



Study Guide

**The United Nations Historic Security Council
Agenda: Discussing the situation in Democratic
Kampuchea, 1978.**

Freeze Date: 20th December, 1978.

Contents

Chairperson’s Address	3 – 4
About the United Nations Security Council	5 – 6
Freeze Date	6 – 7
Real Life Events on the 20 th of December 1978	7 – 8
Timeline	8 – 22
Causes Behind the Conflict	22 – 38
• The Rise of Communism and Leftist Ideologies in Cambodia and Indochina.	22 – 24
• The Regime of the Khmer Rouge in Democratic Kampuchea	24 – 28
• The Sino-Soviet Split: A New Era in Geopolitics	28 – 32
• The French Occupation of Cambodia	32 – 33
• The Cambodian Civil War	33 – 35
• Tensions between the Khmer Rouge-ruled Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam	35 – 38
Major Parties Involved in the Conflict	39 – 48
• Democratic Kampuchea	39
• The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	40 – 41
• The People’s Republic of China	41 – 42
• The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)	43 – 44
• The United States of America	44 – 45
• The Kingdom of Thailand	45 – 47
• The Lao People’s Democratic Republic	48
Consequences of a Potential Conflict	49 – 50
Position Papers	50 – 51
Paperwork	50 – 52
Citations	52 - 53

Chairperson's Address

Dear Delegates, we welcome you to the United Nations Historic Security Council (UNHSC) at the 13th edition of JacoMUN'23.

Set at the heights of the Cold War and the subsequent Sino-Soviet Split, this committee is set at what perhaps can be called the most critical juncture in the history of the Asian continent. At a time when new policies are being sophisticatedly constructed between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China amidst the Sino-Soviet rivalry, we are presented with a crisis in a State that has faced the brunt of control and domination since its very existence, be it from the Vietnamese, the French or the Imperialist Fascist Japanese and now is subject to the horrors of authoritarianism and political radicalism, it is the country that has seen it all: Democratic Kampuchea. This country may differ in name and ideology, be it once as a French protectorate, or a US sponsored Khmer Republic or the currently communistic Khmer Rouge controlled Democratic Kampuchea, however its people have not changed. A period of global political instability has affected the whole world, be it in the echelons of the White House or at the steps of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, and this is set to fundamentally alter global power dynamics.

Delegates, this crisis is not only an impending threat to international peace and security but also calls for immediate action to prevent what can turn into one of the gravest wars of the Century. A delegation in this committee is not only expected to portray exceptional diplomacy, handle the intricacies and complexities of the rapidly destabilizing geopolitical scenario but is also required to sophisticatedly handle their foreign policies without compromising the greater good.

Delegates, a little something about myself.

I am Tanay Jain, a student of the batch of 22-23 at St James' School. I have a keen interest in Economics, Policy and Entrepreneurship which has led me to pursue Econ at the college level. I started my MUN journey as a class 7 student and 5 years down the line I can only imagine how much of a pivotal role it has played in defining my personality. Apart from Model UN, I am greatly invested in doing debates, business fests and basically anything that gives me a platform to argue and indulge in discourse. Having watched SUITS atleast 6 times now, rest assured that subtle Harvey Specter references would go a long way in establishing your presence in committee. The HSC is the last committee I'd ever chair at JacoMUN and it

is definitely the one which would be closest to my heart, hence I'd expect all delegates, first timers or experienced, to make the most out of these 3 days by freely expressing their opinions, networking, and most importantly having a lot of fun. Being the flagship committee, the Historic Security Council will surely be one of the most dynamic and complex committees of this conference testing the delegation at every juncture, but I promise it'll have equally fun entertainment motions!

Dear delegates, here is a small note about myself,

My name is Aryan Ghosh, a Class XII student belonging to the Humanities Section of St. James' School, Kolkata, with Maths as part of my combination, so do feel free to rant to me about the subject. As cliché as this might sound, MUN has played a key role in my life- Allowing me to understand the complexities of this world and why countries engage in conflict despite calls for peace.

In addition to debate and international law, international relations sparks great interest within me, and I always wish to explore further into all three of these avenues, as little as I may know about them. I belong to the offensive realist school of international relations, primarily believing in the idea of great power politics, partly the reason why I selected this agenda for this committee. With a bit of an eccentric knack for poetry and an excessive amount of energy, I look forward to interacting with each and every one of you before, during and after the conference!

MUN is not just an event or competition- It is an experience and it is this experience which has helped me grow and I sincerely hope that it helps each one of you to hone your creative abilities and skills! It never is easy, especial in the first few conferences, but I hope that we, as an Executive Board, can help you navigate through its various difficulties.

It is genuinely, an honour for me to be Chairperson of this committee and I look forward to three days of intense debate and discussion and hope that each one of you have an immemorable experience.

Until then,

Acta, non verba,

Tanay Jain and Aryan Ghosh,

Chairpersons of the United Nations Historic Security Council (UNHSC).

Feel free to reach out to us on the committee E-mail: unhsc.jacomun23@gmail.com

About the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)

The United Nations Security Council is the **executive organ** of the United Nations Organization, responsible for **maintaining international peace and security**. The Security Council derives its powers from **Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the United Nations Charter**.

¹As outlined in Article 34 of the UN Charter, the Security Council may **investigate any dispute**, or any situation which might lead to **international friction or give rise to a dispute**, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to **endanger the maintenance of international peace and security**. Article 39 mandates the Security Council to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall **make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken** in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security. Referring to measures **not involving the use of armed force**, the Security Council adheres to Article 41 to resort to measures including “**complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations**”. If these measures are to be deemed inadequate to alleviate the crisis, then the Security Council immediately resorts to Article 42 which gives it the power to take “**such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security**”, which “**may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations**”.



As per Article 23 of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council is composed of **five Permanent Members** (The United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People’s Republic of China) and **ten Non-Permanent Members** who are elected by the United Nations General Assembly for a term of 2 years¹. ²The Security Council, in accordance with

its **Provisional Rules of Procedure**, can be called for a meeting either by the **President of the Security Council** at the request of any member of the SC or if a dispute or situation is brought to the attention of the Security Council under Article 35 or under Article 11 (3) of the Charter, or **if the General Assembly makes recommendations** or refers any question to the Security Council under Article 11 (2) of the UN Charter, or if the Secretary-General brings to the attention of the Security Council any matter under Article 99².

The Security Council has played a very crucial role in multiple international conflicts during the Cold War such as the Korean War of 1950, the Second Arab-Israeli War of 1956 and the Congo Crisis of 1960.

The United Nations Historic Security Council has been summoned for a meeting by Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations due to the rapidly escalating tensions between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and this meeting of the Historic Security Council will be jointly presided over by the Secretary-General and the current President of the Security Council, the Federal Republic of Germany.

