

Microfilm 2609  
(video film)

THE KAMPUCHEAN CONFLICT

1975 - 1985

by

Zainuddin bin Abdul Bahari

1032107

M.P.A Research Report Submitted to  
the Faculty of Economics and Administration  
University of Malaya  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the

Degree of Master of Public Administration  
Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya



A505808899

## SYNOPSIS

The end of the second Indochina war in 1975 did not herald a new era of peaceful co-operation and co-existence within the region. Deep-rooted hostilities, particularly between the Vietnamese and the Khmers and which had long been submerged while the revolutionary struggle was being waged, began to surface. With the defeat and retreat of the imperialist forces, the once erstwhile comrades began setting upon each other, embroiling themselves into a new round of conflict.

The emerging conflagration and the consequent developments brought about a re-alignment of the region into two confrontationist blocs. Alarmed with the adverse prospects which the emerging geo-political development would have on Asean's attempt at redefining the basic principles of regional peaceful coexistence, the latter attempted to seek an amicable political solution to the conflict.

However the consequent unstable condition arising from the fresh round of confrontation provided opportunities for intervention by competing external interests. The subsequent super imposition of the dynamics of global politics and the fusion of local and regional issues made for complication of what was essentially a bilateral issue between Vietnam and Kampuchea and between Vietnam and China.

It was these interventions that rendered the Kampuchean conflict intractable. The declared positions of the major protagonists appeared mutually exclusive. While the package of proposals and counter proposals had not thus far moved them any closer to a solution nevertheless it did result in a degradation of the conflict.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to record his deep appreciation to his supervisor Associate Professor Dr. Lee Poh Ping for his guidance and advice in the writing of this paper. The writer is also grateful to the Institute for Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia for having allowed the writer to participate in the various fora, locally and internationally, in which the Kampuchean issue was discussed. Finally but not least, the writer wishes to express sincere thanks to his wife, Hilmiah Hj. Ahmad, without whose encouragement and support, this paper could not have been written.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
SYNOPSIS .....	(ii)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	(iv)
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	(v)
CHAPTER	
1. THE ORIGIN .....	1
1. Introduction .....	1
2. Asean Reaction .....	4
3. Fallout in Vietnam-Kampuchean Relations .	9
4. Sino-Vietnam Relations .....	19
5. Vietnam-United States Relations .....	23
6. Vietnam-Soviet Relations .....	25
7. The Invasion .....	27
2. THE ENSUING BATTLE	
1. Immediate Response to Vietnamese Invasion .....	34
2. Asean .....	34
3. China .....	35
4. Different Strategies .....	38
5. Internationalising the Kampuchean Conflicts .....	40
6. United Nations General Assembly .....	40
7. Non-Alligned Summit .....	45
8. International Conference on Kampuchea ..	47

	Page
9. Diverging Perception Within Asean .....	51
10. Anti-Vietnamese Coalition .....	56
11. Fourth Dry Season Offensive .....	64
12. Asean Peace Overtures .....	65
13. Sixth Dry Season Offensive .....	68
14. Strengthening the Opposition .....	70
3. THE INTERESTS OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES	
1. Introduction .....	76
2. The Core Players: Vietnam, Kampuchea and China .....	77
3. Vietnam and Kampuchea .....	77
4. Vietnam and China .....	83
5. The Key Players: Asean and the Super Powers .....	91
6. Asean .....	91
7. The Super Powers .....	95
8. The United States .....	96
9. The Soviet Union .....	99
4. THE PEACE PROPOSALS	
1. Introduction .....	102
2. Vietnamese Position .....	103
3. Asean Position .....	106
4. The Core Issues .....	108
5. The Governance of Kampuchea .....	108
6. Forum for Negotiations .....	110

	Page
7. Vietnamese Troop Withdrawals .....	113
8. Bilateral Moves .....	116
9. Stalemate .....	119
CONCLUSION .....	123
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	127