

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

**REQUEST FOR INTERPRETATION OF THE JUDGMENT OF 15 JUNE
1962 IN THE CASE CONCERNING THE *TEMPLE OF PREAH VIHEAR*
(*CAMBODIA v. THAILAND*)**

(CAMBODIA v. THAILAND)

Annexes to the Further Written Explanations
of the Kingdom of Thailand

21 JUNE 2012

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Annex 1

Commandant Bernard, Letter to the Consul
of France, 11 December 1904

Affaires politiques
CONSULAT DE FRANCE

A OUBONE

Carton Dossier 190

Délimitation des Dangereux

Hanoi 11 Decembre 1904

Monsieur le Consul

J'ai votre remerciement de votre
aimable lettre et de concours pour
vous rendre bien servi. J'ai
beaucoup regretté de ne pas vous
rencontrer à Saigon, mais j'en
console en pensant que j'aurai
bientôt quelques mois, le plaisir de
vous voir à Orléans. Le
Gouverneur Général m'a communiqué
votre rapport ainsi que les
lettres topographiques de l'écrit Bar-
thélemy. Il m'a permis de
remercié par moi-même par la
Campagne. Je quitterai Haiphong
pour Saigon le 15 Decembre et
je me propose de passer immédia-
tement à Mon Vieux et Puyat et
j'attendrai la commission d'annon-
ce moi-même le membre de cette
commission ne réussit pas

une rivière par Saïgon. Je commençai
 le travail de délimitation par le
 ruisseau compris entre le grand lac et
 la mer et j'espérai, grâce aux travaux
 préliminaires du capitaine de Batz per-
 sonnellement, avoir terminé dans
 cette région, de la fin de février. Je
 pourrai donc me rendre à Kompong
 Thom et à Roluos et me diriger vers
 le Song Keok au commencement de
 mars. Le lieutenant Barthelmy a
 été contraint de demeurer au pied même
 du Song Keok et s'en laisse aller.
 Je suis intéressé par ce qui sera utile
 dans la mesure du possible; l'est pour-
 quoi, il serait préférable que j'établisse
 mon établissement parallèlement
 au Song Keok, mais au nord de
 l'hamlet et non le plateau Vachon. Je
 crains du reste que le saïgon ne mienne
 et le manque d'eau me contraindrait
 à abandonner la région cambodjienne
 et à m'installer en territoire siamois.
 Je vous remercie très reconnaissant et
 vous prie de m'envoyer une bonne
 nuit maintenant de remue-ménage.

ou tout au moins es lieux, d'ici deux
mois. Il est évidemment impossible,
de rassembler exactement tout
le long de la ligne frontalière. De même,
on ne peut lever à grande échelle, avec
une entière précision, toute la zone
frontalière, ce qui exigerait un temps très
long, et un outillage très important.
Voilà les instructions que j'ai reçues.

Je vous propose donc de lever, au nord
du Sanghek un cheminement aussi
 précis que possible, appuyé sur un grand
nombre de points déterminés astronomi-
quement. Je partirais du district com-
mune à ce cheminement pour aller
au moyen de simples itinéraires, aussi
 courts que possible, jusqu'à la ligne
de partage des eaux qui doit former
la frontière. Je déterminerais ainsi la
ligne frontalière par points. Les cartes
dont je dispose ne me permettent
pas de fixer d'un façon plus certaine
le programme de mon travail. Il
faudrait que je puisse connaître de
maintenant la route que je tiendrais
au nord du Sanghek et parallèlement
à la frontière. Vous m'indiquerez une

Vous pourriez m'adresser à Union Bleue
 poste restante. Je donnerai des nouvelles
 sans pour que la lettre par une
 vient à travers pour être arrivée.
 Je serai en force, mon ami le
 comit, je vous remercie de votre
 offre admirable de concours et
 je vous prie de croire avec
 mes meilleurs sentiments à votre
 très dévoué

J. Bernier

Sans votre rapport, peut-être y en a-t-il d'autres? Sans tous les cas, je n'ai ~~heureusement~~ ^{deux} commenté votre ~~document~~ ^{document} et vous pourriez peut-être maintenant en indiquer d'autres que je pourrais suivre et en faire lots de paquets.

the movement - lesson

(Handwritten note at bottom of page)

Chemical Pathology

Robert

le Communisme français ne conspire
à le faire mourir.

Comm. Bernard

Castronice Tixia } membres
 Castronice de Batz }
 Castronice de Batz } membres

Pequeños de 13 años
 Ocaso número asfoid

Benzene

docteur. Brouzet
M^r Perrin, auditeur à l'Etat

3 farm officers to pay up -

Excerpt from a letter from Commandant Bernard to the Consul, 11 December 1904

(...) Je me propose donc de lever au nord des Dang Reck un cheminement aussi précis que possible, appuyé sur un grand nombre de points déterminés astronomiquement. Je partirai des divers sommets de ce cheminement pour aller au moyen de simples itinéraires, aussi courts que possible, jusqu'à la ligne de partage des eaux que doit former la frontière. Je déterminerai ainsi la ligne frontière par points. Les cartes dont je dispose ne me permettent pas de fixer d'une façon plus certaine le programme de nos travaux. (...)

Annex 2

French Legation to Siam, Letter to
the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France,
14 February 1930

LEGATION DE LA
REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE AU SIAM

Bangkok, le 14 février 1950

Direction des Affaires
Politiques et Commerciales

ASIE - OCEANIE

N° 9 Mr C.A. HENRY, MINISTRE DE FRANCE AU SIAM
A SON EXCELLENCE MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE DES
AFFAIRES ETRANGERES A PARIS

a.s. de Pra Vihear.-

Il m'était depuis quelque temps revenu de plusieurs côtés, notre Consul à Oubona notamment m'en a entretenu à diverses reprises que les Siamois s'intéressaient beaucoup trop aux ruines de Pra Vihear qui sont situées en territoire cambodgien à quelques mètres de la frontière du Laos siamois. Sans aucune utilité pour la population extrêmement clairsemée de cette province les autorités de Srisaket ont fait aménager une piste allant jusqu'au ravin qui borde les ruines du côté du Nord, elles ont débroussaillé le temple et coupé les arbres qui avaient envahi ses parvis, enfin, ce qui est plus grave, elles auraient emporté au chef lieu de la province la seule stèle inscrite qui se trouvât sur place.

J'ai craint que ces diverses activités ne fussent l'amorce d'une entreprise plus sérieuse et que les Siamois n'arrivassent à prétendre à la propriété de Phra Vihear.

 Cette ruine est en effet une des plus intéressantes
 que nous aient laissées les populations khmères. Elle n'a pas
 l'importance du groupe d'Angkor mais tous ceux qui l'ont
 visitée s'accordent à dire que sa position sur un éperon élevé
 de la chaîne des Dangrek d'où la vue s'étend loin vers le Sud,
 son unité de plan, la finesse de sa décoration, en font un
 monument de la plus grande valeur artistique. Au point de
 vue archéologique son intérêt n'est pas moindre, on pense
 que c'est un des plus anciens et des plus révévés sanctuaires
 khmers. Les Siamois qui cherchent toujours à se rattacher à
 cette brillante civilisation quoi qu'en fait ce soit eux qui
 en aient hâté et même consommé la ruine, sont très marris de
 n'avoir dans leur pays que des restes informes d'un art dont
 ils prétendent que le leur procède et de ne pouvoir proposer
 à l'admiration des touristes que des amas de décombres comme
 ceux de Phimai, de Trabek ou de Sang Keak, qui font bien
 piètre figure auprès des innombrables monuments bien conservés
 situés en territoire cambodgien. Un ensemble comme celui de
 Pra Vihear leur permettrait d'affirmer que les restes khmers
 situés au Siam ne le cèdent à aucuns en beauté et en intérêt.
 Malheureusement, s'ils s'avisait d'élever une
 revendication à propos de Phra Vihear il nous serait assez
 difficile d'établir de façon incontestable notre propriété
 sur le temple. Le traité de 1907 porte en effet que la frontière
 entre le Siam et le Cambodge suivra la ligne de partage des
 eaux de la Chaîne des Dangrek. La Commission chargée de déli-

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miter sur place la frontière déclara, après une longue discussion, que Pra Vihear était situé sur le versant sud quoique le plateau qui le porte fût incliné vers le nord parce que les eaux d'écoulement, après avoir pris cette direction font le tour dudit plateau et finalement se dirigent vers le sud. Elle fit donc passer la frontière à quelques mètres plus au nord. Il est très fâcheux que les procès-verbaux de la Commission n'aient pu être retrouvés nulle part en Indochine et que l'explication ci-dessus ne résulte que d'une tradition orale. M. Petithuguenin à son passage à Bangkok me l'a d'ailleurs confirmée de la façon la plus nette. Il était attaché à la Commission en qualité d'interprète et se rappelle que, de guerre lasse, ne pouvant convaincre les Siamois de la justesse de leurs dires, les membres français de la Commission ont fait répandre de l'eau à terre et ont fait constater à leurs collègues la direction qu'elle prenait.

