A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES

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A Selective, Annotated Bibliography on Current Indochinese Issues

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

<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>
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<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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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)</td>
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<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>
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<tr>
<td>KPNLF</td>
<td>Khmer People's National Liberation Front (Son Sann)</td>
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<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>Naeo Na</td>
<td>Progressive [lit: moving in new directions]</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAVN</td>
<td>People's Army of Vietnam</td>
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<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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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

According to an informed Vietnamese source, the partial Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia will take place in mid-November at the earliest, instead of the end of October as scheduled. The reason for the delay is the difficulty in replacing Vietnamese units with Cambodian army units in certain sensitive areas. The Vietnamese source indicates that "We now have to deploy Cambodian soldiers in the front line on all fronts and 1988 will be decisive in this respect because we will again pull out a large number of our troops next year." The source adds that Vietnam will withdraw "some 20,000" troops in 1987. In the past, Hanoi has said that it pulled out 10,000 each year.


The five-point peace plan--announced on October 8, 1987, by the Phnom Penh government--offers Prince Norodom Sihanouk a high state position in the Hanoi-supported Cambodian regime. This is interpreted by some analysts as a move to encourage the prince to return to Cambodia and split with the CGDK. The plan includes the holding of elections in the presence of foreign observers and the establishment of a coalition government "to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia." The addition of the word "neutral" to the old expression "non-aligned" is noticed as an interesting change by US analysts. Phnom Penh also considers possible roles for the leaders and groups of the opposition, with the exception of Pol Pot and his closest associates who include his wife Khieu Ponnary, Ieng Sary and his wife Ieng Thirith, and Noun Chea.

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In his weekly press meeting, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mocttar Kusumaatmadja emphasizes that it is less important to believe in the complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal in 1990 than to create the conditions for Hanoi to pull out earlier. He also reiterates ASEAN's solidarity and unity on the "cocktail party" proposal and other issues regarding Cambodia.


The article focuses on the increasing role of the Soviet Union in finding a political solution to the Cambodian war. The idea of "national reconciliation", advocated by the Heng Samrin government on August 27, 1987, was apparently the result of a meeting between Gheorghe Kieriev, director general of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and head of its newly created Department of Socialist Countries in Asia, and officials from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Also, in a significant move Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rodachiev recently declared that Cambodia constituted the main "obstacle" to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. In the past, only China had stated this view. However, some analysts caution that there are limits to Moscow's power in putting the pressure on Hanoi to accept a compromise.


According to reliable sources, Prince Sihanouk in a message to his son indicates that Romanian President Ceausescu has asked him to forgo the meeting with Hun Sen. Adopting the Chinese position, Ceausescu told Sihanouk that Vietnam should withdraw its troops from Cambodia "at the same time as, and not after the formation of a four-party government of national reconciliation."

However, the prince is determined to pursue his peace efforts, and Le Monde reports that the French Government is going to help him. On November 9, 1987, French Foreign
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Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond will consult with Indonesian Foreign Minister Moctar Kusumaatmadja at the Quai d'Orsay in order to coordinate their effort and promote the Sihanouk-Hun Sen dialogue.


The article tries to explain the reasons for Prince Sihanouk's invitation to Hun Sen to meet with him in France. The first factor is attributed to the prince's quixotic nature. A more optimistic argument holds that Sihanouk's ploy is to break away from the Khmer Rouge and rally all the other factions to the Cambodian cause. The Phnom Penh government has already responded favorably with a five-point peace plan and offered the prince a high position in the state. The future of the Khmer Rouge remains a problem. The article notes that the US Congress has appropriated $5 million to the non-communist factions of the CGDK in FY 1987, which is "hardly enough to shake the Khmer Rouge supremacy."


Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Ma Yuzhen states that Moscow's support for the Vietnamese aggression in Cambodia is a "burning problem" and the biggest obstacle to the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. He adds that there has been "no substantive change" in the Soviet attitude towards Cambodia or Afghanistan, as expected after Mikhail Gorbachev made his Vladivostok policy speech in July 1986. The Chinese spokesman offers those comments two days before China resumes talks with the Soviet Union on the border issues.

The differences among ASEAN members on the "cocktail party" meeting between the Cambodian warring factions disappoint and annoy Indonesian Foreign Minister Moeharto Kusumaatmadja who thought he had achieved a diplomatic breakthrough. A Jakarta Post editorial on August 19, 1987, also expressed Indonesia's frustration with the prolonged conflict and accused Thailand of making the Cambodian war into a "profitable business" and of aligning itself with China, which Jakarta still considers as a threat to Southeast Asian stability. However, in his press conference the Indonesian foreign minister stresses that ASEAN unity will prevail over those differences.


Thai Air Force Secretary Somnot Suntharawet explains that Thailand is seeking six additional F-16s because "we must have more" to counter the Soviet MiGs in Cambodia and Laos. The secretary discloses that an Air Force Group was set up in Phnom Penh and equipped with MiG-21s which were later moved from Pochentong Airport to Bien Hoa airfield in Vietnam due to sabotage caused by the Cambodian resistance forces. For the past two years 100 Cambodian pilots received their training in the Soviet Union, of whom 40 could not fly because of lack of skills. Laos is reported to have 26 MiG-21s which are based at the Vientiane airport opposite Thailand's Nong Khai province. The Thai secretary does not believe that Moscow has sent MiG-23s to Vietnam.


This report from Phnom Penh states that the prospects for resolving the Cambodian conflict "appear to be better now than they have ever been in the last 8 years." The author takes note of the PRK Government's policy of national reconciliation, the accord reached in Ho Chi Minh City
between Vietnam and Indonesia, and Phnom Penh's willingness to offer Prince Sihanouk a high position in the government. The article also mentions the sixth withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia that will take place in November in the presence of foreign observers for the first time. It concludes that "a complete withdrawal could be carried out even earlier than 1990," provided there is no threat of an armed attack on Cambodia, and "this would create the conditions" for organizing the elections and a coalition government.