DOCUMENTS
ON VIETCONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION AGAINST CAMBODIA (1970)

PUBLISHED BY
THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
PHNOM PENH
PREFACE

Since the end of March 1970 Cambodia has been faced with deliberate aggression by Vietnamese Communist forces, but North Vietnam and the Vietcong are still denying the reality of that aggression even though their forces of invasion have been occupying some parts of Khmer territory and threatening the very existence of our country as an independent nation.

As you will see in this selection of documents, it is really a planned aggression, undeniably premeditated. An aggression aggravated for Cambodia by the fact that Vietnamese Communist forces have been implanted in our territory for many years, in violation of our neutrality and in defiance of the agreements made by Hanoi and the NLF concerning the respect of our neutrality and our territorial integrity.

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In fact, VC/NVN infiltrations started about the year 1962 and have never ceased. On the contrary, these infiltrations were constantly increased to reach the figure of 50,000 men at the end of the year 1969. Furthermore, it should be recalled that those infiltrations gradually became permanent installations along our border areas where the Communist Vietnamese had, for the past few years, set up sanctuaries which they used as launching bases for their attacks against South Vietnamese territory. They notably used those sanctuaries for the preparation of their 1968 Tet offensive.

Khmer territory had thus been constantly used for many years — with the agreement of Prince Sihanouk — by North Vietnam and the Vietcong in pursuit of their war against South Vietnam, thus making pure fiction of Cambodian neutrality. At the same time, the increasing use of our territory by Vietcong-North Vietnamese forces provoked border incidents with American and South Vietnamese forces, constantly attacked and harassed from across the border by an enemy who later returned to his sanctuaries in Cambodia. From the beginning of 1962 to May 1969, these border incidents, the consequences of Communist infiltrations, caused the Cambodian side 293 killed and 690 wounded among civilians and military, in addition to important material damages. This means that our peace was a pure fiction in the same way as our neutrality.
It was precisely that policy of false neutrality and false peace which led to the legal deposing of Prince Norodom Sihanouk on March 18, 1970. The former Chief of State was in fact the sole person responsible for this policy so contrary to the national interest, since he had at his disposition all the power and exercised virtual dictatorship over the country since 1955. The Khmer people and their elected representatives, as well as the government, were thus never consulted or allowed to have a voice in that policy which was decided by Prince Sihanouk alone, a policy which ended up ruining our neutrality by an active complicity with one of the camps fighting in Vietnam, and permitting the installation of large foreign forces on Khmer territory.

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Concerning this matter, it should be noted that Prince Sihanouk finally became alarmed himself by this silent invasion which more and more threatened the independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia. After denying the existence of the Communist infiltration and Vietcong sanctuaries for many years, he began denouncing them at the end of 1968. He frequently alerted the international community throughout the year 1969 in his press conferences, his radio broadcasts, as well as in numerous articles written or inspired by him and published in the magazines he personally directed (in particular in his monthly magazine Le Sangkum). It was also in 1969 that on several occasions Prince Sihanouk ordered the release of Vietcong and North Vietnamese soldiers captured during skirmishes with our defense forces, thus himself giving an irrefutable proof of the Vietnamese Communist forces on Khmer territory.

However, despite his repeated denunciations of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese infiltration, the former Chief of State did not alter his policy of active complicity with Hanoi and the NLF, notably by continuing to authorize the re-supply of Communist forces through our port of Kompong Som. He went so far as to conclude on September 25, 1969 a so-called trade and payment agreement with the Vietcong, this agreement (denounced by the Salvation Government in March 1970) being only camouflage for the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces to use Cambodia for re-supply. Finally it became clear that Prince Sihanouk had no intention of modifying his policy of false neutrality, and that, on the contrary, he meant to pursue it until the end of the Vietnamese conflict, speculating on a Communist victory in South Vietnam, which would permit him to maintain himself in power due to the «gratitude» of Hanoi and the Vietcong for his long complicity.

* * *
The systematic pursuit of this personal policy of collusion with the Vietnamese Communists, and the increase of Vietcong and North Vietnamese infiltration into our territory during the last months of 1969 and the beginning of 1970 threatened our future and caused the Khmer people, conscious of the danger, to wake up and put an end to Sihanouk's regime. By doing this our country only aspired to restore its neutrality, and to regain a true peace and independence by removing the yoke of North Vietnam and the Vietcong, supported by Peking.

But they were not at all ready to satisfy our legitimate requests concerning the evacuation from our territory of their forces installed in the border regions of about ten provinces bordering South Vietnam. Since they wanted to maintain their sanctuaries and supply routes in Cambodia at any cost, they refused to negotiate with our government on the withdrawal of their forces. The last official conversations on the subject on March 16 produced nothing, and on March 27 the North Vietnamese Government and the «PRG» of South Vietnam took the initiative of breaking de facto relations by withdrawing the personnel and staff at their diplomatic missions from Phnom Penh. Two days later, on March 29, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces began their aggression against Cambodia by attacking our defense forces in a number of provinces and by launching an offensive towards the capital.

The obvious goal of this aggression was to break up the resistance of our weak army of 35,000 men (against 60,000 of the aggressor forces), to occupy Phnom Penh, and to install there a pro-Communist regime and occupy the entire country in order to use our territory against our South Vietnamese neighbour. But to conceal this open aggression against Cambodia, the Hanoi and Vietcong propaganda backed up by the Red Chinese claimed that the fighting against our defense forces was led by the so-called «Popular Forces» under the direction of Prince Sihanouk and of the phantom government formed by him in Peking.

This gross imposture at first misled a part of the international community. It could not do so now, for every observer of good faith has recognized the reality of the aggression launched against Cambodia by the Vietnamese Communist forces which had been installed in Cambodia for a long time, and which are the only forces against which the Khmer people have now to fight to preserve their independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, and thus to survive in the future as a free nation.
PART I

THE SILENT INVASION

(1969)

In May and June 1967, approximately three years before the open aggression against neutral and peaceful Cambodia, the Vietnamese Communists (NVN and VC) had recognized our present frontiers and made the solemn agreement to respect not only the frontiers but also the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of our country.

Meanwhile, in spite of these written agreements, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces carried on without interruption their infiltration of Khmer territory, where they were implanted many years ago, because of Prince Sihanouk's complicity.

In 1968 (the year of the Tet offensive in South Vietnam) and in 1969 those infiltrations were in such a proportion that the former Chief of State himself could not ignore them any longer: the Vietcong sanctuaries had expanded by this time and become real foreign military bases established in our territory in defiance of our neutrality, and causing many violations of our borders.

Noticing this increasing use of Khmer territory by Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces, Prince Sihanouk himself continually denounced the Communist infiltration and settlement throughout the year 1969. That year, too, many clashes occurred between our defense forces and the VC and North Vietnamese who penetrated or moved within our territory. During these incidents (from which each side suffered wounded and killed) some Vietcong and North Vietnamese were captured and made prisoners by our forces, then immediately released by the order of Prince Sihanouk.

It was known since 1969 that the Vietnamese Communists had sought to incite a revolt of the Montagnards (Khmer Lœu) in our province of Ratanakiri, where some military operations took place in 1969 against the Vietcong and North Vietnamese elements who were established in that province (North of the Se San river). It was also known that the Vietcong and North Vietnamese vigorously supported the Communist rebels, the Khmer Rouge, whom they equipped and directed.

The following documents illustrate that silent invasion of Khmer territory by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces, an invasion which constituted the prelude to their open aggression against Cambodia in 1970.
Letter from North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to Prince Norodom Sihanouk (6-8-67) to inform him that North Vietnam recognized the present frontiers of Cambodia and would respect them.

PHÚ THỤ TUONG

NƯỚC VIỆT NAM DÂN-CHỦ QUỐC-HÒA

Hà-nội, ngày 8 tháng 6 năm 1967

Số 30 VP/NG

Thưa Ngài,

Tôi hành hành chuyến đến Ngài bên Tuyên bố ngày 8 tháng 6 năm 1967 của Chính phủ nước Việt-nam dân chủ cộng hòa công nhận biên giới hiện tại của Campú-chia.

