



ASEAN

AGENDA

Addressing the deteriorating situation in Democratic Kampuchea (1978) and its implications for regional peace amid rising tensions with Vietnam.

FREEZE DATE

23rd December, 1978



CHAIRPERSON'S ADDRESS

Dear delegates,

Welcome to the Emergency Session of the ASEAN on the Kampuchea Crisis. It is our privilege to host you in this committee at a time when the very base of global peace and sovereignty is being tested. This committee is convened under extraordinary circumstances where diplomacy is not just an option but a necessity. As the impact of the invasion reverberates throughout the world, the delegates are expected to be on their toes, with correct usage of international laws, as well as necessary actions for restabilizing peace in the region.

Delegates, you have before you the tools of international law, public opinion, sanctions, resolutions, and collective will. But beware: every action you take here will echo beyond these walls. A single mistake made by any one of you will cause destruction to nations, rebuild geopolitics, and impact millions.

Putting aside the theatrics, as your chairpersons, we can promise you that this committee is not going to be a quintessential semi-conventional committee; it is going to be a fast paced committee with disruptive updates.

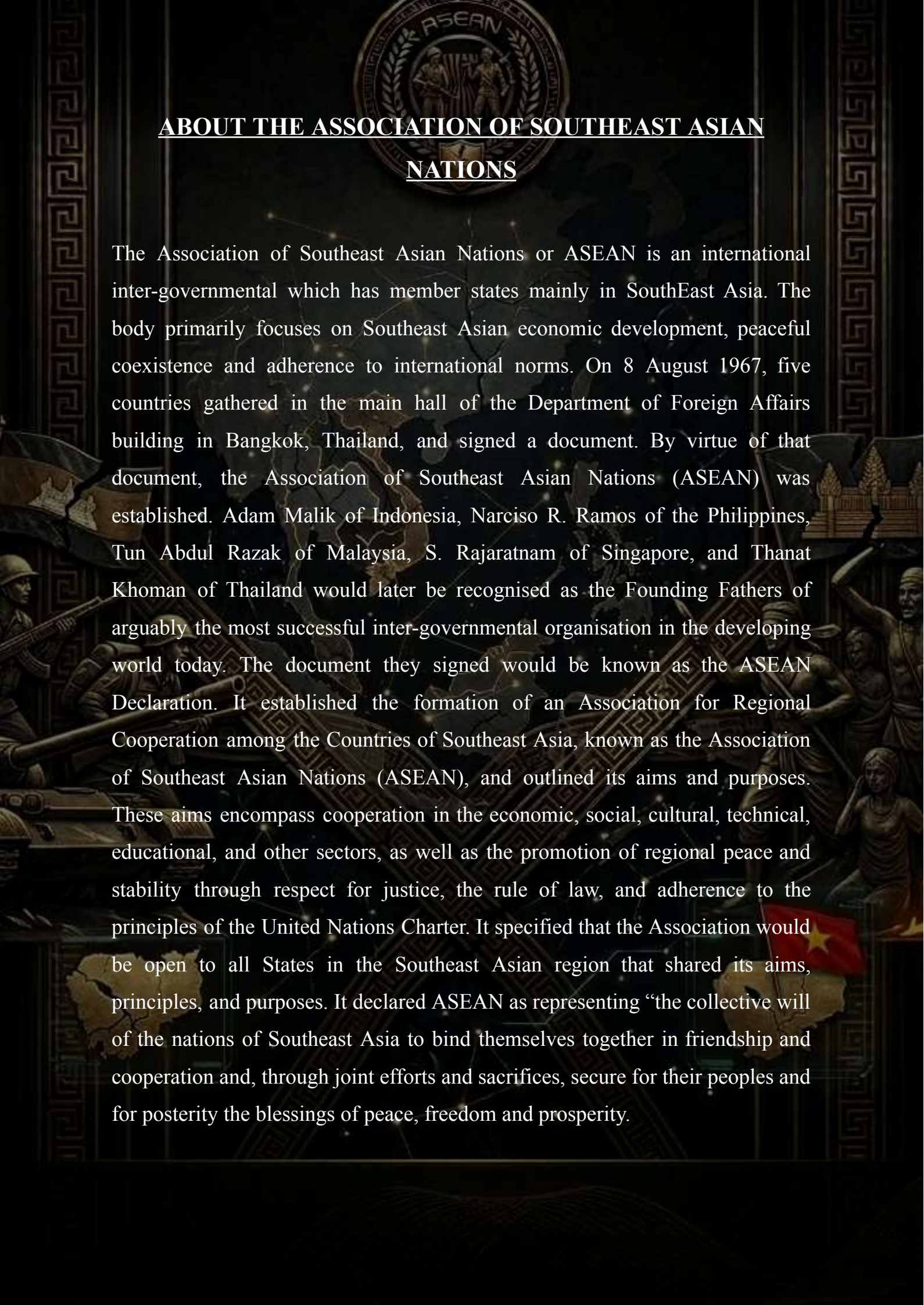
Delegates, we expect more than rhetoric. We demand resolve. We urge you to draft powerful, binding resolutions, showcase your research using powerful speeches packed with research and well crafted paperwork. We look forward to being blown away (not literally).

Till June,

Saksham Bihani and Kovidh Lulla,

Chairpersons of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

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ABOUT THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN is an international inter-governmental which has member states mainly in SouthEast Asia. The body primarily focuses on Southeast Asian economic development, peaceful coexistence and adherence to international norms. On 8 August 1967, five countries gathered in the main hall of the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Bangkok, Thailand, and signed a document. By virtue of that document, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established. Adam Malik of Indonesia, Narciso R. Ramos of the Philippines, Tun Abdul Razak of Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam of Singapore, and Thanat Khoman of Thailand would later be recognised as the Founding Fathers of arguably the most successful inter-governmental organisation in the developing world today. The document they signed would be known as the ASEAN Declaration. It established the formation of an Association for Regional Cooperation among the Countries of Southeast Asia, known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and outlined its aims and purposes. These aims encompass cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, technical, educational, and other sectors, as well as the promotion of regional peace and stability through respect for justice, the rule of law, and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. It specified that the Association would be open to all States in the Southeast Asian region that shared its aims, principles, and purposes. It declared ASEAN as representing “the collective will of the nations of Southeast Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity.



BANGKOK DECLARATION 1967

This Declaration is the founding charter of ASEAN and was signed on 8th August, 1967 by 5 countries which were Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines and Singapore. This document established the formation of a regional cooperative body among the South East Asian Nations. The Association was also declared open for participation to all States in the South-East Asian Region subscribing to the aims, principles and purposes of the body. The aims of the body as mentioned in the Declaration are as follows:

- 1. To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South-East Asian Nation .*
- 2. To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter*
- 3. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.*
- 4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres.*
- 5. To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standards of their people.*

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6. *To promote South-East Asian studies*
7. *To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves.*



FREEZE DATE

By December 23rd, 1978, the Indochina crisis had reached its most critical point. Vietnamese forces, numbering approximately 150,000 troops, had massed along the Cambodian border for a full-scale invasion that would launch just two days later on Christmas Day. The window for any peaceful resolution had closed. Hanoi had already signed its Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union in November securing the superpower backing it needed to act without fear of Chinese military retaliation. China in turn, had normalized relations with the United States just eight days prior on December 15th, cementing an informal strategic alignment between Beijing and Washington that framed the coming conflict not as a border dispute but as a direct Sino-Soviet rivalry.

Inside Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge regime was facing external military encirclement and internal collapse. Pol Pot's purge of the Eastern Zone cadres had gutted the very military units closest to the Vietnamese border and thousands of former DK commanders had already defected to Vietnam many of whom would march back into their homeland as the political face of the Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation. Within ASEAN, Singapore's Foreign Minister Rajaratnam had initiated calls for an emergency meeting, Thailand was quietly accelerating its arrangements to shelter Khmer Rouge forces along its border and Indonesia and Malaysia were crafting the legal, diplomatic and political language with which the bloc would condemn the imminent invasion.



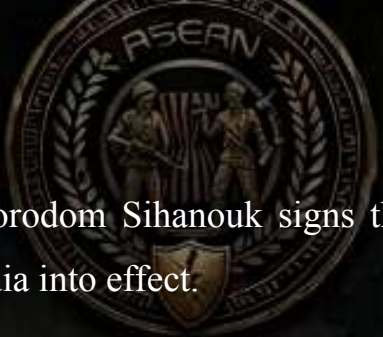
TIMELINE

1. **11th August, 1863-** King Norodom of Cambodia signs a Treaty with the Second French Empire ruled by Napoleon III, thus establishing a French Protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia. France was to be in charge of the Kingdom of Cambodia's trade, foreign relations and military protection.
2. **17th June 1884-** The French Third Republic deployed a gunboat, Aloyette, outside the Royal Palace of Cambodia, thus forcing King Norodom to sign a Treaty which gave up control of public revenue, customs taxes and public works to the French authorities.
3. **17th October, 1887-** Annam or central Vietnam was incorporated into French Indochina. This union merged the French protectorates of Annam and Tonkin, the French colony of Cochinchina, and the Kingdom of Cambodia into a single federal structure.
4. **22nd June, 1940-** France surrenders to Germany and a French puppet government under the leadership of Marshal Pétain. As such, Vichy France joins the war on the side of the Axis powers.
5. **22nd September, 1940-** The Imperial Japanese Army launches a full-scale invasion into French Indochina.
6. **29th July, 1941-** The French State signs the Protocol Concerning Joint Defense and Joint Military Cooperation with the fascist Empire of Japan. It gave the Japanese a total of eight airfields, allowed them to have more



troops present, and to use the Indochinese financial system, in return for a fragile French autonomy in Indochina while continuing to serve as puppets of the Empire of Japan.

7. **9th March, 1945-** The Second World War has turned decisively against the Axis powers with Italy already out of the war and Germany close to surrendering. The Imperial Japanese Empire launches a coup in Indochina with French officials being relieved of their duty and French garrisons being disarmed.
8. **12th March, 1945-** King Norodom Sihanouk declares Cambodia to be independent.
9. **13th March, 1945-** Norodom Sihanouk proclaims the establishment of the Kingdom of Kampuchea. Shortly thereafter, the Empire of Japan nominally ratified the independence of the Kingdom of Kampuchea and established a Consulate in Phnom Penh. Ngoc Thanh becomes Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Kampuchea and other Cambodian Nationalists take key positions in the Government.
10. **15th August, 1945-** The Second World War ends with Japan surrendering to the Allied powers after nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
11. **18th November, 1946-** French and Thai negotiators agree to create a Commission consisting of French, Thai and neutral representatives to study the dispute over the Cambodian-Thai border.



12. **May 1947:** King Norodom Sihanouk signs the first Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia into effect.

13. **8th November, 1949-** The Franco-Khmer Treaty of 1949 was signed, thus declaring Cambodia as an “independent state within the French Union”, with more powers being passed over to the Cambodian Government from the French Fourth Republic. However, the French Fourth Republic refuses to recognize Cambodia as a fully sovereign State.

14. **28th June, 1951:** Cambodian Nationalists who launched a struggle to free Cambodia from the French colonial rule officially split from the Indochinese Communist Party to form the Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party.

15. **3rd July, 1953:** The French Fourth Republic declares that it is ready to grant full independence to Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

16. **9th November, 1953:** The Kingdom of Cambodia is officially granted independence from the French Fourth Republic.

17. **May 16, 1955-** The United States and Cambodia signed a mutual military aid agreement in Phnom Penh. This pact provided Cambodia with direct American military training, conventional weaponry, and budgetary support. It also established a United States military advisory mission to aid the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces.

18. **14th December, 1955-** The Kingdom of Cambodia is officially granted membership of the United Nations.



19. **December 1958:** Ngo Dinh Nhu, the Chief Political Advisor of the President of the Republic of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, broaches the idea of a coup de tat against Sihanouk. The Bangkok Plot (also referred to as the Dap Chhuon Plot) is allegedly initiated by Cambodian right-wing politician Sam Sary, leader of the Khmer Serei Anti-Communist and Anti-Monarchist Guerrilla Force, Son Ngoc Thanh as well as the Governments of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam.

20. **February 1959:** Sihanouk sent the Royal Khmer Armed Forces to capture Dap Chhuon who was executed as soon as he was captured, effectively ending the coup attempt. Sihanouk then goes on to accuse the Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America of orchestrating the coup de tat attempt.

21. **March 1959:** The Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam approves a “people’s war” in South Vietnam.

22. **19th December, 1960-** Cambodia and China signed a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. The historic pact was established to cement relations between the two countries based on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

23. **20th December, 1960:** The Democratic Republic of Vietnam establishes the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Viet Cong) to wage guerrilla war against the Republic of Vietnam.

24. **December 1961:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics breaks diplomatic relations with the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, thus



escalating the Sino-Soviet disputes from the political party-level to the national-Government level.

25. **November 1962:** Sihanouk calls upon the United States of America to stop its support for the Khmer Serei.

26. **February 1963:** Saloth Sar, is elected as Party Secretary of the Worker's Party of Kampuchea.

27. **July 1963:** Saloth Sar and other leaders of the Worker's Party of Kampuchea flee Phnom Penh to North-East Cambodia in order to establish guerrilla bases and expand the party.

28. **19th November, 1963:** Prince Sihanouk rejects all economic aid from the United States of America.

29. **1964:** Prince Sihanouk signs a secret agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Viet Cong, allowing Chinese military aid to be delivered through Sihanoukville's Port. In addition, he allowed the Viet Cong to build a trail through Eastern Cambodia to supply the Viet Cong with North Vietnamese arms supplies, thus resulting in the establishment of the Sihanouk trail which is connected with the Ho Chi Minh trail.

30. **July 1964-** China severed diplomatic relations with USSR by recalling Chinese ambassadors and expelling Soviet experts. He also laid claim to the border territories of the Soviet Union.

31. **7th August, 1964:** The United States Congress approves the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving President Lyndon Johnson the authorization to use conventional military force in South-East Asia and do whatever



necessary to assist any member or protocol State of the South-East Treaty Organization.

32.8th March, 1965: 3,500 US Marines landed near Da Nang in South Vietnam, thus officially beginning the ground war launched by the United States of America against the North Vietnamese backed Viet Cong.

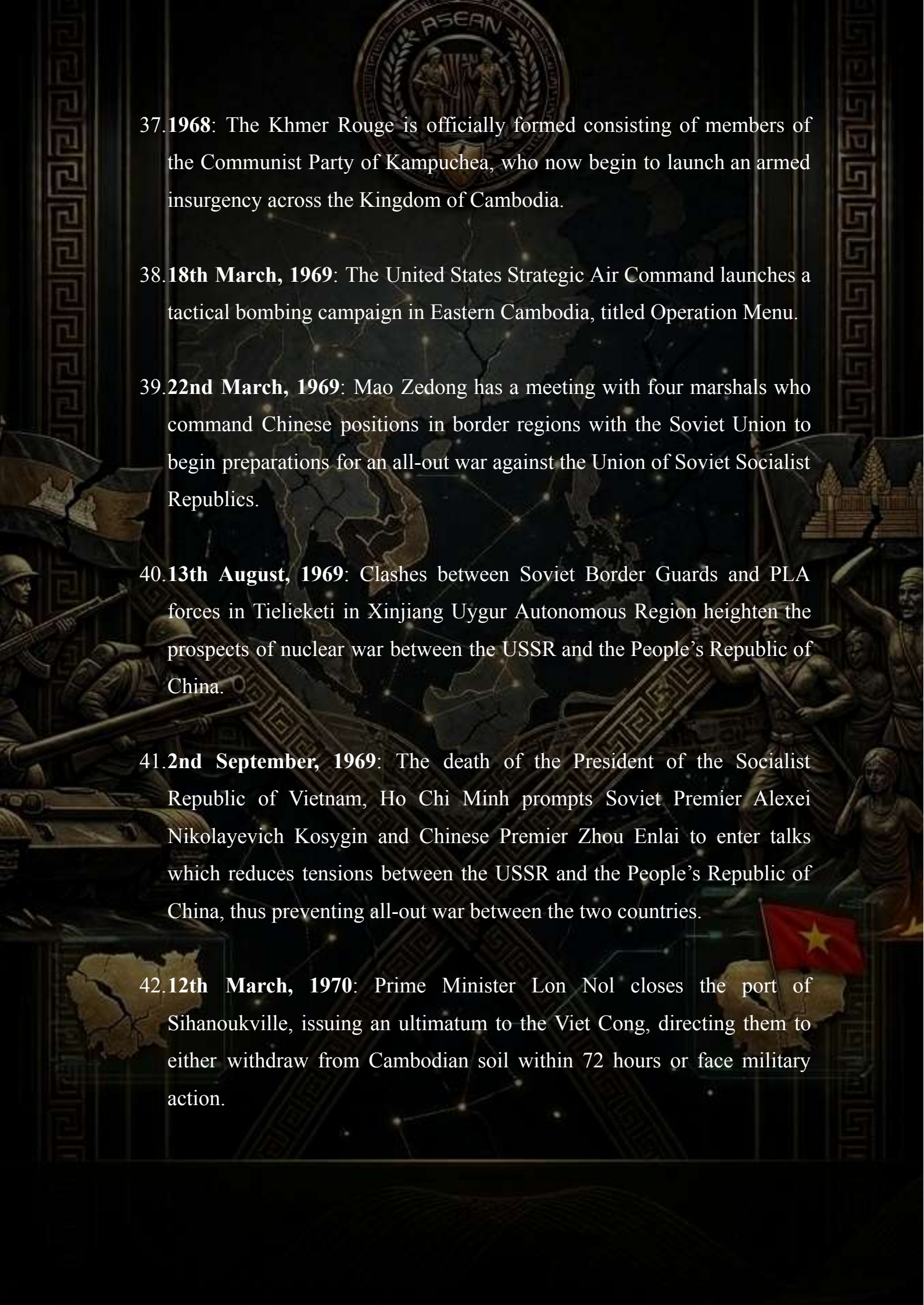
33.3rd May, 1965: The Kingdom of Cambodia breaks diplomatic relations with the United States of America, thus turning to the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for economic and military assistance.

34.5th December, 1965: The United States of America begins Operation Tiger Hound, a covert aerial interdiction campaign conducted by the United States Air Force in the Kingdom of Laos to interdict the flow of North Vietnamese arms supplies through the Ho Chi Minh trail which runs through South-Eastern Laos.

35.11th September, 1966: The Kingdom of Cambodia holds its first open election. The Conservatives win 75% of the seats in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Lon Nol is chosen as Prime Minister and Prince Sisowak Sirik Matak is chosen as Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

36. September 1966: The Worker's Party of Kampuchea is officially renamed as the Communist Party of Kampuchea





37. **1968:** The Khmer Rouge is officially formed consisting of members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, who now begin to launch an armed insurgency across the Kingdom of Cambodia.

38. **18th March, 1969:** The United States Strategic Air Command launches a tactical bombing campaign in Eastern Cambodia, titled Operation Menu.