Freeze Date of the Committee

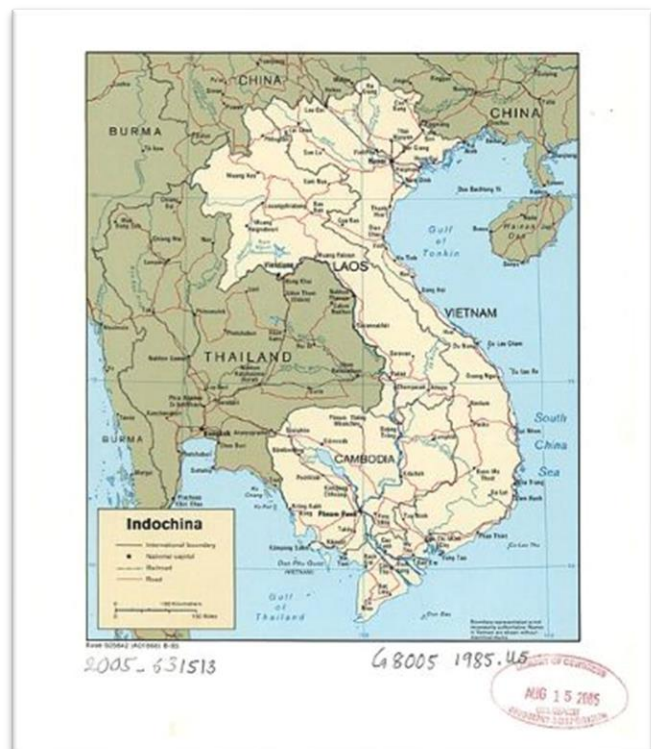
The Freeze Date of the Historic Security Council is on the **20th of December, 1978**. **Any events or decisions of any nature post the 20th of December, whether political, economic, social, administrative or military will not be taken into consideration by the Executive Board, and hence will not be admissible in the committee.**

The series of events after the 20th of December, are **under the discretion of the Executive Board and will be released as updates in committee itself. Thus, delegates are not to cite articles, instances, statements, or events made post the 20th of December, 1978**. However, material dated post the 20th of December, 1978 might be referred to for **acquiring research material for the committee so as to understand the political, social, economic, military and administrative situation in the world**, especially in the South-East Asian Region which bears relation to the rapidly escalating situation in Democratic Kampuchea. **Events that transpired on the 20th of December, 1978, itself, ARE admissible in committee.**

Real Life Events on the 20th of December, 1978

As of the 20th of December, 1978, the situation is as follows:

1. The **Socialist Republic of Vietnam** has drafted **350,000 men into the military and has deployed ten divisions of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN)** to the provinces of Long An (Coordinates: 10.6956° N, 106.2431° E), Dong Thap (Coordinates: 10.4938° N, 105.6882° E) and Tay Ninh (Coordinates: 11.3495° N, 106.0640° E) **which lie along the Vietnamese border with Democratic Kampuchea.**
2. The **Socialist Republic of Vietnam** has shifted **three of its PAVN divisions south towards the border between the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea.**
3. The **Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS)**, consisting of several members of the Khmer Rouge, has emerged as the **single dominant force** within the territory of Democratic Kampuchea, **determined to overthrow the Government of Pol Pot, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea.**
4. **Democratic Kampuchea** has stationed an estimated **73,000 soldiers in the Eastern Military Zone bordering the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.**
5. The **People's Republic of China** has been actively supporting the military of **Democratic Kampuchea** by arming it with **tanks, fighter aircraft, patrol boats, heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns.** Additionally, the **PRC has been providing**



Democratic Kampuchea with around 10,000-20,000 advisors in both military and civilian capacities.

6. The **People's Liberation Army (PLA)** of the People's Republic of China has officially stationed around **100,000 soldiers on its border with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam**. Moreover, it has stationed around **2 million troops along its border with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**.

Timeline

This timeline provides a summary of the significant events that occurred in South-East Asia and the world which have ultimately contributed to the current situation in Democratic Kampuchea. This timeline is meant to provide you with a comprehensive understanding of the crisis in hand so as to help steer your policy direction in committee and during crisis updates.

1834: Vietnamese Forces led by General Truong Minh Giang reconquer Cambodia from Siamese Forces

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. Under the Treaty, the Cambodian monarchy was allowed to remain in power, a large amount of power was vested in a Residential General who was to be housed in Phnom Penh, now declared as the capital of the Kingdom of Cambodia. France was to be in charge of the Kingdom of Cambodia's trade, foreign relations and military protection.

17th June 1884: The French Third Republic deploys gunboats 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.

17th October, 1887: ³French Indochina is formally established as Annam (Coordinates: 14.0583° N, 108.2772° E) in Central Vietnam, Tonkin (Coordinates: 19.7500° N, 107.7500° E) in Northern Vietnam, Cochinchina (Coordinates: 11° 0' 0" N 107° 0' 0" E) in Southern Vietnam, all of which together form modern Vietnam, the Kingdom of Cambodia (Coordinates: 12.5657° N, 104.9910° E) and Laos (Coordinates: 19.8563° N, 102.4955° E) were brought under French control after the Franco-Siamese War of 1893³.

1897: The Ruling Resident-General of the French Protectorate of Cambodia is given sweeping powers, which include the powers of the King to collect taxes, issue decrees and even appoint royal officials and choose Crown Princes. At this point, the colonial bureaucracy of the French Protectorate of Cambodia is made up of mostly French officials and the only Asians freely permitted to participate in Government are ethnic Vietnamese who were at that time, viewed as the dominant Asians in the Indochinese Union.

22nd June, 1940: An Armistice is signed between officials of Nazi Germany and the French Third Republic, thus establishing the French State, also known as Vichy France, which was allied with the Axis Powers though it maintained military neutrality during the course of the Second World War.

22nd September, 1940: The Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) launch a full-scale invasion into French Indochina.

3rd May, 1941: Norodom Sihanouk is coronated as King of Cambodia.

29th July, 1941: The French State signs the Protocol Concerning Joint Defense and Joint Military Cooperation with the fascist Empire of Japan. It gives 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.

9th March, 1945: With Japanese forces losing the Second World War to the United States of America and the Allied Powers and the imminence of an Allied invasion of Indochina, the Imperial Japanese Army begin striking military garrisons all across Indochina, with some French garrisons being overrun by Japanese forces, thus resulting an Indochinese wide coup de tat by the Empire of Japan. The French colonial administrators were relieved of their positions and French military forces were ordered to disarm.

12th March, 1945: King Norodom Sihanouk declares Cambodia to be independent.

13th March, 1945: King 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. A group of militiamen storm into the Royal Palace, demanding the removal of old retainers and bureaucrats from the Government and their replacement with Cambodian nationalists. Son

Ngoc Thanh becomes Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Kampuchea and other Cambodian Nationalists take key positions in the Government.

15th August, 1945: Emperor Showa gives a recorded radio address to the people of the Empire of Japan, announcing the surrender of the Empire of Japan to the Allied Powers. This, along with the surrender of Nazi Germany to the Allied Powers, marks the end of the Second World War.

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.

May 1947: King Norodom Sihanouk signs the first Constitution of the Kingdom of Kampuchea into effect.

12th March, 1947: President of the United States of America, Harry S. Truman, makes a historic speech to a Joint Session of the Congress of the United States of America, pledging “support for democracies against authoritarian threats”, therefore marking the beginning of the Cold War between the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

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

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

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

9th November, 1953: The Kingdom of Cambodia is officially granted independence from the French Fourth Republic due to the proactive efforts of King Norodom Sihanouk.

2nd March, 1955: Sihanouk officially advocates the throne, thus making his father Norodom Suramarit the King of Cambodia.

May 1955: Sihanouk signs a military aid agreement with the United States of America that secures funds and equipment for the Royal Khmer Armed Forces (Forces Armées Royales Khmères- FARK).

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

19th July, 1958: The Kingdom of Cambodia establishes formal diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China.

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, the Republic of Vietnam and possibly, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States of America.

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.

March 1959: The Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam approves a "people's war" on South Vietnam.

19th May, 1959: A transportation and logistical unit of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) called Group 559 creates and begins maintaining the Ho Chi Minh Trail, originating from North Vietnam with road lines moving through Cambodia and Laos, all the way to South Vietnam, to move troops, weapons and material from North Vietnam to the Viet Cong forces fighting in South Vietnam.