Depuis cette époque c'est le service archéologique du protectorat qui a "conservé" les ruines. En fait il s'est borné à les étudier et aucun travail n'y a été effectué.

D'autre part pour exécuter les décisions de la Commission de délimitation il fut quelque temps après procédé d'un commun accord à un abornement de la frontière. Des regrettables circonstances ont fait que ce travail n'a pas été effectué dans la région de Pra Vihear. C'est là en effet un pays absolument désert, aussi bien du côté cambodgien

que du côté siamois et les deux administrations ont laissé pour la fin le tracé de la frontière dans cette région inhabitée, pensant qu'il serait toujours assez tôt pour fixer une limite dont personne n'aurait jamais à constater l'existence. Voilà plus de quinze ans que les parties de la frontière paraissant présenter de l'intérêt ont été abornées et que les travaux ont été interrompus.

On aurait pu penser à les reprendre mais c'eût été là aller au devant de difficultés éventuelles et notre droit sur les ruines n'est pas assez clairement établi pour que nous engagions à la légère une discussion de principe. L'expérience que mon séjour au Maroc m'a donnée des litiges immobiliers m'a convaincu qu'en ces matières il vaut mieux prendre la position de défendeur, renforcée par des mesures conservatoires lorsque l'occasion s'en présente. Le Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine et la Résidence Supérieure à Phnompenh sont du même avis.

L'occasion s'est présentée ces dernières semaines et dans les conditions les meilleures. J'ai appris que le Prince Damrong, Président de l'Institut Royal d'Archéologie, allait faire une tournée d'inspection des ruines khmères du Laos siamois et que son programme comportait la visite de Pra Vihear. M. Lavit auquel j'en ai parlé a décidé aussitôt de faire construire une "sala", maison cambodgienne en bois, dans les ruines pour y donner l'hospitalité au Prince et d'y envoyer le chef

- 3 -

français de la province le saluer au nom du Protectorat. D'autre part l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient a délégué le Conservateur des ruines, M. Parmentier, qui a fait visiter le site au Prince Damrong. Il lui avait été bien recommandé d'insister sur le fait qu'il y a plus de vingt ans qu'il s'occupe de Pra Vihear.

Le Prince Damrong, dès son retour à Bangkok m'a remercié officiellement pour toutes les facilités qui lui ont été données par les autorités françaises et m'a chargé de les remercier en son nom.

Je ne suis pas certain qu'une certaine déception intime ne se mêlait pas à cette expression de reconnaissance et je pense que les Siamois eussent préféré laisser établir la tradition que Pra Vihear est un des sites khmers du Laos siamois que le Président de l'Institut Royal d'Archéologie visite dans ses tournées d'inspection. Quoi qu'il en soit le voyage du Prince Damrong nous a heureusement servi à affirmer une fois de plus notre propriété et surtout notre volonté bien arrêtée de ne pas la laisser usucaper par nos voisins./.

Annex 3

A Photograph of Prince Damrong's Visit to
the Temple of Phra Viharn (circa 1930)



Annex 4

Service des archives diplomatiques et de la documentation,
No. 390 ARD/ar, *Note pour le Directeur général*
des affaires politiques, 13 December 1958

JR/GM

13 DEC 1958

**SERVICE DES ARCHIVES DIPLOMATIQUES
ET DE LA DOCUMENTATION**

N° 390 ARD/ar

NOTE

POUR LE DIRECTEUR GENERAL DES AFFAIRES POLITIQUES

Depuis le début de l'année deux représentants du Gouvernement cambodgien sont venus solliciter du Service des Archives diplomatiques et de la Documentation du Département communication de documents relatifs à la délimitation de la frontière entre le Cambodge et le Siam, à propos du litige frontalier divisant actuellement ces deux pays.

La question essentielle pour le Gouvernement cambodgien est d'apporter la preuve juridique et matérielle que les ruines du temple de Phra-Vihear, récemment occupées militairement par le Siam, sont situées en territoire cambodgien.

Cette preuve résulte en effet du tracé de la frontière établie par le traité franco-siamois de 1904.

D'accord avec les services politiques du Département, le Service des Archives diplomatiques et de la Documentation a donc communiqué successivement à M. LIMTOUCH, et tout dernièrement à M. TRUONG-CANG, les traités et protocoles franco-siamois du 13 février 1904 et du 23 mars 1907 fixant la frontière de l'Indochine française et du Siam, ainsi que les procès-verbaux et cartes des commissions de délimitation consécutives à ces traités, dites : la première "Commission BERNARD" et la seconde "Commission MONGUET".

8201 DEC 1928

du nom des deux officiers supérieurs français qui les présidaient.

Mais il se trouve que les dossiers des archives du Département sur ce sujet sont incomplets. Il y manque en effet, outre les cartes originales qui auraient dû être jointes aux traités, les originaux signés par les deux parties des procès-verbaux des séances des commissions de délimitation et les cartes établies par ces commissions et signées également par les délégués des deux pays. Nous n'avons que des copies, non certifiées conformes, de ces procès-verbaux et de ces cartes. Ces copies ne sont même pas complètes, certaines séances des commissions n'étant connues que par les mentions de leurs dates. Enfin, le compte-rendu de la séance dans laquelle a été délimitée la région de Phra-Vihear manque.

Ce fait est d'autant plus regrettable que la situation géographique des ruines du temple a posé à la "Commission BERNARD" un délicat problème de délimitation. D'après le traité de 1904, la frontière suivait la ligne de partage des eaux, qui ne se traduit pas en l'occurrence sur le terrain par la ligne de faite de la chaîne des Dangrek, si bien que le temple se trouve du côté du Siam, au nord, dans une situation d'accès facilitée par une montée lente du terrain, alors que du côté sud il domine en abrupt de plusieurs centaines de mètres la plaine cambodgienne. Pour convaincre les Siamois, il avait été nécessaire à l'époque de se livrer à une expérience d'écoulement des eaux sur le terrain même, et cette expérience, dont le procès-verbal manque, n'est connue que par le souvenir d'un des délégués français.

Si nos dossiers sont incomplets, ils le sont en tout cas depuis fort longtemps (ils l'étaient déjà lors de la préparation de la commission de conciliation franco-siamoise de Washington en 1947 et probablement depuis l'époque même des traités de 1904 et 1907 (selon certains indices trouvés dans les dossiers). Les raisons de cet état de choses s'expliquent aisément :

Si les négociations étaient menées par le Département et

3)

notre Légation au Siam, elles l'étaient également et surtout par le Ministère des Colonies et le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine. De plus, les commissions de délimitation, composées de techniciens militaires ou autres, étaient nommées par le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine et dépendaient de lui. Leurs travaux se sont échelonnés sur plusieurs mois et même plusieurs années, car les négociations franco-siamoises ne concernaient pas uniquement les frontières du Cambodge et du Siam, mais également celles du Siam et du Laos.

En outre, la "Commission BERNARD" n'a pas terminé ses travaux et les a arrêtés à un point de la chaîne des Dangrek (nord du Cambodge), près de la zone aujourd'hui contestée entre le Siam et le Cambodge. La "Commission MONGUERS" n'a repris la délimitation qu'à partir de ce point et vers l'ouest, ce qui a créé un chevauchement rendant plus délicat l'établissement de la délimitation. Il en est résulté une certaine confusion dans la transmission des documents au Département faite tantôt par notre Légation à Bangkok, tantôt par le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine et par l'intermédiaire du Ministère des Colonies à Paris, (1) d'autant plus que le colonel BERNARD, et peut-être le commandant MONGUERS, ont gardé certains papiers par devers eux, et que le Gouverneur Général BEAU ayant été nommé Ministre de France en Belgique certains documents lui ont été communiqués, sur sa demande, en 1908 à Bruxelles, et ne semblent jamais avoir fait retour au Département. Deux autres indications du dossier prouvent enfin que l'envoi des documents originaux fait par Bangkok en 1907 était incomplet, sans qu'il y ait trace de réclamation ou d'envoi complémentaire, et que les autorités allemandes d'occupation ont entre 1940 et 1944 prélevé probablement certains exemplaires des cartes de délimitations.

(1) Lors de l'accession à l'indépendance de territoires d'Indochine, les archives de l'ancien Gouvernement Général ont été en partie ramenées au Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer et, en partie, laissées sur place aux nouveaux états. Le Département n'avait aucune qualité pour être attributaire de ces archives, que les délégués cambodgiens ont, du reste, consultées rue Oudinot, avant de prendre contact avec le Quai d'Orsay.

Toutes les indications qui précèdent ne paraissent pas avoir convaincu les délégués cambodgiens et notamment M. TRUONG-CANG qui, semble-t-il, garde l'impression que nous essayons, à l'aide d'arguments polis, de lui cacher des documents précieux pour la défense des droits de son pays, on se demande en vain pour quelles raisons.

