



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The imperative of success: United Nations Peacekeeping in Cambodia (1991-1993)

Stam, W.

Citation

Stam, W. (2023, October 18). *The imperative of success: United Nations Peacekeeping in Cambodia (1991-1993)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3645875>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3645875>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

The Imperative of Success

United Nations Peacekeeping in Cambodia (1991–1993)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 18 oktober 2023
klokke 16.15 uur

door

Wietse Stam

geboren te 's-Gravenhage
in 1991

Promotor: Prof. dr. B. Schoenmaker

Copromotor: Dr. T. W. Brocades Zaalberg

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. A. ten Cate (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Prof. dr. I.G.B.M. Duijvesteijn

Prof. dr. A.W.M. Gerrits

Dr. P. Grosser (Sciences Po Paris)

Dr. A.M. O'Malley

De totstandkoming van dit proefschrift werd financieel mogelijk gemaakt door:

Het Nederlands Veteraneninstituut

Het Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie (NIMH), Ministerie van Defensie

“l’ignorance du passé ne se borne pas à nuire à la connaissance du présent ; elle compromet, dans le présent, l’action même.”

Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire ou Métier d’historien*, 1949

Cover illustration:

© Yann Le Jamtel/ECPAD/Défense

(Demining of a rice field by French peacekeepers from the *17^e régiment du génie parachutiste* as Cambodian civilians pass by, September 1992.)

Cover design, lay-out and maps: Erik van Oosten

Printed in the Netherlands by Ministerie van Defensie

Contents

List of acronyms and abbreviations	6
Charts and maps	9
Introduction	13
Chapter 1: Fuelling war and enforcing peace	29
Chapter 2: UNAMIC: the limits of good offices	49
Chapter 3: UNTAC deploys and displays success	73
Chapter 4: Determining strategy: pressure or exclude	121
Chapter 5: In defence of the mission	165
Conclusion	223
Bibliography	237
Nederlandstalige samenvatting	259
Acknowledgements	265
Curriculum Vitae	267

List of acronyms and abbreviations

Cambodian governments, factions and armies

CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was the resistance government in exile formed in 1982 presided by Prince Sihanouk.
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea was the Vietnamese-installed government in 1979 with limited international recognition.
DK	Democratic Kampuchea was the official name of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge regime led by Pol Pot, and continued to be the official name of the faction during UNTAC.
PDK	Party of Democratic Kampuchea was the political party of the Khmer Rouge after their ousting from power in January 1979.
NADK	National Army of Democratic Kampuchea was the army of the PDK.
SOC	State of Cambodia was the name of the government in Phnom Penh since 1989 led by Prime Minister Hun Sen.
CPAF	Cambodia People's Armed Forces were the armed forces of the Hun Sen government.
CPP	Cambodian People's Party is the political party of the Hun Sen government.
FUNCINPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique Et Coopératif (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia) was the royalist party founded by Prince Sihanouk and later led by Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh.
ANKI	Armée Nationale pour Khmer Indépendant (National Army of Independent Kampuchea) was the armed wing of FUNCINPEC.
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front was a right-wing anti-communist party led by Son Sann.
KPNLAF	Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces was the armed wing of the KPNLF.
BLDP	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party was the political party of the right-wing KPNLF.