39. **22nd March, 1969:** Mao Zedong has a meeting with four marshals who command Chinese positions in border regions with the Soviet Union to begin preparations for an all-out war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

40. **13th August, 1969:** Clashes between Soviet Border Guards and PLA forces in Tielieketi in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region heighten the prospects of nuclear war between the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

41. **2nd September, 1969:** The death of the President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh prompts Soviet Premier Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to enter talks which reduces tensions between the USSR and the People's Republic of China, thus preventing all-out war between the two countries.

42. **12th March, 1970:** Prime Minister Lon Nol closes the port of Sihanoukville, issuing an ultimatum to the Viet Cong, directing them to either withdraw from Cambodian soil within 72 hours or face military action.



43. **29th March, 1970:** North Vietnam launches an offensive against the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK), on the request of the Khmer Rouge. North Vietnamese Army forces occupy large parts of Eastern Cambodia, temporarily reaching the outskirts of Phnom Penh.

44. **29th April, 1970:** Forces from the Army of the Republic of Vietnam enter Cambodia on the request of Lon Nol.

45. **30th April, 1970-** President Richard Nixon announces his decision to launch American troops into Cambodia with the special objective of capturing the Central Office of the Central Executive Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party in South Vietnam which lies on the border between Cambodia and South Vietnam.

46. **5th May, 1970-** Sihanouk proclaims the formation of a Government-in-exile referred to as the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia (GRUNK) of which Norodom Sihanouk is Head of State and thus allying himself with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Viet Cong, the People's Republic of China and the Khmer Rouge.

47. **October 1970-** The US backed regime of Lon Nol declares the formation of the Khmer Republic.

48. **1971-** The Khmer Rouge receives weapons, supplies and training from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Viet Cong.

49. **27th January, 1973-** The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was signed by representatives of the Viet Cong, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam and the United



States of America. This puts into effect a ceasefire throughout North Vietnam and South Vietnam and a withdrawal of all US forces.

50.29th January, 1973- President Lon Nol declares a unilateral ceasefire across the Khmer Republic, including a halt to bombing operations by the United States of America.

51.7th February, 1973- Khmer Rouge Forces, ignoring Lon Nol's ceasefire, lay siege to the city of Kompong Thom. This leads to the resumption of American bombing operations in the Khmer Republic.

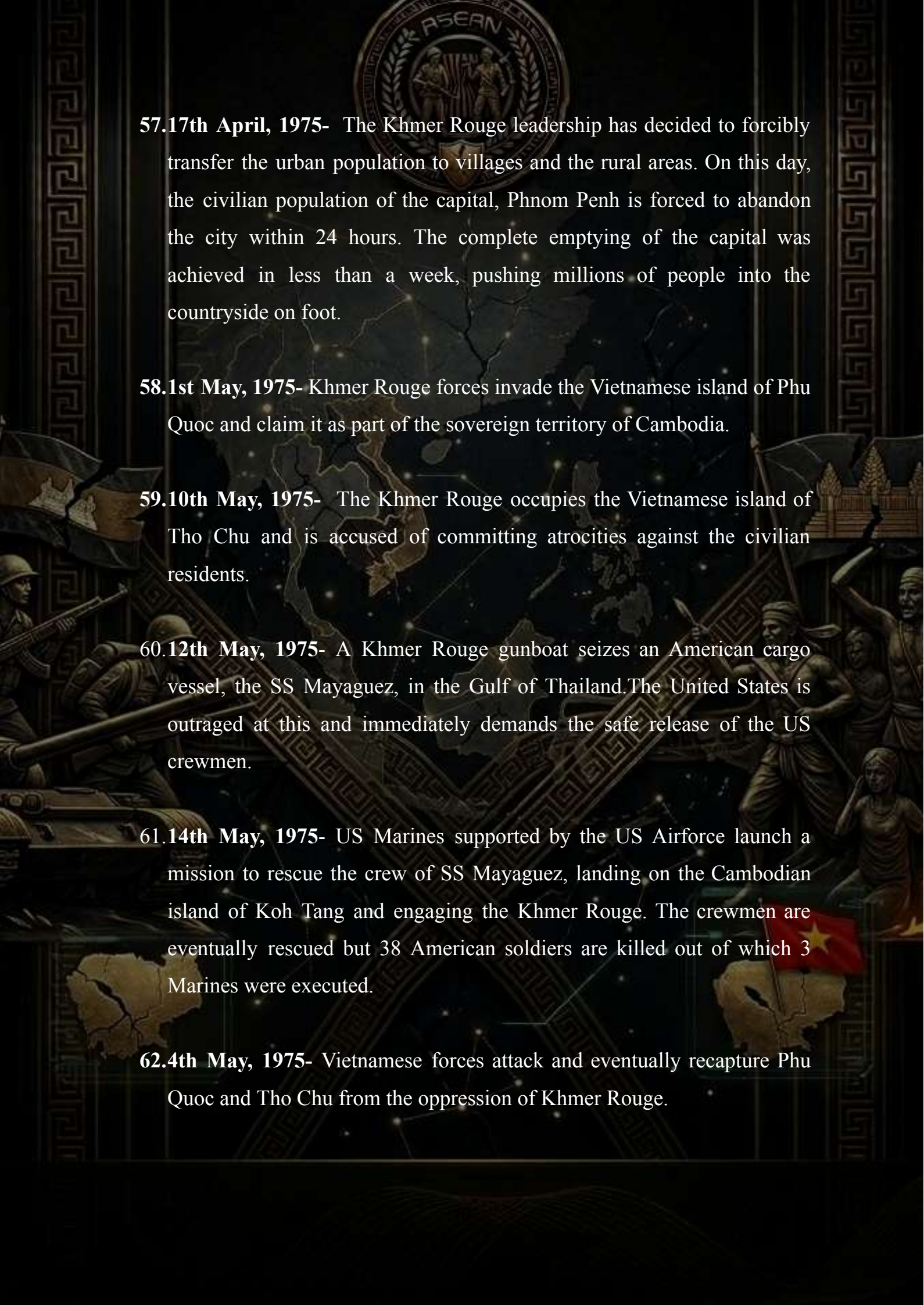
52.18th March, 1973- President Lon Nol officially suspends civil rights, thus preventing assemblies from being convened and arresting several members of the Royal Family.

53.30th April, 1973- The Vietnam War officially ends with the capture of Saigon, capital of the Republic of Vietnam by the North Vietnamese Army.

54.15th August, 1973- The United States of America officially ends Operation Freedom Deal which involved the strategic and precision bombing of Khmer Rouge and North Vietnamese positions in the Khmer Republic.

55.26th May, 1974- The People's Republic of China agrees to provide the Khmer Rouge with military equipment and supplies.

56.1st April, 1975- Lon Nol resigns from the position of President of the Khmer Republic.



57.17th April, 1975- The Khmer Rouge leadership has decided to forcibly transfer the urban population to villages and the rural areas. On this day, the civilian population of the capital, Phnom Penh is forced to abandon the city within 24 hours. The complete emptying of the capital was achieved in less than a week, pushing millions of people into the countryside on foot.

58.1st May, 1975- Khmer Rouge forces invade the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc and claim it as part of the sovereign territory of Cambodia.

59.10th May, 1975- The Khmer Rouge occupies the Vietnamese island of Tho Chu and is accused of committing atrocities against the civilian residents.

60.12th May, 1975- A Khmer Rouge gunboat seizes an American cargo vessel, the SS Mayaguez, in the Gulf of Thailand. The United States is outraged at this and immediately demands the safe release of the US crewmen.

61.14th May, 1975- US Marines supported by the US Airforce launch a mission to rescue the crew of SS Mayaguez, landing on the Cambodian island of Koh Tang and engaging the Khmer Rouge. The crewmen are eventually rescued but 38 American soldiers are killed out of which 3 Marines were executed.

62.4th May, 1975- Vietnamese forces attack and eventually recapture Phu Quoc and Tho Chu from the oppression of Khmer Rouge.



63. **5th January, 1976-** The Khmer Rouge formally proclaims the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea.

64. **20th March, 1976-** The Khmer Rouge holds national elections across Democratic Kampuchea. A total of 515 candidates for the 250 seats of Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly were put forward by the Communist-dominated National United Front of Kampuchea, 150 of whom were to be elected from among the peasantry, 50 from the industrial workers, and 50 from the Kampuchea Revolutionary Army. However, the validity of the elections is questioned as all the candidates are reported to be from a single party and the report of 98% turnout is highly questioned.

65. **2nd April, 1976-** Norodom Sihanouk, distraught and devastated by the Khmer Rouge's genocidal policies, resigns from the position of Head of State of Democratic Kampuchea. He is immediately put under house arrest by the Khmer Rouge.

66. **14th April, 1976-** Saloth Sar, the Khmer Rouge's "Brother Number One", is appointed as Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea. He takes on the surname, "Pol Pot" for his role as the Prime Minister.

67. **2nd July, 1976:** North Vietnam and South Vietnam are officially united to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

68. **30th April, 1977:** Democratic Kampuchea launches a military attack against the Vietnamese provinces of An Giang and Chau Doc. The assault deeply shocked the Vietnamese government, which had previously sought to maintain diplomatic ties.



69. **7th June, 1977:** The People's Army of Vietnam begins moving its troops to the areas attacked by Democratic Kampuchea and proposes high-level talks to discuss "outstanding issues" between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

70. **18th June, 1977:** Kampuchea demands that the government of Vietnam remove all of its military units from the disputed areas and create a demilitarized zone between the two forces of the states.

71. **6th December, 1977:** Eight divisions of Vietnam with support from the Vietnamese Air Force cross the border along several axes with the objective of forcing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to negotiate.

72. **31st December, 1977-** The Kampuchean government announced that diplomatic ties with Hanoi were being temporarily severed and withdrew its ambassadors and they also declared that they would not negotiate until all Vietnamese troops were removed from sovereign Kampuchean territory.

73. **6th January, 1978:** The Socialist Republic of Vietnam withdraws its forces from Democratic Kampuchea despite PAVN divisions being only 38 km from the Kampuchean capital, Phnom Penh.

74. **18th January, 1978:** Vice Premier of China, Deng Yingchao travels to Phnom Penh in order to mediate between Kampuchea and Vietnam. However, her mission is unsuccessful because of the unwillingness of officials of Kampuchea to negotiate.



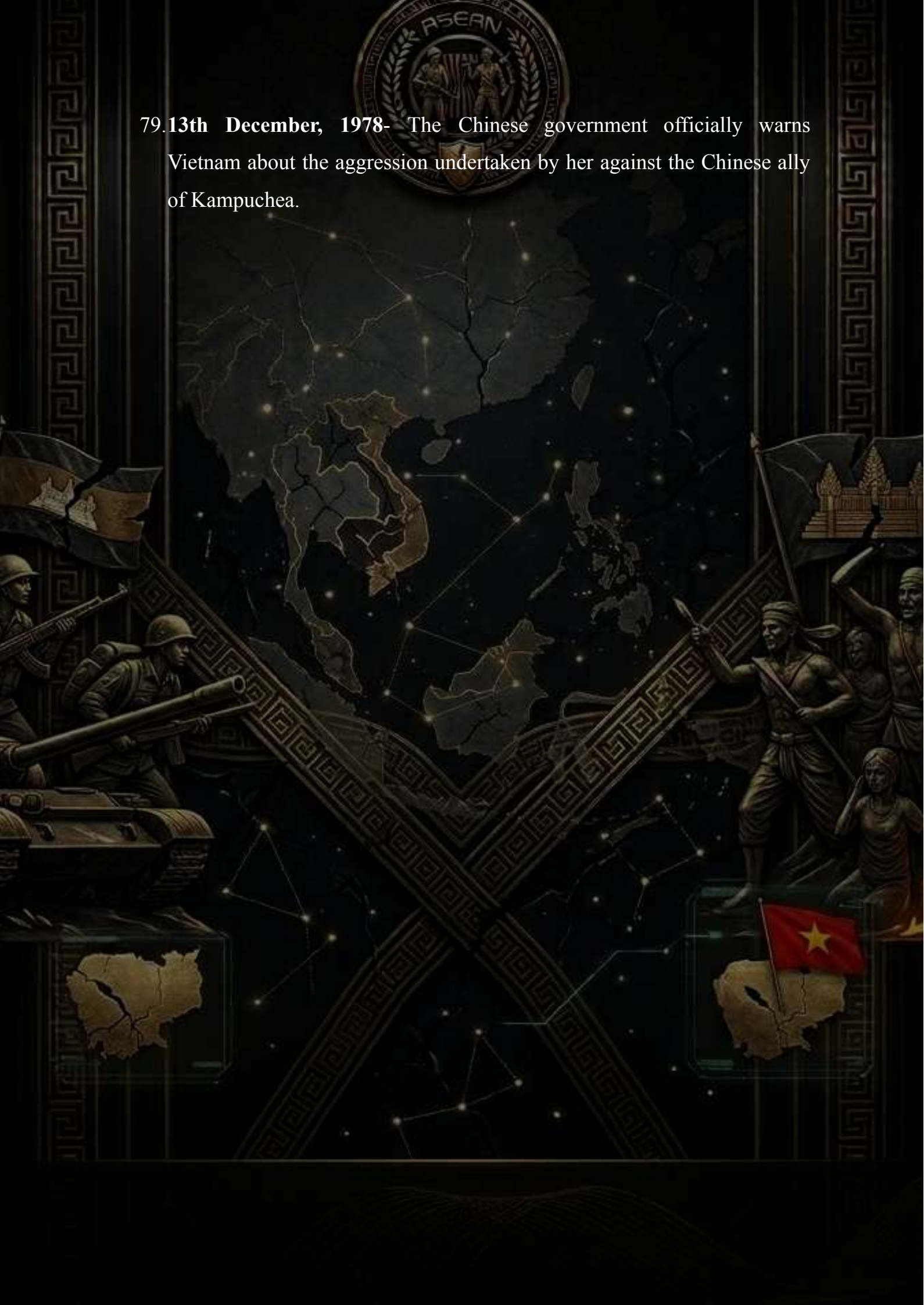
75. **18th April, 1978:** Kampuchean Revolutionary Army forces once again cross the border into south-western Vietnam and attack the village of Ba Chuc where they are accused of committing atrocities against approximately 3,000 civilians.

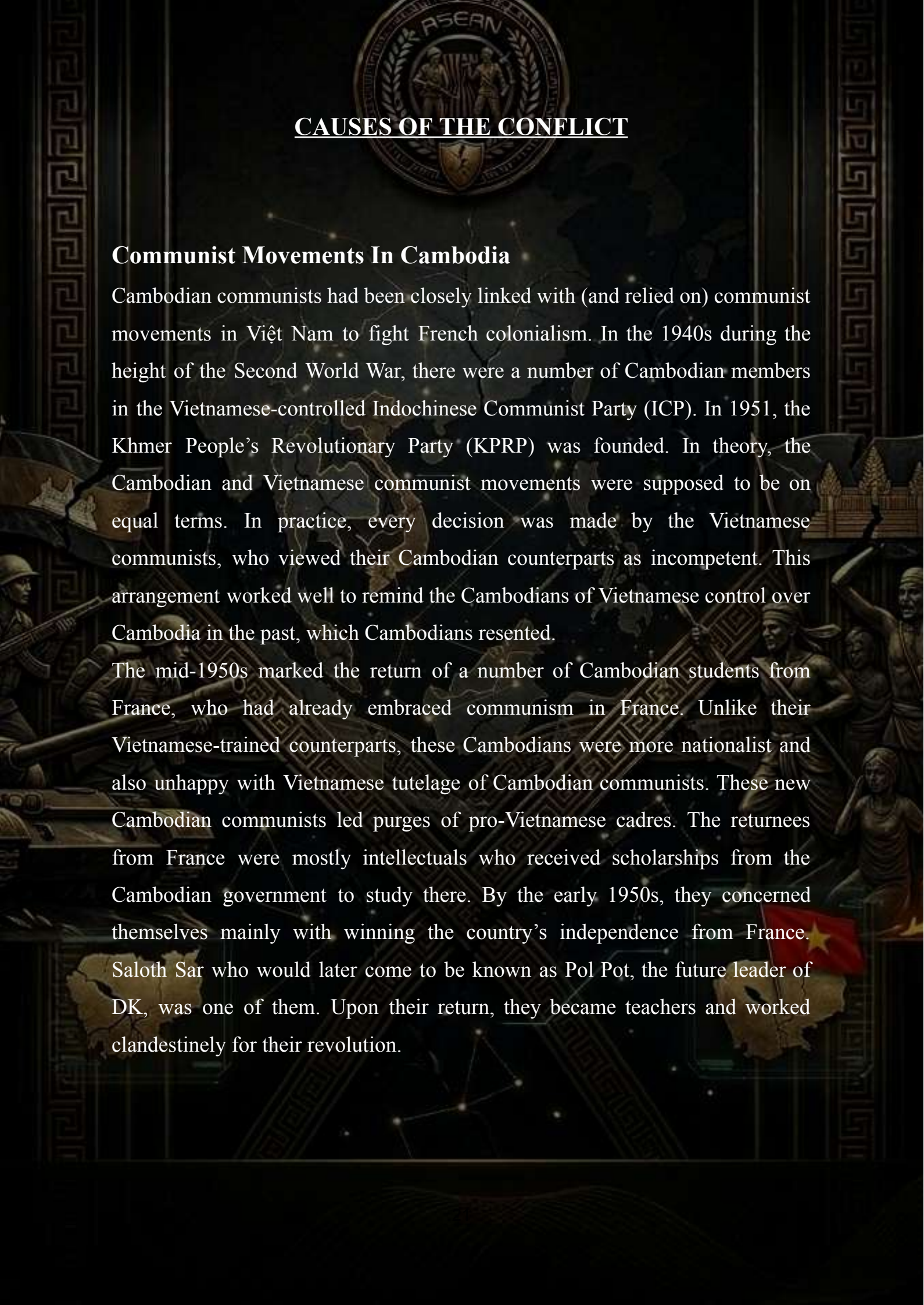
76. **June 1978-** The Vietnam Air Force (VPAF) starts bombing positions of the KRA along the border regions, flying about 30 bombing sorties per day and inflicting heavy casualties on the Kampucheans. By now, most surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge regime in the Eastern Military Zone of Democratic Kampuchea are disgusted by the atrocities of Pol Pot and have escaped to the Vietnamese side of the border, where they are assembled at various secret camps with the purpose of forming a Vietnamese backed rebel force to fight against the Khmer Rouge regime.

77. **3rd November, 1978-** There was a historic document of Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between USSR and Vietnam and promised them economic and military aid. The signing of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam led to the split of the Indochinese peninsula into two camps. While China backed the Khmer Rouges in Cambodia, Vietnam, who failed to normalize its diplomatic relationships with the United States, leaned towards Moscow.

78. **2nd December, 1978:** The Pro-Vietnamese Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation is formed by the Khmer Rouge defectors in the Kratie Province near the Kampuchean border with the support of Vietnam with their ultimate objective being to overthrow the regime of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge.

79.13th December, 1978- The Chinese government officially warns Vietnam about the aggression undertaken by her against the Chinese ally of Kampuchea.