Nhân dịp này, thay mặt Chính phủ và nhân dân nước Việt-nam dân chủ cộng hòa, tôi xin nói lên lòng biết ơn chân thành của chúng tôi và sự ủng hộ tích cực và kiên quyết mà Ngài và nhân dân Kho-me không ngừng dành cho sự nghiệp đấu tranh chính nghĩa và tất thắng của nhân dân Việt-nam chống bọn xâm lược Mỹ, kẻ thù của nhân dân hai nước chúng ta và của nhân dân toàn thế giới.

Kính gửi

SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK
Quốc trưởng
Kiểm Chữ tịch Họi đồng Bộ trưởng
Vương quốc Cam-pu-chia

PHÚM-PHÚC
Tôi tin tưởng vững chắc rằng tình hữu nghị thân thiết và đoàn kết chiến đấu giữa nhân dân hai nước là khí thế chính trị ngày càng phát triển vì lợi ích của hai nước và vì lợi ích của hòa bình ở Đông Dương và Đông Nam Á.

Xin gửi Ngài lời chào rất kính trọng...

PHẠM VĂN ĐÔNG
Thủ tướng, Chính phủ
mước Việt-nam dân chủ công hòa
DECLARATION

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT BORDERS OF CAMBODIA

The participants of the Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina, according to the terms of point 12 of the final Declaration of the Conference, agreed to respect the national rights and territorial integrity of Cambodia and to abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of that country.

But by undertaking aggression in Vietnam and military intervention in Laos, the American imperialists, in concert with Saigon and Bangkok, have multiplied the threats against the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia and have plotted to have the present borders of Cambodia revised. It is obvious that they pushed aside the Geneva agreements of 1954 on Indochina and are seriously sabotaging peace in Indochina and in this part of the world.

Under the far-sighted leadership of their Chief of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Khmer people have resolutely fought against the American imperialist's plots and acts of sabotage to defend their sacred national interests. The Vietnamese people have always, with all their heart, supported this just struggle of the Khmer people. In the fight against the enemy, the American aggressor imperialists, the cordial friendship and militant solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the brother Khmer people are being consolidated and developed each day.

Concerning the consequent policy towards the Kingdom of Cambodia, which consists of respecting the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of this country, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares that:

1. it recognizes and will respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders,

2. it entirely approves the declaration of May 31, 1967 made by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam concerning the recognition of the present borders between South Vietnam and Cambodia.
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam recognizes these borders and will respect them.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is convinced that the relations of good neighbours and the development of friendship and of mutual trust between Vietnam and Cambodia would be in the interests of the two countries and those of the common struggle of the people of Indochina against the American aggressor imperialists to defend their respective sacred national rights and to maintain peace in Indochina, in Southeast Asia, and in the world.

Hanoi, June 8, 1967.
Letter from Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the NLF to Prince Norodom Sihanouk (6-6-67) stating the decision of the Central Committee of the NLF to recognize and respect the present frontiers of Cambodia (decision of May 31, 1967).

FRONT NATIONAL DE LIBERATION
DU SUD VIETNAM
* *
MC. NGUYEN-HUU-THO
PRESIDENT DU PRESIDIO
DU COMITE CENTRAL

No: 252/67

A Sihanouk NORODOM SIHANOUK
Chef de l'Etat
du
CAMBODIE.

Sihanouk,


Nous avons, par les voies les plus rapides, confié à M. Nguyen Van Tho, membre du Présidium, la mission de porter à la connaissance de Sihanouk et du Gouvernement Royal le texte de la décision de notre Comité Central.

En faisant cette solennelle déclaration, dont je tiens à confirmer les termes par le présent, le Front National et le peuple du Sud Vietnam témoinissent leur ardente indéfectible résolution à l'égard du peuple khmer libre. Nous avons cru devoir le faire pour poursuivre la consolidation continue de cette alliance combattante entre nos deux peuples face à l'agression de nos ennemis communs, les impérialistes américains et leurs sujets.

P.S.V.T.
Qu'il me soit permis, à cette occasion, de formuler des souhaits les plus chaleureux au peuple ami, à Sa Majesté le Roi, et au Gouvernement qu'il préside pour de grands succès dans la préservation de la souveraineté, de l'indépendance, de la neutralité et de l'intégrité territoriale du Cambodge contre les menaces et actes d'agression des impérialistes américains et de leurs agents.

Je Vous prie d'agréer, Sa Majesté, l'assurance de ma haute considération et de mes sentiments affectueux.

[Signature]

NGUYEN-HUU-THO

(See Annex 1 for the text in English)
Prince Sihanouk (2nd on the left) reveals to the press the extent of the Vietcong-North Vietnamese implantation in our border areas (March 28, 1969).

EXTRACT FROM AN AFP CABLE, REPRODUCED BY AKP.

FROM THE AGENCIES

PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK'S PRESS CONFERENCE
(March 28, 1969)

PHNOM PENH, AFP

«The Vietnamese Communists have been increasingly infiltrating our country. I cannot hide this anymore. It is time that the international community knows it,» Prince Norodom Sihanouk told the press on Friday evening in the presence of General Nhiek Tioulong, Commander-in-Chief of the Cambodian Army, General Lon Nol, acting Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense, as well as several colonels. For the
first time the Prince showed the press a map prepared by his high command illustrating in detail Communist infiltration into Cambodia. Units from regimental size to battalion and company size were scattered along the border from the northeast (Rattanakiri province) to the sea. The reporters promised not to disclose the exact sites of this infiltration, «to avoid bombing which would hurt, as usual, our peasants, instead of the Vietnamese soldiers who are well entrenched,» stressed the Prince. But they could note that there were, on Cambodian territory, Vietnamese Communist positions with hospitals, rest areas and even, in one province in the northeast, two or three bases.
PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK DENOUNCES VIETCONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE INFILTRATIONS IN 1969.

Press conference on May 17, 1969 at Prince Sihanouk's residence. The ex-Chief of State presents the photographs of 3 North Vietnamese soldiers captured on May 15, in Rattanakiri province (see the following page).

On May 23, 1969, at his residence of Bokor, Prince Sihanouk shows photographs of many Vietcong captured in the province of Mondulkiri to foreign journalists.
3 North Vietnamese captured on May 15, 1969, near Se San river in the province of Rattanakiri.

North Vietnamese camp captured by our defense forces.
CONFIDENTIAL

Translation

Confidential report published by Prince Sihanouk's order in his monthly magazine Le Sangkum (June 1969).

TALK BETWEEN LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LON NOL WITH MR. NGUYEN THUONG, AMBASSADOR OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, AND MR. NGUYEN VAN HIEU, AMBASSADOR OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

In conformity with the instructions of Samdech Euv to contact Messrs. Nguyen Thuong and Nguyen Van Hieu, respectively Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Ambassador of the National Liberation Front, to bring to their attention the gravity of the situation created by:

a. occupation of some regions of our territory by NVA and NLF troops,

b. open fighting that they are undertaking against our forces,

c. increasingly active support they give to the Khmer Rouge,

I have very respectfully the honour to inform Samdech Euv that the two personalities were called in, successively on May 24, to the Prime Minister's Office.

The following is the statement that your humble servant made to each one of these personalities, concerning the three factors (mentioned above) which are responsible for the gravity of the situation. Your servant first pointed out to them that he received Samdech Euv's high instructions to bring to their attention the very serious events which are currently happening in Cambodia.

I Occupation of Some Regions by N.V.A. and N.L.F. Troops: I told them that:

«For some time we have noticed that the presence of your troops has changed into effective occupation of several regions of our territory.

1. In the North (Province of Rattanakiri):

The zone of the provinces of Stung Treng and Rattanakiri can be considered as militarily and administratively occupied by your troops. Some positions are located quite inside our territory, far from the border: for instance, Bokeo is about thirty kilometers from the eastern border, Pakap is about a hundred kilometers from the northern border, and the kilometric indicator No 11, on national route 19 is several hundred. Proofs of this occupation are numerous and I will be grateful if you give useful consideration to this matter.

— For one thing, the Khmer Lœu were forced to leave their villages, by your orders, to flee from our administration. When Monseigneur visited Bokeo, most of the Khmer Lœu had already gone to the bush with your troops.