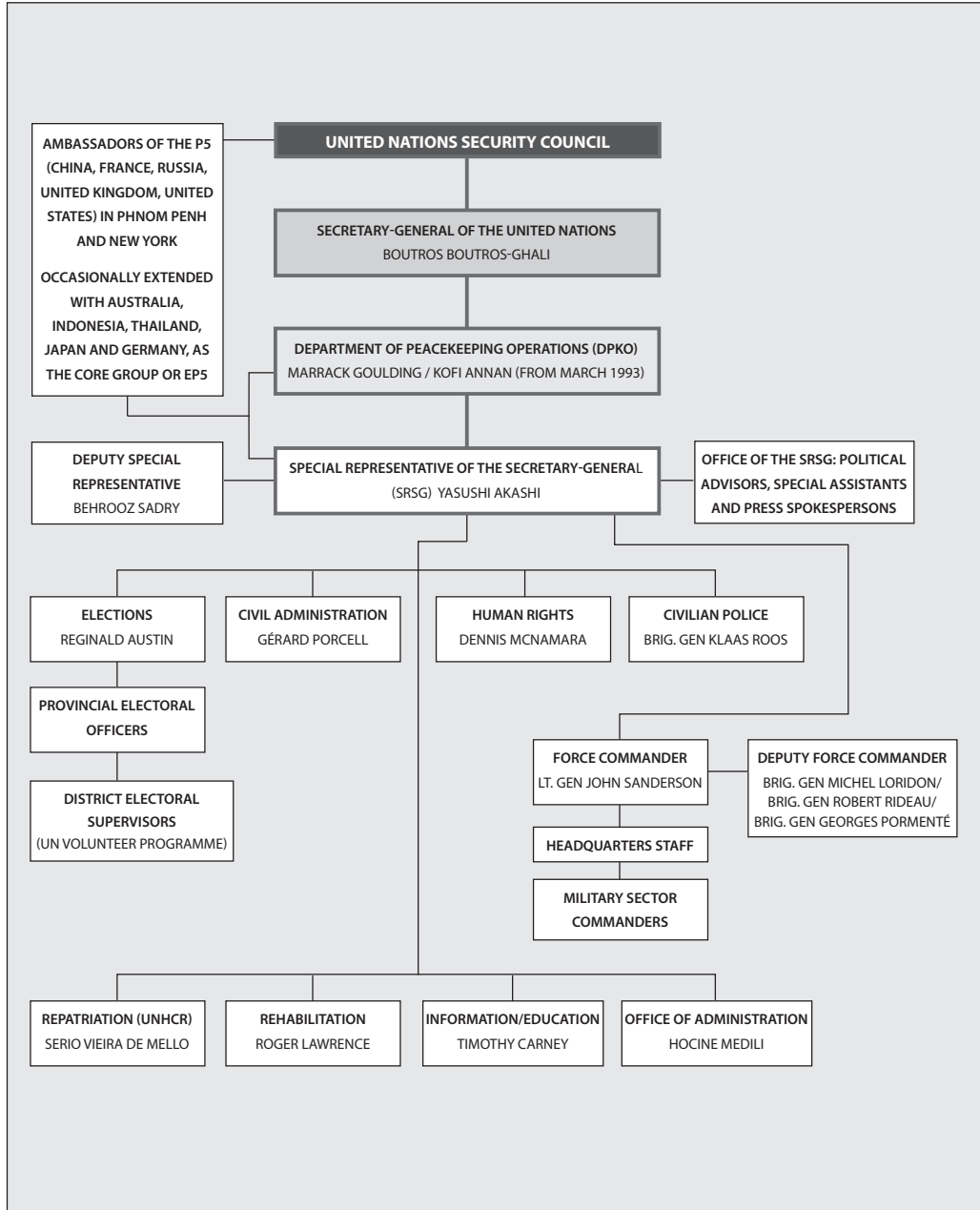
Other abbreviations

ADEFA	Australian Defence Force Academy
ADN	<i>Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes</i>
AMBZ	<i>Archief Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken</i>
APC	Armoured Personnel Carrier
APRONUC	<i>Autorité Provisoire des Nations Unies au Cambodge</i>
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAF	Cambodian Armed Forces
CNRP	Cambodia National Rescue Party
CIVPOL	Civilian police
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DES	District Electoral Supervisor
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DSRFOIA	United States Department of State Records, Freedom of Information Act
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
ECPAD	<i>Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense</i>
EP5	Extended permanent five members of the United Nations Security Council, also known as the “core group”
ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
ICK	International Conference on Kampuchea
IPSO	International Polling Station Officers
MIPRENUC	<i>Mission Préparatoire des Nations Unies au Cambodge</i>
MMWG	Mixes Military Working Group
MLO	Military Liaison Officer
NUF	National United Front
NIMH	<i>Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie</i>
ONUC	<i>Opération des Nations Unies au Congo</i>
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group in Central America
ONUMOZ	<i>Opération des Nations Unies au Mozambique</i>
ONUSAL	<i>Observadores de las Naciones Unidas en El Salvador</i>
P5	Permanent Five members of the United Nations Security Council
SDF	Japanese Self Defence Force
SHD	<i>Service Historique de la Défense</i>
SNC	Supreme National Council
SRSRG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SIB	<i>Semi Statisch Informatiebeheer Ministerie van Defensie</i>
RCAF	Royal Cambodian Armed Forces