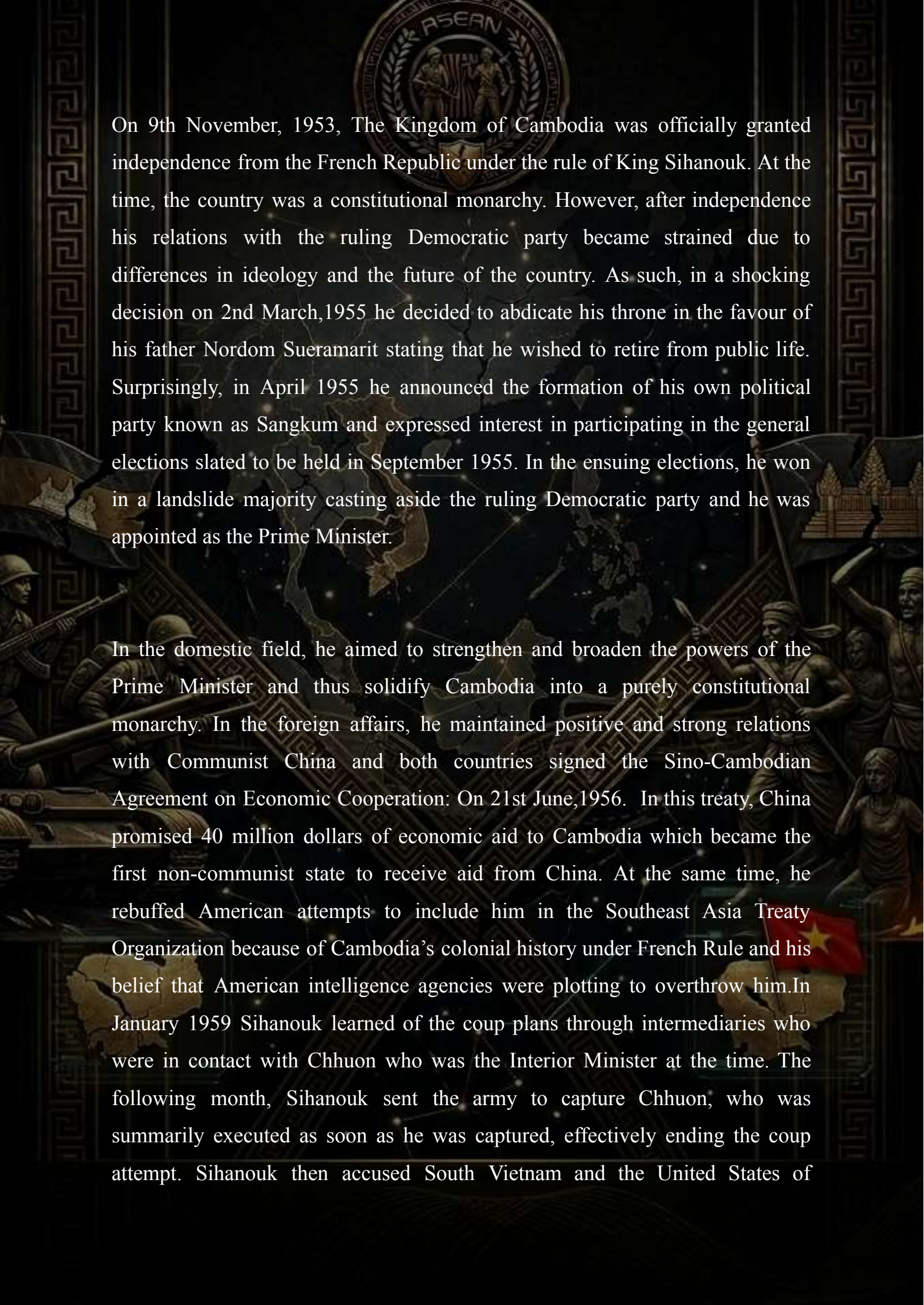


CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

Communist Movements In Cambodia

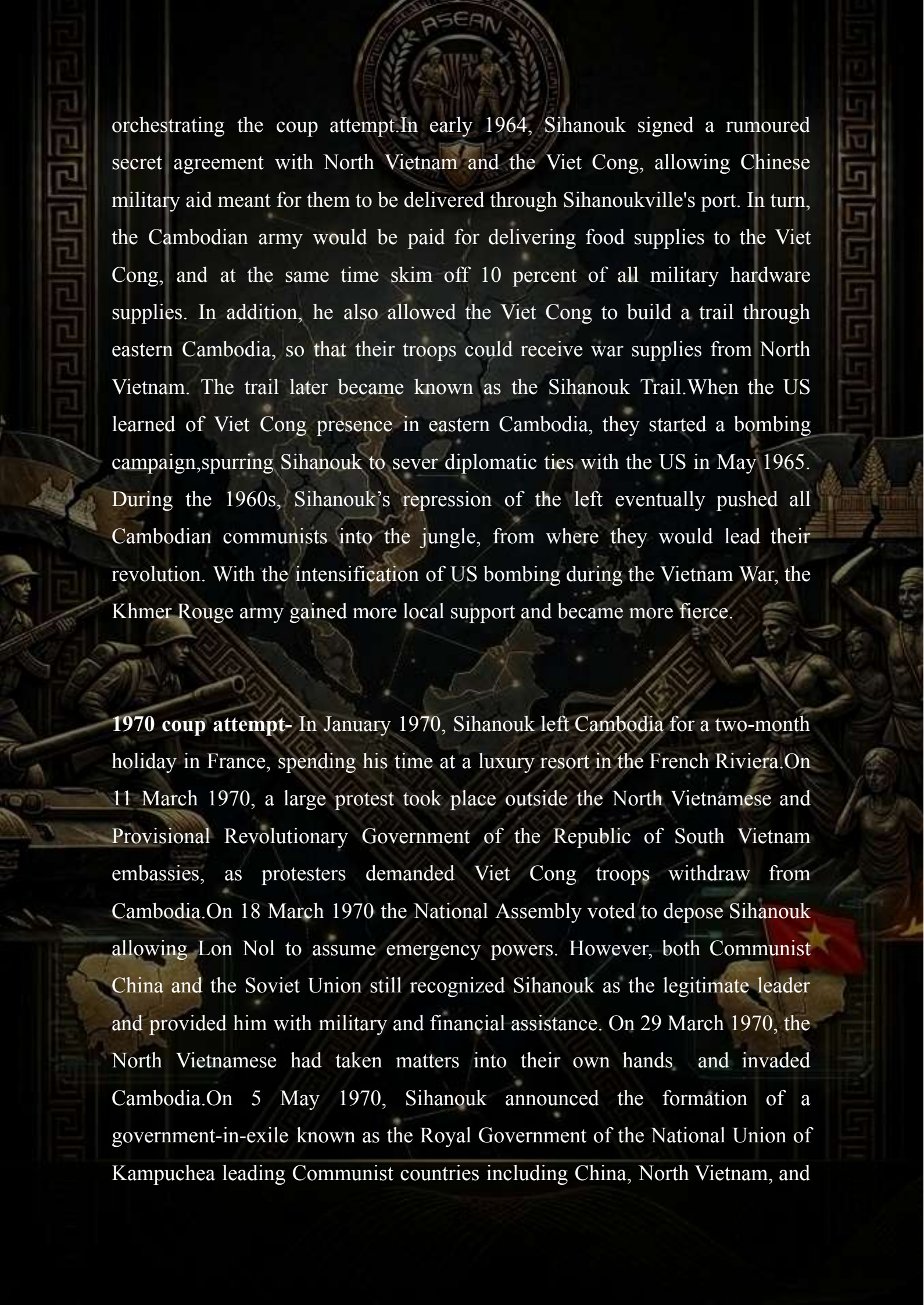
Cambodian communists had been closely linked with (and relied on) communist movements in Việt Nam to fight French colonialism. In the 1940s during the height of the Second World War, there were a number of Cambodian members in the Vietnamese-controlled Indochinese Communist Party (ICP). In 1951, the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) was founded. In theory, the Cambodian and Vietnamese communist movements were supposed to be on equal terms. In practice, every decision was made by the Vietnamese communists, who viewed their Cambodian counterparts as incompetent. This arrangement worked well to remind the Cambodians of Vietnamese control over Cambodia in the past, which Cambodians resented.

The mid-1950s marked the return of a number of Cambodian students from France, who had already embraced communism in France. Unlike their Vietnamese-trained counterparts, these Cambodians were more nationalist and also unhappy with Vietnamese tutelage of Cambodian communists. These new Cambodian communists led purges of pro-Vietnamese cadres. The returnees from France were mostly intellectuals who received scholarships from the Cambodian government to study there. By the early 1950s, they concerned themselves mainly with winning the country's independence from France. Saloth Sar who would later come to be known as Pol Pot, the future leader of DK, was one of them. Upon their return, they became teachers and worked clandestinely for their revolution.



On 9th November, 1953, The Kingdom of Cambodia was officially granted independence from the French Republic under the rule of King Sihanouk. At the time, the country was a constitutional monarchy. However, after independence his relations with the ruling Democratic party became strained due to differences in ideology and the future of the country. As such, in a shocking decision on 2nd March, 1955 he decided to abdicate his throne in the favour of his father Nordom Sueramarit stating that he wished to retire from public life. Surprisingly, in April 1955 he announced the formation of his own political party known as Sangkum and expressed interest in participating in the general elections slated to be held in September 1955. In the ensuing elections, he won in a landslide majority casting aside the ruling Democratic party and he was appointed as the Prime Minister.

In the domestic field, he aimed to strengthen and broaden the powers of the Prime Minister and thus solidify Cambodia into a purely constitutional monarchy. In the foreign affairs, he maintained positive and strong relations with Communist China and both countries signed the Sino-Cambodian Agreement on Economic Cooperation: On 21st June, 1956. In this treaty, China promised 40 million dollars of economic aid to Cambodia which became the first non-communist state to receive aid from China. At the same time, he rebuffed American attempts to include him in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization because of Cambodia's colonial history under French Rule and his belief that American intelligence agencies were plotting to overthrow him. In January 1959 Sihanouk learned of the coup plans through intermediaries who were in contact with Chhuon who was the Interior Minister at the time. The following month, Sihanouk sent the army to capture Chhuon, who was summarily executed as soon as he was captured, effectively ending the coup attempt. Sihanouk then accused South Vietnam and the United States of



orchestrating the coup attempt. In early 1964, Sihanouk signed a rumoured secret agreement with North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, allowing Chinese military aid meant for them to be delivered through Sihanoukville's port. In turn, the Cambodian army would be paid for delivering food supplies to the Viet Cong, and at the same time skim off 10 percent of all military hardware supplies. In addition, he also allowed the Viet Cong to build a trail through eastern Cambodia, so that their troops could receive war supplies from North Vietnam. The trail later became known as the Sihanouk Trail. When the US learned of Viet Cong presence in eastern Cambodia, they started a bombing campaign, spurring Sihanouk to sever diplomatic ties with the US in May 1965. During the 1960s, Sihanouk's repression of the left eventually pushed all Cambodian communists into the jungle, from where they would lead their revolution. With the intensification of US bombing during the Vietnam War, the Khmer Rouge army gained more local support and became more fierce.

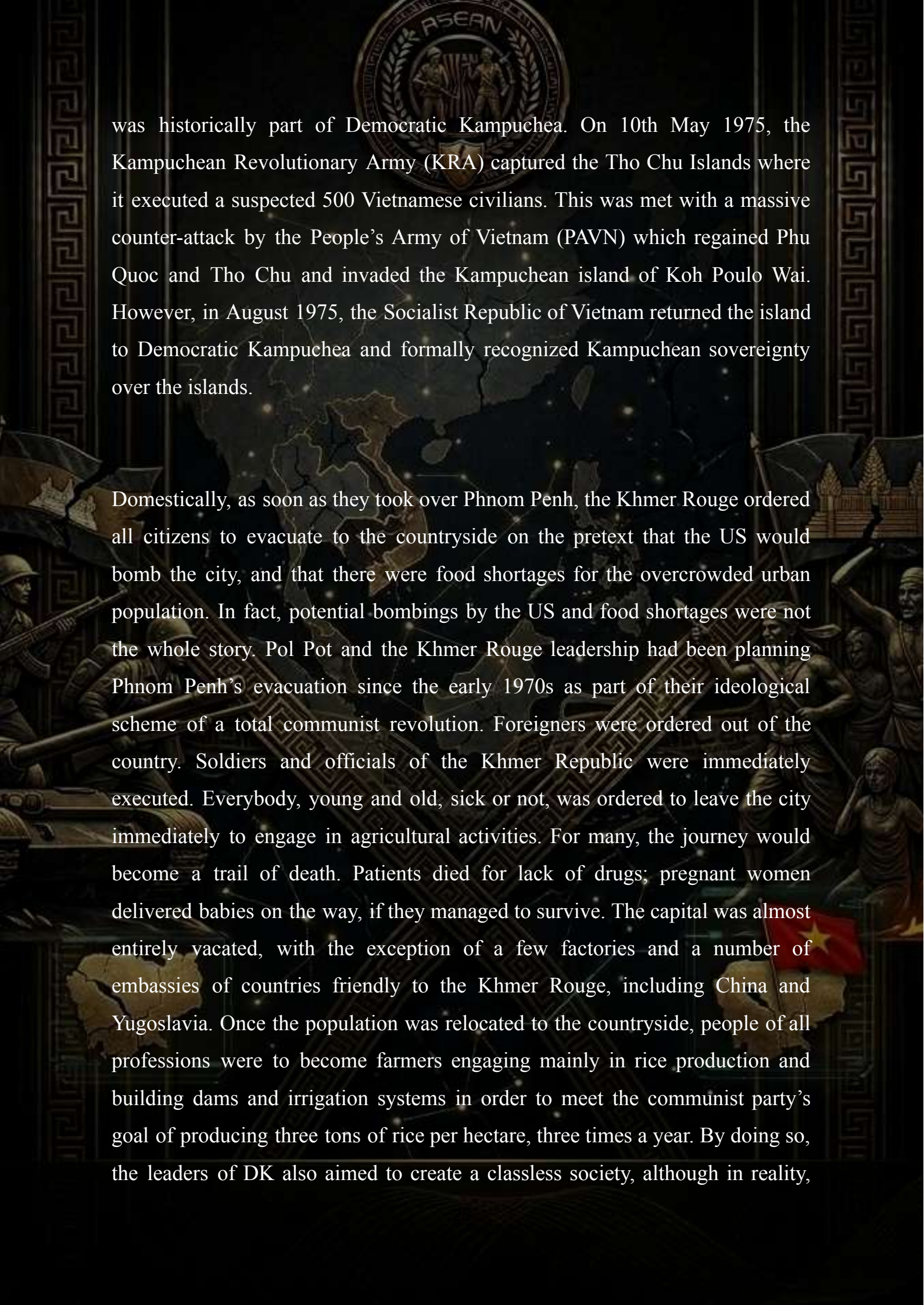
1970 coup attempt- In January 1970, Sihanouk left Cambodia for a two-month holiday in France, spending his time at a luxury resort in the French Riviera. On 11 March 1970, a large protest took place outside the North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam embassies, as protesters demanded Viet Cong troops withdraw from Cambodia. On 18 March 1970 the National Assembly voted to depose Sihanouk allowing Lon Nol to assume emergency powers. However, both Communist China and the Soviet Union still recognized Sihanouk as the legitimate leader and provided him with military and financial assistance. On 29 March 1970, the North Vietnamese had taken matters into their own hands and invaded Cambodia. On 5 May 1970, Sihanouk announced the formation of a government-in-exile known as the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea leading Communist countries including China, North Vietnam, and



North Korea to break relations with the Lon Nol regime. He also allied himself with the Khmer Rouge, the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong. The North Vietnamese invasion completely changed the course of the civil war. Cambodia's army was mauled, lands containing nearly half of the Cambodian population were conquered and handed over to the Khmer Rouge and North Vietnam now took an active role in supplying and training the Khmer Rouge. All of this resulted in the Cambodian government being greatly weakened and the insurgents multiplying several fold in size over the course of a few weeks. After the 1970 coup, with China's urging, Sihanouk formed a tactical alliance with the Khmer Rouge believing that they could bring him back to power. Undoubtedly, Prince Sihanouk's call for his people to join the Khmer Rouge did much to strengthen them. As the US was losing the Việt Nam War, the corrupt Khmer Republic led by General Lon Nol eventually collapsed when the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975.

Khmer Rouge in Power

As soon as the Khmer Rouge came to power in Phnom Penh after overthrowing the Government of the Khmer Republic, the new foreign policy objective for the Khmer Rouge was to contain the rise of Vietnamese hegemony in Indochina. Despite having received support from the North Vietnamese during the Cambodian civil war, the Khmer Rouge leadership was almost paranoid about the possibility of a so-called "Vietnamese federation" being formed over Indochina and were determined to prevent it from coming to fruition. Moreover, disputes between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam over their borders, did not help to reduce tensions as on the 1st of May 1975, the now newly-formed Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) invaded the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc, under the pretext that the Vietnamese island



was historically part of Democratic Kampuchea. On 10th May 1975, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) captured the Tho Chu Islands where it executed a suspected 500 Vietnamese civilians. This was met with a massive counter-attack by the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) which regained Phu Quoc and Tho Chu and invaded the Kampuchean island of Koh Poulo Wai. However, in August 1975, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam returned the island to Democratic Kampuchea and formally recognized Kampuchean sovereignty over the islands.

Domestically, as soon as they took over Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge ordered all citizens to evacuate to the countryside on the pretext that the US would bomb the city, and that there were food shortages for the overcrowded urban population. In fact, potential bombings by the US and food shortages were not the whole story. Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge leadership had been planning Phnom Penh's evacuation since the early 1970s as part of their ideological scheme of a total communist revolution. Foreigners were ordered out of the country. Soldiers and officials of the Khmer Republic were immediately executed. Everybody, young and old, sick or not, was ordered to leave the city immediately to engage in agricultural activities. For many, the journey would become a trail of death. Patients died for lack of drugs; pregnant women delivered babies on the way, if they managed to survive. The capital was almost entirely vacated, with the exception of a few factories and a number of embassies of countries friendly to the Khmer Rouge, including China and Yugoslavia. Once the population was relocated to the countryside, people of all professions were to become farmers engaging mainly in rice production and building dams and irrigation systems in order to meet the communist party's goal of producing three tons of rice per hectare, three times a year. By doing so, the leaders of DK also aimed to create a classless society, although in reality,



those who joined the revolution before 1975 were relatively better off. Religion, the market economy, and family ties were all abolished. Everything belonged to Angkar Padevat (or the “revolutionary organization”), which was “righteous and enlightened” in carrying out the revolution that the entire population was expected to pursue with complete dedication.