Mais il est, à la vérité, impossible de prouver matériellement que l'on ne possède pas tel ou tel document qui devrait normalement faire partie d'un dossier.

Toutefois, devant les facilités d'accès aux documents et les preuves manifestes de notre bonne foi, la méfiance chronique de M. TRUONG-CANG s'est en dernier lieu quelque peu atténuée. Le Service des Archives diplomatiques et de la Documentation lui procurera, avant son retour au Cambodge, les microfilms de tous les documents qu'il a demandés et dont certains réduisent manifestement à néant les prétentions thaïlandaises sur Phra-Vihear.

Le Directeur Général P o l i t i q u e voudra bien trouver ci-joint la liste des documents communiqués à M. TRUONG-CANG./.



(1) Lors de l'accession à l'indépendance du territoire les archives de l'ancien Gouvernement Général furent remises au Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer. Les documents sur place aux nouveaux états. Les documents remis par les autorités de ces états ont été remis, complétés, avant de prendre contact avec le Gai d'Orsay.

Annexe à la note pour le Directeur Général des
Affaires Politiques
n° 390 ARD/ar du 13 décembre 1958

LISTE DES DOCUMENTS DES ARCHIVES DU DEPARTEMENT
COMMUNIQUEES à MONSIEUR TRUONG-CANG.

- Texte original de la Convention franco-siamoise du 13 février 1904
(avec ses annexes)
- Texte original du traité franco-siamois du 23 mars 1907
(avec ses annexes)
- Procès-verbaux des séances de la Commission de délimitation de la
frontière franco-siamoise consécutive à la convention de 1904
dite "Commission Bernard"
- Cartes dressées par cette Commission.
- Procès-verbaux des séances de la Commission de délimitation de la
frontière franco-siamoise, consécutive au traité de 1907
dite "Commission Monguets"
- Cartes dressées par cette Commission.
- Lettres de transmission ou bordereaux d'envoi des documents ci-
dessus émanant de notre Légation à Bangkok, du Ministère des
Colonies et du Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine.
- Correspondance entre le Département, notre Légation à Bangkok, le
Ministère des Colonies, le Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine
et le Ministère de la Guerre, relative à l'établissement d'un
carte du Siam (1907-1908) par des techniciens français.
- Lettre de notre Ministre à Bangkok du 14 février 1930, relative à
Phra Vihear.
- Lettre adressée le 17 avril 1930 à notre Ministre de Bangkok par
le Prince Damrong, relative à Phra Vihear.
- Rapport de la Commission de Conciliation franco-siamoise de
Washington, du 27 juin 1947 (avec ses annexe).

Annex 5

Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of
Thailand of 10 July 1962 (Declassified on 26 May 2011)

(Translation)

~~Confidential~~

VERY URGENT

No. Mor Tor 8176/2505

The Secretariat of the Cabinet

11 July B.E. 2505 (1962)

Subject Compliance with the Judgment of the World Court in the Case of the Temple of Phra Viharn
 To Minister of Interior
 Reference Ministry of Interior's Note No. 11467/2505 dated 6 July B.E. 2505 (1962)

Following the submission made to H.E. the Prime Minister for consideration of two methods to determine the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn in order to comply with the Judgment of the World Court, H.E. the Prime Minister has considered the matter and ordered that it be submitted to the Council of Ministers for consideration.

The Council of Ministers met on 10 July B.E. 2505 (1962) to deliberate the matter and resolved that the second method shall be used for the determination of the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn; that signs indicating the limit shall be erected as suggested by the Ministry of interior; and that in addition a barbed-wire fence shall be constructed.

It is hereby confirmed, so that the matter be executed.

Yours respectfully,

-signed-

(Mr. Manoon Borisudhi)

Secretary-General of the Cabinet

Legal Advisory Division

True Copy

-signed-

(Mr. Kittithatch Siriwat)

Legal Officer, Legal Advisory Bureau

~~Confidential~~

(Translation)~~Confidential~~

-EMBLEM-

VERY URGENT

No. 11467/2505

Ministry of Interior

6 July B.E. 2505 (1962)

Subject Compliance with the Judgment of the World Court in the Case of the Temple of Phra Viharn

To Prime Minister

Reference The Secretariat of the Cabinet's Note No. Mor Tor 7949/2505 dated 4 July B.E. 2505 (1962)

Attachment Map determining the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn

Whereas in the meeting of the Council of Ministers of 3 July B.E. 2505 (1962) to deliberate compliance with the Judgment of the World Court in the case of the Temple of Phra Viharn, H.E. the Prime Minister deemed it appropriate that the Minister of Interior travel to the Phra Viharn promontory to give guidelines for implementation to our officers on duty in the area as well as to indicate to them the location of the limit; and whereas the Council of Ministers resolved to give its approval thereto; details of which have been stated in the Note under reference;

In order to ensure that the matter is executed with due consideration and in conformity with the Government's policy to comply with the Judgment of the World Court in the case of the Temple of Phra Viharn, the Ministry of Interior therefore invited representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Director of the Royal Thai Survey Department, and the officers concerned of the Ministry of Interior, to a consultation at the Ministry of Interior to determine the location of the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn, from which Thailand has the obligation to withdraw police forces, guards or keepers, on the principle that Cambodia will only obtain the ruins of the Temple of Phra Viharn and the ground on which the Temple stood.

The meeting considered the matter and was of the view that the determination of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn, so as Cambodia will have sovereignty in accordance with the Judgment of the World Court, may be done according to 2 methods, namely -

1. Determine a triangular-shaped area around the Temple of Phra Viharn, with a limit that is drawn from the right wing of the Temple of Phra Viharn proper, starting at the Broken Stairway (the Broken Stairway to be within the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn), and, relying principally on topographical features such as rocky hills or streams, runs by and adjacent to the Naga Stairway, then continues along the course of the topographical features until it reaches the left side escarpment. This will constitute an area of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn of approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ square kilometre.
2. Determine a rectangular-shaped area around the Temple of Phra Viharn with a limit that is drawn from the right wing of the Temple of Phra Viharn proper, starting at the Broken Stairway (the Broken Stairway to be within the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn), and follows a straight line running by and adjacent to the Naga Stairway until reaching the Temple of Phra Viharn proper, then follows a straight line parallel to the Temple of Phra Viharn proper and terminates at the edge of the escarpment behind the Temple. This will constitute an area of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ square kilometre.

Details are indicated on the map attached hereto for consideration

~~Confidential~~

~~Confidential~~

- 2 -

Also, in complying with the Judgment of the World Court in the case of the Temple of Phra Viharn, the meeting deemed it appropriate, in addition to determining the limit of the Temple of Phra Viharn according to either of the 2 methods above, to execute the following -

1. Erect wooden signs, with the characteristics and size of a train station sign, indicating the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn, which are to be placed: 1 at the Broken Stairway; 1 at the foot of the Naga Stairway; 1 at the left wing corner of the Temple; and 1 at the escarpment behind the Temple.

The sign, on the side facing Thailand, shall read “Beyond this points lies the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn” with English translation; and, on the side facing Cambodia, shall read in Khmer “The vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn does not extend beyond this limit” with French translation.

2. On the date that the Minister of Interior will be on site to determine and indicate the location of the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn, the Thai national flag will be lowered from the mast and the police forces and the officers safeguarding the Temple of Phra Viharn will withdraw from the vicinity.

The Ministry of Interior hereby submits the matter for your consideration. If it is deemed appropriate to determine the limit of the vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn according to either method, the Ministry of Interior will proceed with implementation accordingly. In this regard, the Ministry of Interior has already assigned officers to carry out in advance survey and study of the topography.

