A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES

October 1987

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This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on two current Indochina-related issues: Thai political strategy of solving the Cambodian question, and the tactics and organization of Khmer Laotian resistance groups. The bibliography was prepared monthly and incorporates serials and monographs arranged alphabetically by author and title within each section.

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PREFACE

This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on three current Indochina-related issues:

* Thailand’s political strategy for solving the Cambodian question
* tactics and organization of Khmer/Laothian resistance groups
* the war in Cambodia

This bibliography incorporates serials and monographs received in the previous month and is part of a continuing series on the above subjects.

Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or title. Library of Congress call numbers, where appropriate, are included to facilitate the recovery of works cited.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANS</td>
<td>Armee Nationale Sihanoukiste (Sihanoukist National Army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGDK</td>
<td>Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea</td>
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<td>DK</td>
<td>Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUNCINPEC</td>
<td>National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCP</td>
<td>Khmer Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPNLF</td>
<td>Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (Son Sann)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPRAF</td>
<td>Khmer People’s Revolutionary Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KR</td>
<td>Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUFNCD</td>
<td>Khmer United Front for National Construction and Defense (PRK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nao Nao</td>
<td>Progressive [lit: moving in new directions]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAVN</td>
<td>People’s Army of Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCCS</td>
<td>Provisional Central Committee for Salvation (KPNLF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERMICO</td>
<td>Permanent Military Committee for Coordination (KPNLF and ANS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRK</td>
<td>People’s Republic of Kampuchea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRPK</td>
<td>People’s Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, aka KPRP (Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTG</td>
<td>Royal Thai Government</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Siam Rat
SPK
SRV
Su Anakhot

Thai Nation
News Agency of the PRK
Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Forward [lit: going toward the future]
1. THE WAR IN CAMBODIA
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"ASEAN Ministers to Meet at UN, Discuss Proposal." Nation
(Bangkok), 25 August 1987, p. 6. In FBIS (East Asia), 25

According to an informed source, ASEAN foreign ministers
will meet in New York on September 28 to discuss the
"cocktail party" idea and devise a strategy to secure
international support for the Coalition Government of
Democratic Kampuchea at the coming U.N. General Assembly.
Indonesia has proposed that the informal cocktail meeting
would be held in the resort city of Bogor, located about
40 kilometers outside Jakarta.

Chuensuksawadi, Pichai. "A Major Role for Moscow." Bangkok
Post, 20 June 1987, p. 4.

The article attempts to analyze the Soviet position in the
Cambodian conflict and what key ASEAN officials perceive
as "encouraging signs" from the Kremlin. First, the
Soviets leaders believe that the Vietnamese troop
withdrawal from Cambodia becomes necessary and inevitable,
if Hanoi is serious about implementing its economic
programs. Second, they support the principles of national
reconciliation and right of self-determination for
Cambodians, emphasizing that the Heng Samrin government
must play a major role whereas Pol Pot--but not
necessarily the Khmer Rouge--must be excluded from the
process. Third, they agree with ASEAN on the importance
and popularity of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in his own
country, and they do not rule out some Cambodian leaders
such as Son Sann of the non-communist KPNLF faction. In
view of the similarity of positions between ASEAN and the
Soviet Union on the resolution of the Cambodian conflict,
the article concludes that the prospect for peace now
depends on how China and Prince Sihanouk accept the role
of Moscow and how to translate words into concrete
actions.

Cumming-Bruce, Nick. "Vietnam Agrees to Kampuchean Talks."
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After a three-day visit to Ho Chi Minh City in late July, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mocttar Kusumaatmadja declares that Vietnam has accepted the idea of a "cocktail party," or informal meeting, among the various Cambodian factions. The foreign minister indicates that the Vietnamese leaders are going to inform the Phnom Penh government of the proposal and Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila, as this year's chairman of ASEAN's standing committee, will consult with other ASEAN governments.


The Voice of Democratic Kampuchea radio charges that Vietnam has used chemical agents in water sources and foodstuffs. It claims that 537 people have died in six Cambodian provinces during July and August. The victims are civilians living in areas under Vietnamese control. The chemical agents are not identified, but the symptoms include hemorrhaging, abdominal distension, and severe facial burns. Some people die instantly through suffocation and others become thin and pale for a "long period" before dying.