— At Bokeo, during the show of a film in the open air, organized by the orders of Samdech Chief of State during his first tour in that province, your troops fired at many villagers (who were coming), thus preventing them from coming to this enjoyment that Samdech Sahachivin had given instructions to organize for them. Furthermore, our troops cannot go farther than 2 km from their posts without being harassed and killed by your troops. These situations are confirmed by daily reports, statements made by the rallied Khmer Lœu and villagers from the areas who came to us.
During the re-establishment of our Administration at Bokham, which was made public by Samdech Himself during his radio broadcast press conference, our troops were harassed from Bokco and suffered several killed and material damages: armored cars, vehicles damaged by the explosion of your mines, by your ambushes, by your attacks and by your harassing shots.

It was during those ambushes that we killed 2 of your soldiers with 2 Khmer Lœu (please refer to the press conference of Samdech Euv).

The convoys of the Operational Commander and the Commander-in-Chief of the F.A.R.K. also received fire and ran into road mines. All this happened just in travelling from Bokham to National Route 19.

At Pakap in the north, on both banks of the Se San, our troops clashed with yours. During that clash, in which one of our soldiers was killed, we captured prisoners equipped with material bearing inscriptions in Vietnamese. They told us that they were from North Vietnam and had been in the area for more than a year. They were part of the advance party of a very large unit located about 10 kilometers north.

Near the kilometer indicator 11 on National Route 19 (far inside Cambodian territory) and in several other regions, our resupply convoys have received fire many times from your troops.

In this area alone the number of actions by your troops against ours increased, without explanation, between April 22 and May 22 by 35 times. We have suffered wounded and dead and have had vehicles destroyed.

2. In Mondulkiri: Your troops are also effectively occupying several parts of our territory. You have true logistical bases, hospitals, and command posts.

Your troops as masters of the occupied regions dictate law and require that our civilian and military authorities obtain their permission or prior authorization to travel in them.

3. In Kompong Cham Province: Occupation is also in effect, not only in the border areas, but also in the interior areas. There are also bases, command posts, etc. Your supply personnel actively organize the population to deal in contraband. In spite of our friendly recommendations to wipe out the smuggling and in spite of talks with your Representatives, this situation persists.

4. In the Provinces of Prey Veng and Svey Rieng: There are also bases, command posts and established units.

We repeat that our authorities have on several occasions asked your troops to evacuate the areas you have long occupied and to leave our territory in line with International Law and in conformity with the solemn declarations of your leaders.

Not only do they stay, but your troops fire on ours every time they attempt to intervene. This attitude and behaviour do not become a friend.

Furthermore, when we ask your men they continue to give their assurance that they will leave our territory. But the truth is that they have not moved and, in fact, have been reinforced.

To support my claims, your servant showed them the pictures of three North Vietnamese soldiers captured north of Pakap (Bokham), of seven captured in Mondulkiri, the Vietcong dead in Kompong Cham among the Khmer Rouge, and pointed out that the materials, arms, and equipment captured with the men bore Vietnamese inscriptions, and were of Vietnamese and Chinese origin.

II Open Fighting between Vietcong/North Vietnamese Troops and our Forces.

Your servant showed them a map, of which a copy is enclosed here for Your high examination, and which indicates all the points of contact that our columns had during the first days of the operation.

Comments were made to them on each case:

1. In Rattanakiri «To re-establish the Administration of Bokham our columns did not leave the road. As indicated on the map, our troops were intercepted and inhibited in their activities by the intervention of your troops entirely in our own territory.
Up north our troops are building roads while yours seek to destroy our earth-working machines. Also, according to the statements of certain Khmer Lreu and the villagers, your troops have used all available means to prevent these people from aiding the government of the Sangkum: they use force, post notices injurious to the Sangkum, and even go so far as to kill those who are reluctant to join your camp.

Your servant pointed out to them that the dead and the prisoners in the photographs were killed and captured during a tough engagement. The long list of our killed and wounded displayed during the talk demonstrated undeniably that they were victims of armed attacks by Vietnamese troops stationed in those regions.

2. Other Areas: Kompong Cham, Prey Veng, Svey Rieng

Besides the multiple incidents recorded up to the present time which have cost hundreds of lives and many wounded among the members of the F.A.R.K., of the provincial guard, of our civilian administration and among peaceful peasants including women and children, Your servant pointed out in particular the attacks of Anlong Kres (Kompong Cham), and of Santey (Prey Veng) which cost the lives of several men including the chief of the post at Santey, and also pointed out to them that we heard the orders during these attacks being given in Vietnamese.

During the present engagement in the region of Tamo (Popet) north of Bavet, our forces are suffering increasing casualties. This very morning, according to information reported to us, your troops received reinforcements which have then increased from 1,000 to 2,000 men.

We want to point out that our forces are only fulfilling their duty by entering those regions to ask you to leave our territory. In response they receive fire from your troops who respect neither international law nor the declarations of your Government.

III Vietcong and North Vietnamese Support for the Khmer Rouge

— On the training level: Protelyzing and support.

— After the execution of the clauses of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 many Khmers were trained in your schools in North Vietnam.

After the Samlaut coup we noticed that these Khmer cadre, back in Cambodia, were recruiting for the Khmer Rouge (Khmer Vietminh) who remained in the areas. This charge is confirmed by sure information. The leaders of the Khmer Rouge who joined our ranks even help us to uncover arms caches, concealed and left by the Vietminh on their departure in 1954.

— The troops composed of Khmer Rouge which attacked Anlong Kres and Santey (Kandal Chrum) retreated into Vietnamese territory with your troops. In addition, they were recruited by your cadre which, during these attacks, gave the orders in Vietnamese—at Kandol Chrum a Khmer unit attacked while a Vietnamese unit supervised. It should be brought to your attention that these troops which attacked the Khmer population and our border defense posts were supported by your well-armed reserve troops resting within our borders, at such places as Along Kres, Santey, etc.

Inside our territory there are also Vietnamese in the ranks of the Khmer Rouge, such was the case at Pursat, Kompong Speu, Kampot, Kompong Cham, Chhlong, etc.

— On the Plan of Material Armament

« The Khmer Rouge are, in the great majority, armed with modern arms of Chinese make.

This aid and support on your part to the Khmer Rouge constitutes the theme of their propaganda. They presently proclaim to the Khmer population that the aid and support of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong to their movement is not to be feared. Strengthened by this support and aid and by the materials furnished by you, they insult us, and worse yet, they insult the person of Samdech Sahachivin who has done so much to aid you and whom your Government claims to respect as a Great Friend.

Now, facing the gravity of this situation, the Khmer people wonder whether the North Vietnamese people and the Vietcong would rather recognize the Khmer Rouge than Samdech.
Our present situation is very difficult. We do not understand why you do this against us. Neither do our population or troops understand.

And we are no longer able to ascribe logical explanations to these deeds. Here are the responses and reactions of these personalities.

**Those of Mr. Nguyen Thuong, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.**

He deplores all these incidents and specifies that the policy of his Government is that of friendship with everyone (and principally Cambodia), good neighbourhood, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, etc., a policy proclaimed many times by the leaders of his Government, saying that their acts conformed to their words and thanking the Royal Government for our aid and support to the Vietnamese people in their fight for the independence of their country.

He asked if these incidents were not the work of Saigon and the American 5th column and if this situation had not resulted from the war in South Vietnam, from major forces which the troops met.

Saying that they did not know the details of the incidents, the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam asked for them on the part of his Government.

Your servant concluded the talk with Mr. Nguyen Thuong by remarking that the acts, behaviour and attitudes of the Vietnamese troops did not conform to the words and declarations of the leaders of North Vietnam.

**Those of Mr. Nguyen Van Hieu, Ambassador of the National Liberation Front**

On the main theme, they were identical to those of Mr. Nguyen Thuong.

This man pointed out to Your servant that when such incidents had taken place between his troops and ours, the Representative of the N.L.F. at Phnom Penh usually asked the Presidium to conduct investigations and that the Vietcong soldiers at fault would be severely punished.