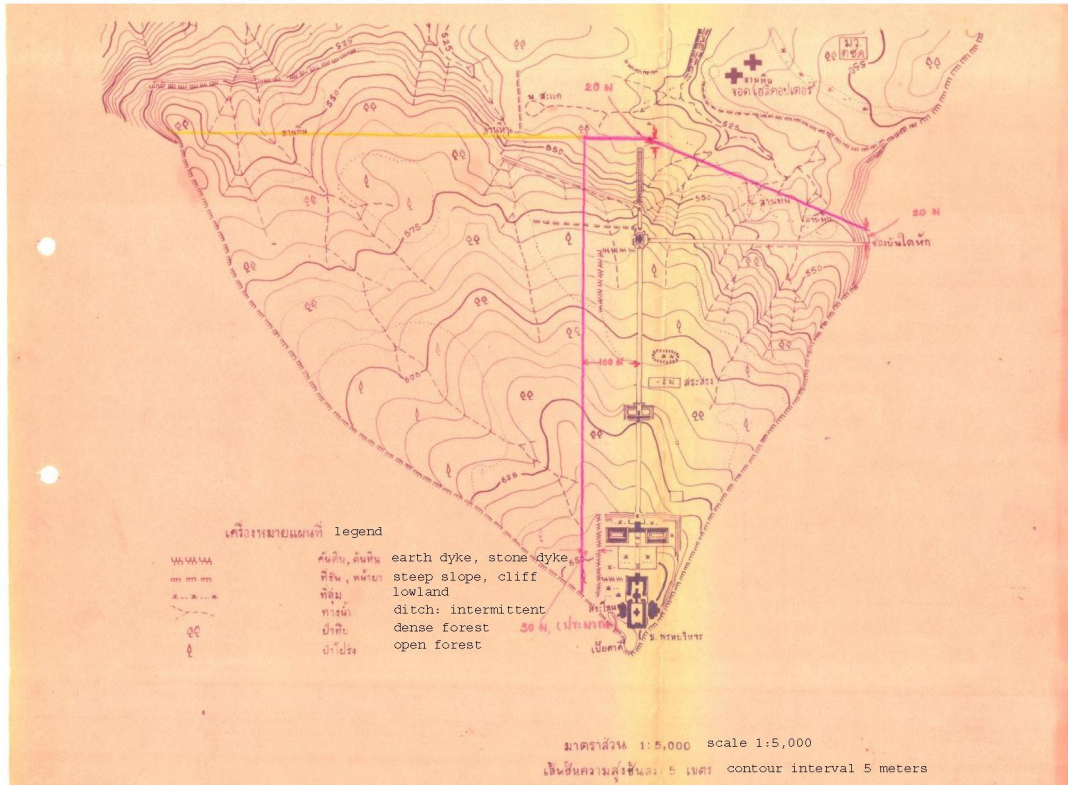
Yours respectfully,
-signed-
Minister of Interior

Office of the Permanent Secretary

True Copy
-signed-
(Mr. Kittithatch Siriwat)
Legal Officer, Legal Advisory Bureau

~~Confidential~~

Attachment to Letter of Ministry of Interior 6 July B.E. 2505 (1962)



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คำนวนาก

ที่ นท. ศ๑๗๖/๕๕๐๕

สำนักเลขาธิการคณะรัฐมนตรี

๑๑ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕

เรื่อง การปฏิบัติตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกในคดีปราสาทพระวิหาร

เรียน รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงมหาดไทย

อ้างถึง หนังสือกระทรวงมหาดไทยที่ ๑๑๔๖๓/๒๕๐๕ ลงวันที่ ๖ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕

ตามที่ได้เสนอวิธีกำหนดเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร เพื่อปฏิบัติตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลก ไปเพื่อ พญา นายกรัฐมนตรีพิจารณา รวม ๒ วิธี นั้น พญา นายกรัฐมนตรีได้พิจารณาแล้วมีคำสั่งให้เสนอคณะรัฐมนตรีพิจารณา

คณะรัฐมนตรีได้ประชุมปรึกษาเมื่อวันที่ ๑๐ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕ ลงมติว่าการกำหนดเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารให้ใช้วิธีที่ ๒ และให้จัดทำป้ายแสดงเขตคามที่กระทรวงมหาดไทยเสนอ กับให้เพิ่มหัวรั้วลวดหนามด้วย

จึงขอขึ้นบัญชี เพื่อจะได้ดำเนินการต่อไป.

ขอแสดงความนับถืออย่างยิ่ง

(นายมนูญ บริสุทธิ์)

เลขาธิการคณะรัฐมนตรี

กองนิติกรรม.

๕๕

ตำแหน่งรอง

นายกิตติชัย ศรีวัฒน
นิติกรประจำนิติกรรม

ฉบับ
ที่ ๑๑๔๖๗ / ๒๕๐๕



กระทรวงมหาดไทย

6 กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕

เรื่อง การปฏิบัติตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกในคดีปราสาทพระวิหาร

กราบเรียน นายกรัฐมนตรี

อ้างถึง หนังสือสำนักเลขาธิการคณะรัฐมนตรี ที่ มท. ๙๔๔๙/๒๕๐๕ ลง
วันที่ ๔ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕

สิ่งที่ส่งมาด้วย แผนที่กำหนดบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร

ตามที่คณะรัฐมนตรีได้ประชุมปรึกษาเมื่อวันที่ ๓ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕

เกี่ยวกับเรื่องการปฏิบัติตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกในคดีปราสาทพระวิหาร ซึ่ง ภายหลัง
นายกรัฐมนตรีเห็นสมควรให้รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงมหาดไทยเดินทางไปยังเขาพระวิหาร
เพื่อชี้แจงแนวทางปฏิบัติแก่เจ้าหน้าที่ของเราที่รักษาการณ์อยู่ ณ ที่นั้น ตลอดจนชี้แนวเขตให้
เจ้าหน้าที่ไทยทราบด้วย ซึ่งคณะรัฐมนตรีลงมติเห็นชอบด้วย ทั้งความละเอียดแจ้งตามหนังสือ
ที่อ้างถึงข้างต้น นั้น

เพื่อให้การปฏิบัติในเรื่องนี้ดำเนินไปโดยรอบคอบ และชอบด้วยนโยบาย
ของรัฐบาลที่จะให้ควร เป็นไปตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกในคดีปราสาทพระวิหาร กระทรวง
มหาดไทยจึงได้เชิญผู้แทนกระทรวงการต่างประเทศ เจ้ากรมแผนที่ทหารบก และเจ้าหน้าที่
ของกระทรวงมหาดไทยที่เกี่ยวข้องมาประชุม ณ กระทรวงมหาดไทย เพื่อพิจารณาปรึกษา
กำหนดแนวเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร ที่ฝ่ายไทยมีพื้นที่จะต้องถอนกำลังการวาง คนเฝ้า
หรือยามรักษาการณ์ให้พ้นจากบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร โดยยึดหลักการที่จะให้กันพินาศได้ไป
ซึ่งปราสาทพระวิหาร และพื้นที่รอบปราสาทเท่านั้น

ที่ประชุมได้พิจารณาแล้วเห็นว่า การที่จะกำหนดบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร
เพื่อที่กันพินาศได้ให้อ่านาจอธิปไตยตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกนั้น อาจทำได้ ๒ วิธี คือ -

๑. กำหนดเป็นรูปพื้นที่สามเหลี่ยมครอบคลุมปราสาทพระวิหาร มีแนวเขตจาก
บึงขาวของตัวปราสาทพระวิหารตั้งแต่ช่องบรโดหัก (ช่องบรโดหัก
อยู่ภายในบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร) โดยอาศัยลักษณะภูมิประเทศซึ่ง
อาจมีเนินหินหรือลำห้วยเป็นหลัก ตัดย่านชกบรโดหัก แล้วเดินไป
ตามแนวลักษณะภูมิประเทศ ไปจนจรดหน้าผาคันชาย จะเป็นเนื้อที่บริเวณ
ปราสาทพระวิหารประมาณ ๒ ตารางกิโลเมตร

— ๒๕๐๕ —

๒. กำหนดเป็นรูปที่สี่ เกลี่ยมเป็นอาคารรอบปราสาทพระวิหาร มีแนวเขตจากปีกขวาของตัวปราสาทพระวิหารตั้งแต่ของบรรไดหัก (ช่องบรรไดหักอยู่ภายในบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร) ลากเส้นตรงผ่านขั้วบรรไดจนกระทั่งถึงตัวปราสาทพระวิหาร แล้วลากเส้นตรงขนานกับตัวปราสาทพระวิหารไปสุดที่หน้าผาชั้นที่สามหลังปราสาทพระวิหาร จะเป็นเนื้อที่บริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารประมาณ ๕ ตารางกิโลเมตร

รายละเอียดตามแผนที่ที่ใส่ส่งมาเพื่อประกอบการพิจารณาพร้อมหนังสือนี้

อนึ่ง ในการปฏิบัติตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลกในคดีปราสาทพระวิหารนี้ นอกจากจะกำหนดเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารตามวิธีใดวิธีหนึ่งใน ๒ วิธีดังกล่าวข้างต้นนั้น ที่ประชุมเห็นสมควรปฏิบัติการดังต่อไปนี้ คือ -

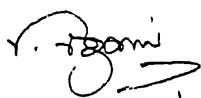
๑. จัดทำป้ายไม้ ลักษณะและขนาดเท่าป้ายสถานีรถไฟ แสดงเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารไปปักตามจุด ที่ช่องบรรไดหัก ๑, ปลายบรรไดจนาค ๑, หักมุมปราสาทปีกซ้าย ๑ และที่หน้าผาหลังปราสาทอีก ๑

ป้ายนี้ทำขึ้นที่หน้าผาทางประเทศไทยให้เขียนว่า "เขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร" และมีภาษาอังกฤษกำกับ ส่วนทางด้านที่หันไปทางกัมพูชาเขียนข้อความเป็นภาษากัมพูชาว่า "เขตนอกบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร" และมีภาษาฝรั่งเศสกำกับไว้ด้วย