28th July, 1959: The Democratic Republic of Vietnam officially begins military support for forces of the Lao People's Liberation Army against the Royal Lao Army in the Kingdom of Laos.

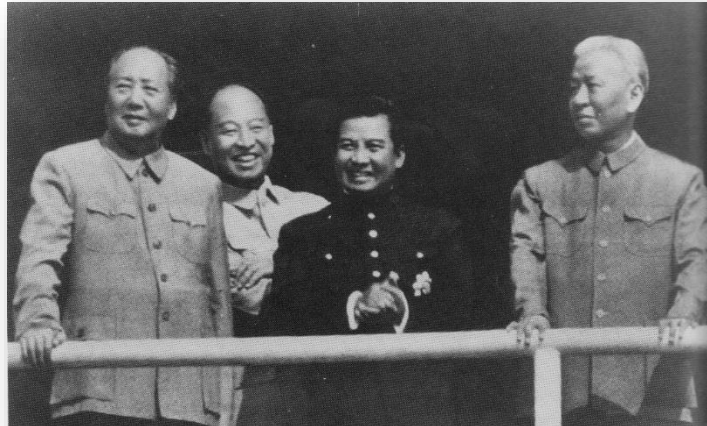
31st August, 1959: A small packaged lacquer gift filled with a parcel bomb is delivered to the Royal Palace, on the opening of which, Chief of Protocol for the Cambodian Government,

Norodom Vagrivan. An investigation soon connects this parcel to an American military base in Saigon. Sihanouk publicly declares Ngo Dinh Nhu responsible masterminding the bomb attack.

1960: The Kingdom of Cambodia and the People's Republic of China sign a Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression.

14th June, 1960: Norodom Sihanouk is officially appointed as Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

28th September, 1960: Leaders of the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) hold a three-day Congress in Phnom Penh. They vote to reform as the Workers' Party of Kampuchea (WPK).



Prince Norodom Sihanouk of the Kingdom of Cambodia

November 1960: At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Party, President of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong and Premier of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev respectively attack the Soviet and Chinese interpretations of Marxism-Leninism as the wrong road to socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China.

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

December 1961: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) 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.

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

Late 1962: The People's Republic of China breaks relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for its handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

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

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.

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

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 the Sihanoukville's Port. In addition, he allows 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.

7th August, 1964: The United States Congress approves the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving President Lyndon Baines 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 (SEATO).

8th March, 1965: 3,500 US Marines are 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.

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.

5th December, 1965: The United States of America begins Operation Tiger Hound, a covert aerial interdiction campaign conducted by the 2nd Air Division of the United States Air Force and Task Force 77 of the United States Navy 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.

December 1965: The US Air Force begins Operation Ranch Hand, spraying chemical herbicides and defoliates Agent Blue and Agent Orange over rural areas of South Vietnam as well as certain areas of the Kingdom of Laos and the Kingdom of Cambodia.

16th May, 1966: Mao Zedong declares the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China, a socio-political movement aimed to preserve Chinese communism by purging remnants of capitalist and traditional elements from Chinese society. This is met with blatant criticism from the Soviet Union and marks the complete meltdown in Sino-Soviet relations.

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.

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

11th March, 1967: While Prince Sihanouk is out of the country in France, a leftist-inspired revolt takes place in Smlaut in the Battambang Province.



Flag of Democratic Kampuchea

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.

20th August, 1968: Members of the Warsaw Pact including the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Polish People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic jointly launch a military invasion into the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This creates wider condemnation of the Soviet Union, especially from the People's Republic of China.

23rd August, 1968: Premier of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai denounces the Soviet Union for "fascist politics, great power chauvinism, national egoism and social imperialism".

12th November, 1968: Premier of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev gives an address to the Fifth Congress of the Polish Workers Party where he says, “When external and internal forces hostile to socialism try to turn the development of a given socialist country in the direction of the capitalist system, this is no longer merely a problem for that country’s people, but a common problem, the concern of all socialist countries”. This effectively classifies the issue of sovereignty as less important than the prevention of international socialism. This is seen by Mao Zedong as an ideological justification for a possible Soviet invasion of the People’s Republic of China to overthrow him.

2nd March, 1969: A group of troops from the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) of the People’s Republic of China ambush Soviet Border Guards on Zhenbao (Damansky) Island.

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

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 (USSR).

21st June, 1969: The United States of America launches Operation Left Jab, the first military offensive against the Sihanouk Trail of the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

13th August, 1969: Clashes between Soviet Border Guards and PLA forces in Tielieketi in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Coordinates: 43.7934° N, 87.6271° E) heighten the prospects of nuclear war between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People’s Republic of China.

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 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People’s Republic of China, thus preventing all-out war between the two countries.

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.

18th March, 1970: The National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia votes to remove Norodom Sihanouk as Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Lon Nol is made Head of State on emergency basis.

23rd March, 1970: Norodom Sihanouk, now in Beijing, speaks on Chinese radio and calls for a nationwide uprising against Lon Nol and his supporters. He also announces 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.

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.

22nd April, 1970: US President Richard Nixon authorizes the planning of a South Vietnamese incursion into South-East Cambodia.

24th April, 1970: The US Seventh Air Force begins executing Operation Patio, a covert aerial interdiction effort to strike PAVN positions in Cambodia.

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

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 lied on the border between Cambodia and South Vietnam.

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.

October 1970: The US backed regime of Lon Nol declares the formation of the Khmer Republic.

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

4th June, 1972: Lon Nol is elected President of the Khmer Republic, following elections that international observers declare to be rigged.

27th January, 1973: The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam is 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.

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.

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.

March 1973: Facing an escalation in attacks by the Khmer Rouge, ruthless attacks by the Khmer Rouge and heavy casualties, desertions and low recruitment by the Khmer National Armed Forces.

18th March, 1973: President Lon Nol officially suspends civil rights, thus preventing assemblies from being convened and arresting several members of the Royal Family.

29th March, 1973: The last military unit of the United States of America leaves Vietnam.



24th April, 1973: President Lon Nol announces the suspension of the National Assembly and the formation of a High Council that will rule by decree, for a period of six months.

30th April, 1973: The Government of the Republic of Vietnam surrenders unconditionally. Tank Columns of the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) occupy Saigon without any struggle, effectively ending the Vietnam War.

15th August, 1973: The United States of America brings an end to Operation Freedom Deal which involved the bombing of Khmer Rouge and North Vietnamese positions in the Khmer Republic. By this time, around 2,50,000 American bombs have been dropped on the Khmer Republic.

2nd April, 1974: A Khmer Rouge official named Khieu Samphan meets with Mao Zedong, President of the People's Republic of China.

26th May, 1974: The People's Republic of China agrees to provide the Khmer Rouge with military equipment and supplies.

1st July, 1974: Khmer Rouge soldiers execute around 700 civilians and surrendered soldiers in Battambang Province.

January, 1975: The Khmer Rouge receives around 4,000 tons of weapons and ammunition from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

February, 1975: Saloth Sar and his inner circle in the Khmer Rouge decide that cities occupied by Khmer Rouge forces are to be cleared of civilians who are to be evacuated to the rural areas of Cambodia.

1st April, 1975: Lon Nol resigns from the position of President of the Khmer Republic.

12th April, 1975: US Marines commence Operation Eagle Pull, a mission to airlift Americans and designated Cambodians from Phnom Penh.

