

Distr.  
GENERAL

S/25784  
15 May 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN PURSUANCE OF PARAGRAPH 6  
OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 810 (1993)

1. The Security Council, by paragraph 6 of its resolution 810 (1993) of 8 March 1993, called on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) to continue to make every effort to create and maintain a neutral political environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. It also requested me to inform the Council by 15 May 1993 of the conditions and preparations for the election. The present report is submitted in response to that request.

2. I have previously reported to the Security Council on the activities of UNTAC in a series of progress reports and special reports, most recently in the fourth progress report (S/25719) of 3 May 1993. The present report should be read in conjunction with those reports.

3. As the election to be held from 23 to 28 May approaches, the overwhelming majority of the voters in Cambodia, as well as political parties and factions, have made manifest their commitment to the election as the culmination of the peace process. As reported earlier, more than 4.7 million Cambodians, or some 96 per cent of the estimated voters, have registered to vote. At a meeting called on 6 May in Beijing by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, three of the four factions - Front uni national pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique et coopératif (FUNCINPEC), Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) and the Party of the State of Cambodia (SOC) - reaffirmed their support for the election, a commitment that was reiterated by them at a working session of the Supreme National Council (SNC) on 10 May. At the latter meeting, Mr. Son Sann, the leader of KPNLF/Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP - a political party of KPNLF) proposed the suspension of the electoral process and postponement of the election, but the SNC did not pursue the proposal and BLDP has continued to campaign.

4. Since the official start of the electoral campaign on 7 April, the 20 political parties registered to contest the election have campaigned actively and vigorously. Scores of political meetings and rallies have been held daily and peacefully with the participation of tens of thousands of people in virtually all parts of Cambodia. Although FUNCINPEC and the BLDP have complained that SOC has sought to prevent their supporters from attending their meetings, in UNTAC's view, neither such attempts nor political attacks and

intimidation to which they have been subjected have prevented these parties from conducting an active campaign. UNTAC itself has also organized multi-party meetings.

5. Technical preparations for the election have been virtually completed. Some 900 International Polling Station Officers recruited from 44 countries and the Inter-Parliamentary Union have arrived to take part in a three-day training course being held from 13 to 15 May in Thailand. They will be joined by 130 from the United Nations Secretariat as well as about 370 detailed from within UNTAC and will arrive at their duty stations in Cambodia by 18 May. Their duties, and the polling process in general, are described in section D of my fourth progress report.

6. At the meeting of the Supreme National Council held on 21 April 1993, my Special Representative expressed the view that the freeness and fairness of the election would be judged in accordance with three main criteria: the extent to which the campaign and voting are marred by violence, intimidation and harassment; the extent to which SOC, which controls the largest zones and has the most extensive administrative structure, enjoys unfair advantages, whether by using its administrative apparatus for its own political ends or by denying other political parties access to the public media; and the technical conduct of the poll. While these are addressed in the present report, the final assessment will be made after the election.

7. The measures taken by UNTAC to control the existing administrative structures have been described in detail in my previous reports. UNTAC's more recent efforts to promulgate a code of conduct for military and police personnel and civil servants and to prevent the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) from using the resources and staff of the administrative apparatus for electoral purposes have also been described. UNTAC has vigorously raised the issue of the separation of party and State several times both in public and in private meetings with the leading figures of the Phnom Penh authorities. My Special Representative recently announced that an officer of the Cambodian People's Armed Force (CPAF) and a district chief of the CPP had been removed from the register of voters for improper conduct in violation of the Electoral Law.

8. UNTAC has taken particular issue with the Phnom Penh authorities over the access of other political parties to the media and their right to freedom of movement. As a result of strong intervention by UNTAC, FUNCINPEC was able to obtain the release from SOC of the television broadcasting equipment it had imported for campaign purposes. All political parties have had access to UNTAC information media, and three parties - FUNCINPEC, BLDP and the Neutral Democratic Party of Cambodia - have requested and been granted assistance from UNTAC with air transport facilities for campaign purposes.