As in other communist regimes, the DK leaders were highly suspicious of enemies from within and sought to crush them at all costs. The notorious prison, S-21 (known to Cambodians as kuk Tuol Sleng), was considered a place where people “entered but never returned.” Khmer Rouge cadres and their family members who were arrested usually “confessed” under torture to working for the CIA or KGB. Already fearing a possible revolt, DK leaders suspected that the Eastern Zone cadres were siding with the Vietnamese. They were accused of having kbal yuon kluon khmer (Khmer bodies with Vietnamese heads). Pol Pot ordered a series of executions of the Eastern Zone cadres, many of whom were also brought to S-21. The leader of the Zone, So Phim committed suicide in 1978 after he received an invitation to Phnom Penh from Pol Pot. Other Khmer Rouge cadres fled to Việt Nam and later joined the Vietnamese army in overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea.

On 30th April 1977, Democratic Kampuchea launched a military attack against the Vietnamese provinces of An Giang and Chau Doc which resulted in the killings of Vietnamese civilians. The PAVN moved its troops to areas within Democratic Kampuchea and the Khmer Rouge Government, on the 18th of June 1977, the Kampuchean Government replied by demanding that the Vietnamese Government reveal all of its military units from the disputed areas and created a de-militarized zone between forces of Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In September 1977, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) artillery struck several Vietnamese villages along the border and six



villages in Dong Thap Province were overrun by KRA infantry. Soon, six KRA divisions advanced into Tay Ninh Province and eight KRA divisions, estimated at 60,000 soldiers, launched a retaliatory strike against Democratic Kampuchea.

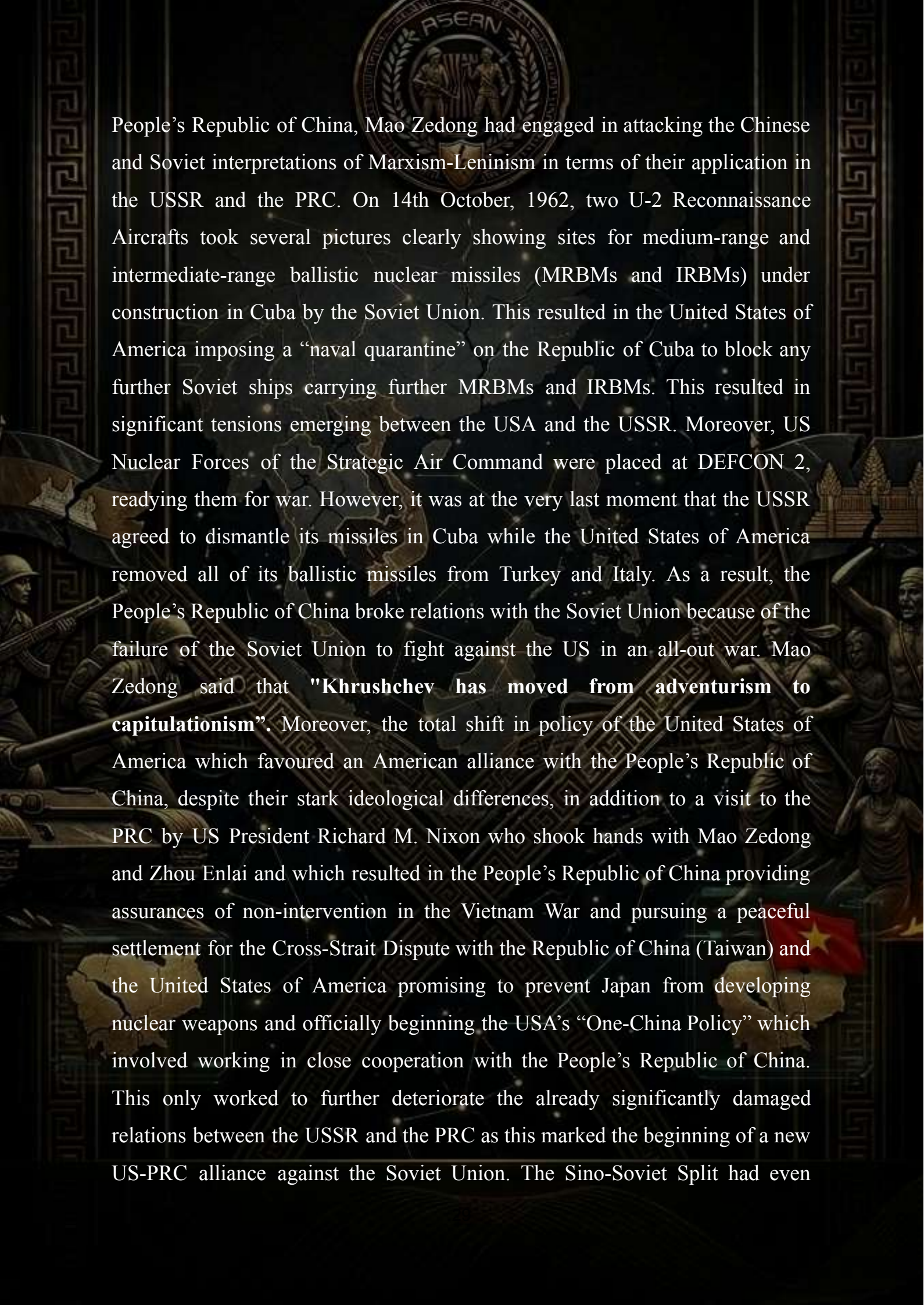
On 6th January 1978, the PAVN divisions were withdrawn by the Vietnamese Government since they failed to achieve Vietnam's "political objective".

The Sino-Soviet Split

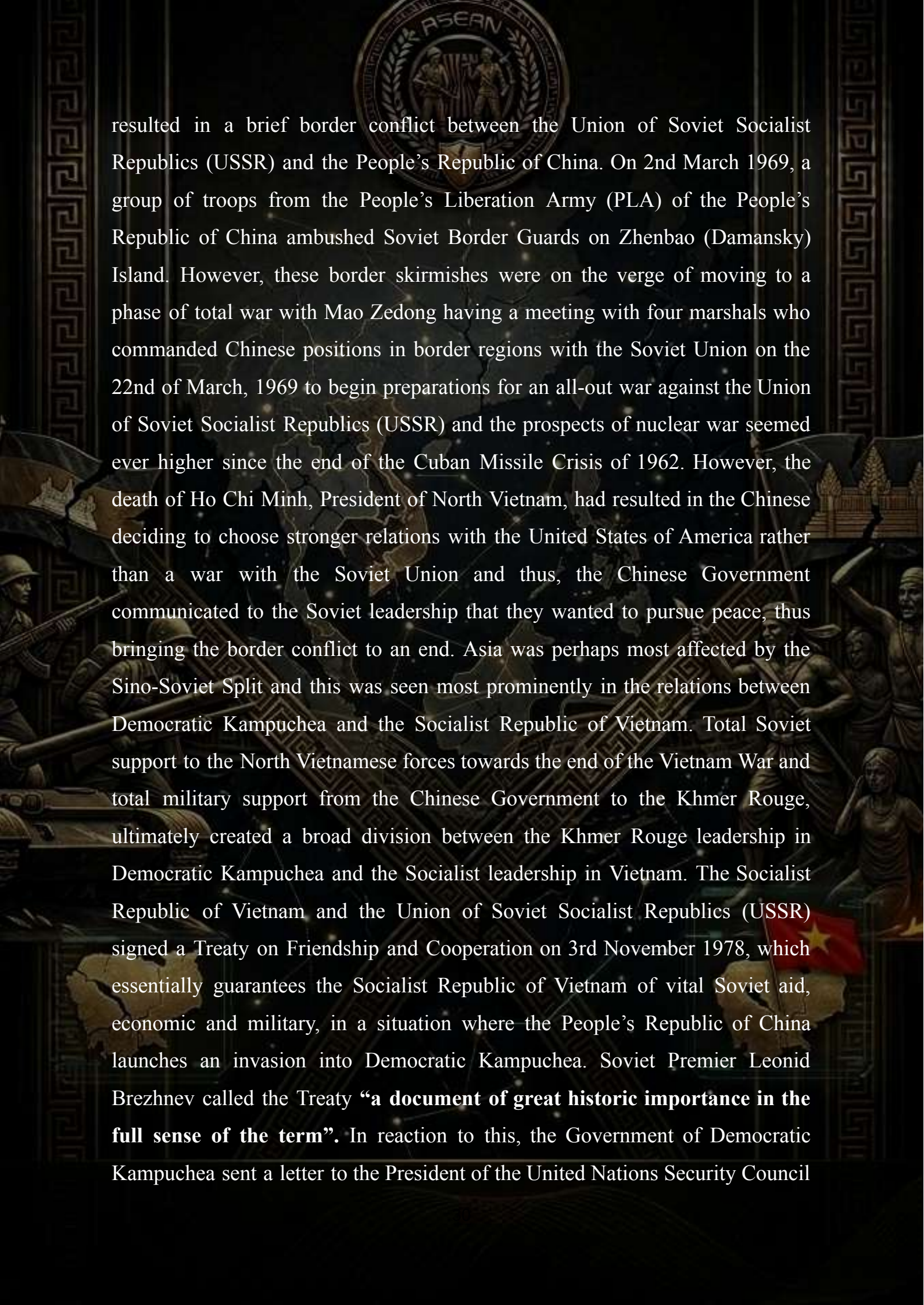
Ever since the declaration of the Truman Doctrine on 12th March, 1947 and the beginning of the Cold War between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), epitomizing the ideological battle between capitalism and communism, a new era began in geopolitics with emerging differences in the Communist bloc, between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China due to divergences regarding their interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. During the tenures of both Premier of the Soviet Union, Josef Stalin and President of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong, what ushered was a new wave of socialist and communist influences across the world brought about together by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China. This was seen rather quite remarkably in the Korean War of 1950 where the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), with military support from the People's Republic of China and covert support from the Soviet Union, launched a ruthless invasion into the Republic of Korea (ROK). However, with the death of Stalin in 1953 and the rise of Nikita Khrushchev as the succeeding Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the policy of "**De Stalinization**" began to take shape wherein Khrushchev and his regime started denouncing Stalin, condemning the brutality



of the Stalinist regime, particularly the purges that led to the torture and execution of some of the party loyalists. Khrushchev also promised a return to so-called socialist legality and **“Leninist principles of party rule”**. Moreover, Khrushchev had begun a policy of Re-alignment with the United States of America and the West, meeting US President Eisenhower to decrease US-Soviet geopolitical tensions. This, in addition to clear Soviet support given to India during the Indo-China War of 1962 had begun deepening divisions between the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) criticized the Soviet Union for seeking to establish “Soviet US cooperation for the domination of the world” which according to them, **“contradicted Marxism-Leninism”**. On 1st May 1960, a Lockheed U2 Spy Plane was shot down by the Soviet Air Defense Forces after it was found conducting aerial reconnaissance deep into Soviet territory and being used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to photograph military bases in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Despite there being a summit attended by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Soviet Premier Khrushchev, French President Charles Andre Joseph Marie de Gaulle and British Prime Minister Maurice Harold Macmillan, referred to as the Four Powers Summit, Khrushchev failed to gain any sort of apology from Eisenhower for the violation of the Soviet Union’s sovereignty. Rather, the President of the United States of America justified the CIA’s actions by saying that “the current state of international relations was not one in which peaceful coexistence was an already established fact”. This was received in the PRC as a complete lack of respect for sovereignty of socialist countries on part of the United States of America and held political rallies calling upon Khrushchev to engage in military aggression against the United States of America. With no decisive action from Khrushchev, he was perceived as weak in the People’s Republic of China. In 1960, at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Nikita Khrushchev and President of the

The background of the text is a dark, textured collage. At the top center is the circular logo of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Below it is a faint world map. On the left side, there is a depiction of a soldier in a helmet holding a rifle. On the right side, there is a depiction of a person in traditional attire. The entire background is framed by a decorative border with a repeating geometric pattern.

People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong had engaged in attacking the Chinese and Soviet interpretations of Marxism-Leninism in terms of their application in the USSR and the PRC. On 14th October, 1962, two U-2 Reconnaissance Aircrafts took several pictures clearly showing sites for medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles (MRBMs and IRBMs) under construction in Cuba by the Soviet Union. This resulted in the United States of America imposing a “naval quarantine” on the Republic of Cuba to block any further Soviet ships carrying further MRBMs and IRBMs. This resulted in significant tensions emerging between the USA and the USSR. Moreover, US Nuclear Forces of the Strategic Air Command were placed at DEFCON 2, readying them for war. However, it was at the very last moment that the USSR agreed to dismantle its missiles in Cuba while the United States of America removed all of its ballistic missiles from Turkey and Italy. As a result, the People's Republic of China broke relations with the Soviet Union because of the failure of the Soviet Union to fight against the US in an all-out war. Mao Zedong said that **"Khrushchev has moved from adventurism to capitulationism"**. Moreover, the total shift in policy of the United States of America which favoured an American alliance with the People's Republic of China, despite their stark ideological differences, in addition to a visit to the PRC by US President Richard M. Nixon who shook hands with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and which resulted in the People's Republic of China providing assurances of non-intervention in the Vietnam War and pursuing a peaceful settlement for the Cross-Strait Dispute with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and the United States of America promising to prevent Japan from developing nuclear weapons and officially beginning the USA's “One-China Policy” which involved working in close cooperation with the People's Republic of China. This only worked to further deteriorate the already significantly damaged relations between the USSR and the PRC as this marked the beginning of a new US-PRC alliance against the Soviet Union. The Sino-Soviet Split had even



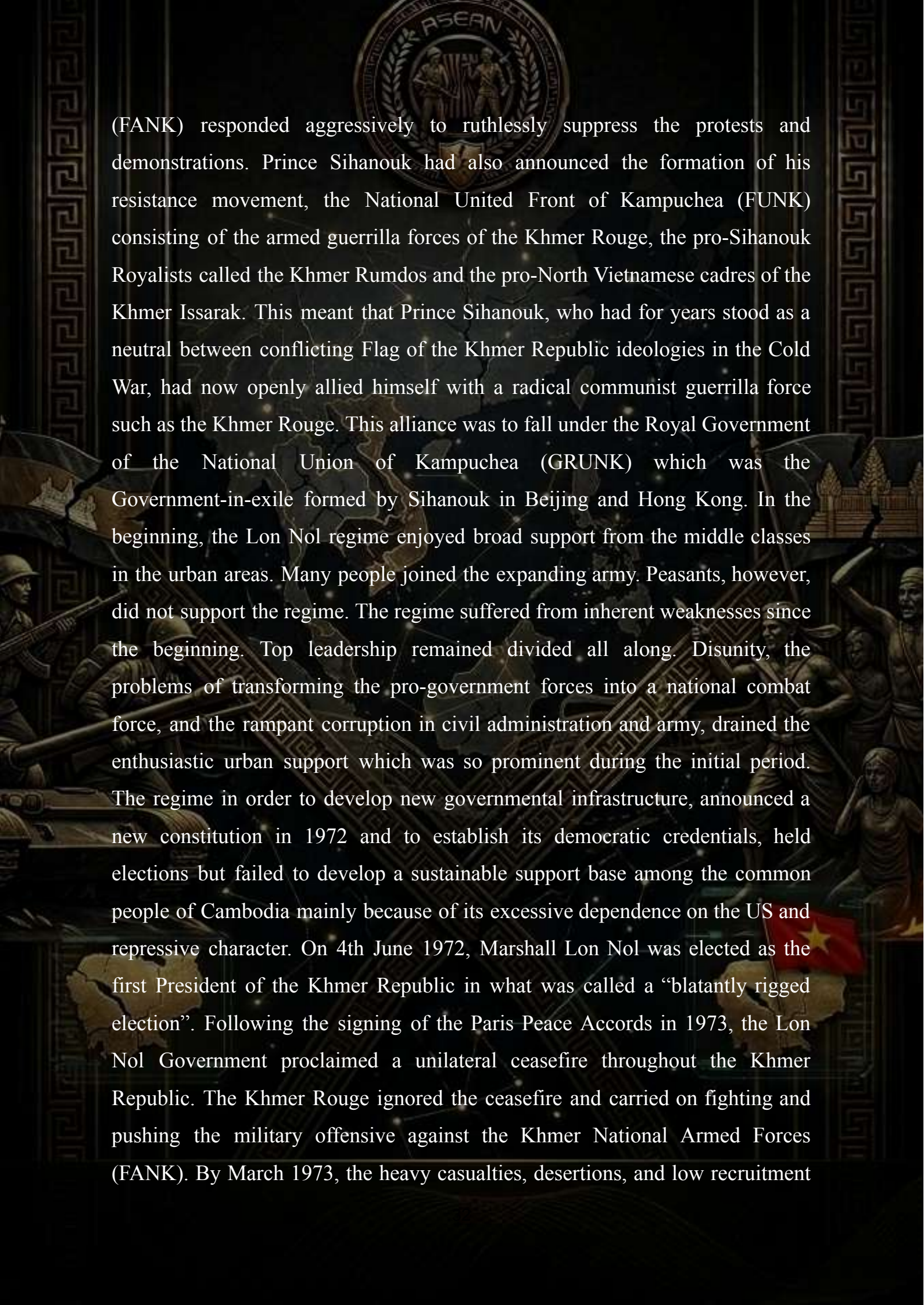
resulted in a brief border conflict between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China. On 2nd March 1969, a group of troops from the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of the People's Republic of China ambushed Soviet Border Guards on Zhenbao (Damansky) Island. However, these border skirmishes were on the verge of moving to a phase of total war with Mao Zedong having a meeting with four marshals who commanded Chinese positions in border regions with the Soviet Union on the 22nd of March, 1969 to begin preparations for an all-out war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the prospects of nuclear war seemed ever higher since the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. However, the death of Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam, had resulted in the Chinese deciding to choose stronger relations with the United States of America rather than a war with the Soviet Union and thus, the Chinese Government communicated to the Soviet leadership that they wanted to pursue peace, thus bringing the border conflict to an end. Asia was perhaps most affected by the Sino-Soviet Split and this was seen most prominently in the relations between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Total Soviet support to the North Vietnamese forces towards the end of the Vietnam War and total military support from the Chinese Government to the Khmer Rouge, ultimately created a broad division between the Khmer Rouge leadership in Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist leadership in Vietnam. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) signed a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation on 3rd November 1978, which essentially guarantees the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of vital Soviet aid, economic and military, in a situation where the People's Republic of China launches an invasion into Democratic Kampuchea. Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev called the Treaty **“a document of great historic importance in the full sense of the term”**. In reaction to this, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea sent a letter to the President of the United Nations Security Council