13th April, 1975: The Supreme Committee of the Khmer Republic appoints 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.

17th April, 1975: Khmer Rouge forces capture the capital, Phnom Penh. Surrendering soldiers and Khmer Republic officials, including Prime Minister Long Boret, are executed by the Khmer Rouge.

18th April, 1975: The Khmer Rouge begins the evacuation of the people of Phnom Penh and other Cambodian cities into the rural areas, forcing even the sick, wounded and elderly to leave by foot. General Sak and surviving members of the Khmer Republic Government escape to the Kingdom of Thailand.

23rd April, 1975: Saloth Sar arrives in Phnom Penh.

1st May, 1975: Khmer Rouge forces invade the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc and claim it as part of Cambodia.

5th May, 1975: US intelligence reports claim that dozens of Cambodian military officers and their wives have been executed.

10th May, 1975: The Khmer Rouge occupies the Vietnamese island of Tho Chu and kills around 500 civilian residents.

12th May, 1975: A Khmer Rouge gunboat seizes an American cargo vessel, the SS Mayaguez, in the Gulf of Thailand.

14th May, 1975: US Marines 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.

20th May, 1975: The Khmer Rouge holds a five-day long Congress in Phnom Penh, attended by hundreds of party leaders, military officers and cadres. They are ordered to evacuate all cities and towns, execute all leaders and officials of the old regime, close markets, abolish all currency, suppress all religious activity and close Cambodia's borders.

24th May, 1975: Vietnamese forces mobilize and eventually recapture Phu Quoc and Tho Chu.

31st December, 1975: Norodom Sihanouk returns to Cambodia after several years in exile.

5th January, 1976: The Khmer Rouge proclaims the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea.

25th February, 1976: A North Vietnamese jet bombs the Cambodian city of Siem Reap, killing at least 15 people. Both the Governments of North Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea blame the United States of America for this attack.

20th March, 1976: The Khmer Rouge holds national elections across Democratic Kampuchea, where millions of Cambodians are not allowed to vote.

2nd April, 1976: Norodom Sihanouk, distraught 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.

14th April, 1976: Saloth Sar, the Khmer Rouge's "Brother Number One", is appointed as Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea. He begins using the pseudonym, "Pol Pot".



Pol Pot- Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea

2nd July, 1976: North Vietnam and South Vietnam officially unite to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

9th September, 1976: President Mao Zedong passes away, thus making Hua Goefeng leader of the People's Republic of China.

April 1977: A coup attempt against Pol Pot and other Khmer Rouge leaders is thwarted. Those involved are all executed.

30th April, 1977: Democratic Kampuchea launches a military attack against the Vietnamese provinces of An Giang and Chau Doc.

June 1977: Hun Sen, a Khmer Rouge commander, defects to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with around 200 men.

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

18th June, 1977: Democratic Kampuchea demands that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam remove all of its military units from the disputed areas and create a demilitarized zone between the two country's forces.

September 1977: Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) artillery strikes several Vietnamese villages along the border and six villages in Dong Thap Province are overrun by Kampuchean artillery. Shortly afterwards, six divisions of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) advance into the Vietnamese province of Tay Ninh Province where they kill more than 1,000 Vietnamese civilians.

16th December, 1977: Eight divisions of the People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN) with support from the Vietnam People’s Air Force cross the border along several axes with the objective of forcing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to negotiate.

31st December, 1977: Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Sampham declares that Democratic Kampuchea will “temporarily” break off diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam until the Vietnamese military withdraws from the “sacred territory of Democratic Kampuchea”.

6th January, 1978: The Socialist Republic of Vietnam withdraws its forces from Democratic Kampuchea despite PAVN divisions being only 38 km from the capital, Phnom Penh. During the withdrawal, PAVN forces evacuate thousands of prisoners and civilian refugees, including Hun Sen.

18th January, 1978: Vice Premier of the People’s Republic of China, Deng Yingchao travels to Phnom Penh in order to mediate between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Her effort is met with stiff resistance from Kampuchean leaders.

12th April, 1978: The Government of Democratic Kampuchea declares that they are willing to negotiate with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam if the Vietnamese are willing to give up their “expansionist ambitions” and recognize the sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea.

18th April, 1978: Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) forces cross the border into south-western Vietnam and attack the village of Ba Chuc, killing 3,157 civilians.

June 1978: The Vietnam People’s 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 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.

September 1978: General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Le Duan informs Boris Chaplin, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, that Vietnam aims to “solve fully this question of Kampuchea by the beginning of 1979”.

3rd November, 1978: The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) sign a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation 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 calls the Treaty "a document of great historic importance in the full sense of the term". At this time, several clashes are reported between forces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China at the Sino-Vietnamese border.

2nd December, 1978: The Pro-Vietnamese Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS) is formed by the Khmer Rouge defectors in the Kratie Province near the Kampuchean border with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to overthrow the regime of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. Heng Samrin, former member of the Khmer Rouge and Commander of the 4th Division of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) is voted as leader of the KUFNS and Chairman of the Central Committee of the KUFNS.

13th December, 1978: The People's Republic of China officially warns the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that its patience is limited and that Vietnam will be punished if it behaves in an "unbridled fashion", thus threatening a Chinese retaliation to any form of Vietnamese belligerence against Democratic Kampuchea.

Causes Behind the Conflict

The Rise of Communism and leftist ideologies in Cambodia and Indochina

The communist movement in Cambodia and Vietnam began before World War II with the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP), almost exclusively dominated by the Vietnamese, originally meant to fight French colonial rule in Indochina. In 1941, Nguyen Ai Quoc (commonly known by his alias Ho Chi Minh) founded the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi, or the Viet Minh. When the Japanese were defeated at the end of World War II, he initiated the first Indochinese war of independence against the French. In the first period, 1930 to 1954, a small Khmer section of the Indochina Communist Party (ICP), was under full ideological and organizational control of the Vietnamese communists. During the years of struggle for liberation from the governance of France (1946-1954), the strength of this section grew continuously due to ICP recruitment of the most radical participants in the anti-colonial struggle. During this time, Vietnamese forces made extensive use of Cambodian territory to

transport weapons, supplies, and troops. This relationship lasted throughout the Vietnam War, when Vietnamese communists used Cambodia as a transport route and staging area for attacks on South Vietnam.

In 1951, Vietnam guided the establishment of a separate Cambodian communist party, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP), which allied with a nationalist separatist Cambodian movement, the Khmer Serei (Free Khmers), in order to pursue independence. The leaders of the KPRP, Son Ngoc Minh, Sieu Heng and Tom Samut, acted hand in hand with the Vietnamese in the anti-colonial war and were truly valued allies and strict executors of all the plans drafted by the ICP. In accordance with the 1954 Geneva Accords negotiating the end of the French domination and under pressure from the Sihanouk regime and its Western allies, the Vietnamese withdrew their Viet Minh combat forces and cadres from the regions of Cambodia which were under their control and brought them to North Vietnam. Hereupon Khmer Royal Forces entered all zones that had been under KPRP authority, which forced the party underground. Since the KPRP was staffed primarily by ethnic Vietnamese or Cambodians under its tutelage, approximately 5,000 communist cadres went with them.

