

Footnotes

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Appendices

Appendix I

1. Summary of funds committed to UNICEF-assisted projects in Kampuchea, including emergencies 1982-1986

a) By Year — US Dollars

Year	From UNICEF'S general resources	From specific purpose contributions	Total
1982		1,564,608	1,564,608
1983	1,488,000	878,608	2,366,608
1984	2,490,000	3,269,999	5,759,999
1985	2,020,000	1,176,098	3,196,098
1986	<u>2,036,000</u>	<u>1,592,910</u>	<u>3,628,910</u>
Total	<u>8,034,000</u>	<u>8,482,223</u>	<u>16,516,223</u>

cont'd

Appendix I continued

b) By Donor Country — US dollars

Country	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	Total
Arab Gulf Fund	NGO				400,000.00	400,000.00
	Govt					
Australia	NGO		2,382,682.76	57,142.86		
	Govt		95,984.54	474,137.93	75,003.89	2,913,963.55
Belgium	NGO	201,896.81				
	Govt		79,435.58			
France	NGO	8,401.37			103,703.70	121,930.40
	Govt					
Germany, FR	NGO	225.48				225.48
	Govt					
Ghana	NGO	105.46				105.46
	Govt					
Italy	NGO					
	Govt	396,155.39				396,155.39
Japan	NGO		3,892.78	1,934.70	105,512.93	111,340.41
	Govt					
Netherlands	NGO	129.55				
	Govt	1,022,000.00		10,882.65	32,312.27	1,461,364.07
Philippines	NGO	396,039.60				
	Govt			10,000.00		
Sweden	NGO					
	Govt	270,270.27	713,227.51		846,376.81	1,829,874.59
Switzerland	NGO					
	Govt	111,111.11				111,111.11
USA	NGO	2,000.00				
	Govt			22,000.00	30,000.00	76,403.00
United Nations				600,000.00		600,000.00

Figures for EC aid to NGOs in Kampuchea are not available

Appendix I continued

2. Cash contributions to United Nations Border Relief Operation

Country	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Total
Australia		1,451	662	501	555	263	3,432
Austria				24			24
Belgium			50	20			70
Brunei				10	10	10	30
Canada		828	741	733	725		3,027
Chile			5				5
China			100	50	50		200
Cyprus			1				1
Denmark		212		167	244		623
EC			228	233	377	1,043	1,881
Finland		98		34			132
France				50		50	100
Germany, FR		467	616	762	1,006		2,851
Greece	10	10	10	10	10	10	60
Indonesia			10	10	10		30
Italy		338	197	577	334	719	2,165
Japan			2,369	3,590	3,152	3,243	12,354
Korea, R of				20	30		50
Malaysia	30	10	34	35	10	10	129
Netherlands		319	413		150	500	1,382
New Zealand	36	26	25	96	64		247
Norway		272	116	210	429		1,027
Pakistan		10		10	10		30
Singapore	10		20	10	10	10	60
Sweden					191	221	412
Switzerland		140	215	405	572		1,332
UK		297	279	619	814		2,574
USA	10,000	9,382	10,137	11,632	10,134	6,000	57,285
Total	10,086	13,860	16,228	19,808	18,887	12,644	91,513

Appendix I continued

3. Contributions in-kind to United Nations Border Relief Operations 1982-1987

Donor	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Total
Australia	1,053					191	1,244
Canada		20					20
EC	2,000	1,694	1,266	390	2,137	2,743	10,230
France			992	600	600	300	2,492
Italy			437		334		771
Japan	9,100	11,811	12,244	12,700	4,130	14,352	64,337
Netherlands		330			500		830
New Zealand		220					220
Norway		522					522
Sweden		133					133
Switzerland		231	292	684	269		1,476
UK	1,136						1,136
USA	3,832	5,788		920	1,614		12,154
Total	17,121	20,749	15,231	15,294	9,584	17,586	95,565

Appendix I continued

4. Contributions in-kind to United Nations-assisted programmes in Kampuchea 1982-1987

Contributions in-kind to United Nations-assisted programmes in Kampuchea 1982-1987 (value in thousands of US dollars)							
Donor	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Total
Denmark	703						703
EC	2,707		372	295			3,374
Finland		220	298	305		367	1,190
France			1,934			300	2,234
Japan		7,000	2,700	2,823	3,811	2,345	18,679
Netherlands	467		1,099				1,566
Norway	504		258				762
Sweden	1,682		945	1,494	892	507	5,520
USA	5,015						5,015
Total	11,078	7,220	7,606	4,917	4,703	3,519	39,043