9. Radio UNTAC now broadcasts 15 hours a day. This has enabled it to intensify a message central to UNTAC's electoral education campaign, namely, that all votes are secret. The leaders of all three factions participating in the election have agreed to my Special Representative's proposal to appear with him on television to reassure voters about the secrecy of the ballot. UNTAC is satisfied that its electoral procedures fully protect the secrecy of the ballot, and that this message has been conveyed to Cambodian voters.

10. It is evident that incidents of violence can have a disruptive effect on even a carefully prepared election especially through their destabilizing psychological effects. Following the killing of a United Nations Volunteer serving as a District Electoral Supervisor and his interpreter in Kompong Thom Province on 8 April, some 60 United Nations Volunteers have withdrawn from their posts. Since document S/25669, in which I reported on a number of incidents of attacks against UNTAC personnel, and my fourth progress report (S/25719) were issued, the security situation in Cambodia has been marked by further acts of violence. While it is not possible to classify all acts of violence or to determine who was responsible, there are essentially four categories of violence: (a) killings of Cambodians, including those of Vietnamese ancestry, by the forces of PDK, the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK), in an effort both to disrupt the election and, evidently, to pressure those of Vietnamese ancestry to leave Cambodia; (b) attacks and harassment by SOC elements aimed at intimidating other political parties, primarily FUNCINPEC; (c) attacks on UNTAC personnel; and (d) random violence associated with banditry and lawlessness.

11. Since the beginning of April, despite initial indications of a relative decline in violence during that month, UNTAC investigations have confirmed that 110 Cambodians, including those of Vietnamese descent, have died as victims of violence and a further 179 have been injured. A large number of these casualties have resulted from attacks on civilians and on SOC by NADK and by unidentified groups, and attacks on other political parties by SOC and unidentified groups. UNTAC will publish shortly the results of all its investigations into serious acts of violence, harassment and intimidation since 1 March 1993.

12. I regret to report that further attacks against UNTAC personnel have occurred since the issuance of the fourth progress report on UNTAC. On 4 May 1993, an UNTAC convoy was ambushed by an unidentified armed group in Banteay Meanchey Province. In the evening of the same day, NADK elements attacked the Chinese Engineering Company and the Polish Logistics Company in Kompong Thom Province with rockets and small arms fire. In the early hours of 7 May 1993 a group of unidentified armed men attacked the UNTAC office in Thpong district in Kompong Speu Province with mortars, rockets and small arms fire. On 8 May 1993, a Pakistani Company came under fire at Choam Khsan in Preah Vihear Province by NADK elements. On 11 May, two unidentified men threw two hand grenades towards a car driven by a Civilian Police officer in Sisophon.

13. In these incidents, two UNTAC personnel died and 17 others were wounded, several of them seriously. Since the inception of UNTAC, 13 UNTAC civilian and military personnel have lost their lives and 52 have been wounded as a result of hostile action; 39 have died from other causes.

14. In the light of PDK's repeatedly expressed intention to oppose the election, including by violent means, as well as in response to the incidents described above, UNTAC has further refined and elaborated its security plans. Thus, no polling will be conducted in the areas controlled by PDK, to which UNTAC has not been permitted access, as well as some remote areas in which NADK have been operating. These areas, mainly located in Siem Reap and Kompong Thom provinces, are thinly populated. Other parts of the country have been designated as high-, medium- and low-risk zones, with low-risk zones

predominating in the heavily populated south and east of the country, including the capital, Phnom Penh. The status of every district in the country is being reviewed on a daily basis by sector commanders of the Military Component, who have overall responsibility for all UNTAC personnel in the sector, and electoral officials on the basis of the latest security information; this daily review will continue during the election itself.