๒. รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงมหาดไทยจะไปกำหนดและชี้แนวเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารในวันใด จะใช้เชิญตำรวจคลังจากเสา เจ้าหน้าที่ตำรวจและเจ้าหน้าที่ดูแลปราสาทพระวิหารจะได้ออกตัวออกจากบริเวณนั้นในวันนั้น

กระทรวงมหาดไทยจึงขอกราบเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณา หากเห็นสมควรให้กำหนดเขตบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหารตามวิธีใดแล้ว กระทรวงมหาดไทยจะไต่รับไปดำเนินการปฏิบัติต่อไป ทั้งนี้กระทรวงมหาดไทยได้ให้เจ้าหน้าที่ขึ้นไปสำรวจและศึกษาภูมิประเทศเป็นलगวดหน้าแล้ว,

ขอแสดงความนับถืออย่างยิ่ง

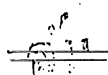


รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงมหาดไทย

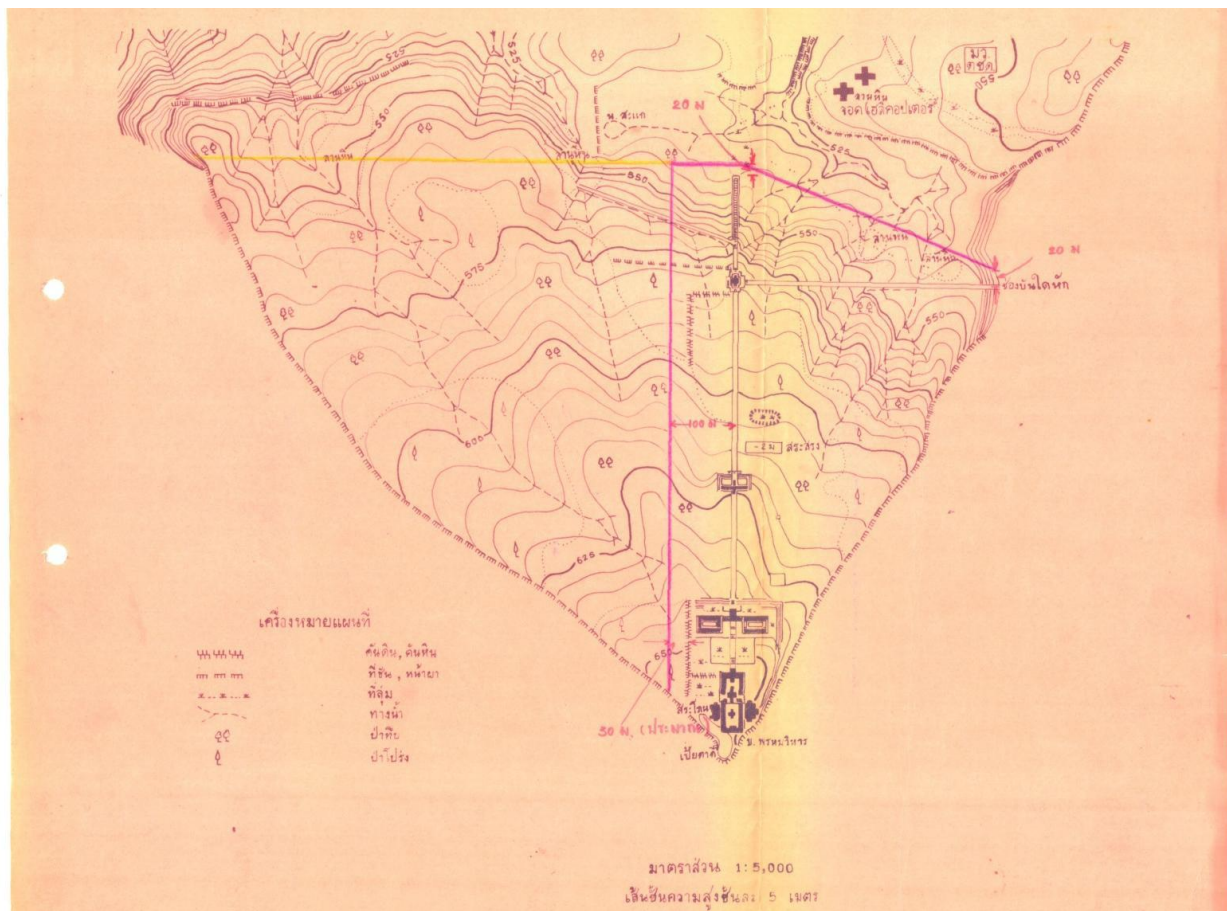
สำหรับถูกต้อง

นายถิรพัชร์ ศิริวัฒน์
ฉัตร นิลธรรม

สำนักงานปลัดกระทรวง ฯ



เอกสารแนบหนังสือกระทรวงมหาดไทย ลงวันที่ ๖ กรกฎาคม ๒๕๐๕



Annex 6

A Photograph of One of the Signs Indicating the Limit
of the Vicinity of the Temple of Phra Viharn
Taken from a Far Distance (circa 1962)



Annex 7

Narasimhan, Cable to the Secretary-General of
the United Nations, 10 August 1964

B

COMING CODE CABLE

TO: SECRETARY GENERAL
 FROM: NARASIMHAN, PHNOM PENH
 DATE: 10 August, 1964 (Sent 10 1716Z)(Received 10 2213Z)
 NUMBER: PRTC 88

At audience of Prince Sihanouk today he gave me note, text of which follows. I shall send comments on the points raised in the note from Bangkok tomorrow.

Text of note which is headed " Note fixant la position du Cambodge sur le role des Nations Unies dans le differend ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~Thailandais~~ Khmero Thailandais et dans la plainte contre les USA et le SudVietnam au Conseil de Securite" is as follows.

" Les relations Khmero Thailandaises.

Le Cambodge a pose une seule condition au retablissement des relations Diplomatiques avec la Thailand, a savoir la signature d'un accord reconnaissant le caractere definitif de notre frontiere commune telle quelle figure sur les cartes anne at aux traites anterieurs.

Or la Thaillande repousse cette condition jusqu'a ce jour en affirmant que cet accord est superflu en arguant de son pretendu respect des traites internationaux.

La Mission Gussing ne pourra dans ces conditions ~~obtenir~~ obtenir le retablissement de relations diplomatiques entre les deux Pays. Mais elle aura ete tres benefique pour le Cambodge pacifique car, depuis son installation a Bangkok et a Phnom Penh, les Thailandais ont pratiquement mis fin a leurs incursions armees en territoire Khmer et evite de remettre en cause l'arret de la Cour Internationale de Justice dans l'affaire de Preah Vihear.

Le depart de Monsieur Gussing pourrait peut etre amener les Thailandais a reprendre leurs pratiques anciennes et recentes a l'encontre du Cambodge. Me si nous demandons le maintien de sa Mission il se a craindre que celleci se prolongeat indefiniment.

Le Cambodge se conformera donc au voeu de la Thaïlande en ce qui concerne la prolongation ou le depart de la Mission Gussing.

La pàainte du Cambodge au Conseil de Securite contre les Etas Unies et le SudVietnam.

Le seul but du Cambodge etait d'obtenir la cessation des incursions armees sur son territoire et des violations de son espace aerien par les Forces Americano SudVietnamiennes.

Mais pendant le sejour meme de ma Mission d'enquete du Conseil de Securite et depuis son depart nous avons subi de nouvelles agressions et de nombreuse violations aeriennes et parfois accompagnees d'attaques de nos villages par produits chimiques toxiques extremement meurtriers.

D'autre part les recommandations des enqueteurs de Conseil de Securite ne repondent pas a la situation et a la necessite d'une solution au probleme pose dans les limites de la plainte Cambodgienne.

A fin de ne pas compliquer la lourde tache du Secretaire General des Nations Unies et du Conseil de Securite saisis de la tres grave affaire du Golfe du Tonkin et de l'attaque contre la rdvn

Le Cambodge demande l'classement pur et simple du dossier de sa plainte contre les Etas Unies et le SudVietnam le Cambodge se reservera donc le droit de se defehdre par ses propres moyens et avec les moyens accordes par ses amis, ce dans le respect de l'esprit et de la lettre de la Charte de Nations Unies.

Fait a Phnompenh le dix Aout 1964. Signe Morodom Sihanouk
Chef de l'Etat du Cambodge."

NOTE: Underlined word as per text.

Unofficial translation from French

6

INCOMING CODE CABLE

TO: SECRETARY GENERAL
FROM: MARASIMHAN, PHNOM PENH
DATE: 10 AUGUST, 1964 (Sent 10 1716Z) (Received 10 2213Z)
NUMBER: PRTC 83

At audience of Prince Sihanouk today he gave me note, text of which follows. I shall send comments on the points raised in the note from Bangkok tomorrow.