Appendix II

Voting record at the UN General Assembly

SEATING CREDENTIALS — DK/CGDK*

1. Selected countries

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Australia	Y	Y	A	A
Belgium	Y	Y	Y	Y
Denmark	Y	Y	Y	Y
France	A	A	A	A
Germany, FR	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greece	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ireland	A	A	A	A
Italy	Y	Y	Y	Y
Japan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Luxembourg	A	A	A	A
Netherlands	A	A	A	Y
Norway	Y	A	A	A
Portugal	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spain	A	A	Y	Y
United Kingdom	Y	Y	Y	Y
USA	Y	Y	Y	Y

*In 1979/80 and 1981 the Khmer Rouge (Democratic Kampuchea) were seated at the United Nations.

In 1982 they formed a coalition with Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk. This coalition has remained seated at the UN since 1982. No vote on the seating credentials has been requested since 1983.

Appendix II continued

2. Other UN member states

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Afghanistan	N	N	N	N
Albania	N	N	N	N
Algeria	N	N	N	N
Angola	—	N	N	N
Antigua and Barbuda	—	—	—	Y
Argentina	Y	Y	Y	—
Austria	A	A	A	A
Bahamas	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bahrain	A	Y	Y	Y
Bangladesh	Y	Y	Y	Y
Barbados	Y	Y	A	Y
Belize	—	—	—	Y
Benin	N	N	N	N
Bhutan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	—
Botswana	A	A	Y	Y
Brazil	—	A	A	A
Bulgaria	N	N	N	N
Burma	Y	—	—	—
Burundi	A	A	A	Y
Byelorussian SSR	N	N	N	N
Canada	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cape Verde	N	N	N	A
Central African Republic	—	A	Y	Y
Chad	Y	A	N	Y
Chile	Y	Y	Y	Y
China	Y	Y	Y	Y
Columbia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Comoros	Y	Y	Y	Y
Congo	N	N	N	N
Costa Rica	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cuba	N	N	N	N
Cyprus	A	—	—	—
Czechoslovakia	N	N	N	N

Appendix II continued
(Other UN member states continued)

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Dem Kampuchea	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dem Yemen	N	N	N	N
Djibouti	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dominica	—	—	—	—
Dominican Republic	A	Y	Y	Y
Ecuador	Y	Y	Y	Y
Egypt	Y	Y	Y	Y
El Salvador	Y	Y	Y	Y
Equatorial Guinea	—	Y	Y	Y
Ethiopia	N	N	N	N
Fiji	Y	Y	Y	Y
Finland	A	A	A	A
Gabon	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gambia	Y	Y	Y	Y
German DR	N	N	N	N
Ghana	A	A	A	A
Grenada	N	N	N	N
Guatemala	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guinea	N	N	N	N
Guinea-Bissau	N	N	N	A
Guyana	N	N	N	N
Haiti	Y	Y	Y	Y
Honduras	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hungary	N	N	N	N
Iceland	Y	A	A	A
India	N	N	N	N
Indonesia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iran	A	—	—	—
Iraq	—	—	—	—
Israel	—	Y	Y	Y
Ivory Coast	A	A	Y	Y
Jamaica	N	N	Y	Y
Jordan	A	—	A	—
Kenya	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kuwait	A	Y	Y	Y
Lao PDR	N	N	N	N

Appendix II continued
(Other UN member states continued)

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Lebanon	A	A	A	—
Lesotho	Y	Y	Y	Y
Liberia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Libyan AJ	N	N	N	N
Madagascar	N	N	N	A
Malawi	A	—	A	A
Malaysia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maldives	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mali	A	A	A	Y
Malta	—	Y	Y	Y
Mauritania	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mauritius	Y	Y	Y	—
Mexico	A	A	A	A
Mongolia	N	N	N	N
Morocco	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mozambique	N	N	N	N
Nepal	Y	Y	Y	Y
New Zealand	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nicaragua	N	N	N	N
Niger	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nigeria	Y	Y	Y	Y
Oman	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Panama	N	N	N	A
Papua New Guinea	Y	Y	Y	Y
Paraguay	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peru	A	A	A	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	N	N	N	N
Qatar	A	Y	Y	Y
Romania	Y	—	—	Y
Rwanda	A	A	A	A
Saint Lucia	—	—	A	Y
St Vincent and the Grenadines	—	—	—	Y
Samoa	Y	A	A	Y
Sao Tome and Principe	N	N	N	N