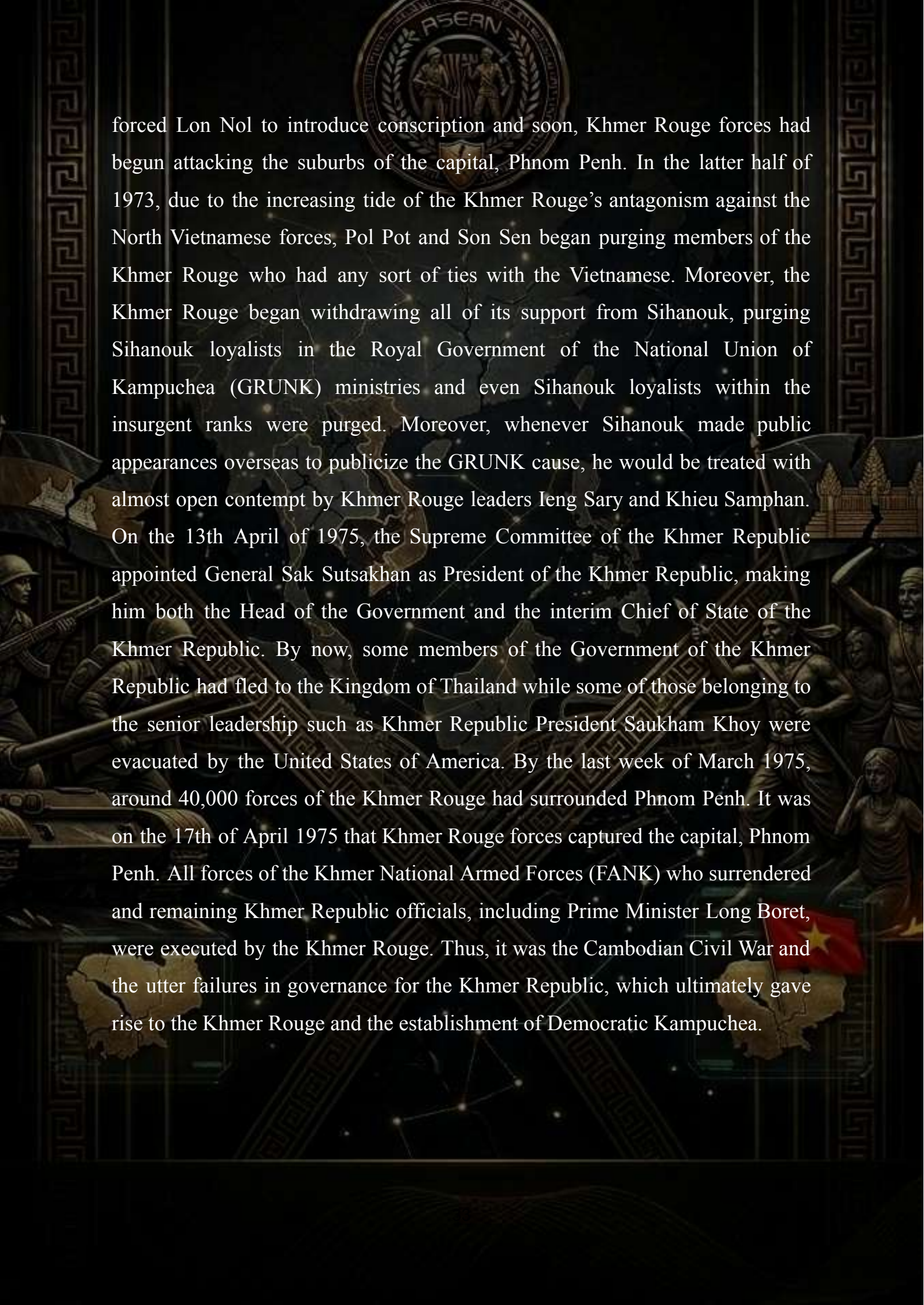
(UNSC) on the 7th of November 1978 where they criticized the Treaty and stated that the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were pursuing a policy of expansionism and that the Treaty clearly demonstrated their determination to intensify their policy of aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea, their strategy of regional and worldwide domination and their threat to the independence and peace of the countries of South-East Asia, a whole and the world in general”.

Cambodian Civil War

On 11th September 1966, the Kingdom of Cambodia held its first election and the conservatives won 75% of the seats in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Marshall Lon Nol was chosen as Prime Minister and Prince Sirik Matak was an ultra conservative who was a long-time enemy of Prince Sihanouk. On 11th March 1967, Sihanouk was in France. On 17th January 1968, the Khmer Rouge launched their first offensive against the forces of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge established the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea as the military wing of the party. On 18th March 1970, Lon Nol and Sirik Matak ensured that the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia ousted King Norodom Sihanouk of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Lon Nol Government soon established the Khmer Republic. Cheng Heng assumed the position of the President of the National Assembly of the Khmer Republic. Tam was confirmed as President of Sihanouk's political organization called the Sangkum Reastr Niyum. On 23rd March, 1970 Norodom Sihanouk, now in Beijing, spoke on Chinese radio and called for a general uprising against Lon Nol and his regime. Immediately, large scale Pro-Sihanouk demonstrations began in Kompong Cham, Takeo Province and Kampot Province which resulted in the deaths of a few officials of the Khmer Republic, including Lon Nol's own brother and the Khmer National Armed Forces



(FANK) responded aggressively to ruthlessly suppress the protests and demonstrations. Prince Sihanouk had also announced the formation of his resistance movement, the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK) consisting of the armed guerrilla forces of the Khmer Rouge, the pro-Sihanouk Royalists called the Khmer Rumdos and the pro-North Vietnamese cadres of the Khmer Issarak. This meant that Prince Sihanouk, who had for years stood as a neutral between conflicting Flag of the Khmer Republic ideologies in the Cold War, had now openly allied himself with a radical communist guerrilla force such as the Khmer Rouge. This alliance was to fall under the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK) which was the Government-in-exile formed by Sihanouk in Beijing and Hong Kong. In the beginning, the Lon Nol regime enjoyed broad support from the middle classes in the urban areas. Many people joined the expanding army. Peasants, however, did not support the regime. The regime suffered from inherent weaknesses since the beginning. Top leadership remained divided all along. Disunity, the problems of transforming the pro-government forces into a national combat force, and the rampant corruption in civil administration and army, drained the enthusiastic urban support which was so prominent during the initial period. The regime in order to develop new governmental infrastructure, announced a new constitution in 1972 and to establish its democratic credentials, held elections but failed to develop a sustainable support base among the common people of Cambodia mainly because of its excessive dependence on the US and repressive character. On 4th June 1972, Marshall Lon Nol was elected as the first President of the Khmer Republic in what was called a “blatantly rigged election”. Following the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973, the Lon Nol Government proclaimed a unilateral ceasefire throughout the Khmer Republic. The Khmer Rouge ignored the ceasefire and carried on fighting and pushing the military offensive against the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK). By March 1973, the heavy casualties, desertions, and low recruitment

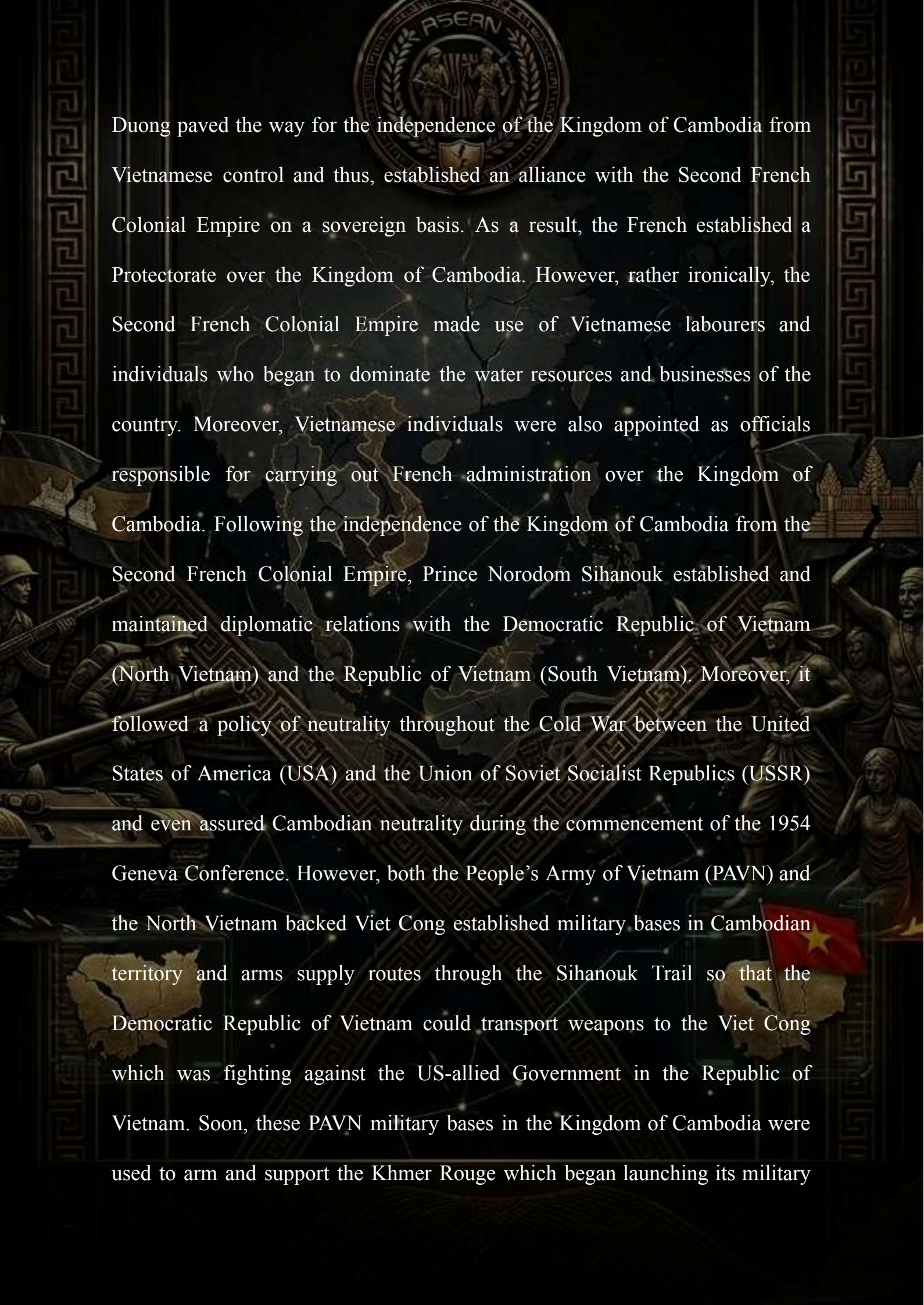


forced Lon Nol to introduce conscription and soon, Khmer Rouge forces had begun attacking the suburbs of the capital, Phnom Penh. In the latter half of 1973, due to the increasing tide of the Khmer Rouge's antagonism against the North Vietnamese forces, Pol Pot and Son Sen began purging members of the Khmer Rouge who had any sort of ties with the Vietnamese. Moreover, the Khmer Rouge began withdrawing all of its support from Sihanouk, purging Sihanouk loyalists in the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK) ministries and even Sihanouk loyalists within the insurgent ranks were purged. Moreover, whenever Sihanouk made public appearances overseas to publicize the GRUNK cause, he would be treated with almost open contempt by Khmer Rouge leaders Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. On the 13th April of 1975, the Supreme Committee of the Khmer Republic appointed General Sak Sutsakhan as President of the Khmer Republic, making him both the Head of the Government and the interim Chief of State of the Khmer Republic. By now, some members of the Government of the Khmer Republic had fled to the Kingdom of Thailand while some of those belonging to the senior leadership such as Khmer Republic President Saukham Khoy were evacuated by the United States of America. By the last week of March 1975, around 40,000 forces of the Khmer Rouge had surrounded Phnom Penh. It was on the 17th of April 1975 that Khmer Rouge forces captured the capital, Phnom Penh. All forces of the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK) who surrendered and remaining Khmer Republic officials, including Prime Minister Long Boret, were executed by the Khmer Rouge. Thus, it was the Cambodian Civil War and the utter failures in governance for the Khmer Republic, which ultimately gave rise to the Khmer Rouge and the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea.

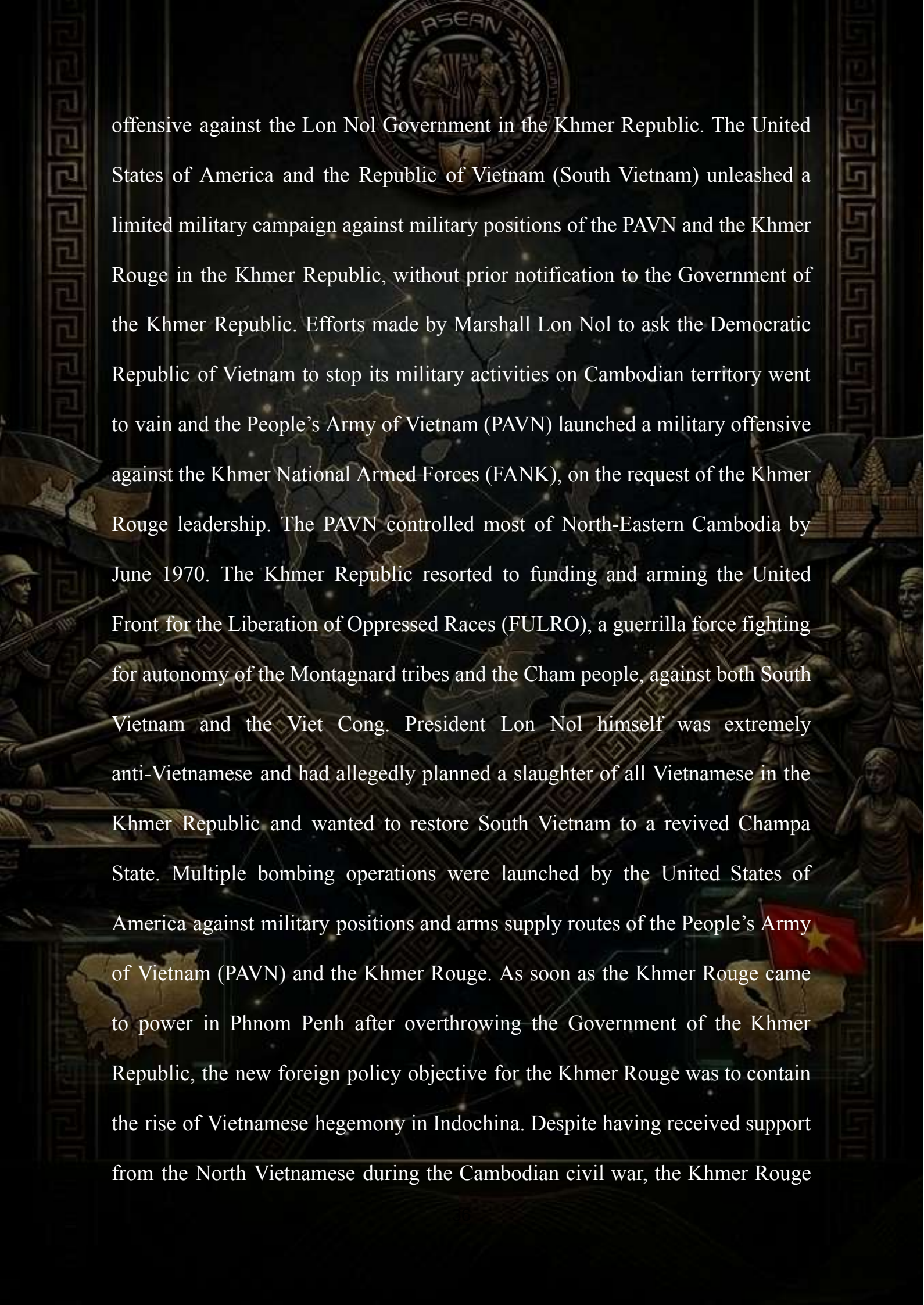


Tensions between the Khmer Rouge-ruled Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

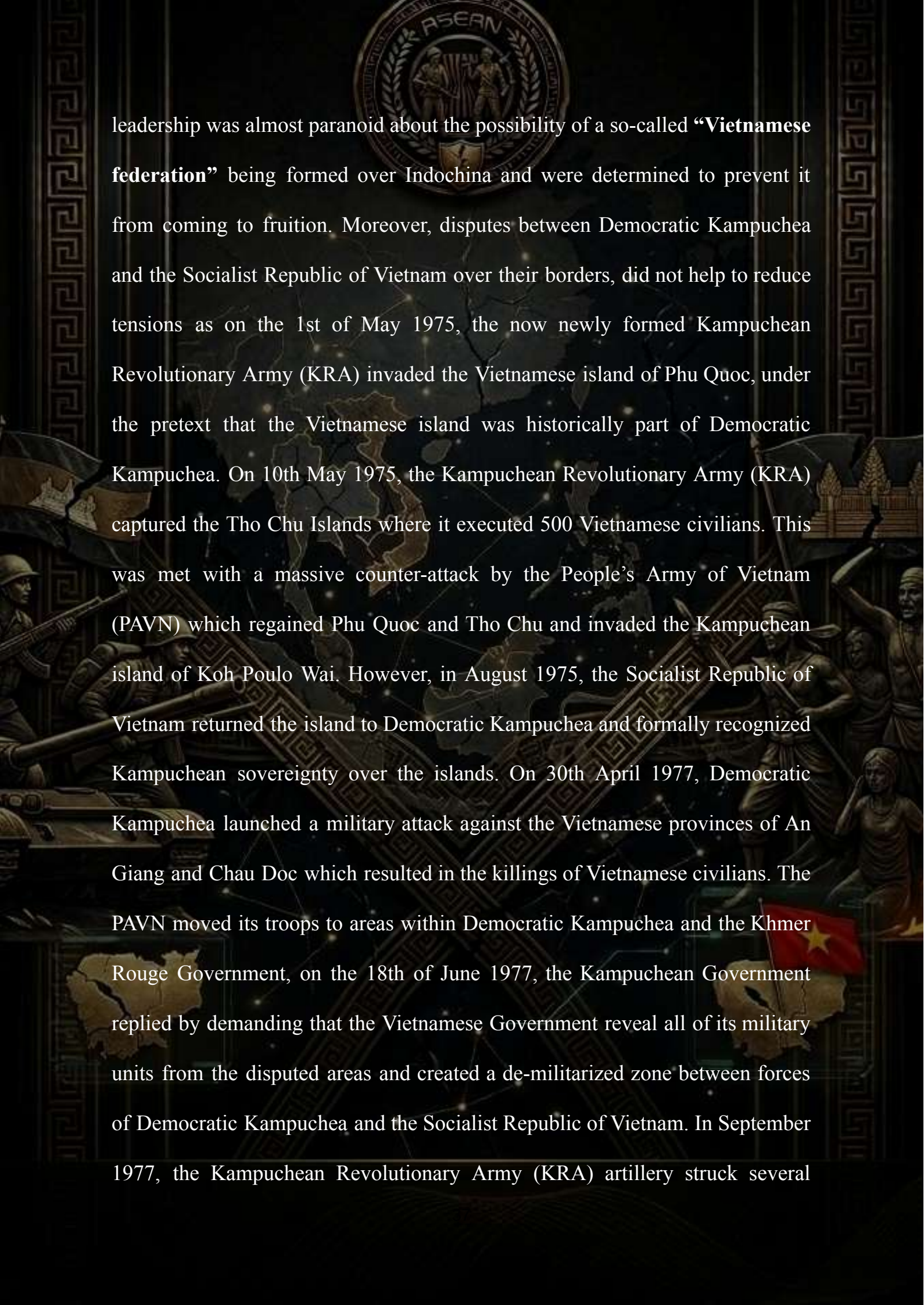
Contained in the very remnants of this country's history lies the dark legacy of endless Vietnamese domination over the people of Cambodia. It was during the reign of Sultan Ramathipadi I from 1642-1658 that Vietnamese influence in Cambodia slowly began taking shape, either directly or indirectly and this influence became a major factor behind the political instability that existed in the Kingdom of Cambodia during the rule of Ramathipadi I when Vietnamese forces of the Nguyen dynasty in Cochinchina helped Cambodian dissidents overthrow Ramathipadi I. In 1813, the Ang Chan II (Outey Reachea II) was only able to accede to the throne of the King of Cambodia because of the support he received from Vietnam. In 1834, Minh Mang who was the new emperor of Vietnam, annexed Cambodia and ordered General Truong Minh Giang to “civilize” the “barbarian” Cambodians and begin a policy of “Vietnamization” of Cambodia wherein Khmers were forced to adopt Vietnamese attire and language and even Vietnamese names. As the Siamese-Vietnamese Wars during the 1830s and 1840s had taken up most of Vietnamese attention, Cambodia was instead made a vassal state under joint control of Vietnam and Siam. By this time, Cambodia had become administratively and culturally Vietnamized. Ultimately, Cambodian King Ang