Text of note which is headed "Note stating the position of Cambodia on the role of the United Nations in the Khmer-Thai dispute and in the complaint brought against the United States and South Viet-Nam in the Security Council" is as follows.

"Khmer-Thai relations.

Cambodia has laid down only one condition for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Thailand, namely the signature of an agreement recognizing the definitive nature of our common frontier as it appears on the maps annexed to earlier treaties.

Thailand has hitherto rejected this condition affirming that such an agreement is superfluous in view of its respect for international treaties.

The Gussing Mission will be unable in these circumstances to achieve the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. However, it will have been very beneficial for peaceful Cambodia inasmuch as, since its installation at Bangkok and Phnom Penh, the Thais have practically ceased their armed raids into Khmer territory and avoided questioning the judgement of the International Court of Justice in the Preah Vihear affair.

Mr. Gussing's departure might perhaps encourage the Thais to resume their former and recent practices towards Cambodia. If, however, we request the maintenance of his Mission, there is reason to fear that it may continue indefinitely.

Cambodia will therefore fall in with the wishes of Thailand concerning the extension or withdrawal of the Gussing Mission.

The complaint of Cambodia in the Security Council against the United States and South Viet-Nam.

The sole aim of Cambodia was to obtain the cessation of armed incursions on its territory and violations of its air space by the United States-South Viet-Namese forces.

- 2 -

However, even during the visit of the Security Council mission of enquiry and since its departure we have suffered new aggressions and numerous air-space violations, sometimes accompanied by attacks on our villages with deadly poisonous chemical products.

Furthermore, the recommendations of the Security Council investigators do not meet the situation and the need for a solution to the problem raised in the Cambodian complaint.

In order not to complicate the heavy task of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Security Council in connexion with the very serious affair of the Tonkin Gulf and the attack against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Cambodia requests that the question raised in its complaint against the United States and South Viet-Nam should be closed and accordingly reserves the right to defend itself by its own means and with the means provided by its friends, while respecting the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. /

Phnom Penh, 10 August 1964. Signed, Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia."

Annex 8

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Annex 9

The Christian Science Monitor,
28 July 1967, “Sihanouk jealous of borders”

Sihanouk jealous of borders

By Mario Rossi Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
The Christian Science Monitor (1908-Current file); Jul 28, 1967;
 ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor (1908-1997)
 pg. 9

Cambodian Prince
gives his views

Sihanouk jealous of borders

'We have no ideological hostility toward the United States. . . . We simply want . . . that they forever stop border aggressions and that they pledge to respect . . . our present borders.' Prince Sihanouk answers questions asked by a correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor.



Map by Jean Forbes, staff artist; photo by Associated Press



Uncomfortable geography

Prince Sihanouk's country of Cambodia, squeezed in among nations that are either military allies or supporters of the United States in the Vietnam war, asserts that it follows a policy of strict nonalignment. Faced with territorial claims by some of its neighbors and a shooting war in South Vietnam, Cambodia's main concern is that all countries respect its borders.

By Mario Rossi

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, N.Y.

IN A WORLD RACKED BY CONVULSIONS through its southern perimeter, few countries manage to escape controversy. Cambodia is definitely among those which do not.

The small Asian kingdom without a king happens to have a most uncomfortable geography. To the west, Thailand, which claims some of its territory; to the north, Laos, for years in the throes of civil war; to the east, Vietnam, where violence has been an everyday occurrence since World War II.

Under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia feels it has adhered strictly to the policy of nonalignment, whereas Thailand and South Vietnam are military allies of the United States and that part of Laos controlled by the government is under strong United States influence.

From nonalignment to being suspected by all its neighbors, and by the United States too, is a very small step. Cambodia has been accused by some United States officials of following the Peking line in foreign policy, of being anti-American, of assisting North Vietnam in its war effort.

Such attempts to color Cambodia in the worst possible light have caused concern in Washington. A number of those in a position to know, say the alternative to a neutral Sihanouk would be an unfriendly Sihanouk, and the alternative to a Sihanouk regime probably a Communist regime.

There has been concern that too little is known about Cambodia. This lack of knowledge does not help one understand what is happening in Southeast Asia. In the long run, stability founded upon popular acceptance, it is argued, is far preferable to governments whose pro-American stance is often a way of shielding internal instability.

In an effort to contribute to a greater understanding the writer asked Prince Sihanouk to speak about his country and its problems. He graciously consented to answer a number of written questions.

How does the Cambodian political regime function? According to which plan and by what means are the economics and social development of the country ensured?

Cambodia is a monarchy without king since the passing in 1960 of my lamented father, His Majesty Norodom Suramarit. Her Majesty the Queen Mother does not rule. Venerated by everyone, she is the guardian of the throne and the symbol of the permanence of the monarchy.

Our regime is a parliamentary democracy directly controlled by the people. Our National Assembly, freely elected by secret ballot at universal suffrage, is entirely composed of members of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (Popular Socialist Community), vast nationalist and "Buddhist Socialist" alignment created by me in

1955 and which I still lead. Only one party remains at the opposition, the Pracheachon (People's Group) of Communist obedience, which no longer dares present candidates at the elections after its resounding defeats in 1955 and 1958.

The government, the Assembly, and the administration are controlled by the people through national congresses held twice a year in Pnompenh. All Khmers (Cambodians) without exception can speak, denounce mistakes and abuses, question the highest personalities. Congress decisions are being fully respected by the responsible authorities.

Finally, the Head of State holds, from time to time, "popular audiences" in which he listens to complaints and helps gain justice when required.

The country's development is ensured through five-year plans which establish the targets, their financing, their priority. In fact, we are not the slaves of a plan and we know how to draw the lessons of our mistakes.

Our principle is that Cambodia must help itself, relying as little as possible upon its friends. We have rejected in 1963 all American assistance. Since that date we accept no financial help—which breeds corruption—and we request those of our friends who wish to present us with a factory or a hospital to build them for us. We immediately reject all forms of assistance with strings attached. We are poor but free. And we realize that sacrifices must be made in the name of independence.

* * *

Which are, on a regional level, the foreign-policy problems which most seriously concern the Cambodian Government? I think in particular of the problems arising from Cambodia's relations with Bangkok and Saigon.

Our main problem is to protect the present borders of our country, now reduced to a minimum after having been a great empire. Our Thai and South Vietnamese neighbors occupy vast tracts of a land which was once ours and where still live, for the most part still faithful to the motherland, 3 to 4 millions of Khmers. We are not claiming these territories taken away from us through ruse or violence. But we are determined to preserve whatever land is left to us.

Now the authorities in Saigon claim all our coastal isles—those commanding access to our ports of Kampot, Kep, Ream, Sihanoukville—while the Bangkok authorities claim our border temple of Preah Vihear, illegally occupied by them in 1955 and returned to Cambodia following an International Court decision.

I found myself compelled, consequently, to ask all states with which we have diplomatic relations to address us a declaration stating that they "respect Cambodia's territorial integrity within its present borders," that is, its sovereignty over the territories administered by its government.

Our old and faithful friend, France, was the first to make the declaration last year followed by Singapore and the [East] German Democratic Republic. In June

of this year a number of other countries have replied in the affirmative: Soviet Union, Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam, People's Republic of China, Cuba, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Other declarations are being awaited.

What counts before anything else for us is that the "true" Vietnam [National Liberation Front and North Vietnam] have declared that they will not only "respect" but also "recognize" our present borders even though they had been drawn by the French when they were the masters of Indochina. Thailand has refused to sign with Cambodia a declaration to respect their mutual borders, thus showing that it does not renounce its policy of annexations vis-à-vis our country.

I wish to point out that I have tried for years to regulate our relations with the Saigon and Bangkok governments. The only "answer" by these governments were hundreds of border aggressions and plots against the unity and security of Cambodia.

Should these problems eventually find a peaceful solution, how do you see the political future of the countries which once composed Indochina, and how do you conceive their mutual relations?

Personally, I have long advocated a "neutralized" Indochina guaranteed by the great powers and which could serve as buffer between East and West—each country having the regime of its choice and establishing with the others friendly economic and cultural relations.

That might be an ideal solution. Are you not concerned, nevertheless, lest the Vietnam conflict will threaten the very existence of Cambodia? The United Nations Security Council has some time ago published alarming information on the subject.

In fact, the United States charges my country, without the shadow of a proof, with being a "sanctuary" for the Communist forces of North and South Vietnam, of furnishing the Viet Cong with arms and supplies, etc., and threatens to penetrate our territory to encircle the Viet Cong or else to occupy our northeastern provinces where the "Ho Chi Minh and Sihanouk trails" for supplying the Viet Cong are, according to them, located.

I have done all that I could to dispel these legends. Diplomats, members of the International Control Commission, observers, well-known Western newspapermen have crossed our border provinces by jeep, helicopter, plane, and sometimes on foot. They found no trace of Viet Cong units, nor Viet Cong "bases." They are aware that our border troops have received the order to fire on all armed foreigners trying to penetrate our territory.