Appendix II continued
(Other UN member states continued)

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Senegal	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seychelles	N	N	N	N
Sierra Leone	N	A	N	A
Singapore	Y	Y	Y	Y
Solomon Islands	—	—	Y	Y
Somalia	Y	Y	Y	Y
South Africa	—	—	—	—
Sri Lanka	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sudan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Suriname	A	A	A	A
Swaziland	Y	—	Y	Y
Sweden	A	A	A	A
Syrian Arab Republic	N	N	N	N
Thailand	Y	Y	Y	Y
Togo	Y	Y	Y	Y
Trinidad and Tobago	A	A	A	A
Tunisia	A	A	A	A
Turkey	—	Y	Y	Y
Uganda	A	A	A	A
Ukrainian SSR	N	N	N	N
USSR	N	N	N	N
United Arab Emirates	A	A	Y	Y
United Republic of Cameroon	A	Y	A	Y
U Republic of Tanzania	A	A	A	A
Upper Volta	Y	Y	Y	Y
Uruguay	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vanuatu	—	—	—	—
Venezuela	A	Y	Y	Y
Vietnam	N	N	N	N
Yemen	A	A	—	A
Yugoslavia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zaire	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zambia	A	A	A	A
Zimbabwe	—	A	A	A

Appendix II continued

Total UN votes:

(all member nations)

		79	80	81	82
Yes	(Y)— In favour of seating DK/CGDK	71	74	79	90
No	(N)— Against	35	35	36	29
Abstain	(A)—	34	32	30	26
Non-participation	(—)—	17	15	12	12

Appendix III

Non-governmental Organisations Working in Displaced Persons Camps in Thailand

Other NGOs distribute materials only: International Relief Friendship Fund (IRFF).

Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (JSRC), Kampuchea Refugee Relief Programme, World Vision (USA and Australia)

Source: *Kampuchea Humanitarian Assistance Programmes, UN, 1986*

1986/87 Programmes	Headquarters	Medical Care	Public Health	Prosthetics/Therapy	Mother/Child Care	Supp. Feeding	Leprosy Control	Water Supply	Sanitation	Material Aid	Handicraft	Budget as per agreement with UNHCR 1987
American Refugee Committee (ARC)	USA	X	X							X		313,847.97
Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA Services Inc.)	USA	X								X		176,044.90
Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees (COERR)	Thailand	X			X	X						600,191.00
Catholic Relief Services (CRS)	USA	X			X	X						1,033,187.00
Christian Outreach (COR)	UK				X			X				51,520.00
Church of Christ of Thailand (CCT)	Ireland		X						X			n.a.
Concern	USA					X						402,306.00
Co-operation for American Relief Everywhere (CARE)	USA					X						1,513,133.00
Japan International Volunteer Centre (JVC)	Japan					X						263,267.00
Malteser-Hilfsdienst Auslandsdienst EY (MHD)	West Germany					X						26,326.00
Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF)	France	X										126,045.00
Operation Handicap Internationale (OHI)	France			X								164,341.00
Youth with a Mission Relief Services (YWAM)	USA		X									310,744.00
ZOA Refugee Care Netherlands	Netherlands										X	n.a.

Appendix III continued

Non-governmental Organisations Working at Khao I Dang

Another 16 NGOs work in the refugee transit centres.

Source: *Kampuchea Humanitarian Assistance Programmes, UN, 1986*

Headquarters	Medical Care	Traditional Medicine	Prosthetics Therapy	Social Work Training	Construction/Maintenance	Sanitation	Family Planning	Supp. Feeding/ Nut. Education	Food Distribution/ Supplies	Agriculture	Health Training	Health Education	Culture/Buddhist Studies	Pre-school Educ.	Teacher Training	Skills Training	Handicraft Product.	
Caring for Young Refugees (CYR)																		
Japan																		
Christian Outreach (COR)					X													
UK																		
Thailand							X			X								
Community Based Emergency Relief Services (CBERS)								X										
USA																		
Co-operation for American Relief Everywhere (CARE)																		
USA																		
International Rescue Committee (IRC)	X					X												
Japan																		
Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (JSRC)													X			X		
Japan																		
Japan International Volunteer Centre (JVC)																		
Japan																		
West Germany																		
Malteser - Hilfsdienst Auslands - dienst EV (MHD)	X															X		
France																		
Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF)	X																	
France																		
Operation Handicap Internationale (OHI)																		
France																		
Norway																		
Redd Barna Thailand																		
Norway																		
France																		
Sovereign Order of Malta																		
France																		
Thailand																		
Thai Red Cross (TRC)																		
Thailand																		
USA																		
Youth with a Mission Relief Services (YWAM)	X																	
USA																		