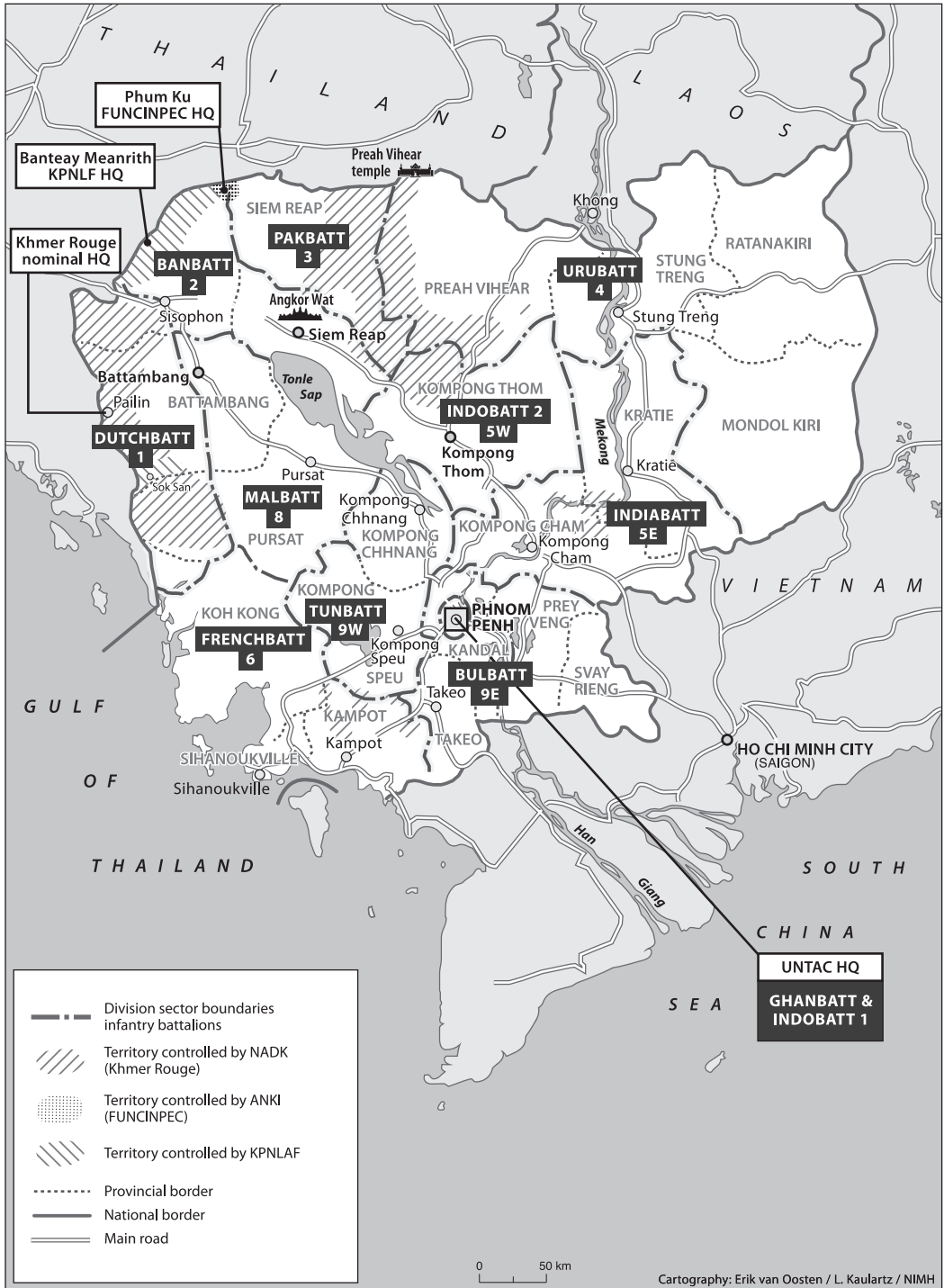
RPG	Rocket-propelled Grenade
UNA	United Nations Archives
UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNMO	United Nations Military Observer
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNV	United Nations Volunteer
VAB	<i>Véhicule de l'Avant Blindé</i>

Charts and maps

United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) in Cambodia - Organisational Chart



UNTAC in Cambodia 1992



UNTAC in Cambodia 1993