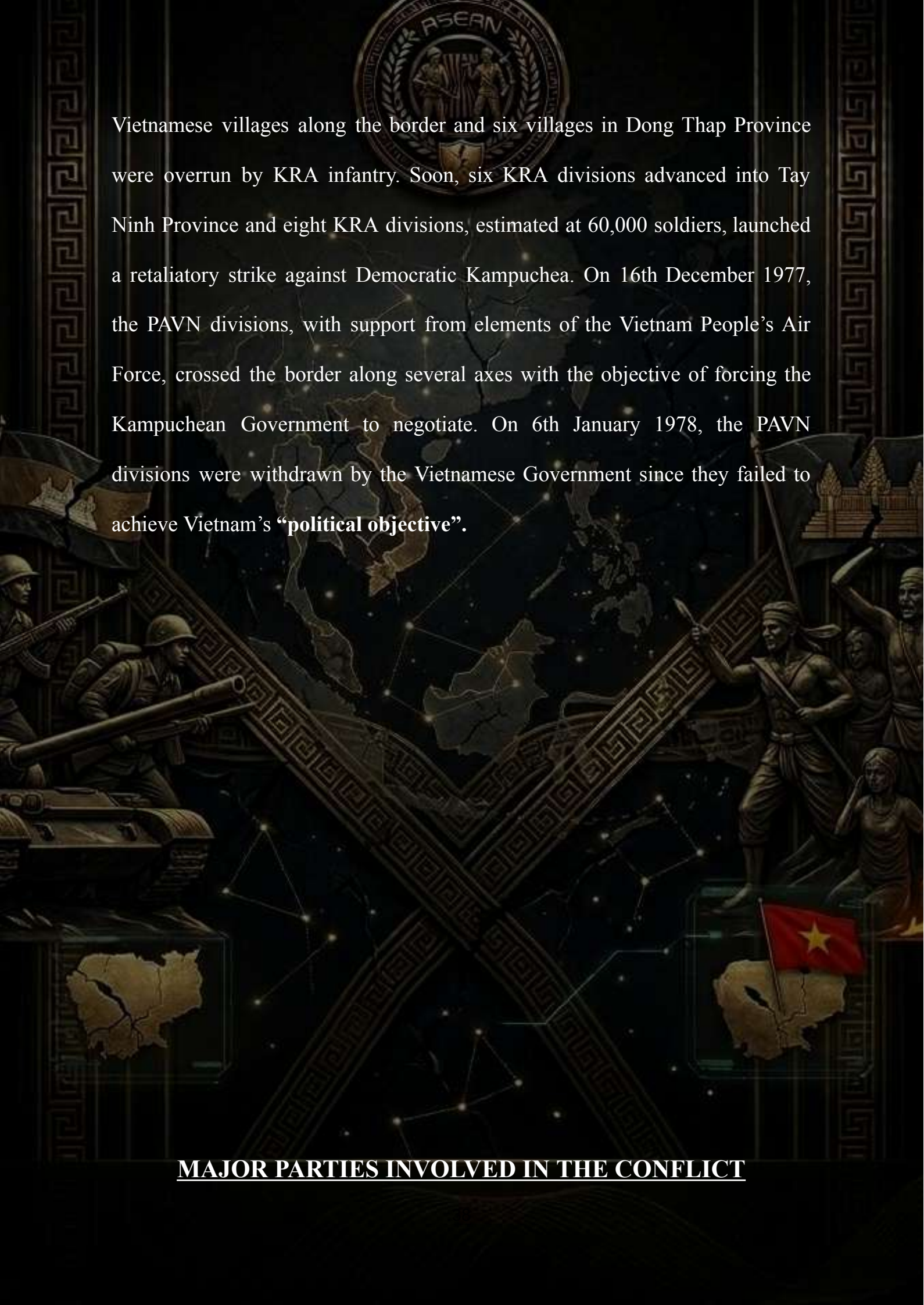
Duong paved the way for the independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia from Vietnamese control and thus, established an alliance with the Second French Colonial Empire on a sovereign basis. As a result, the French established a Protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia. However, rather ironically, the Second French Colonial Empire made use of Vietnamese labourers and individuals who began to dominate the water resources and businesses of the country. Moreover, Vietnamese individuals were also appointed as officials responsible for carrying out French administration over the Kingdom of Cambodia. Following the independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia from the Second French Colonial Empire, Prince Norodom Sihanouk established and maintained diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). Moreover, it followed a policy of neutrality throughout the Cold War between the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and even assured Cambodian neutrality during the commencement of the 1954 Geneva Conference. However, both the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and the North Vietnam backed Viet Cong established military bases in Cambodian territory and arms supply routes through the Sihanouk Trail so that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam could transport weapons to the Viet Cong which was fighting against the US-allied Government in the Republic of Vietnam. Soon, these PAVN military bases in the Kingdom of Cambodia were used to arm and support the Khmer Rouge which began launching its military



offensive against the Lon Nol Government in the Khmer Republic. The United States of America and the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) unleashed a limited military campaign against military positions of the PAVN and the Khmer Rouge in the Khmer Republic, without prior notification to the Government of the Khmer Republic. Efforts made by Marshall Lon Nol to ask the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to stop its military activities on Cambodian territory went to vain and the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) launched a military offensive against the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK), on the request of the Khmer Rouge leadership. The PAVN controlled most of North-Eastern Cambodia by June 1970. The Khmer Republic resorted to funding and arming the United Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Races (FULRO), a guerrilla force fighting for autonomy of the Montagnard tribes and the Cham people, against both South Vietnam and the Viet Cong. President Lon Nol himself was extremely anti-Vietnamese and had allegedly planned a slaughter of all Vietnamese in the Khmer Republic and wanted to restore South Vietnam to a revived Champa State. Multiple bombing operations were launched by the United States of America against military positions and arms supply routes of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and the Khmer Rouge. As soon as the Khmer Rouge came to power in Phnom Penh after overthrowing the Government of the Khmer Republic, the new foreign policy objective for the Khmer Rouge was to contain the rise of Vietnamese hegemony in Indochina. Despite having received support from the North Vietnamese during the Cambodian civil war, the Khmer Rouge



leadership was almost paranoid about the possibility of a so-called “**Vietnamese federation**” being formed over Indochina and were determined to prevent it from coming to fruition. Moreover, disputes between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam over their borders, did not help to reduce tensions as on the 1st of May 1975, the now newly formed Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) invaded the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc, under the pretext that the Vietnamese island was historically part of Democratic Kampuchea. On 10th May 1975, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) captured the Tho Chu Islands where it executed 500 Vietnamese civilians. This was met with a massive counter-attack by the People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN) which regained Phu Quoc and Tho Chu and invaded the Kampuchean island of Koh Poulo Wai. However, in August 1975, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam returned the island to Democratic Kampuchea and formally recognized Kampuchean sovereignty over the islands. On 30th April 1977, Democratic Kampuchea launched a military attack against the Vietnamese provinces of An Giang and Chau Doc which resulted in the killings of Vietnamese civilians. The PAVN moved its troops to areas within Democratic Kampuchea and the Khmer Rouge Government, on the 18th of June 1977, the Kampuchean Government replied by demanding that the Vietnamese Government reveal all of its military units from the disputed areas and created a de-militarized zone between forces of Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In September 1977, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) artillery struck several



Vietnamese villages along the border and six villages in Dong Thap Province were overrun by KRA infantry. Soon, six KRA divisions advanced into Tay Ninh Province and eight KRA divisions, estimated at 60,000 soldiers, launched a retaliatory strike against Democratic Kampuchea. On 16th December 1977, the PAVN divisions, with support from elements of the Vietnam People's Air Force, crossed the border along several axes with the objective of forcing the Kampuchean Government to negotiate. On 6th January 1978, the PAVN divisions were withdrawn by the Vietnamese Government since they failed to achieve Vietnam's **"political objective"**.

MAJOR PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT



1)Democratic Kampuchea

The state of Democratic Kampuchea was governed by the Khmer Rouge under the rule of Pol Pot beginning from 1975. He would rename Cambodia into the state of Democratic Kampuchea. He became highly paranoid about possible Vietnamese, American or Soviet intervention in the internal matters of the country and as a result, began purging any such individual who was seen as working with the Vietnamese Government, the KGB (The Committee for State Security) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States of America. He saw Vietnam as his primary enemy despite the two countries being communist. As such, Khmer Rouge they sought to make their prime goal the prevention of a “Vietnamese Federation” over Cambodia and Indochina as a whole, and they believe that in order to achieve the formation of the “Vietnamese Federation” over Indochina and they believed that Vietnam would like to seize control of Kampuchea in order to use it as a springboard for its expansion in South-East Asia. With the formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam after the reunification of South and North Vietnam, Democratic Kampuchea began engaging in a border conflict with Vietnam. This had resulted in several armed incursions by Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam into the other’s territory. Democratic Kampuchea has become a significant element of the Sino-Soviet Split with the Democratic Kampuchean Government going to the extent of accepting military aid from the Communist China and accusing the Soviet Union of allying with the Vietnamese to commit aggression against Kampuchea. On the 31st of December 1977, Pol Pot declared that Democratic Kampuchea would “temporarily” sever diplomatic relations with Vietnam until



the Vietnamese military withdrew from the sovereign territory of Democratic Kampuchea. The Kampuchean government is convinced of a Vietnamese plot to swallow Kampuchea like Japan did to the Korean Peninsula before the Second World War. As such, this crisis is a question of their continued survival as a free and independent state.

2) The Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Despite Prince Norodom Sihanouk having declared the neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia, he allowed forces of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and the Viet-Cong to use the port of Sihanoukville as well as the Sihanouk Trail (which was part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail) to transport arms supplies and military equipment to Viet-Cong forces fighting against the Government of the Republic of Vietnam. Following the coup against Sihanouk and the instalment of the pro-American and anti-Vietnamese Lon Nol Government in the newly declared Khmer Republic, Lon Nol's forces began rounding up Vietnamese civilians living in the Khmer Republic, sending them to internment camps and massacring them. On 29th March 1970, on the request of the Khmer Rouge leadership, the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) launched an invasion into the Khmer Republic against the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK). North Vietnam began to provide military support to the Khmer Rouge which now began to grow exponentially in Cambodia. To counter North Vietnamese influence in the Khmer Republic and to stifle North Vietnamese military aid to the Khmer Rouge, the United States of America launched an intense bombardment campaign targeting Cambodian villages and towns which were "supposedly" harbouring North Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge fighters as well as air interdiction missions against North Vietnamese

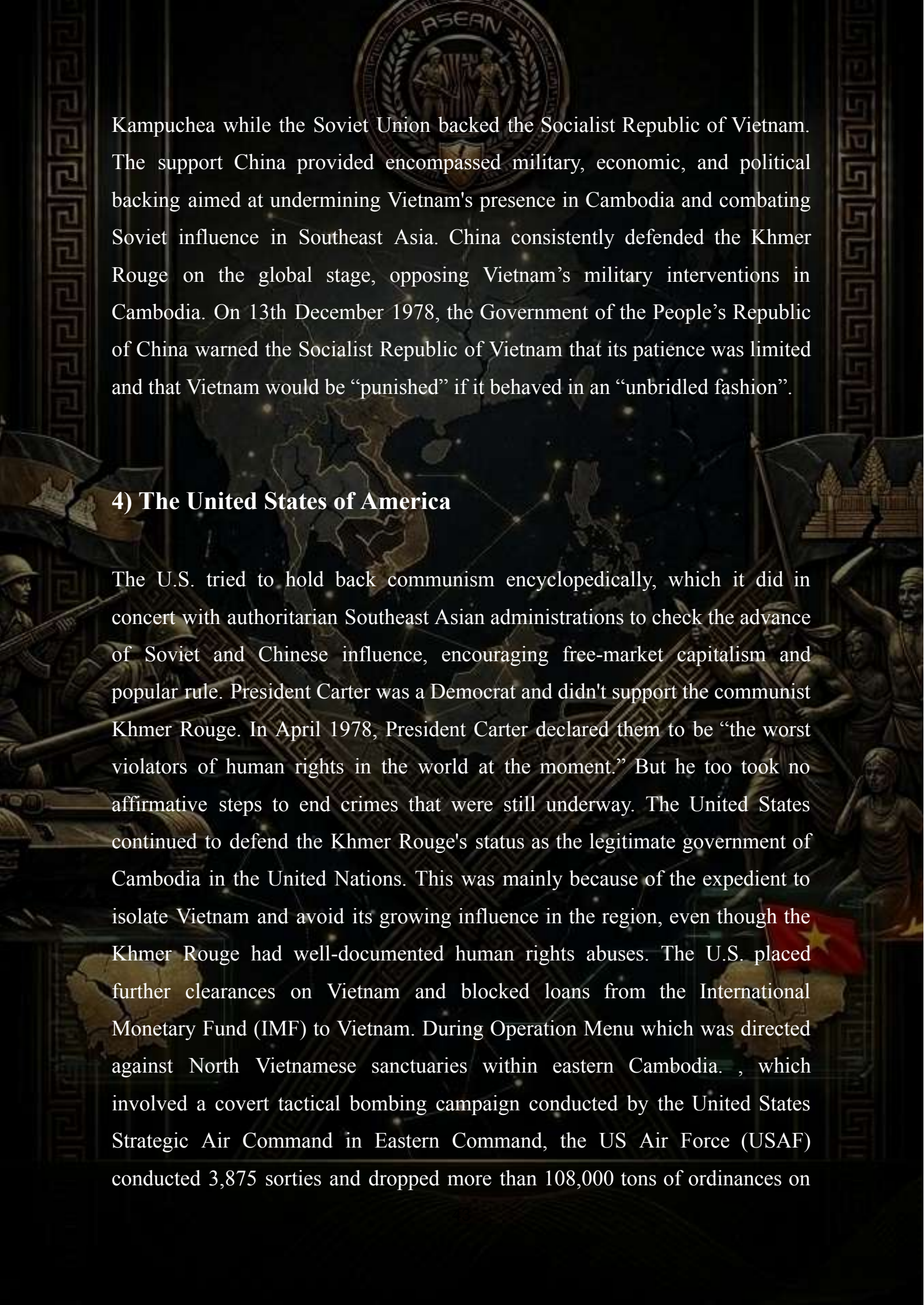


arms supplies routes in the Sihanouk Trail. Moreover, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam launched a military intervention into the Khmer Republic, on the request of President Lon Nol, to fight the PAVN and Khmer Rouge forces. Although they were able to gain territory from the PAVN and the Khmer Rouge initially, the People's Army of Vietnam was able to recapture most of the border territories and decimate the Khmer National Armed Forces and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam while Khmer Rouge moved further into Khmer Republic territory. Following the unconditional surrender of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and the occupation of Saigon by the North Vietnamese Army, the Vietnam War officially came to an end. On the 2nd July 1976, North Vietnam and South Vietnam officially united to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. However, border clashes with Democratic Kampuchea in 1977 had resulted in a major Vietnamese counter-offensive against the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army and the People's Army of Vietnam had almost reached the Kampuchean capital, Phnom Penh but then soon withdrew its forces. The Vietnamese Government declared that the Khmer Rouge controlled Democratic Kampuchea was a proxy of the People's Republic of China, which had been trying to fill the power vacuum in Indochina following the American defeat and withdrawal from Vietnam. The Nhan Dan, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Vietnam, began peddling anti-Kampuchean propaganda, calling for international intervention to save the Kampuchean people from the terror of the Khmer Rouge. In September 1978, Vietnamese leader Le Duan said that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam intended "to fully solve this question of Kampuchea by the beginning of 1979". The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation on 3rd November 1978, which essentially guarantees the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of vital Soviet aid, economic and military, in a situation where the People's Republic of China launches an invasion into Democratic Kampuchea.



3) The People's Republic of China

The Khmer Rouge had designed its model of communism through its inspiration from Mao Zedong's ideas of Marxism-Leninism enshrined in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The doctrinal differences between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ultimately resulted in the Sino-Soviet Split and there began a new phase in geopolitics where ideological beliefs were brushed to the side and great power politics reigned, as the "capitalistic" United States of America and the "communistic" People's Republic of China began forming an alliance of their own, against the Soviet Union. This did not bode well for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) whom the PRC had been providing military support in the Vietnam War. The emerging US-China alliance resulted in the PRC reducing its support for the North Vietnamese and a stronger alliance between North Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In 1975, People's Liberation Army (PLA) engineers supervised the slave-labor construction of an airfield at Kampong Chhnang that was capable of handling "any aircraft in the world". Considering that the Khmer Rouge had no Air Force and that the base included a Command Center built into a nearby mountain, the facility was clearly intended as a forward base for the PLA Air Force. The People's Republic of China provided 90% of the foreign aid given to the Khmer Rouge, from food and construction equipment to tanks, planes and artillery. Chinese engineers and military advisors were actively arming and training Khmer Rouge forces. Moreover, the Sino-Soviet Split and the consequent Sino-Soviet Border Conflict of 1969 had heightened tensions between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China and these geopolitical tensions began playing out in Indochina, where the PRC backed Democratic



Kampuchea while the Soviet Union backed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The support China provided encompassed military, economic, and political backing aimed at undermining Vietnam's presence in Cambodia and combating Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. China consistently defended the Khmer Rouge on the global stage, opposing Vietnam's military interventions in Cambodia. On 13th December 1978, the Government of the People's Republic of China warned the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that its patience was limited and that Vietnam would be "punished" if it behaved in an "unbridled fashion".

