intervention in Bosnia?

Ganic: The main problem is that the legal government of Bosnia doesn't have weapons, and the aggressor is dictating to them. Unless we reach approximate military balance, we cannot achieve anything by political negotiations, because the aggressor dictates the situation. In Geneva, nothing will happen. We asked for the withdrawal of heavy weapons and they just did not guarantee that.

EIR: What do you think about the campaign which says that there is a danger of an upsurge of Islamic fundamentalism? Ganic: This is not a real danger. Only if Bosnia is not defended by the international community will Islamic radicalism spread around the world. Not necessarily in Bosnia, but other Islamic countries by themselves can become radical.

EIR: Sources in Zagreb and Bosnia told *EIR* that the only reason for the U.N. so-called negotiations is to to provoke the bitterness of Bosnians.

Ganic: Right, they are trying to de-legitimize our government, that is the problem.

EIR: There is also a big campaign to magnify the fighting between Bosnian and Croatians. *EIR* has discussed how to overcome this attempt to divide the two peoples with Bosnian leaders in Ottawa.

Ganic: I went to several meetings, in New York, Cleveland, and in Canada, and I met many Croatians and many Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croatians. They all stay together for Bosnia and they say that no one should try to create artificial trouble between Muslims and Croats, and it is all done maybe by the Serbian intelligence service, by giving money to the individuals. There are no basic problems between Bosnians and Croats that cannot be solved.

EIR: There are many voices in the United States against any form of intervention in former Yugoslavia. Even military spokesmen are saying that the implementation of the no-fly zone is not going to change anything.

Ganic: The Serbians are using helicopters to distribute ammunition and for all logistics. If you introduce the no-fly zone this will not be possible, and any time they want they can bomb by air. Any time we do make advance they take their air forces and destroy our positions.

EIR: We saw the role of the U.N., which was at least counterproductive if not openly complicit, in the assassination of Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic while under U.N. protection. How do you characterize the U.N. role?

Ganic: Inefficient, unfair, not doing much. In some ways they are even helping the siege of Sarajevo. I am not saying [the U.N. is doing this] on purpose. They do not have a mandate to do the job, so someone has to change their mandate.

UNTAC oversees breakup of Cambodia

by Linda de Hoyos

Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk sounded the death knell for the United Nations-sponsored "peace process" in Cambodia on Feb. 13, with the announcement that he would not participate in legislative and presidential elections scheduled for this May. Sihanouk stated: "Certain foreign powers among the permanent representatives of the U.N. Security Council, that is, the Big Five [China, Russia, France, Britain, and the United States], as well as certain Cambodian political parties and factions are opposed to the holding of presidential elections in Cambodia before the legislative elections. Because of political wrangles over the issue of the presidential elections, I reluctantly give up and will not take part in them."

Although "mercurial" is an adjective the press often appends to Sihanouk's name, his assessment of the deterioration of his country is precisely true. Stating that the Khmer Rouge and other forces are opposed to his running in a presidential election first, Sihanouk explained his decision: "I am extremely concerned that there would be disorder, instability, and insecurity which could spark off a war after the May 1993 elections. . . . My nonparticipation in the elections is to prevent Cambodia from sliding toward a partition and a civil war that will bring the Cambodian nation and race to an end."

In sum, despite the deployment of 22,000 troops in Cambodia costing over \$2 billion, the United Nations Transitional Authority Cambodia (UNTAC) has brought Cambodia again to the brink of civil war. However, for most of the members of the Big Five powers of the U.N. Security Council, bringing peace to Cambodia was never the goal.

The UNTAC operation in Cambodia—touted as a model for future U.N. interventions into countries in strife—was the brainchild of a Big Five plan, which was formulated in October 1990 and pushed by the United States, China, and the Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge. As originally formulated, the U.N. would move in with the following objectives: 1) to secure a cease-fire; 2) to move the forces of all military groupings—the army of the Vietnam-backed Phnom Penh government, the Khmer Rouge, and the two smaller forces of Sihanouk and the U.S.-backed Son Sann—into cantonments where they would be disarmed; 3) to replace the Phnom Penh regime with a U.N. administration; 4) and to supervise the holding of national elections.

Vietnam and its comrade regime in Phnom Penh rejected

44 International EIR March 5, 1993

the plan because it summarily dispensed with the Phnom Penh government. A compromise was reached through the efforts of Japan, Thailand, Indonesia, and France, whereby the Phnom Penh regime would continue to function to a limited extent, but under the nominal control of the Supreme National Council, to be composed equally of representatives of Phnom Penh on one side, and representatives from the tripartite opposition coalition on the other. The revised plan was further backed up by the promise of a major financial commitment from Japan for Indochina's economic reconstruction.