⁴The underground communist organization had broken up into rather isolated factions under heavy pressure from the authorities, and its illegal leaders wandered through the country from one secret address to another at the end of their tether. Authentic documents of this epoch were not saved. However, according to the evidence of such an informed person as Tep Khen, a former ambassador of Heng Samrin's regime in Hanoi, all documentation of the party fit into a schoolbag, which general secretary Tou Samut and his two bodyguards carried while travelling through the country. The treachery of Sieu Heng - the second most important person in the KPRP - dealt a heavy blow against the underground organization. This party leader, who had been in charge of KPRP work among peasants for several years, secretly cooperated with the special services of the ruling regime and during the period from 1955 to 1959 revealed practically all communist activists in the country to the authorities.

The prevailing chaos inside the party and the absence of serious control from the Vietnamese party presented Saloth Sar (who later took the revolutionary pseudonym Pol Pot), who had returned home from France, and his radical friends who had studied with him there, with huge possibilities for elevation to the highest positions in the semi-destroyed, isolated organization. The treachery of Sieu Heng did not affect them seriously, because they belonged to an urban wing of the party, headed by Tou Samut. The career growth of Pol Pot

was rapid: in 1953 he was secretary of a regional party cell, and in 1959 he made it to the post of secretary of Phnom Penh city committee of CPRP. Saloth Sar (Pol Pot), Ieng Sary, and Khieu Samphan, following the assassination of Tom Samut, emerged as the true political institution memorialising all of the communist ideologies and sentiments prevailing in Cambodia. This clique became the genesis of the Khmer Rouge, and its doctrine was heavily influenced by Maoist ideology.

The prevalence of new personnel was consolidated at the next Party congress, which took place in January 1963. It was also held underground at a secret address and according to veteran communists there were not more than 20 persons at it. During this meeting a new Central Committee, wherein young radicals held one third of all 12 posts, was elected. Pol Pot himself took up the post of the General Secretary, and Ieng Sary became a member of the Permanent Bureau. Unexpectedly for the Vietnamese, Pol Pot then renamed the party: from the People's Revolutionary Party to the Communist Party of Kampuchea or CPK. Much later, explaining the reason for changing the name, Pol Pot claimed that "The Communist Party of Indochina and consequently its successor the KPRP was in due course created by the Vietnamese to occupy Cambodian and Lao lands".

In 1966, the Soviet embassy in Phnom Penh began to receive messages that "the Communist Party is preparing the masses for an armed revolt". In December 1966, the journal "Somlenh Polokor" ("Workers' Voice"), closely connected to the communist underground, published an article stating: "Brother workers and peasants should be united by all means to destroy feudal and reactionary governors and their flunkies in the territory of Cambodia". According to the information of the Soviet embassy in Hanoi in a document dated February 19, 1968, it was pointed out that "using the critical economic situation of the peasants in the number of provinces, Chinese, based on pro-Maoist and pro-Vietnamese elements of the left-wing forces, rouse actions of the so-called Khmer Rouge in the Northern and Northwest provinces, smuggle weapons, and create small armed groups of rebels."⁴

Thus, as a result of the gradual rise of communist and other leftist ideologies in Cambodia as well as support for these communist movements from the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) led by Pol Pot ultimately rose to power in Cambodia, setting the stage for conflict in the Indochinese Region.

The regime of the Khmer Rouge in Democratic Kampuchea

Following the victory of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), soon regarded as the Khmer Rouge, against the Lon Nol regime in the Cambodian Civil War, Cambodia was renamed as Democratic Kampuchea, in line with the ideology of “Khmer Communism” the Khmer Rouge propagated. The Khmer Rouge Government adopted the mysterious term Angkar, or 'the organisation', and the identities of its leaders remained confidential until 1977. The official Head of State of Democratic Kampuchea was Khieu Samphan, but the two men in control of the Khmer Rouge were Pol Pot, who acted in capacity of the Prime Minister and Ieng Sary who acted in capacity of the Deputy Prime Minister. The ultimate objective of the Khmer Rouge was to erase the structure of the previous Cambodian state which they viewed as feudal, capitalist, and serving the agendas of both the landholding elite and imperialists. In its place, they hoped to create a classless society based entirely on worker-peasants. The radical ideologies and goals of the Khmer Rouge were alien concepts to the masses. The socialist revolution held very little popular appeal, which led Pol Pot and his cadres to use ultra-nationalist sentiment, repressive and murderous rule, and propaganda aimed at demonising the Vietnamese to maintain control.

⁶Pol Pot had envisioned a totally new, classless, and self-independent society, in which the peasants were regarded as the backbone of the society. He reputedly claimed that if the Khmers could build Angkor, they could do anything. Cambodia was to be started anew, at Year Zero. Following the end of the Cambodian Civil War, 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. Foreigners were ordered out of the country. The Lon Nol army was known to have executed many of its prisoners and the Khmer Rouge responded in kind. Anyone identified with the former regime was promptly arrested and executed. Intellectuals, people with wealth, and many people who appeared suspicious, were also taken aside and killed. 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 the People’s Republic of China and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Democratic Kampuchea’s vice premier in charge of foreign affairs, Ieng Sary, later justified the evacuation in terms of the

lack of facilities and transportation to bring food to the cities. Pol Pot, visiting China in October 1977, said that the evacuation was to break up an “enemy spy organization.”

The Khmer Rouge isolated the country from the outside world. They did not allow any foreigners into the country and no Cambodians were allowed to leave. A few days later, after Pol Pot and other CPK officials entered Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge held a ceremony to pay homage to those who had died during the war. In Beijing, more than 100,000 people and many Chinese leaders celebrated the victory of the communist forces over the U.S.-backed government.

Many schools were turned into animal farms or prisons, the most infamous of which was S-21 (formerly Tuol Svay Prey High School). Houses and shops were emptied; cars piled up on the streets. Phnom Penh came to be known as a “ghost town” during Khmer Rouge rule. 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. 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.

Anyone suspected of connections with the Lon Nol regime or with the Vietnamese risked a painful death. War was declared against any western influence in both technology and society and those thought to have had any western association were systematically executed or died from arduous labour and hunger. The Khmer Rouge established a cooperative system which abolished all private property. Children were taken from their parents. In some places forced marriages were arranged. Religion was prohibited, monks were defrocked and churches and pagodas were destroyed. All forms of currency and trade were abolished and eating in private or scavenging for food was considered a crime against the state. Schools were closed down and western medicine forbidden in favour of traditional medicine and experimentation. Mechanisation or machinery was abandoned and the metal pilfered for other uses, while people replaced draught animals in the field.

Under the Democratic Kampuchea regime, vast portions of the population were forcibly moved from their homes to often distant locations in the countryside. The Khmer Rouge sometimes referred to these locations as “experimental sites for the New People.” This policy

of forcibly moving people from one location to another (i.e., forced transfer) without giving them advance warning, compensation, or any legal means to object, caused incredible suffering and strain on people and communities. Over a period of forty-five months, the Khmer Rouge regime engaged in many forced transfers of people between regions. Families were broken up, husbands were separated from their wives, children were taken from their parents, and countless loved ones disappeared without a trace.

The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea were highly suspicious of enemies from within the regime and sought to crush them at all costs. The S-21 Torture Prison was used by the Khmer Rouge to detain individuals accused of working with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States of America or the Committee for State Security (KGB) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)". Khmer Rouge cadres and their family members who were arrested would usually "confess" under torture to working for the CIA or KGB.