Appendix III continued

Non-governmental Organisations Working in Kampuchea

	Headquarters	Public Health/Health Ed. etc.	Prosthetics/Disability Physiotherapy	Sanitation	Orphanages	Water Resources	Agriculture	Educational/Teacher Training/ Vocational Training	Industry	Culture	Village Development	Infrastructure/Rehabilitation	Transport	1986 Budgets/Expenditure in US Dollars	Expatriates in residence
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)	USA	X	X		X		X	X	X					237,929	4
Alliance Francaise	France							X						n.a.	2
Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign (AFHC)	Australia	X												500,000	1
Australian People for Health Education and Development Abroad (APHEDA)	Australia	X													
Australian Save the Children Fund	Australia	X												1,000,000	5
Church World Service (CWS)	USA					X									
Cooperation Internationale Pour le Developpement et la Solidarité Econ. (CIDSE)*	Ireland	X					X	X	X	X				1,800,000	4
International Rice Research Institute (IRRI)	Philippines						X							157,000	1
Japan International Volunteer Centre (JVC)	Japan	X		X	X	X								300,000	2
Lutheran World Service (LWS)	Switzerland						X							450,000	2
Mani Tese	Italy						X							162,000	-

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC)	USA/Canada	X	X	X	X	X	X	807,000	4
NOVIB	Netherlands	X	X	X	X	X	400,000	**	
Operation Handicap Internationale	Belgium/Paris	X					—	***	
Oxfam America	USA		X	X	X	X	75,000	**	
Oxfam Belgium	Belgium			X	X	X	100,000	1	
Oxfam UK	UK		X	X	X	X	1,600,000	5	
Quaker Service Australia (QSA)	Australia	X		X	X	X	n.a.	—	
Redd Barna	Norway						120,000	—	
Solidarité Socialiste	Belgium	X	X	X	X	X	122,725	**	
SOS Enfants du Cambodge	France	X	X				n.a.	4	
Swiss Interchurch Aid (HEKS)	Switzerland	X	X	X	X	X	n.a.	—	
World Council of Churches (WCC)	Switzerland	X	X	X	X	X	718,818	3	
World Vision (WV)	USA/Australia		X	X	X	X	n.a.	9	
Red Cross Societies									
French Red Cross								2	
Swedish Red Cross								4	
Swiss Red Cross								3	
Australian Red Cross								1	
Czechoslovakian Red Cross									
Polish Red Cross									

LONG TERM RELIEF

Note

Many of the above receive funds from sister agencies in other countries

• Consortium of Catholic agencies from various countries

** Will have joint representation in 1988

*** Independent programme commenced in 1987; previously seconded to AFSC

Appendix IV

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OCTOBER 1979 - DECEMBER 1981 (MILLIONS OF US\$)

Area	ICRC		UNICEF		UNHCR		WFP		FAO		Total	
	1979-80	1981	1979-80	1981	1979-80	1981	1979-80	1981	1979-80	1981	1979-80	1981
Kampuchea	34.3	11.0	68.7	22.7	3.9	4.3	105.3	43.2	44.5	28.8	256.7	110.0
Border	45.5	13.8	13.7	3.2	—	—	44.0	16.7	—	—	102.9	33.7
Holding Centres	18.7	—	—	—	95.8	34.6*	0.5	—	—	—	115.0	34.6
Affected Thais	1.3	0.4	1.2	1.3	—	—	12.5	8.4	—	—	15.0	10.1
Total	99.8	25.2	83.6	27.2	99.7	38.9	162.3	68.3	44.5	28.8	489.6	188.4

* The figures for the holding centre include a small amount of funds for Kampuchean in Vietnam.