Such was the case at Tamo where he said a strong detachment of the F.A.R.K. led operations against a Vietcong hospital. Your servant remarked to Mr. Nguyen Van Hieu:

— that, as to the affairs of Tamo (Svay Rieng) in relation to the present events, it is no longer a question of a hospital, but of your numerous troops, which have been well-entrenched for a long time in that area. The F.A.R.K. detachment was only doing their duty in asking your troops to leave Khmer territory when they were engaged for several days by your troops.

Also, since the beginning, the F.A.R.K. and the population have suffered heavy losses in human lives and in materials.

— That the situation is such that the Cambodian people now wonder who is master of Cambodia (you or us).

I brought to his attention also that the situation is grave, which had already been emphasized at the press conference of Samdech Sahachivin. The talk ended at 2:25 p.m.

The tone remained cordial throughout while the two parties exchanged their arguments concerning different situations.
OPERATION FOR DRIVING OUT THE VIETNAMESE

The commander of military region 1 reported that two clearing operations against Vietcong troops and refugees illegally installed in the border areas of the province of Prey Veng were carried out beginning May 29, 1969.

The results were satisfactory and are as follows:

1. In the region of Adaung: more than a hundred families of refugees were pushed out of our territory with the destruction of their light installations.

2. In the region of Koh Sampeou: more than 50 families of refugees were driven out with destruction of their light installations.

3. In the region of Kraing Leau: more than a hundred Vietcong soldiers were driven out with the destruction of their light installations, and more than 200 refugees and their installations.

According to the latest reports the area between Koh Sko and Koh Sampeou formerly occupied by Vietcong troops and refugees is now cleared.

Nhiek Tioulong
This map accompanied the report of lieutenant-general Nhiek Tiouloung published in the magazine Le Sangkum (July 1969).
Translation

Confidential report published in the magazine Le Sangkum, June 1969. This report reveals subversive Vietcong and North Vietnamese activities with the Montagnards in our province of Rattanakiri.

IMPORTANT REVELATIONS MADE BY FIVE KHMER LOEU WHO RALLIED AT THE POST OF BOKEO (RATTANAKIRI).

Five Khmer Lœu who rallied at the post of Bokeo gave the following information:

1. Almost all the villages are under heavy surveillance and are guarded by Khmer Lœu elements armed with local rifles. Once or twice a month, mixed elements of the Khmer Lœu and Vietcong armed with Chinese weapons come to the villages to make propaganda.

2. The whole population of these villages is pressured by Ksor Siang, alias Kang Deng. He was made head of the province. This so-called governor of Rattanakiri has about 60 men under his command armed with 4 Chinese machine-guns and Chinese rifles and grenades. This force is organized into groups of 10 men. In addition, they have hammocks and Chinese plastic material just like the Vietcong. These rebel groups seemed to be based at YA 440-170.

3. Kang Deng comes to each village once a month to make propaganda. He has said that his brothers in Rattanakiri were originally from Hanoi (Tonkin) and that their chief is « Oi Ho » who is old and unmarried (« OI » is a Jarai word meaning grand-father or Mister).

4. The majority of the villagers want to come to the Royal Government side, but they are watched day and night. Each village has one or two paths guarded by armed men.

5. Each village has a chief armed with a rifle who stays in the village only during the day. He comes in the morning to put the villagers to work (sharpening bamboo and working in the fields) and to make propaganda. If he comes in the evening or at night, it is to arrest pro-Government sympathizers and to kill them.

Kang Deng said that the Khmers are « Boc Lot, » a Vietnamese word which means « oppressors. » He accuses the Khmer Lœu sympathetic with the Government of being « Gian Diep, » a Vietnamese word which means « spies. »

6. All villagers faithful to the Government are liquidated (Mekhum, Chumtup, Mephum, armed villagers, former soldiers or Provincial Guard members.) When the villagers are assassinated, first their hands and feet are tied. Then they are strangled with a cord or length of wood that puts pressure on their throat.

The Commandant of the G.T./U.K. reports the following facts to the High Command:

a) The Khmer Lœu rebels are undeniably armed and supported by the Vietnamese Communists.

The Khmer Lœu receive from the Vietcong:

- Chinese arms
- Chinese equipment
- Chinese hammocks
- Vietcong sandals.

They are organized into mixed groups (Khmer Lœu-Vietcong) of 4 to 5 men armed with machine guns.

b) This Khmer Lœu movement is not a local movement because it uses Vietcong propaganda. Kang, Deng even uses in his propaganda such Vietnamese terms as « Gian Diep » and « Boc Lot. »

c) The Red Khmer Lœu recognize their chief as « Oi Ho. »

d) The Khmer Rouge and Vietcong propaganda says that all the brother Khmer Lœu were originally from Tonkin.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL report published in the magazine
Le Sangkum, October 1969.

REPORT
OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
LON NOL, PRIME MINISTER
AND MINISTER OF NATIONAL
DEFENSE

THE VIETCONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE BASES ALONG OUR BORDERS
(PERIOD COVERING SEPTEMBER 16 TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1969)

I very respectfully have the honour of informing Samdech Chief of State on the status of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese bases along the Khmer-South Vietnamese border during the second half of the month of September 1969.

I. Physical Characteristics

The total number of these foreign troops on our soil has now reached between 35,000 and 40,000 men, a sharp increase over the figure of the first half of the month (between 32,000 and 35,000):

— considerable increase on the border south of Mondulkiri and Kratie;

— slight increase in Military Region I (Svay Rieng, Prey Veng and Kandal) and in Military Region II (Takeo.)

The shuffling and replacement in the Vietcong units were due to flooding and the operational pressure exerted by their adversary.

II. Distribution of the Forces

Military Region V: Maintenance of the level of combat Forces at 5 Regiments (6,000 to 7,000 men)

Military Region VI: Considerable increase in the number of troops from the previous 10,000 (5th and 7th Divisions.)

Military Region I: Light increase in the overall region, most noticeable in Svay Rieng, Prey Veng and Kandal. The number has increased from 12,000 to 15,000 men.

Military Region II: Very light augmentation due to the withdrawal of some elements of the 9th and 1st Divisions of the «7 Mountains» in Chau Doc (from 1,800 to 2,000).

III. Conclusion

The increase in the size of the foreign forces on our soil is due to the clearing operations in the 41st Tactical Zone carried out by the American and South Vietnamese forces and because of flooding. In this period nothing indicates that the foreign units will soon leave our soil.

The number of incidents will probably stay as high or even increase along the border in Military Region I (Military Subdivision of Prey Veng) and in Military Region II.
Many Vietcong and North Vietnamese elements infiltrated into Khmer territory were captured by our defense forces in 1969 and then freed on Prince Sihanouk's order.

We reproduce above the documents which bring further proofs of the silent invasion into our territory by the North Vietnamese Communist forces before their aggression.
LIST OF NAMES OF VIET CONG ARRESTED IN
THE SUBDIVISION OF PREY VENG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>NAMES</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TRAN TAN</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>LUONG VAN HUNG</td>
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LIST OF NAMES OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIET CONG SOLDIERS ARRESTED AND DETAINED BY THE FARK

1 - DO VAN COM
2 - PHUNG DUC NHAN
3 - LE THAI HOANG
4 - VI CHUONG
5 - HOANG SON
6 - TIN VAN OI
7 - DAN MINH HOANG
8 - VO VAN DAC
9 - NGUYEN THANH HUNG
10 - NGUYEN VAN HANH
11 - BUOY VAN CONG
12 - NGUYEN THI DAO
13 - TRAN THI HOA
14 - LE VAN HAI
15 - NGUYEN THANH SON
16 - HUYEN TIEN
17 - HUYEN VAN HAI
18 - PHAM VAN TROI
19 - CAO PHU HOV
20 - LE VAN LAM
21 - NGUYEN VAN THAI
22 - NGUYEN VAN BE
23 - HA MINH TUNG
24 - CHAU VAN BINH
25 - NGUYEN VAN THANH
26 - NGUYEN VAN SUU
27 - BANG VAN TRANG
28 - PHAM VAN TROEUK
29 - BOUI VAN CU
30 - TRIN VAN KINH
31 - NGUYEN VAN CHUC
32 - NGUYEN HUU MUI
33 - NGUYEN VAN HOA
34 - LE VAN CHI
35 - LUY THAI SON
36 - VUONG VAN HIEP
37 - NONG VAN MIEU
38 - TRUONG VAN THA
39 - NGUYEN VAN TOAN
40 - VU NGOC BICH
41 - NGUYEN TRU
42 - LA HOC QUANG
43 - LE VAN NHAN
44 - PHANH THI XUON
45 - LE NGOC BY
46 - LUU VAN KICH
47 - DUONG VAN DUONG
48 - NGUYEN VAN NGOT
49 - HA PHUC SEN
50 - VAN THONG
51 - MAN YOAN
52 - PHAC QUANG TOAN
53 - PHAC VAN ETH
PROCES VÉRGAAL DE REMISE DES CINQUANTE TROIS DÉTENUS MEMBRES DU F.N.L. DU SUD VIETNAM.