The Khmer Rouge emptied the cities in order to abolish urban living and to build a new Cambodia based on the expanded production of rice. In early 1976, the CPK hastily wrote the first four-year plan (1977-1980), which called for the collectivization of all private property and placed high national priority on the cultivation of rice. After national defense, collectivization was the most important policy of Democratic Kampuchea. People in Cambodia had never been collectivized in the past. But in 1976, everyone was required to bring their private possessions (including kitchen utensils) to be used collectively. As part of the process, Cambodian families were split up and people were assigned to work groups. Husbands and wives were separated, and children were separated from their parents. The four-year plan aimed at achieving an average national yield of three tons of rice per hectare. This was an impossible task because Cambodians had never been forced to produce that much rice on a national scale before. Moreover, the country had been devastated by war and lacked tools, farm animals and a healthy work force.

The four-year plan also included arrangements to plant vegetables, and hoped to generate income from timber, fishing, animal husbandry, tree farms, etc. The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea hoped to make Cambodia completely independent in both the economic and political spheres and turn Cambodia from an undeveloped agricultural country to a modern agricultural country. However, the leaders ignored the difficulties of implementing this plan and the miseries that flowed inevitably from overwork, poor living conditions, and

malnutrition, lack of freedom and basic rights, and untreated diseases. Throughout the period of Democratic Kampuchea, the living conditions of people were very poor. The Khmer Rouge killed many intellectuals and technicians, and closed all universities, schools and other educational institutes throughout the country. They then brought poor peasants from the countryside with no technical experience to work in Phnom Penh's few factories.

The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea divided the country's rice fields into number-one rice fields and simple rice fields. For the simple rice fields, the required yield was 3 tons per hectare, while farmers in the number-one rice fields were required to achieve 6 to 7 tons per hectare. In addition, the yields were to increase every year. In theory, the crop was divided into four portions. Some of it was intended to feed people; everyone was entitled to receive 312 kilograms of rice a year or 0.85 kg a day. Some of the remaining crop was to be retained as seed rice and some was to be kept as a reserve. The last and biggest portion of the crop was to be sold abroad to earn foreign exchange, which could then be used purchase farm machinery, goods and ammunition. Unfortunately, because production almost never reached the required levels, almost no rice was saved for the people or for seed. Instead, most of the harvest was used to feed the army and factory workers or was exported to China and several other socialist countries. In Democratic Kampuchea, almost no one ever had enough to eat; in most cases, they only had rice porridge mixed with corn, slices of banana trees, or papaya tree trunks. Most people received less than half a milk can of rice a day. Only the Khmer Rouge cadres and soldiers received cooked rice. All survivors of the regime agree that what they remember the most, aside from hard labor and executions, was the extreme shortage of food.⁶

These radical policies of Khmer Rouge ultimately polarized the people of Democratic Kampuchea to such an extent that there was internal dissatisfaction against the regime which had the potential of spiralling into conflict. The radicalization of the Khmer Rouge was by far, one of the key proponents which led to Democratic Kampuchea's aggressive policies, be it domestic or foreign.

The Sino-Soviet Split: A New Era in Geopolitics

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 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 in 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”.

The French Occupation of Cambodia

In 1862, the King of Cambodia, King Norodom requested the formation of a French protectorate over his kingdom and it was on 11th August 1863 that King Norodom signed a Treaty acknowledging the formation of a French protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia and under the Treaty, the power was largely vested in a Resident General to be housed in Phnom Penh. France was also to be in charge of Cambodia’s foreign and trade relations as well as provide military protection to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

In 1897, the ruling Resident-General complained to Paris that the current King of Cambodia, King Norodom was no longer fit to rule and asked for permission to assume the King’s powers to collect taxes, issue decrees and even appoint royal officials and choose crown princes. As a result, most powers were vested in the French Government’s Resident-General in Cambodia and the colonial bureaucracy.

The colonial bureaucracy of the French Protectorate of Cambodia was made up of mostly French officials and the only Asians freely permitted to participate in Government were ethnic Vietnamese who were at that time, viewed as the dominant Asians in the Indochinese Union.

This ultimately culminated into a sense of hatred among the Cambodian people against the Vietnamese who they perceived as oppressors. This narrative was used by the Pol Pot led Khmer Rouge to provoke anti-Vietnamese sentiment in the Kingdom of Cambodia following the end of the Cambodian civil war. This was one of the factors which contributed to the increasing Cambodian participation in the Khmer Rouge and the activities of the

Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (KRA) in the lead-up to the multiple border skirmishes between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The Cambodian Civil War

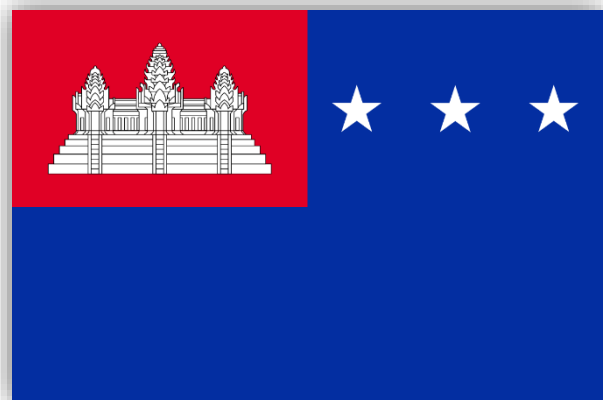
On 11th September 1966, the Kingdom of Cambodia held its first election and the conservatives won 75% of the seats in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Marshall Lon Nol was chosen as Prime Minister and Prince Sirik Matak was an ultra-conservative who was a long-time enemy of Prince Sihanouk. 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 position of the President of the National Assembly of the Khmer Republic. In 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 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 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 invading 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, to launch 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 Khmer Rouge, after coming to power in Phnom Penh and renaming Cambodia as Democratic Kampuchea and establishing it along “communist” lines, 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. Moreover, Cambodian history with Vietnam did not help to reduce tensions as the issues arising out of past instances of Vietnamese domination over the Cambodian people began to infect the leadership of Democratic Kampuchea as 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, 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, 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 to the extent of accepting military aid from the People’s Republic of China and accusing the Soviet Union of allying with the Vietnamese to commit aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. On the 31st of December 1977, Khieu Samphan declared that Democratic Kampuchea would “temporarily” sever diplomatic relations with Vietnam until the Vietnamese military withdrew from the “sacred territory of Democratic Kampuchea”. In a letter dated 7th November 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea addressed to the President of the United Nations Security Council, Kampuchean leader In Nath wrote that “The conflict between Kampuchea and Viet Nam cannot be resolved and peace and stability in the South-East Asian region cannot be ensured until Vietnam completely and finally abandons its ambition to swallow up Kampuchea, its “Indo-Chinese Federation” strategy and its regional expansionist ambition”.

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 (ARVN) 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 (PAVN) was able to recapture most of the border territories and decimate the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK) and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) 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 (NVA), 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 (KRA) and the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) had almost reached the Kampuchean capital, Phnom Penh but then soon withdrew its forces. In June 1978, the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam met in the

Vietnamese capital, Hanoi where they 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 solve fully this question of Kampuchea by the beginning of 1979". 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.