15. Different levels of security measures have been established for each level of risk involving fixed guards, mobile patrols and general area security in accordance with the security arrangements described in the fourth progress report (S/25719, para. 37). In high-risk zones, armed UNTAC military personnel will be stationed at and around polling stations. Physical fortifications have been strengthened and staff will be issued protective gear. Quick Reaction Forces and medical support units have also been identified for the high-risk sites.

16. In response to the heightened threat in Kompong Thom Province, UNTAC civilian personnel have been withdrawn from some locations and the number of polling sites has been reduced from 102 to 51. Civilian staff, including Civilian Police monitors, can now seek direct protection from the Indonesian Battalion of the Military Component in the towns of Kompong Thom, Stung and Baray. In Siem Reap Province, personnel of all components can now be accommodated with military units every evening. Similar arrangements can be made in other provinces if necessary.

17. The first, precautionary stage of the five-stage Mission Security Plan, has now been declared for the entire country. Movement in the provinces is now subject to authorization and monitoring by sector commanders of the UNTAC Military Component and, where possible, takes place in convoys.

18. In order to further strengthen security during the election, urgent consultations have been held in recent days with a number of Governments on the provision of additional equipment for UNTAC. In this connection, I would like to express my appreciation to the Governments of Australia, Japan, Malaysia, Namibia and the United States of America for the additional material assistance and voluntary financial contributions they have provided. Discussions are continuing with a number of other Governments. Meanwhile, essential items for enhanced security have been shipped to the mission.

19. While evidently there can be no guarantee of total safety, all possible steps have been taken to ensure the maximum security that are consistent with UNTAC's character as a peace-keeping operation and with the need to attract the highest possible voter turnout. None the less, it bears repeating that it is on the Cambodian parties that the primary responsibility rests for the maintenance of security in the zones they control. In this connection, the three Cambodian factions supporting the election have recently requested that UNTAC return to them the weapons they deposited with it in implementation of the second phase of the cease-fire in accordance with the Paris Agreements. In view of its implications, especially regarding the security situation, I am giving this request urgent and close consideration.

20. It is now evident that, despite the demonstrated interest of the Cambodian people to determine their future at the polls, and the meticulous preparations

by UNTAC for the election, the conditions for the election are not those anticipated in the Paris Agreements. This results from the unfortunate attitude of PDK, which, having progressively withdrawn from the peace process starting with the military provisions, has now moved from boycotting the election to attempts to actively disrupt it through violence. Such actions constitute a clear breach of solemn commitments. I am certain that the members of the Security Council share my determination not to allow these actions to deny Cambodians this opportunity, carefully nurtured by the international community, to secure peace through the democratic process.

21. It is regrettable that SOC also has contributed, although to a lesser extent, towards the climate of violence by resorting to intimidation of other political parties. Further, it has not responded satisfactorily to UNTAC's efforts to prevent the use of its administrative structure for political purposes.

22. It therefore must be borne in mind that the approaching election in Cambodia is likely to be affected by continuing violence, although UNTAC will continue to do its utmost in providing security measures. Unfortunately, this is a feature in many other countries even when elections are held in far more favourable conditions, rather than in the wake of a prolonged and bitter conflict that has left a legacy of tensions and deep distrust as is the case in Cambodia. As noted in paragraph 140 of my fourth progress report, it would be unrealistic to hold Cambodia to standards valid in countries that enjoy stability or established democratic traditions. UNTAC, therefore, will be conducting the most impartial election that is possible in conditions that are not susceptible to its full control. It would be ingenuous to expect that a postponement would bring improved conditions - the contrary is more probable.

23. It is appropriate to recall that H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who has guided his country through far more difficult times, has supported the election, and recently has encouraged his compatriots to participate in this singular opportunity. This lends further credibility to the electoral process. I remain convinced that he has a crucial role to play at this critical juncture in fostering national reconciliation and promoting stability in the post-election period.

24. It is clear to me that it is the will and intent of the Security Council as well as of the vast majority of the Cambodian people that the election be held as scheduled. With this and all the preceding considerations in view, I have directed that this should be done.

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