What more could we have done?

Is it to be feared that the sharpening of the Vietnam conflict has already irreparably compromised the relations among the three countries of former Indochina, between the latter and Communist China, and between Southeast Asia and the great powers?

It is certain that the massive military intervention

by the United States in Vietnam has seriously compromised relations between the nations of Southeast Asia and the West. It seems to us equally certain that the West has miscalculated badly when it fenced off China and prevented it from exercising its rights as a great power. Mistrusts and hates were produced which will take long to disappear once peace has returned.

May I ask you, Monseigneur, what is the state of your relations with the United States?

As you know, since 1965 we have no longer diplomatic relations with the United States, following repeated acts of border aggression which have caused loss of life and which are clearly the responsibility of American forces.

I had proposed to Mr. Dean Rusk the establishment here of an American consulate-general. He refused. Since that time the United States has sounded me out several times with a view to an eventual reestablishment of diplomatic relations.

Our position is very simple. We have no ideological hostility toward the United States. We do not hate it. We simply want, should the Americans wish once again to become our friends, that they should treat us decently, that is, that they forever stop border aggressions and that they pledge to respect, as others have done or will do, our present borders.

That, it seems to me, is not too much to ask. To have diplomatic relations with a country means to recognize that there are established borders and to engage not to kill its inhabitants. Unfortunately, the United States is so tied to Saigon and Bangkok that it does not dare to disassociate itself from their territorial claims. And the United States is so intoxicated by American, South Vietnamese and Thai intelligence reports that it more or less accepts the fable of a Cambodia "accomplice of and giving sanctuary to the Viet Cong."

I note that in recent months American forces have abstained from attacking our border posts and villages. If they kept this up—and they could if they wanted—there would be at least a détente between us. And if they convinced their allies of Saigon and Bangkok to leave us also alone, to stop their daily harassment, their laying of mines on our territory, they would have our sincere gratitude.

As to our borders, the day will come—certainly not before the end of the American engagement in Vietnam—when the United States, which has no special problems with us, will pledge to respect them. At that time it will give me pleasure to welcome an American ambassador at Pnompenh. But so long as we represent, for the United States, a state whose borders are "vague, badly drawn, contested, etc.," that will not be possible.

To prepare the future I wish the United States would abstain from violating or attacking our borders and that it be understood that we are truly neutral and that we wish to live in peace in order to lift our country from its underdevelopment. We already have done much in this respect and want to do even better.

This is the message I am asking you to transmit to the American people.

Annex 10

T.C. White, “Report on a trip to the Temple of Preah Vihear undertaken from 14-18 April 1968”, 25 April 1968

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Report on a trip to the Temple of Preah Vihear
undertaken from 14 - 18 April, 1968.

There were four people on the trip, two Cambodians, a Frenchman and myself. The Cambodians were very valuable to us because they talked to everybody and told us what people were saying and thinking, especially at the military post of Preah Vihear which is at the foot of the mountain on which the temple is perched. They were in fact the brothers of the Lieutenant in charge of the company of 88 soldiers who protect the temple from possible attack from Thailand.

We spent the first night, 14 April, in a newly-built guestroom at the military post in the capital of Preah Vihear Province, Tbeng Meanchey. The Commanding Officer for the region is also the Governor of the province, but he was in Phnom Penh at the time of our visit. His second-in-command received us very cordially and spoke of the difficulties that the soldiers had to endure in his province. They get very infrequent supplies from Headquarters and he received only the same petrol and diesel fuel allowances as he would get in Phnom Penh despite the huge distances he would have to cover to ensure delivery of supplies and evacuation of the sick. He told us that there was no discontent or "Red Khmer" trouble in the region and said this was due to the fact that the place was very sparsely populated and strategically unimportant for the Communists. The only Chinese were merchants, hauliers and sawmill-owners. There were few Vietnamese. The Commander did not seem to be aware of the existence of tribesmen in the region, although on the ethnographic map it is marked as an area settled by Khmuy tribesmen.

The real trouble is expected from Thailand and the Province of Preah Vihear is expected to give the alarm in the event of a Thai invasion. The temple of Preah Vihear is a very important sanctuary, both for the Thais and the Cambodians and the Thais are expected to begin hostilities by attempting to take this temple. Asked when he expected hostilities to begin he said this depended on the Vietnam war. The Commander said that the whole province was linked up to the provincial capital by radio telephone and he had military contacts in every village.

The next morning, 15 April, we set off on the excellent road from Tbeng Meanchey as far as a bridge which was recently inaugurated by Prince Sihanouk. There are about 50 miles of very good laterite road as far as another bridge which is being built about 20 miles south of the temple. The road from here on is a rather poor cart track.

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There is a battalion at the village of Russey and we stopped there to announce our presence to the Commander of the battalion and ask his permission to go up to the temple itself. We were warmly received by the Commander and escorted to the small base camp from which we began climbing the Phnom at 9 a.m.

The base camp consists of 88 men with their families, a quarter of whom remain at the top of the mountain for periods of one week at a time to defend the temple. There are four cannons and two mortar guns concealed in the temple itself, and the Thai military post is just opposite the temple and plainly visible from it. The material conditions of the Thai soldiers are the envy of the Cambodians as they are regularly supplied and have a good road up to their camp.

When we got to the top of the hill at 11 a.m. we found that four of the soldiers were very ill with malaria or typhoid, as the drinking water is scarce and very brackish during the dry season. We were told that there was no medicine for these men and that they would either die and be cremated on the spot or get better and be able to walk down the hillside themselves. There is no other method of evacuating them as stretcher bearing down the narrow rocky path is impossible. The lieutenant who commands the post told me that last year they lost 40% of their men through dysentery, typhoid and malaria. As the tour of duty is three years, the chances of survival are very slight. Supplies of quinine are barely enough to treat severe attacks and certainly insufficient for prophylaxis. A French journalist writing for "Connaissance du Monde" who had come in November 1967 had been told this and had reported to Prince Sihanouk about it when he came back to Phnom Penh. Prince Sihanouk was very annoyed that these men should be so neglected and gave orders for something to be done about it. The only result was a severe reprimand for daring to complain to foreigners, and a threat that the road would be closed to the few tourists who use it.

The lieutenant told us too that during the rainy season it took about four days for a military convoy to get to his post and that supplies simply ceased when the road got too bad. (I have heard the same about soldiers in Oddar Meanchey and Rattanakiri). They had to rely on the one Chinese merchant who has a monopoly and who doubles or quadruples his prices. When supplies of rice run out, as they did last year, they end up by drinking thin soup and eating Chinese biscuits. When I asked him if he could have avoided being sent there he said that only people who have no strings to pull get sent to this particular region. He looked very thin and ill himself. His mother in Phnom Penh had proudly shown me a photograph of him; I would not have recognised

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him from it. He said there were a lot of desertions, but the district is so barren that it is easy to catch up with the deserters. He found it difficult to punish people for deserting in such circumstances. I asked him whether this was the worst post in Cambodia and he said that there was only one place his men feared more. This was the frontier post at Oddar Meanchey. One only hoped that on its completion the new road would make this province more accessible and that supplies would reach these soldiers all the year round in the near future.

On the level of the ordinary soldier there seems to be a certain friendship between Thai soldiers on the one hand and Cambodian soldiers on the other. When a new soldier comes to the Thai post he is shown round the temple by his Cambodian opposite number and usually finds time to carve his initials in it before going back to Thailand.

The lieutenant told us that the religious significance of Preah Vihear is very great for the Cambodian Royal Family. There is an important but intimate annual ceremony at the Palace which involves the bringing of holy water from four different places in Cambodia, one of them being the temple of Preah Vihear. On 17 and 18 February every year a group of dancers from the Royal Palace goes right up to the temple and performs sacred dances when the water is blessed.

When we got back down the mountain side we were invited to have our evening meal and spend that night in the frontier post with the soldiers and their families. There were no photographs of the Royal Family in any of the huts I visited. No-one knew anything about the film "Preah Vihear" which I believe was made elsewhere.

I noticed that the children all seemed to be under-nourished and the men and women seemed very thin and unhappy. One little boy told me his father had just died and that he had six brothers and sisters. We asked the lieutenant what he felt about the conditions and although he was very bitter against the army High Command for neglecting such an important frontier post, he was proud to be defending his country. The post is linked to the temple by a single telephone wire which is hung on the low branches along the path we followed to climb the mountain. I saw no radio equipment in the tiny shack on the mountain top.

There had been no trouble with the Thais since 1966 apart from cattle thieves and the flow of refugees. The week before we arrived, some cattle thieves had come from Thailand and stolen all the cattle in the village of Russey which is two miles away from the mountain itself. The inhabitants of the northern part of the province of Preah Vihear are mainly Khmer refugees from Thailand but the lieutenant could not estimate their number or give details about how they are resettled on arrival. They all came over

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the border with tales of ill treatment at the hands of the Thais.