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 (USSR) 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. Justifying his stance, in June 1973, Mao said, "The Albanians were determined not to allow the American withdrawal from Vietnam because they believed that "the tempest of world revolution is in Asia. The storm of Asian revolution is in Vietnam. If war ends, it is terrible. That is opportunism—right opportunism." It was collusion with the U.S. imperialists. The one who purposefully colluded with U.S. imperialists, Japan, Western Germany, and Great Britain is me. What could you do to me?" Following the US-orchestrated coup against Sihanouk and the establishment of the Khmer Republic with Lon Nol installed as

President, the People's Republic of China brokered a united front between Prince Sihanouk and Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot resulting in the formation of the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK) and the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK). However, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) did not want Cambodia to develop into another South Vietnam. They had no intention to embroil China and the United States in this new battlefield due to their respective support for the Khmer Rouge and the Lon Nol government. Otherwise, this would lead to the demise of the Sino-American rapprochement and work only to the advantage of the Soviet Union. From 1970 to 1975, assistance from the People's Republic of China to the Khmer Rouge was valued at 316 million yuan. On 21st June 1975, Mao Zedong said to Pol Pot, "We agree with you! Much of your experience is better than ours. China is not qualified to criticize you. We committed errors of the political routes for ten times in fifty years—some are national, some are local... Thus I say China has no qualification to criticize you but have to applaud you. You are basically correct... In fifty years, or one hundred years, or even ten thousand years there will be the struggles of the two lines. There will be the struggles of two lines when communism arrives. If not, they are not Marxists". 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 have 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 Socialistic Republic of Vietnam. 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 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR):** ⁸The imprints of Moscow's influence in Indochina can be traced to the time when Ho Chi Minh, future North Vietnamese President, was given instructions from the Soviet-led Communist International (Comintern) to form a Marxist revolutionary organization in Vietnam. However, its relations with the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) was not at all similar with its cooperation with other communist movements in Indochina. 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 overthrowing 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 Vietnamese⁸. 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.

5. **The United States of America:** Due to the use of Cambodia territory by the Khmer Rouge, the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and the Viet Cong to establish military bases and transport weapons, through the Sihanouk Trail (part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail) to Viet Cong forces fighting against troops of the United States of America and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), on the 29th of April 1970, the Richard M. Nixon administration decided to expand the Vietnam War to Cambodia, so as to attack forces of the Khmer Rouge, PAVN and Viet Cong operating in the territory of the Khmer Republic. ⁹This started with American ground operations, one of them titled "Operation Cambodian Incursion" which were a series of search and destroy missions that consisted of approximately 32,000 US and 40,000 ARVN soldiers. The operational goal of the Cambodian incursion was to destroy North Vietnamese communists and buy time for the Khmer Republic's armed forces, also known as Forces Armées Nationales Khmères (FANK), to prepare for the expected war. Its main objectives were to find and destroy the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) headquarters for operations in South Vietnam, the Central Office in South Vietnam (COSVN), and to clear out communist sanctuaries. The US State Department provided \$40 million in economic aid in July of 1970. On August 19th of the same year, the United States signed a military aid agreement with Cambodia promising \$185 million for fiscal year (FY) 1971, followed by \$200 million for FY 1972. Government corruption was rampant, and much of the monetary aid went to the upper class and government officials, doing little to help the peasants. Cambodia also received \$8.9 million in military aid from US contingency funds. Reportedly, military equipment,

mostly automatic rifles, began to arrive in Phnom Penh as early as April of 1970 in secret shipments from South Vietnam and eyewitnesses pointed out that an estimated 6,000 AK-47s and 7,200 M-2 Carbines and ammunition arrived in the Khmer Republic prior to May of 1970. From March 1969 to August 1973, the US military dropped an estimated 539,129 tons of 17 ordnance on 113,000 sites in Cambodia through 227,000 sorties. On 30th June 1973, Nixon laid out his seven-point plan for Cambodia to the American people. According to the report, the US would provide no ground personnel or advisors. It would conduct air interdiction missions to protect US forces in Vietnam, turn over captured military supplies to Cambodia, provide small arms and unsophisticated equipment, and encourage other countries to provide military, diplomatic, and economic aid to Cambodia. US foreign aid continued until August of 1973, when the United States abruptly ended the bombing campaign. Economic aid continued until the fall of the Khmer Republic in April of 1975. In total, aid to Cambodia cost America over \$1.6 billion US dollars; \$1.18 billion in military assistance, and \$503 million in economic assistance. This figure does not include the \$7 billion cost to the United States for the air campaign. The Khmer Republic's economy was so dependent on US foreign aid by 1975 it was beyond recovery⁹. During Operation Menu, 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 ordnance 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. President Nixon proclaimed the incursion to be "the most successful military operation of the entire war". 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. ‘

6. **The Kingdom of Thailand:** ¹⁰Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia began as the Kingdom of Thailand was going through a transitional period. The civilian Governments formed after the revolution of the 14th of October 1973, had to cope with expansive communist power. Between 1973 and 1976, there were rapid shifts of Thailand's foreign policy towards its neighbours from anti-communism to co-existence and then back to anti-communism

again. Since Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat took power in 1958, Thailand had served as a launching ground for the United States of America to conduct covert operations against communist movements in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. After the October 14 uprising, the new civilian Governments were forced to adopt two interrelated policies: The withdrawal of US forces from Thailand and the establishment of normal relations with the communist countries. Soon after the royally appointed Prime Minister Sanya Dhammasakti had taken office, his Government announced that the US would no longer be able to use airbases to launch its attacks in Indochina. However, the United States of America was still using the U-Tapao airbase in Southeastern Thailand to airlift arms and ammunition to the Lon Nol Government in the Khmer Republic. The US also employed trucks from the Thai state enterprise, Express Transport Organization (ETO), to transport arms across the border at Aranyaprathet to the Lon Nol forces in Battambang. After this US Operation was exposed to the public, Kulkrit immediately told the press that he had ordered suspension of the use of the base for shipping arms to Cambodia and that the US had no right to do this. The arms shipments however, went on with the cooperation from the Thai military as the customs official told the press that the ETO trucks to Cambodia had the supreme military command office's immunity, and they were not subjected to any searches. Besides, the customs office did not receive an order either from the military or the government to stop the arms transport. On the eve of the Khmer Rouge seizure of Phnom Penh, Thai Foreign Minister Major General Chatichai Choonhavan announced that the Thai Government was willing to offer the Kingdom of Thailand as a site for peace negotiations between the Lon Nol Government and the Khmer Rouge. Prince Norodom Sihanouk warned that Thailand should "stop playing the US henchman and interfering in Cambodian affairs". During the Magayuez incident, the Thai Government did not permit the Americans to use their air bases to launch attacks against Democratic Kampuchea. However, the very next day, Thailand saw 1100 US marines from Okinawa landed at the U-Tapao Air Base and launched heavy attacks on the Cambodian port at Kampong Sam and on Tang Island, which led to the release of the SS Mayaguez. The Thai Government sent a protest note to the US Embassy, charging the Americans with violating Thailand's sovereignty. Diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and Democratic Kampuchea were built in the midst of tensions along the Thai-Kampuchean border. After certain troops and officials of the Lon Nol Government escaped to the Kingdom of Thailand, there were constant disputes between the Thai and Kampuchean Governments. Khmer Rouge forces threatened to invade Thailand after Thai

authorities refused to hand over six armoured personnel carriers brought to Thailand by fleeing Lon Nol military officers and a request by the Khmer Rouge to enter the border areas of Thailand and suppress Lon Nol troops, was turned down by the Thai Government. 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 Federation¹⁰.