M. NGUYEN BA DUNG, Représentant de l'Ambassade de la République du Sud-Vietnam, déclare par la présente prendre en charge ces cinquante trois détenus membres du FNL qui sont en bonne santé et décharge le Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 29 Juillet 1969.

Nguyen Ba Dung
Dœur North Kim San

(See Annex III for the text in English).
LIST OF NAMES OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
AND VIET CONG SOLDIERS ARRESTED AND
DETAINED BY THE FARK

1 - DO VAN COM
2 - PHUNG DUC NHAN
3 - LE THAI HOANG
4 - VU CHUONG
5 - HOANG SON
6 - TN Van OI
7 - DAN MINH HOANG
8 - VO VAN DAC
9 - NGUYEN THANH HUNG
10 - NGUYEN VAN HANH
11 - BUOY VAN CONG
12 - NGUYEN THI DAO
13 - TRAN THI HOA
14 - LE VAN HAI
15 - NGUYEN THANH SON
16 - HUYEN TIEN
17 - HUYEN VAN HAI
18 - PHAM VAN TROI
19 - CAO PHU HOV
20 - LE VAN LAM
21 - NGUYEN VAN THAI
22 - NGUYEN VAN BE
23 - HA MINH TUNG
24 - CHAU VAN BINH
25 - NGUYEN VAN THANH
26 - NGUYEN VAN SUU
27 - BANG VAN TRANG
28 - PHAM VAN TROEUK
29 - BOUT VAN CU
30 - TRIN VAN KINH
31 - NGUYEN VAN CHUOC
32 - NGUYEN HUU MUI
33 - NGUYEN VAN HOA
34 - LE VAN CHI
35 - LUY THAI SON
36 - VUONG VAN HIEP
37 - NONG VAN MIEN
38 - TRUONG VAN THA
39 - NGUYEN VAN TOAN
40 - VU NGOC BICH
41 - NGUYEN TRU
42 - LA HOC QUANG
43 - LE VAN NHANH
44 - PHANG THI XUON
45 - LE NGOC BY
46 - LUU VAN KICH
47 - DUONG VAN DUONG
48 - NGUYEN VAN NGOT
49 - HA PHUC SEN
50 - VAN THONG
51 - MAN YOAN
52 - PHAC QUANG TOAN
53 - PHAC VAN ETH

Après avoir exprimé sa gratitude de son gouvernement à Samdech Chef de l'Etat et au Gouvernement Royal pour cette haute clémence, M. NGUYEN DA DUNG, Représentant de l'Ambassade de la République du Sud-Vietnam, déclare par la présente prendre en charge les quatre-vingt-onze combattants du FNL qui sont en bonne santé et décharge le Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge de toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 31 Octobre 1969.

(HAN ENG.)

(See Annex IV for the text in English).
LIST OF NAMES OF VIET CONG ARRESTED BY THE FARK IN THE REGION OF TUOL SANGKER DISTRICT OF PREAH BAT CHANCHUM (TAKEO)  
(OCTOBER 18, 1969)

M E N

1. - NGUYEN VAN NHUC,      Company major
2. - NGUYEN VAN MINH
3. - NGUYEN VAN THANH
4. - NGUYEN VAN KHAI
5. - NGUYEN VAN CHIEU
6. - PHAM VAN TUONG
7. - PHAM THANH VAN
8. - PHUNG VAN GIA
9. - NAM THUON
10. - TU HOI
11. - SAU NHO
12. - HAI TUAN
13. - TU CHOI
14. - TAM TONG
15. - HAI DANG
16. - HAI NHANH
17. - HAI THUONG
18. - HAI TUONG
19. - TU THUONG
20. - BA SANG
21. - TU PHO
22. - NGUYEN VAN HAI
23. - LE VAN DUC
24. - NGUYEN VAN PHU
25. - NGUYEN VAN NGNIA
26. - LE VAN PHA
27. - NGUYEN VAN DONG
28. - TRAN VAN DINH
29. - NGUYEN SAK HEN
30. - TRAN VAN SU
31. - NGUYEN HUZAK TAN
32. - SAU CEI
33. - NGUYEN VIET HOANG
34. - NGUYEN VAN LIEM
35. - UC HUNG
36. - CHIN CHAU
37. - THANH DU
38. - PHOI HUOR
39. - UC VAN
40. - TRAN VAN LO
41. - NGUYEN VAN CHA
42. - LE VAN LU
43. - TRAN VAN CUONG
44. - VO VAN MINH
45. - VO VAN BIEN
46. - TRAN VAN MINH
47. - CAO MINH HUNG
48. - TRAN VAN BUNG
49. - SON NHANH
50. - VO VAN THANH
51. - NGUYEN VAN NGO
52. - NGUYEN CHI CHUOI
53. - LE THANH
WOMEN:

54. - TRAM HONG BUONG
55. - LE THI TOI
56. - NGUYEN THI THANH
57. - NGUYEN THI TINH
58. - TRINH TRI BAO
59. - TONG THI VIET
60. - HO ANH EM
61. - NGUYEN THI NGOC
62. - NGUYEN THI TIEN
63. - NGUYEN THI CHIEN
64. - NGUYEN ANH HONG
65. - TACH THI THAM
66. - TRAN THI MAU
67. - TRAN THI MAO
68. - VO THI BOT
69. - PHAM THI SO
70. - HUYNH THI DUONG
71. - LE THI THANH
72. - DUONG THI SU
73. - LE THI HANH
74. - LE HONG HAO
75. - DANH THI BE
76. - NGO THI TRINH
77. - TRAN THI DIEU
78. - LE THI NHUNG
79. - MAI THI YEN
80. - TRAN THI NGUYEN
81. - HUYNH THI THU
82. - LE THI NGANG
83. - NGUYEN THI THIET
84. - TRAN THI DIEU
85. - NGUYEN THI LIEU
86. - NGUYEN BA NHO
87. - DANG PHUONG
88. - THANH THE
89. - NUONG SIENG
90. - NHU NGOC
91. - KIM ANH
PROCES VERBAL DE REMISE DES VINGT-DEUX DÉTENUS, MEMBRES DU F.N.L. DU SUD-VIETNAM

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M. NGUYEN BA DUNG, Représentant de l'Ambassade de la République du Sud-Vietnam, déclare par la présente prendre en charge ces vingt-deux détenus membres du FNL qui sont en bonne santé et décharge le Gouvernement Royal du Cambodge de toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 18 Novembre 1969

NGUYEN BA DUNG

HAK ENG

(See Annex V for the text in English).
PROCESSIONNEL DE REMISE DES CASES COMBATANTES
DU F.N.L. DU SUD-VIETNAM

L'An Mil Pour Cent Soixante vingt, le Vendredi huit décembre, à onze heures, a eu lieu au ministère des Affaires Étrangères, entre M. HAK ENG, Sous-Directeur des Affaires Politiques, représentant du ministère des affaires étrangères du gouvernement royal du Cambodge, et M. NGUYEN BA DUNG, Deuxième Secrétaire, représentant de l'ambassade de la république du Sud-Vietnam, la remise des onze combattants membres du Front national de libération, dont les noms figurent sur la liste jointe en annexe, capturés le 9 novembre 1969 à 9 kilomètres à l'intérieur du territoire du Cambodge en Mondulkiri, par les unités des forces de la défense nationale cambodgienne.

Après avoir exprimé la gratitude du son gouvernement à Samdech chef de l'État et au gouvernement royal pour cette haute clémence, M. NGUYEN BA DUNG déclare par le présent prendre en charge ces onze combattants du F.N.L. qui sont en bonne santé et décharge le gouvernement royal du cambodge de toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 12 décembre 1969.