4) The United States of America

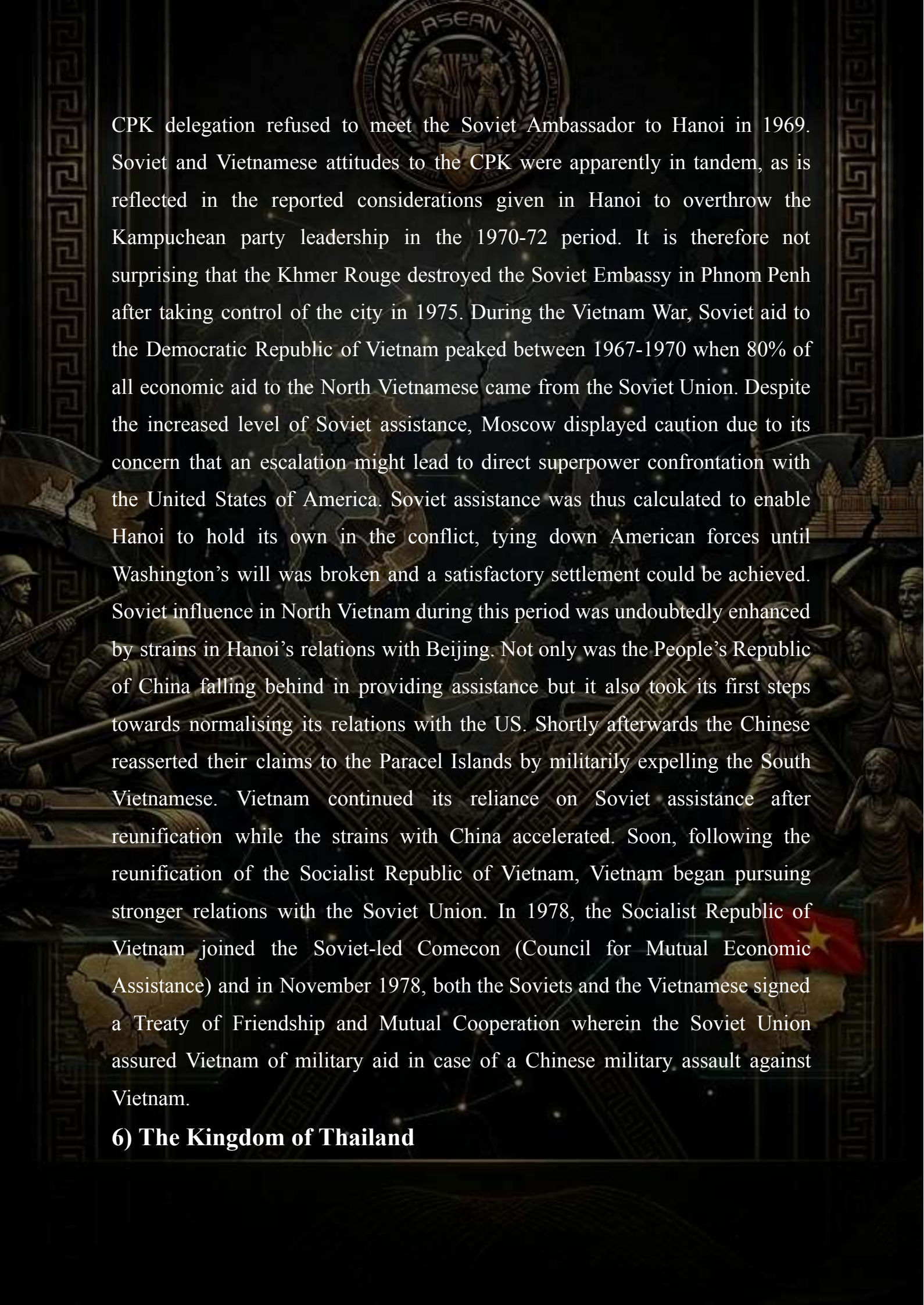
The U.S. tried to hold back communism encyclopedically, which it did in concert with authoritarian Southeast Asian administrations to check the advance of Soviet and Chinese influence, encouraging free-market capitalism and popular rule. President Carter was a Democrat and didn't support the communist Khmer Rouge. In April 1978, President Carter declared them to be "the worst violators of human rights in the world at the moment." But he too took no affirmative steps to end crimes that were still underway. The United States continued to defend the Khmer Rouge's status as the legitimate government of Cambodia in the United Nations. This was mainly because of the expedient to isolate Vietnam and avoid its growing influence in the region, even though the Khmer Rouge had well-documented human rights abuses. The U.S. placed further clearances on Vietnam and blocked loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to Vietnam. During Operation Menu which was directed against North Vietnamese sanctuaries within eastern Cambodia. , which involved a covert tactical bombing campaign conducted by the United States Strategic Air Command in Eastern Command, the US Air Force (USAF) conducted 3,875 sorties and dropped more than 108,000 tons of ordinances on



the eastern border areas. Following this was an air interdiction and a close air support campaign by the United States Seventh Air Force which extended over the entire eastern one-half of the country and was especially intense in the heavily populated southeastern one-quarter of the country, including a wide ring surrounding the capital city of Phnom Penh. On the 15th of August 1973, the United States of America brought an end to Operation Freedom Deal, thus ceasing all offensive military operations against Vietnamese forces in Cambodia.

5) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The history of Moscow's links with the party in Kampuchea has been embroiled in the Vietnamese - Kampuchean conflict. Pol Pot claimed that the Kampuchean party was founded on 30th September 1960 and so denied any continuity with the 1930 Soviet inspired Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) foundation. Soviet attitudes to the revolutionary movement in Kampuchea also accorded primacy to Vietnam - and of course to its own wider interests. Consequently, relations between the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and Moscow were marked by strains and a good deal of hostility. The Soviet Union ignored the Kampuchean insurgents at Geneva in 1954. Moscow (along with Hanoi and Beijing) gave its support to Sihanouk rather than to the CPK and consequently all three opposed the Khmer Rouge's 1968 armed struggle against Prince Norodom Sihanouk. When the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia, the Vietnamese support of the principle of limited sovereignty was not lost on the Cambodians. With the US-orchestrated overthrow of Sihanouk in 1970 the Soviet Union withdrew its Ambassador but retained its Embassy. The Soviet attitude to the communist party of Kampuchea frequently reached the point of hostility. Thus, in 1964, Moscow reportedly tried to create a rival communist party to the CPK. The Kampuchean reciprocated these sentiments so that a



CPK delegation refused to meet the Soviet Ambassador to Hanoi in 1969. Soviet and Vietnamese attitudes to the CPK were apparently in tandem, as is reflected in the reported considerations given in Hanoi to overthrow the Kampuchean party leadership in the 1970-72 period. It is therefore not surprising that the Khmer Rouge destroyed the Soviet Embassy in Phnom Penh after taking control of the city in 1975. During the Vietnam War, Soviet aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam peaked between 1967-1970 when 80% of all economic aid to the North Vietnamese came from the Soviet Union. Despite the increased level of Soviet assistance, Moscow displayed caution due to its concern that an escalation might lead to direct superpower confrontation with the United States of America. Soviet assistance was thus calculated to enable Hanoi to hold its own in the conflict, tying down American forces until Washington's will was broken and a satisfactory settlement could be achieved. Soviet influence in North Vietnam during this period was undoubtedly enhanced by strains in Hanoi's relations with Beijing. Not only was the People's Republic of China falling behind in providing assistance but it also took its first steps towards normalising its relations with the US. Shortly afterwards the Chinese reasserted their claims to the Paracel Islands by militarily expelling the South Vietnamese. Vietnam continued its reliance on Soviet assistance after reunification while the strains with China accelerated. Soon, following the reunification of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Vietnam began pursuing stronger relations with the Soviet Union. In 1978, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam joined the Soviet-led Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and in November 1978, both the Soviets and the Vietnamese signed a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation wherein the Soviet Union assured Vietnam of military aid in case of a Chinese military assault against Vietnam.

6) The Kingdom of Thailand



The first territorial dispute between Democratic Kampuchea and the Kingdom of Thailand began on 12th May 1975, when Khmer Rouge forces opposite the Trat Province claimed that Cambodia had lost a large part of its land to Thailand during President Lon Nol's reign and gave Thailand seven days to withdraw to a demarcation line one kilometre from the existing line. As a result, multiple border incursions and clashes broke out between the Thai and Kampuchean forces. The Thai Government covertly armed a right-wing anti-communist and anti-monarchist armed guerilla group called the Khmer Serei which conducted attacks against Khmer Rouge forces along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Khmer Rouge in turn, trained Thai communists and established an organization called the Angkar Siem, which provided terrorist training for Thai youths from three provinces on the Thai-Kampuchean border, Si Sa Ket, Buriram and Surin. In 1976, the ultra-rightist Government of the Kingdom of Thailand soon announced a "strong intention to revitalize Thailand's relationship with the US in both economic and military aspects". Moreover, there was a strong anti-Vietnamese sentiment in Thailand where the Thai Government was constantly paranoid about the possibility of a Vietnamese invasion of Thailand. There were reports that between January and August 1977, Khmer Rouge forces invaded Thailand "more than four hundred times". Soon, Khmer Rouge forces, due to the food shortages in Democratic Kampuchea, began to raid and loot Thai villages on a mass scale, taking crops, cattle and other property back with them to Democratic Kampuchea. However, on 3rd January 1978, Thai Foreign Minister Uppadit Pachariyangkun met with his counterparts in Phnom Penh and declared that Thailand and Cambodia had agreed to restore friendly relations and exchange ambassadors as soon as possible. Vietnam made active efforts to make Thailand aware about the Khmer Rouge's violations of Vietnamese sovereignty and proposed a Thai-Vietnamese Non-Aggression Pact to deter the influence of the People's Republic of China over Indochina. However, the Thai

Government turned down the Vietnamese proposal because of Thai concerns of Vietnamese ambitions for establishing an Indochinese Federation.



PAPERWORK



General Guidelines:

All committee paperwork, unless asked otherwise by the Executive Board, will have to be submitted to the committee mail ID, asean.xmun2026@gmail.com.

Any violation to X-MUN 2026's plagiarism policy, detected in any of the paperworks, will lead to the cancellation of that paperwork, followed by a heavy demarcation under the discretion of the Executive Board.

The accepted forms of paperwork in X-MUN'26 ASEAN are:

1. Position Paper
2. Presidential Statement
3. Press Release
4. Communique
5. Memorandum of Understanding
6. Draft Resolution
7. Working Paper

Pre-Committee Paperwork:

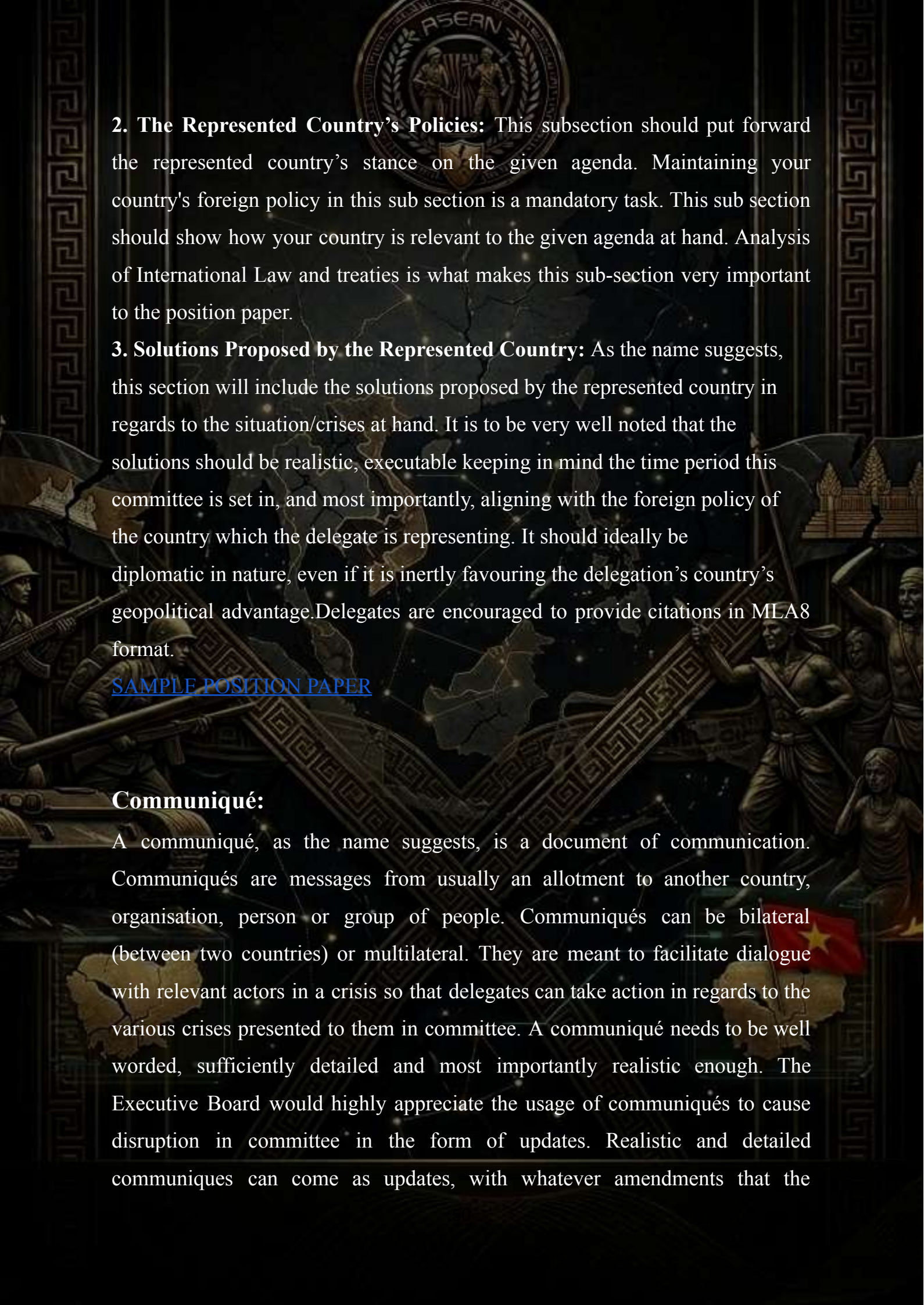
The Executive Board will be accepting a compulsory Position Paper from each delegation. The deadline for the Position Paper will be the 4th of June, 11:59 p.m . While there is no standard font and font size for the other committee paperworks, the Position Paperwork, being the first official document submitted by a delegation to the committee, will have to be written in Times New Roman and font size 12. The Position Paper should not be more than 7 pages. Additionally, the Executive Board will be accepting a maximum of two pre-committee paperworks (Aside from the Position Paper) which can be communiques, MoUs, or Presidential Statements. The deadline of these paperwork(s) will be the 6th of June, 11:59.



Position Paper:

Being the first formal paperwork which will be submitted by a delegation to the Executive Board, the Position Paper plays a quintessential role in setting the initial impression of themselves upon the Executive Board. A Position Paper is the amalgamation of a delegation's interpretation of the current problem/crisis/situation at hand, the extent of International Law that the particular delegation would like to use to solve the crisis with its own allotment's policies aligned and the solution to the particular problem that they would want to portray or propagate in the committee. A perfect position paper should ideally resonate with the country's (whose delegation is submitting it) diplomatic policies that they propagate, at that time period, to the international forum. The Executive Board looks forward to a comprehensive and smart usage of relevant International Law and IR analysis throughout the study guide. A Position Paper is formatted into the following sub-parts:

1. Statement of the Problem: This is the part of the position paper which gives an overview of the current situation that the committee is facing, through the diplomatic purview of the country which the delegation is representing. It should ideally highlight the important aspects of the situation which the delegation wants the international forum to discuss upon. The portrayal of the situation should, again, be convenient to the country who the delegation is representing. A comprehensive linkage of relevant events should be used to arrive at the crux of the statement that this sub-section wants to portray. The Executive Board looks forward to rather unique analyses and interpretations that the represented country would advantageously and ideally portrayed in the real world.



2. The Represented Country's Policies: This subsection should put forward the represented country's stance on the given agenda. Maintaining your country's foreign policy in this sub section is a mandatory task. This sub section should show how your country is relevant to the given agenda at hand. Analysis of International Law and treaties is what makes this sub-section very important to the position paper.

3. Solutions Proposed by the Represented Country: As the name suggests, this section will include the solutions proposed by the represented country in regards to the situation/crises at hand. It is to be very well noted that the solutions should be realistic, executable keeping in mind the time period this committee is set in, and most importantly, aligning with the foreign policy of the country which the delegate is representing. It should ideally be diplomatic in nature, even if it is inertly favouring the delegation's country's geopolitical advantage. Delegates are encouraged to provide citations in MLA8 format.

[SAMPLE POSITION PAPER](#)

Communiqué:

A communiqué, as the name suggests, is a document of communication. Communiqués are messages from usually an allotment to another country, organisation, person or group of people. Communiqués can be bilateral (between two countries) or multilateral. They are meant to facilitate dialogue with relevant actors in a crisis so that delegates can take action in regards to the various crises presented to them in committee. A communiqué needs to be well worded, sufficiently detailed and most importantly realistic enough. The Executive Board would highly appreciate the usage of communiqués to cause disruption in committee in the form of updates. Realistic and detailed communiques can come as updates, with whatever amendments that the



Executive Board deems necessary. Communiqués can either be public or private with regards to confidentiality and joint or individual with regards to authoring.