7. **The Lao People's Democratic Republic:** Following the Vietnamese victory against the United States of America, a wave of communist victories broke out in Laos and Cambodia. In Laos, the North Vietnamese militarily intervened in the Laotian Civil War by sending 30,000-40,000 PAVN forces to assist the Lao People's Liberation Army (also called the Pathet Lao) and Group 559 of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) worked alongside the Pathet Lao to establish routes of the Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos in order to allow for PAVN arms supplies to reach the Viet Cong forces fighting against the Government of the Republic of Vietnam. Soon, a power struggle broke out in the Government between the pro-Western and neutralist factions which was further fuelled by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand. The Soviet Union militarily intervened by running airlift operations to drop PAVN artillery and gunners to reinforce the newly formed Neutralist-Pathet Lao coalition. Despite the signing of the International Agreement on the Neutrality of Laos of 1962 and the consequent disbanding of the American Military Assistance Advisory Group, the PAVN continued to assist the Pathet Lao. The United States of America began flying aerial bombardment missions to destroy certain parts of the Ho Chi Minh Trail running through Laos. With support of the United States Air Force, the Royal Lao Army (RLA) had gained some victories against the Pathet Lao. However, with the help of the PAVN, the Pathet Lao launched a major offensive in 1972. With the signing of the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, the United States of America totally withdrew from Laos. As Saigon fell to the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge, Pathet Lao forces in coordination with the PAVN advanced further against the RLA until they captured the capital, Vientiane and Kaysone Phomvihane emerged as Prime Minister of the newly proclaimed Lao People's Democratic Republic. The Lao People's Democratic Republic immediately began advancing its relations with the newly formed Socialist Republic of Vietnam, even signing the twenty-five year Lao-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which allowed for the stationing of Vietnamese troops in the territories of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to protect it against "hostile" or "counter-revolutionary" neighbours, possibly hinting towards strained relations between the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea.

Consequences of A Potential Conflict

The repercussions of the ongoing tensions between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are set to challenge the stability of Asia and the world as a whole. This conflict presents a struggle for power among not just countries, but ideologies. At the heights of the Cold War, this can only mark the beginning of the complete disintegration of the so-called “Communist bloc”. Despite the state of Détente between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), there is a major possibility of American intervention in this conflict which could trigger a harsh Soviet response, especially considering the reproachment between the United States of America and the People’s Republic of China.

Any conflict that breaks out between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam at this point has the ability to totally annihilate regional stability in Asia as a struggle for regional hegemony will indeed break out in South-East Asia.

This could ultimately translate into a full-fledged war between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People’s Republic of China, thus ultimately culminating into a potential nuclear war which would only mean the greatest level of death and destruction the world has seen, ever since the Second World War.

As delegates of this United Nations Historic Security Council, you will face perhaps the gravest of odds that this committee has faced since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. What is your objective? To secure victory for your country. How do you do that? By upholding your country’s foreign policy, irrespective of the crisis that erupts and to know how to adapt your country’s policy as the situation demands. This Security Council, will be different than you have ever witnessed before. Research, lobbying and paperwork are perhaps aspects that just help you go about the committee to the best of your understanding. However, it will be your presence of mind, analytical understanding of the agenda and the will to act and negotiate that will help you, your country and the world, survive.

As Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot once said,

“It is better to kill an innocent by mistake than spare an enemy by mistake”.

Position Papers

Considering the complexities of geopolitical scenarios in this committee, it is imperative for delegates of this committee to submit a position paper to unhsc.jacomun23@gmail.com no later than 11:59 pm IST (Indian Standard Time) on 10th July, 2023. This position paper holds paramount importance as it is through this position paper that each delegation in committee can clearly outline their country's foreign policies regarding the committee so as to provide the Executive Board with a comprehensive understanding of the roadmap the delegation wants to take during the three days of committee.

The Position Paper should consist of these three fundamental aspects:

1. Statement of the Problem
2. Country Policy on the Agenda
3. Solutions to the crisis at hand (Both Unilateral and Multilateral)

A sample of the Position Paper can be found in the Conference Handbook which has been uploaded on the JacoMUN website.

Paperwork

The Executive Board of the United Nations Historic Security Council (UNHSC) will accept the following forms of paperwork:

1. **Presidential Statements**: These are statements made by the Head of a State of a particular country to declare a major decision or action which signifies a radical shift in policy of the country concerned. If deemed pertaining to the crisis in the committee, the Executive Board reads out the Presidential Statements to the committee. A Presidential Statement can be either written by the Head of State of one particular country or can be jointly written by the Heads of State of several countries together in the form of Joint Presidential Statements.
2. **Public Communiques**: Public Communiques can be used by a delegation to declare a significant step, policy or action that has been taken by their country, pertaining to the crisis in committee, which changes the dynamics of the crisis, by either solving or

aggravating it. Public Communiques are usually read out by the Executive Board to the committee if they are ratified. They can be submitted by a single country or multiple countries through Joint Public Communiques.

3. **Private Communiques:** Private Communiques are used by a delegation to take covert actions through their country's intelligence agency or military establishment. These communiques need to be realistic and comprehensively outline the idea behind the action being taken so that the Executive Board can grasp the intentions of the delegation through the communique. Private Communiques are introduced by the Executive Board to the committee in the form of updates, if they are ratified by the Executive Board. Countries usually act individually through Private Communiques but multiple countries can take covert actions together through Joint Private Communiques.
4. **Working Papers:** This form of paperwork is used when committee has faced multiple crises and committee has reached consensus over the need to find solutions. With no rigid rules on formatting, Working Papers offer delegates a flexible manner of introducing solutions in the committee. Working Papers are usually passed by simple majority.
5. **Draft Resolutions:** Draft Resolutions are the official form of paperwork for the United Nations Security Council and their legally binding nature is highly dependent on the clauses written in the resolution itself. Draft Resolutions follow a specific format which has to be adhered to by the delegates of the committee. Draft Resolutions are used to formally note down the solutions and the decisions that the United Nations Security Council takes to address a particular crisis. In the United Nations Security Council, a Draft Resolution can be passed with the approval of a majority of the Non-Permanent Members and the approval of each of the Permanent Members of the Security Council, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China.
6. **Action Orders:** Action Orders in the Security Council are to be used to conduct military attacks during a state of active war. They are to provide comprehensive details of the locations being attacked, military resources being used for the armed

offensive, time period during which the armed offensive is being conducted and other relevant details that help the Executive Board assess the military actions being taken by the delegation. Action Orders are introduced as updates by the Executive Board of the United Nations Historic Security Council, after the Executive Board has decided that the measures taken in the Action Order are realistic.

Citations

1. ¹<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>¹ The United Nations Charter¹
2. ²<https://www.walterdorn.net/pub?id=166:provisional-rules-of-procedure-of-the-security-council&catid=1> Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council²
3. ³https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Indochina French Indochina- Wikipedia³
4. ⁴<https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/46645/GS20.pdf> The Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese Communists: A History of Their Relations as told in the Soviet Archives⁴
5. ⁵<https://www.asianstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/the-rise-and-fall-of-democratic-kampuchea.pdf> The Rise and Fall of Democratic Kampuchea⁵
6. ⁶<https://weremember.gov.tr/documents/History-of-Democratic-Kampuchea-r.pdf> A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)⁶
7. ⁷file:///C:/Users/saiba/Downloads/S_12919-EN.pdf Letter Dated 7th November 1978 from the Representative of Democratic Kampuchea Addressed to the President of the Security Council⁷
8. ⁸https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/216483/1/029_sdsc-court.pdf The Soviet Union in Southeast Asia by F. A. Mediansky and Dianne Court (Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No 29)⁸

9. ⁹<https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/AD1083537.pdf> Insurgency: The Cambodian Civil War, 1970-75 (A Monograph by CW5 Jesse W, Lee, US Army- School of Advanced Military Studies, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS 2019)⁹

10. ¹⁰https://www.academia.edu/42958519/Thailands_Response_to_the_Cambodian_Genocide¹⁰ Thailand's response to the Cambodian Genocide by Independent Researcher Puangthong Rungswasdisab¹⁰