NGUYEN BA DUNG

HAK ENG

(See Annex VI for the text in English).
PROCES VERSAL DE REMISE DES QUATRE MEMBRES DU F.N.L. DU SUD-VIETNAM ARRETES A SNUOL


1.- LE VAN HOA
2.- NGUYEN TIEN SINH
3.- HA HOANG LAM
4.- VU XINH LUONG.

Après avoir exprimé la vive gratitude de son Gouvernement à Samdech Chef de l'Etat et au Gouvernement Royal pour cette haute clémence, M. NGUYEN BA DUNG déclare par le présent prendre en charge ces quatre combattants du F.N.L. qui sont en bonne santé et décharge le Gouvernement Royal de toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 26 Décembre 1969.

[Signatures]

NGUYEN BA DUNG
SUM MANIT

(See Annex VII for the text in English).
PROCES VERBAL DE REMISE DES SIXTE HOMMES DU F.N.L. DU SUD-VIETNAM ARRETEES EN KANDAL ET EN MONDULKIRI


Après avoir exprimé la vive gratitude de son Gouvernement au Gouvernement Royal pour cette mesure de clémence, M. NGUYEN HOANG KINH déclare par le présent prendre en charge ces seize combattants du F.N.L. et décharge le Gouvernement Royal de toutes responsabilités à partir de cette date.

Fait à Phnom-Penh, le 27 Janvier 1970

NGUYEN HOANG KINH

(See Annex VIII for the text in English).
Vietcong prisoners released on December 26, 1969.

PART II

VIETCONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE REFUSE TO LEAVE THE CAMBODIAN TERRITORY
(March 1970)

Early in March of this year, Khmers were deeply disturbed by the continual increase of Vietcong and North Vietnamese infiltration, as well as the threat from it to our independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

This fully justified concern—more than 50,000 men of the Vietnamese Communist forces being on Cambodian territory in early 1970—was soon to give way to indignation which was manifested by large popular demonstrations, primarily on March 8 in the province of Svay Rieng, and on March 11 in Phnom Penh where the North Vietnamese and the «PRG» embassies were sacked, and by an uncontrollable protest movement against the occupation of a part of the national territory by Vietnamese Communist forces.

Conscious of popular feeling in face of this foreign threat, the Salvation Government (formed in August 1969), on March 12, asked the North Vietnamese and the «PRG» to withdraw all their troops from Khmer territory before March 15. At the same time it proposed talks with the diplomatic representatives of Hanoi and of the «PRG», in order to peacefully solve this problem of withdrawal of North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces.

The meeting on this matter took place on March 16 in Phnom Penh, but nothing resulted, as the Vietnamese diplomats obstinately refused to discuss the withdrawal of the Communist forces illegally installed in Cambodia. All attempts by the Cambodian side to pursue these talks were useless. The rupture had already been decided by the Communist side.

By withdrawing all their diplomatic personnel from Phnom Penh on March 27 after systematically ignoring our legitimate requests concerning the withdrawal of their forces, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese clearly demonstrated their intention for aggression against our country.

This aggression started on March 29, and is still going on today. It was the direct consequence of the refusal of the Vietnamese Communists to evacuate our territory, which they had been using for several years for attacks on South Vietnam.

The meeting of the Cambodian Commission instituted by order of service of the Prime Minister's Office No 275-PCM/AP/X of March 16, 1970 to undertake talks with the Representatives of the Republic of South Vietnam (P.R.G.) and those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (D.R.V.N.) on the evacuation of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops implanted on Cambodian territory and composed of:

— Sah. KY SOTH, Director of Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: President
— Sah. Commander of Battalion KIM ENG KOUROUTDETH of the EMG/FAK: Member
— Sah. Captain NEANG SAN: Member
— Sah. MEN SOUM PHAO, Official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Member

The meeting took place on the morning of March 16, 1970, at the Government Palace, with the Representatives of both countries mentioned above, with the following composition:

For the Republic of South Vietnam (P.R.G.):

— Mr. VO ANH TUAN, acting Charge d’Affaires of the Republic of South Vietnam: Representative
— Mr. NGUYEN BA DUNG, 2nd Secretary of RSVN Embassy: Assistant
— Mr. NGUYEN HOANG KINH, 2nd Secretary of the Embassy: Assistant

For the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

— Mr. TRAN VAN DUOC, acting Chargé d’Affaires of the DRVN: Representative
— Mr. NGUYEN DANG KHOA, 1st Secretary of the DRVN Embassy: Assistant
— Mr. PHAM MANH DIEM, 2nd Secretary of the DRVN Embassy: Assistant
— Mr. NGUYEN VAN QUANG, 3rd Secretary of the DRVN Embassy: Interpreter.
After expressing his thanks to the Representatives of the two Governments for attending the meeting, Sah, Ky Soth, President of the Cambodian Commission, said that this meeting was being held following the issue of the note sent out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 12, 1970 which requested that the Embassies of the Republic of South Vietnam and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam intervene with their respective Governments in order to have their armed forces withdrawn from Cambodian territory before dawn of March 15, 1970.

The President of the Cambodian Commission emphasized that this request was formulated by the Royal Government for the sole purpose of safeguarding our friendship and our relations with the Governments of the Republic of South Vietnam and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which, besides, had so far agreed to recognize and to respect the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders.

"That being said," said the President of the Cambodian Commission, "I would like to emphasize that the object of this meeting is clear cut: it is the question of the evacuation of the troops of the Republic of South Vietnam and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from Cambodian territory, which was requested by the Royal Government."

In this specific field the President of the Cambodian Commission asked permission to give the floor to the Chief of Battalion Kim Eng Kouroudeth, to present the question.

The Chief of Battalion Kim Eng Kouroudeth first recalled that already, on several occasions, in Phnom Penh during the visit of his Excellency the President Huynh Tan Phat, as well as in Hanoi during the visit of Chief of State Samdech Sahachivin and in Peking between the meeting of his Excellency General Lon Nol with the Vietnamese high personalities, the two Governments had always agreed to respect the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

Concrete measures were proposed by the responsible authorities to determine the steps of evacuation of the armed forces implanted on Cambodian territory. But since those talks, the armed forces of the NLF and of the DRVN have remained. Our authorities in the border areas have given us confirmation of this.

The Chief of Battalion Kouroudeth recalled that from October 1969 until March 15, 1970 (to mention only one period), 277 incidents had been provoked by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops, of which 220 were in Rattanakiri province, and which resulted in 15 killed and 137 wounded on the Cambodian side. Recently, the Cambodian border authorities reported heavy implantation of NLF/DRVN troops with arms and ammunition depots.
Following the request for the evacuation made by the Royal Government, our border authorities reported that at dawn, on March 15, 1970 no steps had been taken by the Vietnamese, and that the NFL and DRVN troops had not moved. «We wish, then, to know your position on this matter,» added the Chief of Battalion Kouroudeth. «Why have you done nothing by the deadline and when do you think you’ll evacuate your troops from our territory?»

Taking the floor, the Representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam made the following declaration:

Excellency,

Gentlemen,

Allow me first to thank the Cambodian authorities who were responsible for convening today this meeting of the parties concerned on the initiative of the Vietnamese party, in order to eliminate obstacles in the relations between the two countries.

For several years the policy of aggression of the American imperialists has not ceased threatening the national independence of each of our countries. Vietnamese and Khmers have done their best to develop and re-inforce their friendship in the struggle against the common enemy. Life has proved that this militant solidarity is one of the important factors of success of the two nations in the defense of their respective national rights as in the edification of their countries in a way that befits them. Towards Cambodia of the Sangkum, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has constantly pursued a policy of friendship and good neighbourhood, based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, in mutual respect of the interests of both parties and without interference in the internal affairs of the other party. It has always respected the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within its present boundaries.