Prince Norodom Sihanouk announces that he will lead a CGDK delegation to Beijing next week, because he "cannot refuse an official invitation from China." However, the prince makes it clear that he will not discuss the Cambodian issue with his partners in the coalition. Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping told Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila that China would support a non-aligned Cambodia with Prince Sihanouk "as its real head."

Hanoi clarifies its position on the "cocktail party" and does not oppose the participation of the Khmer Rouge leaders if they are included in a delegation headed by Prince Sihanouk. According to Deputy Foreign Minister Nguyen Dy Nien, "It is up to Sihanouk. There will be only two sides in the talks." In a press interview in Bangkok, Dr. Mochtar reveals that Prince Sihanouk has agreed to the idea with some conditions. However, the Indonesian foreign minister does not specify the prince's conditions.


In his weekly press meeting, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja affirms that Indonesia should not "forsake ASEAN unity" in its effort to find a solution to the Cambodian problem, and maintains that the idea of a cocktail party among the parties involved in the conflict is still alive.

"Phnom Penh Condemns ASEAN Proposal on 'Cocktail Party' Talk." Indonesian Observer (Jakarta), 23 August 1987, p. 3.

Phnom Penh, Vientiane, and Hanoi reject the ASEAN proposal that a "cocktail party" among the warring Cambodian factions should be immediately followed by talks involving Vietnam. The three Indochinese governments also denounce ASEAN's suggestion that the eight-point peace plan should serve as a basis of discussion for the informal meeting. In Pyongyang, Prince Sihanouk confirms that he will head the CGDK delegation on an official visit to China from August 29-September 2. He insists, however, that he does not want to attend the UN General Assembly in New York this year, "even if China asks me to go."

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Photojournalist Ken Guest, who had visited the CGDK forces for the first time in July 1986, returned to the resistance-occupied areas this summer. Asialweek relates his journey with the KPNLF and ANS troops into the Phnom Penh-controlled territory inside Cambodia.


ASEAN foreign ministers meet in Bangkok on August 16, 1987, to resolve their differences over Indonesia's "cocktail party" proposal. The major problem concerns the format of the cocktail party. The formula adopted by the ASEAN ministers is "one meeting, initially among the Cambodian parties, followed immediately by Vietnam's participation," which differs from the Mochtar-Thach joint communiqué implying two separate sessions. The second problem deals with the agenda of the proposed talks. ASEAN ministers insist that the CGDK's "eight-point proposal will form the basis of discussion." The meeting underscores basic differences of perception of the Cambodian conflict between Indonesia on the one hand, and Thailand and Singapore on the other. According to diplomatic sources, Jakarta fears that a Sino-Soviet rapprochement will benefit Hanoi and therefore thinks that ASEAN should act now to find an early settlement of the war. However, the Thai and Singaporean leaders are worried that Vietnam will change the Cambodia issue from one of foreign aggression and occupation to that of a civil war, by including only the various Cambodian factions in the talks.


In July a seven-member group of Thai businessmen visited Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and Phnom Penh and met with Vietnamese and Cambodian officials to explore trade opportunities. The visit—led by a retired army general
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who is a classmate and supporter of former army commander
General Arthit Kamlang-ek—causes some embarrassment to
the Thai Foreign Ministry, since Bangkok does not
recognize the Heng Samrin government and cannot officially
appear to promote trade with Vietnam which still has about
140,000 troops in Cambodia. Although the central
government forbids any formal contact with the Phnom Penh
regime, Thai military authorities in the east-coast
provinces (from Rayong to Chanthaburi and Trat) take a
more liberal approach towards smuggling along the border
and illicit trade with Cambodia's Koh Kong province, where
80 percent of the population are ethnic Thais. The
official explanation for this lenient attitude is that
trade, illicit or not, is viewed as "an indirect form of
humanitarian assistance," and is designed to foster
"people-to-people bond" which would hopefully reduce
Cambodians' dependence on Vietnam.