Sources: *Kampuchea Back from the Brink*, published by the ICRC, Geneva, October 1981; *Humanitarian Operations arising Out of Developments in Kampuchea*, report prepared by the Inter-Agency Working Group on Kampuchea, New York, 10 November 1980; *Humanitarian Operations...*, op.cit., prepared by World Food Programme, November 1981.

Source: Kimmo Kiljunen, p. 81.

Appendix V

Dimensions of the Kampuchean Conflict

Country	Concerns Behind Current Situation	Costs & Benefits of Current Conflict	Factors Which Could Influence Movement of the Impasse
VIETNAM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ Supports PRK ★ Prevent encirclement by China & guarantee Vietnam's security ★ Longterm political dominance in Indochina ★ Government in PRK friendly to Vietnam ★ Contain Chinese threat to S.E. Asia ★ Rivalry with Thailand 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Security, ends to attacks on Vietnamese territory + Primacy in Indochina + Kampuchean buffer between itself & China + Longterm economic benefits from PRK - High cost to Vietnam. Lack of economic aid from West obstructs reconstruction & development - Growing dependence on USSR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ Vietnam has overcome the worst. Now economy beginning to improve ★ 1990 timetable for troop withdrawal may favour settlement on Vietnamese terms ★ Strong desire to end isolation to reconstruct economy & country ★ Desire not to be dependent on any power ★ Fear of recrudescence of Khmer nationalism in future
CHINA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ To support CGDK with strongest support for Khmer Rouge ★ To "bleed Vietnam white" as punishment for its ingratitude towards China and alliance with USSR ★ To contain Soviet military deployments on southern border ★ To minimise Soviet influence in S.E. Asia ★ To restore Chinese supremacy in region ★ Prevent Vietnam becoming dominant power in IndoChina ★ Rivalry with Vietnam in S.E. Asia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Costs of present policy for China are low, with minimal risks to themselves & ties down Soviet & Vietnamese rivals + Furthers 4 pts modernisation & stronger ties with ASEAN (except Indonesia — broke diplomatic relations in 1965) - Soviet entrenchment & military presence in Vietnam - Encirclement by USSR from 4 directions + Vietnam weak and isolated, unable to rival Chinese influence in ASEAN 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ Improving relations with USSR & Vietnam could enhance Chinese security ★ If normalisation of relations with neighbours could speed up modernisation process, China would not hesitate ★ Khmer Rouge may be expendable ★ Fear of international condemnation in a World Court action against the Khmer Rouge for genocide in Kampuchea ★ China's claim to South China Sea as its own "territorial sea"

Appendix V continued

USSR

- ★ Supports PRK
- ± Burden of providing support for Hanoi/PRK heavy but mitigated by strategic military and political advantages in region
- + Enhanced USSR role as participant in regional security issues
- ★ To maintain access to strategic air/naval base in Vietnam
- ★ To establish its influence in S.E. Asia on equal basis with other superpowers
- ★ To reduce threat of China—US anti-Moscow alignment
- ★ To neutralise Japan politically
- ★ To prevent security pacts between ASEAN, Japan, US & China
- ★ Seeks improved economic & political relations with ASEAN & Japan
- ★ Gorbachev's policy of improving Soviet image could have some bearing on impasse although they will not jeopardise access to bases
- ★ Continued support for Vietnam is drain on USSR
- ★ Longterm relationship with Hanoi
- ★ USSR—China 'rapprochement'

ASEAN

- ★ Supports CGDK
- ★ Security of Thailand and S.E. Asia
- ★ Containment of Soviet influence in region
- ★ Neutral, independent Kampuchea
- ★ Oppose return of Khmer Rouge leaders responsible for mass murders in any Kampuchean government
- ★ Thailand wants buffer between itself and Vietnam, and prefers the latter to be weak
- ★ Indonesia wants big power rivalry out of S.E. Asia
- ★ Benefits of Mekong Scheme for Thailand if settlement is reached
- + Improved ties with China
- + Strengthening alliance between S.E. Asian nations (ASEAN)
- + Reconfirmed security guarantees from US
- + Thai army re-equipped with modern weaponry by US
- + Thai reaps economic benefits of refugee assistance programmes
- + China stopped support for Communist Party of Thailand
- Potential for escalation of war on ASEAN frontline
- Instability in region & potential for increasing superpower competition at ASEAN expense
- ★ Consensus between ASEAN partners on principles for settlement weakening
- ★ Growing fear of Chinese expansionism & influence in region
- ★ Indonesia feels ASEAN has more in common with Vietnam than China
- ★ Vietnam could be buffer vs. China
- ★ Instability of Philippine situation
- ★ Slowed economic development for ASEAN
- ★ Growing public opinion in Thailand vs. current policy