The people and government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam appreciate very much and firmly support the policy of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, venerable Chief of State of the Cambodian people, for the independence, peace, neutrality of Cambodia, and for the maintenance and development of relations of friendship and good neighbourhood with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This enlightened policy responds to high aspirations and to the fundamental interests of the Khmer people. It contributes to consolidating the solidarity between the people of Indochina and to safeguarding peace and security in this part the world. The Vietnamese people renew their sincere gratitude to Samdech Chief of State and to the Khmer people for the precious support they have always given them in the struggle against American aggression for national salvation.
In the execution of their criminal plans against the independence of the countries of Indochina, the American imperialists, using cynical as well as pernicious means, have continued to sap the friendship and solidarity between the Vietnamese and Khmer people. Especially since the application of what is called the Nixon Doctrine they have multiplied their activities to incite Asiatics against Asiatics, and to destroy the Vietnamese-Khmer friendship.

The recent incidents of extreme gravity, directed against the Embassies and other organisms of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Republic of South Vietnam in Cambodia are obviously a violation of international law as far as diplomatic immunity is concerned. They are contrary to the friendship for which leaders of both countries have undertaken to work for the good of their people. Pernicious as the American imperialist manoeuvre of division and sapping is, the Vietnamese and Cambodian people are aware of the necessity to re-double their vigilance, to defend their national rights, to safeguard and to develop their friendship and their solidarity, and to thwart the saboteurs of Vietnamese-Khmer friendship, and to solve the questions which now bar our friendly relations.

Anxious to contribute to the maintenance of friendship and solidarity between our two countries and motivated by the profound desire to obtain results in the present talks, the Representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam wishes to raise the following questions:

1. The interested parties admit in principle that all questions concerning the relations between the two countries will be solved by negotiation.

2. Concerning the incident of March 11 and taking into account the expressed regrets of the Royal Government, we wish to be informed about the concrete measures that the Royal Government has taken or will take to prevent their re-occurrence, to punish the guilty, to pay indemnity to the Vietnamese party for the damages caused, and to guarantee the security of organisms and members of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in conformity with international law. We also wish to know the measures that the Royal Government has taken or will take to guarantee the security of the person and property of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia in conformity with international law. The present talks require that a favourable climate be created, a climate of friendship and of mutual trust. We wish that the Royal Government would take the appropriate measures in order to put an end to the anti-Vietnamese propaganda instigated by the saboteurs.

3. The questions we must solve being the ones between neighbours and brothers, the DRVN party proposes that the present talks be kept confidential.
Excellency,
Gentlemen,

The adequate solutions to the questions that we just proposed in the minutes will contribute to re-inforce friendship and solidarity between our people. We wish that our proposals, like yours, be examined with a constructive spirit.

Before closing we reaffirm that we come here with good will to find a solution in the present talks, in order to correctly solve the questions of common interests for the two countries and to re-inforce our friendship.

Thank you for your attention.

After the Representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Representative of the Republic of South Vietnam in his turn made the following statement:

Director,
Gentlemen and dear friends,

According to the instructions of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, we came to this meeting with a strong desire and a firm conviction to actively contribute to safeguarding the friendship and good relations between our two countries. As everybody knows, our policy towards Cambodia is very clear and solemnly defined on several occasions in the basic documents of the National Liberation Front and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. In the past, as in the present and in the future, we respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present boundaries. We absolutely insist on non-interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia and we respect its political regime. I am charged by my government to reaffirm once more that this policy has not changed, because it rests on solid ground, the friendship and solidarity between our two countries in face of the aggression of the American imperialists, our common enemy. In effect, it is obvious that the American imperialists, in spite of their grave defeats in South Vietnam, have intensified, with the black design of prolonging their war of aggression in our country, and continued their criminal attacks against the territory of Cambodia, and against the just policy of independence and neutrality of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. In these conditions, it conforms to reason and to the feelings of traditional friendship between our two people that the Vietnamese and the Khmer consolidate their relations of good neighbourhood on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and their solidarity in the struggle. It is for that reason that we have always highly appreciated the far-sighted policy of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to ceaselessly promote the solidarity of the Indochinese people and to firmly support our struggle of national resistance against the American aggressors.
The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is pleased with the recent declarations of Samdech Chief of State of Cambodia, stressing the clear wishes of the Khmer people to maintain and to develop friendship between our two countries. We also salute the high recommendations given in this direction by Her Majesty the Queen of the Khmer people after the regrettable incidents of March 11 and 12. In this regard, we would like to emphasize the extreme gravity of these incidents during which the Offices of the Republic of South Vietnam Embassy and of the Press Agency of Giai Phong, as well as those of the DRVN Embassy were sacked by Khmers, and acts of violence committed against Vietnamese residents. Without a doubt these incidents hurt the friendship between our two people and ran contrary to the policy advocated by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. We think that between our two countries, its is always possible to solve all questions in the interest of both sides by frank and friendly conversations.

During the visit of President Huynh Tan Phat to Cambodia last year, Samdech Norodum Sihanouk also outlined this procedure. Since then bilateral contacts have effectively permitted us to find solutions to certain concrete questions. We wish them to maintain this principle and we notice that the present meeting is once more a practical application of it. To insure the success of our talks, we propose to put forward measures creating a favourable atmosphere to facilitate the strengthening of our ties of friendship and of good neighbourhood. Our Government acknowledged the regrets expressed by the Royal Government concerning the incidents mentioned above as well as promises of guaranteeing the security of the Embassy Offices of the Republic of South Vietnam. We also wish to note the measures envisioned by the Royal Government concerning the normal functioning of our Embassy, the payment of damages to the Embassy and to Vietnamese residents. In addition, we wish that the trade agreement, the first State agreement solemnly concluded between the Republic of South Vietnam and the Kingdom of Cambodia continues to be applied as in the past to the betterment of our mutual interests.

Director,

Gentlemen,

Before closing let me reiterate our desire to continually improve our relations in the spirit of maintaining and consolidating a lasting friendship between the Republic of South Vietnam and Cambodia of the Sangkum. We are convinced that nothing could deter the legitimate aspirations of our people who have decided to live in peace, as good neighbours, as friends, each one according to his own way of national edification. We are convinced that the Khmer people gathered together within the Sangkum and under the enlightened leadership of Samdech Chief of State continue to support our struggle of liberation. Our people
are deeply grateful and, in return, support with all their heart the policy of independence, of peace and neutrality of Cambodia. With our own efforts and the support of our friends throughout the world, we are sure to obtain the final victory, thus contributing to the cause of independence and peace for the people. We have briefly described our point of view and given suggestions on the problems of common interest. As for us we are ready to carefully study the questions raised by the Cambodian party.

Thank you for your attention.

* * *

The President of the Cambodian Commission thanked the Representatives of the two Governments for their comments in which they reaffirmed the commitments of their Governments to respect the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders. He then made the following notation:

The Representative of the DRVN proposed that the interested parties agree to solve all questions raised by each party through negotiations. On this subject, the Cambodian party would like to recall that the present meeting had a specific goal, which was to collect information on the measures taken for the evacuation of the NLF/NVN troops from Cambodian territory. There is no question of negotiations on the occupation of our territory, a question which deals with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. «We wish,» added the President of the Commission, «to note the measures that you have taken and will take for the evacuation of your troops following the official notification from the Royal Government of Cambodia.»

The President of the Commission then emphasized that it was to safeguard the good relations and friendship between our two people and our two countries that the Royal Government wished to see as soon as possible its request met, for it was that very question of implantation of the NLF/DRVN troops on Khmer territory which put the Royal Government in its present difficult situation.

As to the question of indemnity for the material damage caused by the demonstrators, the President of the Cambodian Commission underlined that he had already set up an ad hoc commission to estimate the damages, and that the two Representatives from North and South Vietnam had already been informed. Concerning the measures of protection of property and security of Embassy personnel, they had already been taken, and have been the object of particular attention for the Royal Government.
The President of the Cambodian Commission then said that concerning the Vietnamese proposal to keep the talks confidential, and that concerning the trade agreement, the Cambodian party would submit these proposals for the consideration of the Royal Government.