1. Public Communiqués

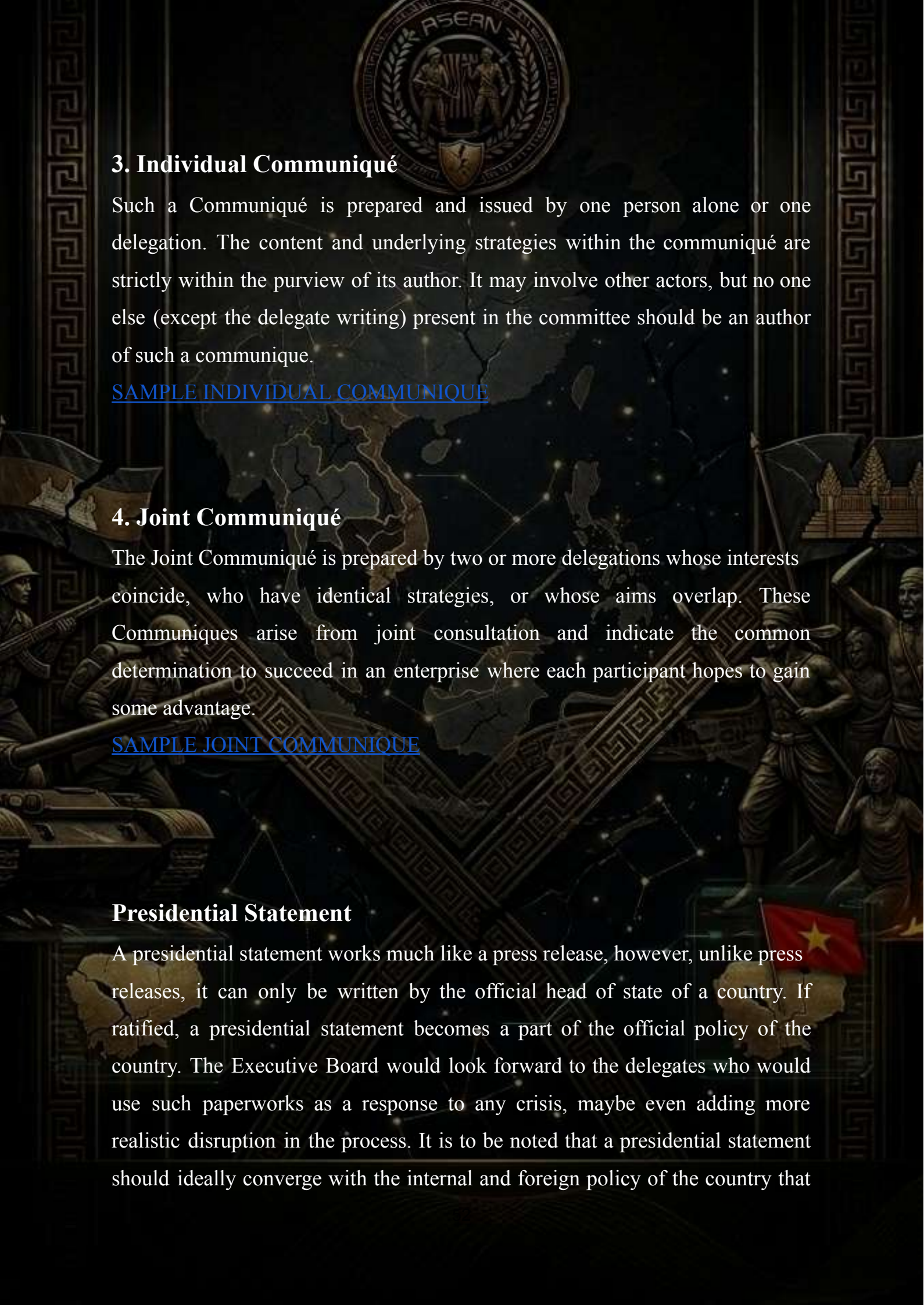
Public Communiqués refer to communication or statements that make the contents available to the entire committee. In this case, the delegations sponsoring or carrying out the action or relaying the message are known, making sure that the origins of the action taken become public records in the committee. This is normally done by delegates who intend to publicize their line of action, diplomacy, or policies to other members of the committee. In this case, it is advised that the measures should be politically feasible, diplomatic and devoid of any international condemnation.

[SAMPLE PUBLIC COMMUNIQUE](#)

2. Private Communiqués

Private Communiqués are meant for use where the operations carried out need secrecy and confidentiality. It is only known to the delegate(s) initiating the action and the executive board of the committee. This type of communiqué is used where the actions need to remain confidential and are intended for secret operations, contacts with people from outside the committee, and crisis situations. This is because the actions may be politically controversial and subject to international sanctions, hence the need for approval and ratification by the executive board. Such communiques, if ratified, are given as updates in such a manner that the nature of confidentiality is maintained, furthermore forwarding the crisis nature of the committee due to suspense and suspicion between delegations.

[SAMPLE PRIVATE COMMUNIQUE](#)



3. Individual Communiqué

Such a Communiqué is prepared and issued by one person alone or one delegation. The content and underlying strategies within the communiqué are strictly within the purview of its author. It may involve other actors, but no one else (except the delegate writing) present in the committee should be an author of such a communiqué.

[SAMPLE INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIQUE](#)

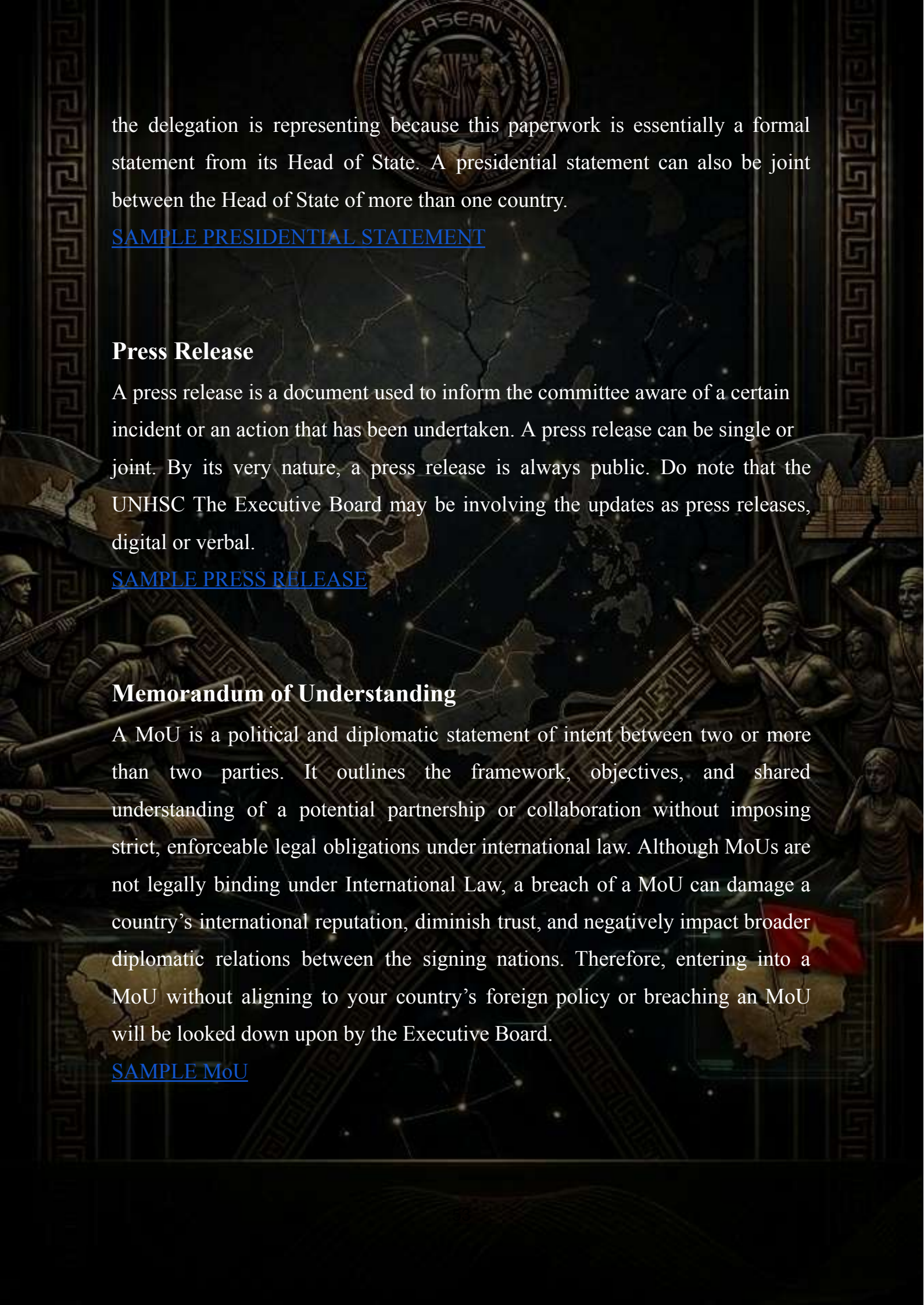
4. Joint Communiqué

The Joint Communiqué is prepared by two or more delegations whose interests coincide, who have identical strategies, or whose aims overlap. These Communiqués arise from joint consultation and indicate the common determination to succeed in an enterprise where each participant hopes to gain some advantage.

[SAMPLE JOINT COMMUNIQUE](#)

Presidential Statement

A presidential statement works much like a press release, however, unlike press releases, it can only be written by the official head of state of a country. If ratified, a presidential statement becomes a part of the official policy of the country. The Executive Board would look forward to the delegates who would use such paperworks as a response to any crisis, maybe even adding more realistic disruption in the process. It is to be noted that a presidential statement should ideally converge with the internal and foreign policy of the country that



the delegation is representing because this paperwork is essentially a formal statement from its Head of State. A presidential statement can also be joint between the Head of State of more than one country.

[SAMPLE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT](#)

Press Release

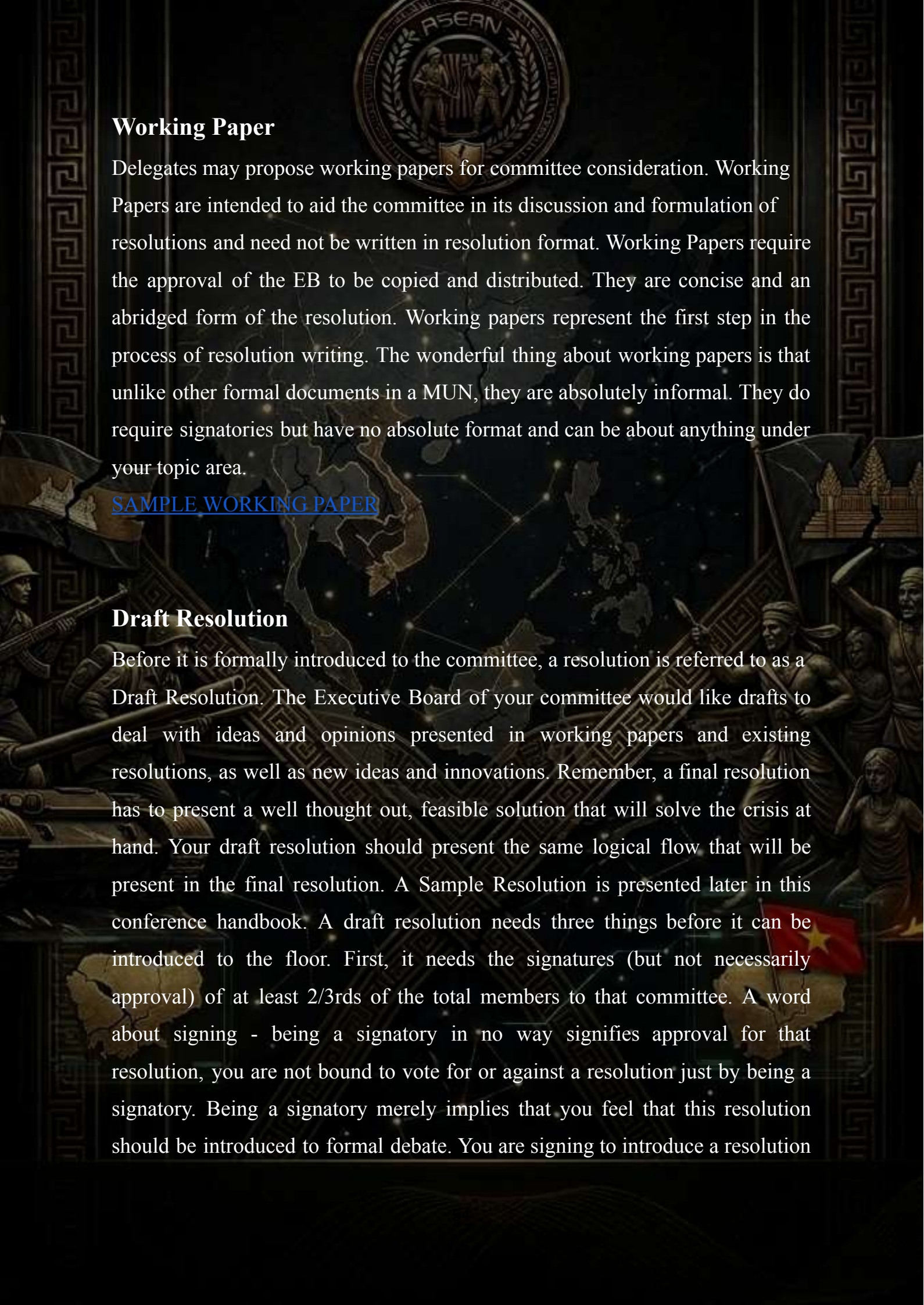
A press release is a document used to inform the committee aware of a certain incident or an action that has been undertaken. A press release can be single or joint. By its very nature, a press release is always public. Do note that the UNHSC The Executive Board may be involving the updates as press releases, digital or verbal.

[SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE](#)

Memorandum of Understanding

A MoU is a political and diplomatic statement of intent between two or more than two parties. It outlines the framework, objectives, and shared understanding of a potential partnership or collaboration without imposing strict, enforceable legal obligations under international law. Although MoUs are not legally binding under International Law, a breach of a MoU can damage a country's international reputation, diminish trust, and negatively impact broader diplomatic relations between the signing nations. Therefore, entering into a MoU without aligning to your country's foreign policy or breaching an MoU will be looked down upon by the Executive Board.

[SAMPLE MoU](#)



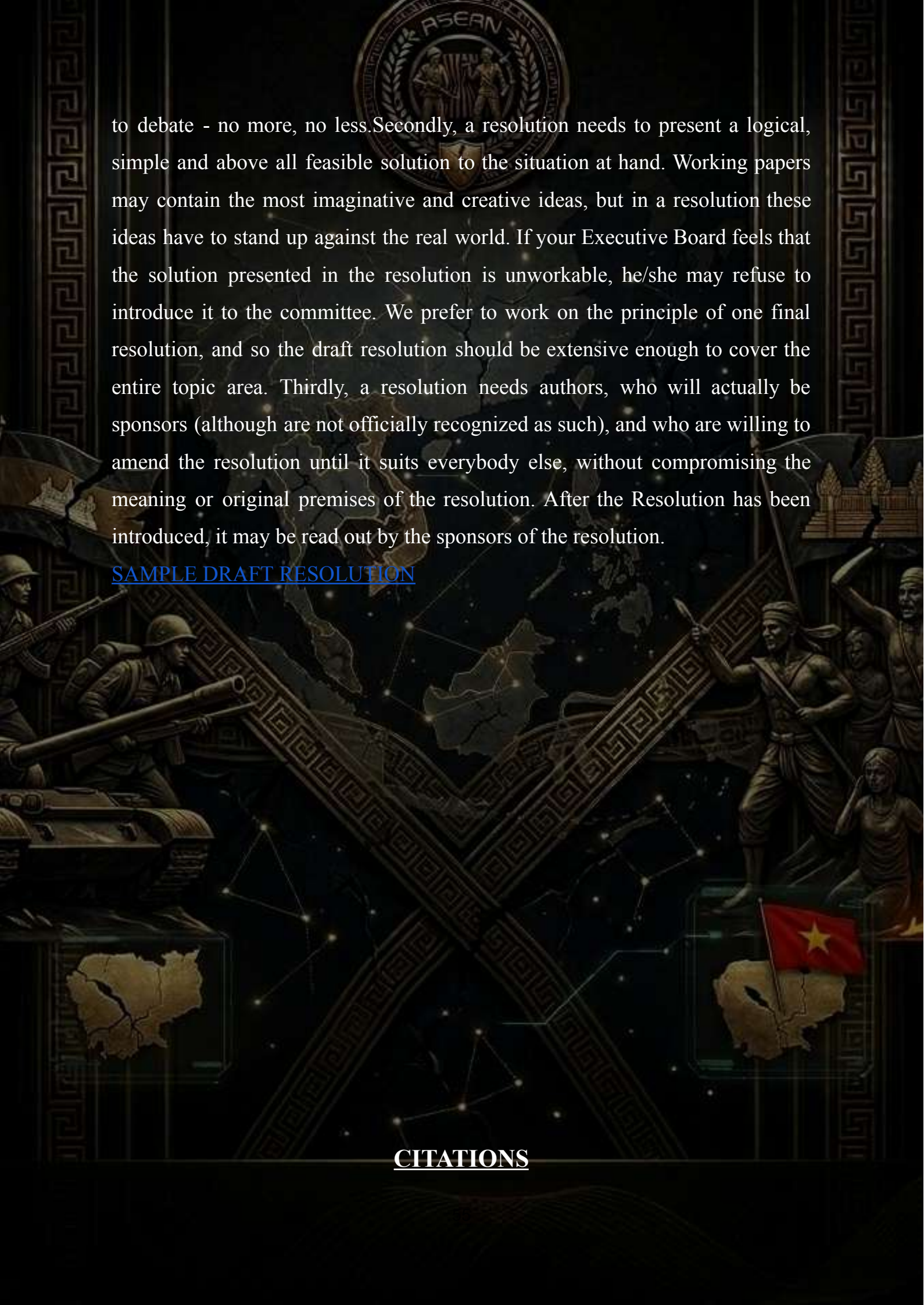
Working Paper

Delegates may propose working papers for committee consideration. Working Papers are intended to aid the committee in its discussion and formulation of resolutions and need not be written in resolution format. Working Papers require the approval of the EB to be copied and distributed. They are concise and an abridged form of the resolution. Working papers represent the first step in the process of resolution writing. The wonderful thing about working papers is that unlike other formal documents in a MUN, they are absolutely informal. They do require signatories but have no absolute format and can be about anything under your topic area.

[SAMPLE WORKING PAPER](#)

Draft Resolution

Before it is formally introduced to the committee, a resolution is referred to as a Draft Resolution. The Executive Board of your committee would like drafts to deal with ideas and opinions presented in working papers and existing resolutions, as well as new ideas and innovations. Remember, a final resolution has to present a well thought out, feasible solution that will solve the crisis at hand. Your draft resolution should present the same logical flow that will be present in the final resolution. A Sample Resolution is presented later in this conference handbook. A draft resolution needs three things before it can be introduced to the floor. First, it needs the signatures (but not necessarily approval) of at least 2/3rds of the total members to that committee. A word about signing - being a signatory in no way signifies approval for that resolution, you are not bound to vote for or against a resolution just by being a signatory. Being a signatory merely implies that you feel that this resolution should be introduced to formal debate. You are signing to introduce a resolution



to debate - no more, no less. Secondly, a resolution needs to present a logical, simple and above all feasible solution to the situation at hand. Working papers may contain the most imaginative and creative ideas, but in a resolution these ideas have to stand up against the real world. If your Executive Board feels that the solution presented in the resolution is unworkable, he/she may refuse to introduce it to the committee. We prefer to work on the principle of one final resolution, and so the draft resolution should be extensive enough to cover the entire topic area. Thirdly, a resolution needs authors, who will actually be sponsors (although are not officially recognized as such), and who are willing to amend the resolution until it suits everybody else, without compromising the meaning or original premises of the resolution. After the Resolution has been introduced, it may be read out by the sponsors of the resolution.

[SAMPLE DRAFT RESOLUTION](#)

CITATIONS

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1. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf> - THE UN CHARTER
 2. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ASEAN> - ASEAN
 3. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/the-rise-and-fall-of-democratic-kampuchea/> - RISE OF COMMUNISM IN CAMBODIA
 4. <https://www.countrystudies.us/cambodia/33.htm> - FALL OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA
 5. <https://cla.umn.edu/chgs/holocaust-genocide-education/resource-guides/cambodia> - CAMBODIAN GENOCIDE
 6. https://www.academia.edu/42958519/Thailands_Response_to_the_Cambodian_Genocide - Thailand's response to the Cambodian Genocide by Independent Researcher Puangthong Rungswasdisab.
 7. <https://wondersofcambodia.com/the-french-protectorate-of-cambodia-1863-1953-an-overview/> - France occupation of Cambodia.
 8. <https://wondersofcambodia.com/cambodian-vietnamese-war-1978-1989/> - Cambodia- Vietnamese War

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