party” for Cambodia’s four factions (Sophal, 1997). Moreover, Indonesians were actually able to get the factions to agree at the first meeting on a memorandum of understanding, though it took more than another half-dozen years to get to Paris Agreement breakthrough (Sophal, 1997). France played an most important role in settlement of peace in Cambodia. From power steering of France for facilitating agreement by providing peace settlement frameworks and setting agenda of meeting of conflicting parties and others parties. For instance, it provided place of first meeting between Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen, and a month later held a second round of talks. And France also provided place at Paris for final conference which produced the final act of Peace Agreement for Cambodia.

Not only both France and Indonesia but also 4 permanent members of Security Council, Australia and Japan help to restart negotiation (Keller, 2005). So we can view that mediation from state actors plays an important role to settle peace by providing ways and agendas likewise in Cambodia.

4. Mediation from Non-State actor

As I mentioned above that mediation is the way of peace settlement mechanism. Mediation from state actors gives an opportunity to find peace, but mediation from non-state actor is more important and gives more chance in peace settlement. As we know that non-state actor like IGO are the instrumental in rule supervision, monitoring compliance with rule, adjudicating dispute, taking enforcement measure, providing technical assistance, deploying force and so on (Karns & Mingst, 2010). Intergovernmental Organization like United Nation (UN) plays very important role in finding peace in the world through its organs-International Court of Justice (ICJ), United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) and United Nation Security Council. UN Security Council have drafted two resolutions calling all conflicting parties to join multilateral meeting to cease combat and to withdraw all foreign troops from Cambodia (Keller, 2005). First resolution couldn't find consensus from the members, and second resolution was blocked by veto power of USSR. With the leadership of UN as mediator, adjudicator and arbitrator, UNGA adopted Resolution 34/22 calling all foreign forces to withdrawal from Cambodia, holding an international conference on Cambodia (Keller, 2005). As a result, the international conference on Kampuchea convened in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981 by General Assembly, Secretary-General Javier Per'rez de Cuellar (Cambodia Information Center, 1995). And another conference was held from 30 July to 30 August in Paris due to the request of UN and was attended by 5 of UNSC members, representatives of all four parties and 13 others

states: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Zimbabwe that is Chairman of Non-aligned Movement (Keller, 2005). Secretary-General Javier Per'rez de Cuellar was presented, and France and Indonesia co-chaired the conference. But the conference was not succeeded and was suspended without being able to agree on an international mechanism to verify the withdrawal of Vietnam troops from Cambodia.¹ But UN did not give up its mission; it sent several fact-finding missions to Cambodia to study before peacekeeping operation. These findings helped five permanent member of the Security Council to do proposal for a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia². After withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, at the sixth meeting in August 1990, the Five announced that they reached consent on a Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict including transitional arrangement regarding the administration of Cambodia during per-election period, the military arrangements during the transitional period, the elections under UN auspices (United Nation Transitional Authority in Cambodia), human rights protection, and international guarantees (Keller, 2005). By mediation from UN, several negotiations and the presentation of drafts to the four Cambodia factions, to Thailand and Vietnam, after the conclusion of the first cease-fire in 12 year and after more than ten years of diplomatic efforts, the “ Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of Cambodia Conflict (referred to Paris Peace Agreement) were signed in 23rd October 1991 by Four Cambodia party, 5 member of UNSC, ASEAN member states, Laos, Vietnam, Australia, Canada, India, Japan and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as representative of Non-aligned movement states (Keller, 2005).

^{1,2}. UN. (n.d.). *Cambodia- UNAMIC Background*. Retrieved December 12, 2012, from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamicbackgr.html>

V. Conclusion

Cambodia has experienced long civil war since 1970 but it still can build peace inside country. A main advantage in the Cambodian state building process was the fact that Cambodia, as state, was never falling apart. Moreover, we can see that Paris Peace agreement on 23 October 1991 was the outcome of long series of process and factors-external factor (end of cold war, changing of international affair), internal factor (Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen's role), mediation from state actors (France, Indonesia, etc.) and non-state actor (UN). These are pieces of global governance that provide mechanisms to solve problem or settle peace in particular country.

Despite the Violations and non-compliance with peace plan by Khmer Rouge, the benefits of the Paris Agreement can be found in multilateral approach: the four conflicting party were encourage to find an agreement and to renounce their own preferences which were incompatible with the will of the other parties. To sum up, mechanism of global governance plays an important role in settle peace in Cambodia (Paris Peace Agreement).

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