- USA**
- ★ Supports CGDK
 - + Present level of war drains Vietnamese/ ★ US current policy vague & undefined Soviet resources at minimal cost & involvement to Washington
 - Losing opportunity to shape events in region and restore US esteem & role as leader
 - ★ Fear of improving China-Soviet relations could influence normalisation of relations with Vietnam
 - ★ Access to bases & allies in region
 - ★ Containment & punishment of Vietnam
- JAPAN**
- ★ Supports CGDK
 - + Comfortable with status quo
 - ★ Would like to play larger political role in region
 - ★ Containment of Soviet expansion in Asia-Pacific region
 - Does not benefit from economic potential of Indochina
 - ★ Political and general stability in S.E. Asia
 - ★ Self-determination for Kampuchea
- AUSTRALIA**
- ★ Supports neither CGDK nor PRK
 - + Gains respect for its neutrality & positive initiatives to restore peace & stability in region
 - ★ Growing impatience with obstacles to settlement & costs to Kampuchean people could lead Australia to make bolder gesture towards conditional recognition of PRK
 - ★ Peace & stability in Asia-Pacific
 - Treads fine line because of strong economic ties with ASEAN & China
 - ★ Publicly raised issue of bringing Khmer Rouge leaders before international tribunal for crimes vs. humanity
 - ★ Limit superpower potential in region
 - ★ Self-determination for Kampuchea
 - ★ Maintain neutrality in conflict
 - ★ Insists that Khmer Rouge not returned to power in Kampuchea
- INDIA**
- ★ Recognises PRK government
 - + Only non-communist country with significant presence throughout Indochina
 - ★ Longterm relationship with Hanoi
 - ★ Peace & stability in region

Appendix V continued

WESTERN EUROPE

- ★ Majority of governments support CGDK. Ireland, Australia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, France, Iceland abstain in UN vote
- ★ Containment of Soviet Union & Vietnam
- ★ Follows ASEAN & US policy
- ★ Concerned about Khmer Rouge record and future role
- + Maintains good economic & diplomatic relations with ASEAN & China
- ★ Difficulty of continuing support for crippled CGDK government in UN forever
- Losing opportunity to positively affect events in region & to reap benefits of peace & stability in region
- ★ Increased discomfort over their support of Khmer Rouge-dominated coalition
- ★ Failure of current pressure tactics in bringing about Vietnamese withdrawal

PRK

- ★ Want security against return of Pol Pot clique
- ★ Want peace & end to isolation
- ★ Want aid to rebuild nation
- ★ Want withdrawal of Vietnamese troops & self determination
- ★ Prepared to negotiate quadripartite government as long as they maintain dominant role & Pol Pot clique excluded
- ★ Friendly relations with Vietnam
- ★ Neutral & independent
- + Relative peace & stability compared to previous decade
- + Security from Khmer Rouge
- Events rather than self-determination shape future
- Dependence on Vietnam & Soviet Bloc
- Denial of recognition of Government & aid embargo by majority of West
- Lack of options in political & economic development
- War exerts high cost in human lives and material resources
- ★ Growing resentment & fear towards Vietnam & its longterm intentions
- ★ PRK forces taking on more responsibility for country's defence

CGDK

Khmer Rouge

- ★ Removal of Vietnam from Kampuchea
- ★ Khmer Rouge-controlled government
- + Substantial military support from China
- + Dominate CGDK & hold seat in UN
- Cannot defeat Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea
- ★ Viability as existing opposition force consistently eroding
- ★ Growing fear of Khmer Rouge strength
- ★ Internal conflicts and divisions and losing motivation to fight
- ★ Time puts them in weaker bargaining position vis-a-vis Vietnam
- ★ Sihanouk steps down as President of CGDK

KPNLF & Sihanouk

- ★ Removal of Vietnam
- ★ Non-communist Kampuchea
- ★ Self determination and free elections
- ★ Security guarantees
- Loss of support from PRK Khmers because of alignment with Khmer Rouge
- Human costs of war
- Lost control of PRK territory and exiled to Thailand
- + Insignificant military financial support from West or ASEAN

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