The cease-fire began in October 1991, ending a series of wars in Cambodia that began in 1970. However, it did not take long before reality caught up with diplomacy. Early this year, U.N.-dispatched troops succeeded in placing in cantons and disarming many of the forces under Sihanouk, Son Sann, and the Phnom Penh regime. However, the Khmer Rouge refused to permit UNTAC forces in areas under its control, going to the extremes of murdering or kidnapping U.N. officials who tried. The Khmer Rouge publicly refused to disarm, citing the alleged presence of Vietnam forces in Cambodia as justification.

In the face of this intransigence, the UNTAC did absolutely nothing—thereby guaranteeing Cambodia's slide to new war. The reason for UNTAC's paralysis was the Security Council's unwillingness to embarrass one of its members, the People's Republic of China. Although Beijing publicly "urged" the Khmer Rouge leadership to abide by the Paris peace accords, this was diplomatic distancing only. Even so, when the U.N. Security Council placed sanctions on the Khmer Rouge—a bid to stop the Khmer Rouge trading in gems with Thailand, China abstained from the vote. To be sure, Beijing would have vetoed any resolution for military action against the Khmer Rouge by UNTAC's "peacekeeping" forces. Finally, on Feb. 3, Beijing let down its mask, and criticized Phnom Penh for its attacks on the Khmer Rouge, after months of Khmer Rouge guerrilla activity. A "deeply concerned" Chinese Foreign Ministry urged UNTAC to take "concrete measures to prevent the situation from getting worse."

In fact, Phnom Penh brought to a halt its late January offensive against Khmer Rouge positions, especially the gem town of Pailin on Cambodia's western border, because of "international criticism." Unwilling to break with UNTAC, Hun Sen, prime minister of the Phnom Penh regime, called for the UNTAC to administer a buffer zone between Phnom Penh territory and the Khmer Rouge. The proposal was rejected by other members of the Supreme National Council as a violation of national sovereignty.

Partition next?

Very early in the game, despite the presence of Khmer Rouge minister Khieu Sampham on the Supreme National Council, the Khmer Rouge declared it would not participate in any elections. The reason given was the same: UNTAC is failing to investigate and check the massive infiltration into

Cambodia of Vietnamese settlers and military. The charges have also been echoed by the U.S.-backed Son Sann.

The Khmer Rouge stance on the elections all but guaranteed Sihanouk's withdrawal, since the Khmer Rouge would wage war against any "elected" government. In addition, Sihanouk, who resides in Beijing and Pyongyang, is in the final analysis only permitted to move as far as Beijing will permit, despite the hopes of Paris.

Sihanouk's unwillingness to participate in any elections, which he is expected to win handily, comes also in protest to assassinations of key members of his own political forces. The murders are believed to have been carried out by Phnom Penh agents, as the Hun Sen regime sees Sihanouk as its major *political* rival.

Despite Sihanouk's withdrawal, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated Feb. 16 that elections will take place in May in Cambodia. However, the polls are more likely to lead to full-scale war. In Thailand, Air Chief Marshal Woranat Aphichari told the *Bangkok Post* that heavy fighting is expected in Cambodia after the elections.

The condition of total instability has further prompted Boutros-Ghali to state that UNTAC forces will stay on in Cambodia after the elections. Under the original plan, UNTAC would withdraw from Cambodia, but Boutros-Ghali, speaking for the Big Five, declared that UNTAC could not scale down its presence until an elected constituent assembly has finished its work.

Boutros-Ghali's hypocrisy is clear. The UNTAC will be on hand to oversee Cambodia's dismemberment. The constituent assembly will rule over only sections of Cambodia, as the Khmer Rouge tightens its grip on the widening areas coming under its control. According to the Feb. 4 Far Eastern Economic Review, the Khmer Rouge has created its own "Kampuchea banknotes." Although the Khmer Rouge controls large chunks of the countryside forming a ring around Phnom Penh, these areas are thinly populated. But UNTAC has been systematically moving back refugees from Thailand across into Khmer Rouge-held areas of western Cambodia. Many of the refugees are coming on the basis of a Khmer Rouge promise of land to farm.

Meanwhile, what of the \$800 million promised by the world for Cambodian reconstruction? Only \$95 million has been received, according to UNTAC chief Yasushi Akashi, who blamed the lack of aid flow on the press, for its "unbalanced and alarmist" reporting of Cambodia. "Clearly, the critical time when it was necessary was the past nine months to help build up the economy."

Reconstruction, however, is not on the agenda. Akashi's pollyanna calls for aid to "build a new civil service based on a spirit of national reconciliation and imbued with a neutral political character" hide the bitter reality: Cambodia is in the process of being ravaged further by war and partitioned, as the Cambodian people continue to serve as pawns for superpower geopolitics.

EIR March 5, 1993 International 45