Speaking again, the Representative of the Republic of South Vietnam declared that he wholeheartedly approved the proposal made by the representative of the DRVN, which was to create an atmosphere favourable to negotiation and asked the Cambodian party to facilitate conditions for the accomplishment of the delicate task of the missions. «After the incidents of March 11, 1970,» he said, «conditions are no longer favourable for work. As an example,» he said, «our radio/telephone communications were completely destroyed and we cannot communicate with our Government any longer. In order to solve as soon as possible all questions of interest to both parties, I ask the Cambodian party to facilitate our work by allowing the normal functioning of our Embassy and to guarantee the security of our personnel. » Furthermore, he added that he acknowledged the promise of aid of His Highness, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made during talks on March 12, 1970. He also declared that he was ready to study all questions, but due to the lack of communications with his Government it was very difficult for him to get quick and adequate answers, and for this reason he asked the Cambodian friends to understand the situation. He does not lack good will, he added, but despite his strong desire to obtain a quick solution, he did have this material difficulty. He proposed that Cambodian party give him appropriate advice and suggestions concerning the subject.

He was of the same opinion as his colleague from North Vietnam concerning «the confidential character of the talks» and that, he added, was in the interest of both parties. It was desirable that the talks not be made public before a solution was found, for the disclosure of the talks could indispose one of the parties or excite public opinion which would be harmful to the normal functioning of the talks.

The Representative of the DRVN again insisted on his proposal to keep the talks «confidential» and based on the long-standing friendly relations between our two people, he expressed his firm conviction that all questions would be solved.

* * *

After a 30 minute recess (at the request of the Representative of the DRVN) the meeting resumed.

The President of the Cambodian Commission recalled that the Representative of the Republic of South Vietnam wished to obtain from the Cambodian party advice and suggestions for creating a favourable climate in
our friendly relations. «In this regard,» said the President of the Cambodian Commission, «I believe that our only suggestion would be the application of the request from the Royal Government concerning the evacuation of the NLF/DRVN troops from our territory.»

He then added that the Vietnamese parties had renewed their assurances to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders. The Royal Government wished then to see these assurances substantiated by concrete acts.

The Representative of the DRVN declared that this session was only the first contact between our various representatives. In a spirit of good neighbourhood, and based on the friendly relations between our two countries, he proposed, as a procedural method for future sessions, that all questions raised be solved by negotiation. He stressed that the points of view of his government remained always the same, which were to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present boundaries. In order to safeguard the good neighbourhood, the good friendly relations between our two countries, and the good will for mutual aid, and in order to overcome the obstacles and the questions to be raised, he proposed that this first meeting be only an exchange of views on the question of procedure.

The Representative of the Republic of South Vietnam, in his turn, pointed out that as a principle and in any case, the Vietnamese party did not have any intention to violate the territorial integrity of Cambodia or of any other country. It was not a question of negotiating on the fundamental rights of such or such country. As it had pointed out in its declarations on several occasions, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam respect the rights of the Khmer people based on peaceful co-existence and solidarity between our two people. The questions raised did not concern that of territorial integrity of Cambodia or of Vietnam or of any other country. They were practical questions which would facilitate the creation of conditions favourable for our talks.

He then added that the questions raised by the Cambodian party and by the Vietnamese parties were important questions which would require consultations and instructions from their respective governments. However, due to the difficulties of communications with his government he asked that the questions raised be solved through several sessions.

The Representative of the DRVN then proposed that in the next session prepared questions should be discussed. However, due to the difficulties of communications, he asked to fix a date far enough in the future appropriate to their needs or wait to fix the date through diplomatic channels.

The Representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam wished that the date should not be too long delayed. It could be fixed, for instance, for the beginning of next week at the latest.
On the request of the Representatives of the DRVN and the PRGSVN to know if the Cambodian party agreed to keep the content of the meeting secret, the Cambodian party again pointed out before closing the session that the «confidential» question as well as the question concerning the trade agreement would be submitted for the consideration of the Royal Government.

The meeting, started at 10:30 a.m., ended at 12:30.

Conclusions

The Cambodian Commission was able to note that during the meeting the two Vietnamese parties were trying to avoid the question that the Cambodian Commission was responsible for obtaining information on, the measures taken by the Government of the DRVN and of the P.R.G. of SVN on the evacuation of their troops from our territory, and that was done through the pretext of «lack of communications» with their respective governments, and by avoiding making any allusion to the question of evacuating their troops from our territory.

In addition, the Vietnamese parties suggested other meetings to discuss the questions raised by the interested parties, without specifying their intention and their position concerning the request of the Royal Government to have their troops evacuated from our territory.

In these conditions, the Cambodian Commission submits for the consideration of the Royal Government this proposal for the resumption of talks.

In the case that the Royal Government gives its agreement in principle for a new meeting, with the date fixed and accepted by all parties through diplomatic channels, the Commission wishes to receive the necessary instructions concerning the following Vietnamese propositions:

1. Creation of an atmosphere favourable for the talks: the Vietnamese parties wish to deal with the question of indemnity and of reparation of material damages of their embassies, and with the question of protection of properties and security of the embassy personnel and Vietnamese residents. They also wish to deal with the question of the press campaign and anti-Vietnamese demonstrations.

2. Question of application of trade agreement asked by the P.R.G. of South Vietnam.

3. Suggestion to keep the content of each discussion «confidential».

Sah. Ky Soth
Sah. Men Soum Phao
Sah. Cdt. K.E. Kouroudeth
Sah. Cpt. Neang San
Translation

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Cambodia presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and has the honour to inform it that the Cambodian party proposes to hold a new meeting on Friday March 27 at 9:30 a.m., at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pertaining to the requests of the Cambodian Government to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the withdrawal of its armed forces from Cambodian territory.

The Ministry asks the Embassy to inform us, when possible, if its acting Chargé d'Affairs agrees to attend the meeting on the date proposed above.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes this opportunity to renew the assurances of its high consideration to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Phnom Penh, March 25, 1970
On March 25, 1970 the Embassy of the Popular Republic of Poland sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cambodia an aide-memoire whose essential part is reproduced below. This document confirms the Vietnamese Communists’ refusal to continue the talks pertaining to the withdrawal of their forces installed in Khmer territory.


AIDE - MÉMOIRE

Dans le cadre de bon office et à la demande du Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Viet-Nam et du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire Provisoire de la République du Sud Viet-Nam, le Gouvernement de la République Populaire de Pologne a confié à notre Ambassade la mission d’évacuer le personnel de l’Ambassade de la République Démocratique du Viet-Nam et de l’Ambassade de la République du Sud Viet-Nam ainsi que le personnel des bureaux affiliés à ces Ambassades et les membres de leurs familles.


Le départ aura lieu le Vendredi 27 Mars 1970 de la résidence de l’Ambassadeur de la République Populaire de Pologne à Phnom-Penh, 17 Moka Vithei Mao Tse Tung.

L’heure du départ de l’avion et du personnel sera précisée plus tard.

(See Annex IX for the text in English).
PART III

THE REALITY OF THE AGGRESSION

During the first days of the war they imposed on us, the Vietnamese Communists in bad faith denied the reality of their aggression against Cambodia as they had been denying for several years the infiltration of their forces and their installation on our territory.

Their propaganda, supported by that of Communist China, thus pretended that our defense forces were attacked by the so-called « Popular Forces » which were under the authority of Prince Norodom Sihanouk (in exile in Peking) and which were fighting to put him back in power.

This gross lie however did not convince many foreign observers who had been in Cambodia since the beginning of April, and who could witness that the only forces we had to fight were exclusively those of North Vietnam and the Vietcong. As to the pretended « American aggression » mentioned in the enemy propaganda, it was purely imaginary, since the American forces intervened to destroy the Vietcong sanctuaries in Cambodia only after April 30, which was one month after the launching of Communist aggression. Furthermore, all American forces withdrew from Khmer territory on June 30. As to the South Vietnamese forces, it is with our full agreement that they are now still helping us to resist Vietcong-North Vietnamese aggression.

We should point out, in addition, that all of the bodies left on the battlefields by the enemy as well as the prisoners captured by our defense forces have been either North Vietnamese (the majority) or Vietcong guerrillas. These facts give us undeniable proof of the truth of the aggression that the Vietnamese Communists are perpetrating against Cambodia, in defiance of the law and their solemn agreements of 1967. This particular aggression was facilitated by the occupation for several years of large regions located along the border areas. It is from those regions that the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces attacked the interior of the country, and in April launched an offensive toward Phnom Penh and against our main cities.