Along the road from Preah Vihear to Tbeng Meanchey the only signs of life were several small new settlements where the villagers were busy cutting down and burning the forest. We were told that these were refugee families.

The woods were very thin for about 400 yards on either side of the road and had obviously been burnt down to minimise the risk of surprise attack. The only traffic we saw in the whole day of 15 April was one jeep, one tractor, one bulldozer and one military lorry.

We returned to Kompong Thom on the following day, Tuesday 16 April, and from there we visited the temple of Preah Khan which has recently been cleared of undergrowth and trees by the preservation of Angkor. We spent the night of Wednesday, 17 April in the village next to the temple. It is a very lively village of about 500 inhabitants. The people seemed well-fed and happy and most had been working to clear the trees and undergrowth from the temples during the ten-day visit of the team from the Conservation d'Angkor.

My French friend, Alain Daniel, was very upset at the conditions in the military post at Preah Vihear and said he would try to get Charles Meyer to do something about it. I doubted whether Meyer could do anything and in a conversation with him afterwards he confirmed (with tears in his eyes) that there was absolutely nothing he could do without bringing down the wrath of Tioulong on the unfortunate lieutenant as had happened once already. He told me that the frontier posts in Oddar Meanchey and Rattanakiri were in just as desperate a plight.

T.C. White

(T. C. White)
25 April, 1968.

P.S. At a Work Meeting on 24 April, General Nhiek Tioulong admitted to Prince Sihanouk that 50% of the Army forces in the Northern and Eastern frontier posts were out of action by the end of each rainy season. He blamed budgetary restrictions for failure to provide adequate supplies and medical care.

Annex 11

French Embassy in Cambodia, Note to the Minister
of Foreign Affairs of France, 17 June 1968

PHNOM-PENH, le 17 juin 1968

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
AU CAMBODGE

N° 1071 /AI.-

✓ 8.23.12

Robert MAZEYRAC
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES DE FRANCE a.i. AU CAMBODGE
à
SON EXCELLENCE MONSIEUR MICHEL DEBRE
MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES
Direction d'Asie-Océanie
Service CAMBODGE-LAOS-VIETNAM
P A R I S

A/S : de l'anniversaire de la décision de la Cour Internationale de
Justice attribuant le temple de Preah Vihear au Cambodge.

- P.J. 1 -

Samedi 15 juin a été célébrée dans le Royaume l'anniversaire de la décision de la Cour Internationale de Justice qui proclama, il y a six ans, la souveraineté du Cambodge sur le temple de Preah Vihear. C'est à la suite d'un voeu formulé par le dernier congrès national du Sangkum en décembre 1967 (la dépêche n° 34 en date du 5 janvier 1968 de ce poste) qu'avait été décidée cette commémoration.

communiqué à :

- SJ
- BANGKOK
- VIENTIANE

Il n'y eut en fait aucune cérémonie particulière. La journée fut simplement chômée, la radio nationale émit un programme spécial, la presse et le bulletin de l'Agence Khmère de Presse retracèrent les grandes étapes de l'affaire et publièrent des compte-rendus de presse relatant "la victoire du Cambodge à la Cour Internationale de Justice" et le pèlerinage du prince

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SIHANOUK au temple en janvier 1963.

M. PENN NOUTH, président du Conseil, fit une déclaration diffusée à la radio et reprise par la presse quotidienne. Ce texte, dont le Département voudra bien trouver ci-joint la copie, se borne à faire l'historique du différend khméro-thaï au sujet du temple.

Le président du Conseil met d'abord l'accent sur l'aspect juridique de la question, soulignant qu'en refusant d'admettre la souveraineté cambodgienne sur le temple, la Thaïlande cherchait à obtenir la "révision des frontières telles qu'elles ont été déterminées et fixées par les traités internationaux de 1904, 1907 et 1937, ainsi que par les accords du 7 novembre 1946". De ce fait, poursuit M. PENN NOUTH, la décision de la Cour Internationale de Justice rend non seulement Preah Vihear aux Khmers, mais donne "une valeur nouvelle et irréfutable aux traités et accords en cause".

Le président du Conseil rappelle, d'autre part, que la Thaïlande n'a pas abandonné ses visées expansionnistes sur le temple et sur d'autres parties du territoire khmer. C'est pourquoi elle se refuse "à signer avec le Cambodge une déclaration de respect des frontières actuelles communes aux deux pays", déclaration qui, on le sait, est la condition mise par le prince SIHANOUK à une reprise des relations diplomatiques avec Bangkok.

Le chef du gouvernement royal conclut son message par un appel à l'unité nationale qui peut seule permettre aux Khmers la défense de l'intégrité de leur territoire./.

hupre

DECLARATION DE M. PENN NOUTH,
PRESIDENT DU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES

--:--:--:--

Chers compatriotes,

Le 15 juin 1962, par 9 voix "pour" et 3 voix "contre", la Cour Internationale de Justice a proclamé le temple de Preah Vihear sur un territoire relevant de la souveraineté du Cambodge ; que par conséquent la Thaïlande devait retirer en totalité les forces armées et de police et toutes autres ainsi que les gardiens qu'elle avait placés dans ce temple et dans son périmètre qui font partie intégrante du territoire khmer.

Accédant au vœu formulé par le dernier congrès national, Samdech Sahachivin, Chef de l'Etat, l'Assemblée Nationale et le Gouvernement Royal ont décidé à l'unanimité de commémorer chaque année, avec le peuple khmer, cet événement historique, car tous nous devons accorder une signification la plus haute et une importance exceptionnelle à cette décision de la Cour Internationale de Justice, la plus haute instance de justice qui existe parce que cet arrêt de la Cour, non seulement confirme et atteste que ce temple de l'époque angkorienne, qui est si cher à notre cœur, nous appartient bien et réellement, mais bien plus encore, consacre le triomphe de la justice sur l'injustice, du bon droit sur la force brutale.

Immédiatement après que nous eûmes recouvré notre indépendance pleine et entière, la Thaïlande mit notre pays en présence d'une situation qu'elle avait déjà préparée et mise au point en faisant occuper par ses forces le temple de Preah Vihear et ses alentours.

Nous avons élevé d'énergiques protestations et exigé le retrait de ces forces, mais vainement hélas ! Dans notre désir d'entretenir des relations confiantes et amicales avec le peuple thaïlandais voisin, nous nous sommes efforcés de rechercher le moyen de parvenir, dans un esprit sincèrement amical, à un accord avec les dirigeants de Bangkok qui n'ont jamais voulu rien entendre.

En désespoir de cause, nous nous voyions contraints de porter l'affaire devant la Cour Internationale de Justice en faisant valoir nos droits sur le temple de Preah Vihear.

Comme nous le savons tous, les gouvernements thaïlandais, ceux des temps passés, comme celui actuellement au pouvoir, ont toujours nourri des ambitions territoriales à l'encontre de notre pays, ambitions qui se portent non seulement sur Preah Vihear, mais qui vi-

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sent et englobent une portion beaucoup plus vaste de notre territoire national.

Le but poursuivi par la Thaïlande en élevant des contestations sur la souveraineté khmère sur Preah Vihear n'est rien que la révision, de la remise sur le tapis de la question des frontières - des frontières telles qu'elles ont été déterminées et fixées par les traités internationaux de 1904, 1907 et 1937 et par les accords du 7 novembre 1946.

La décision de la Cour Internationale de Justice restituant au Cambodge le temple de Preah Vihear revêt donc une importance exceptionnelle en ce sens qu'elle donne une valeur nouvelle et irréfutable aux traités et accords susvisés, autrement dit qu'elle détermine et précise de manière définitive la frontière entre la Thaïlande et le Cambodge.

Bien que le gouvernement thaïlandais, contraint et forcé par la décision du 15 juin 1962 de la Cour Internationale de Justice ait, au demeurant de fort mauvaise grâce, retiré ses forces de Preah Vihear, la Thaïlande ne cesse pas pour autant de jeter son dévolu sur ce temple que gardent et défendent avec un courage digne d'admiration nos forces armées et guette qu'une occasion favorable se présente pour s'en emparer à nouveau.

En vérité, quels que soient les arguments et prétextes qu'avec sa mauvaise foi coutumière la Thaïlande invoque pour sa défense, une chose reste : c'est que ce pays n'abandonnera jamais ses visées expansionnistes sur Preah Vihear et sur certaines de nos provinces.

Si la Thaïlande ne nourrissait pas de telles visées, on ne pourrait comprendre pour quelle raison elle s'est refusée et se refuse à signer avec le Cambodge une déclaration solennelle de respect des frontières actuelles communes aux deux pays.

Chers compatriotes,

Le temple de Preah Vihear constitue pour le Cambodge du Sangkum le symbole même de la défense du sol sacré de la Patrie.

Comme l'a proclamé à plusieurs reprises Samdech Sahachivin, le peuple khmer ne cèdera jamais, ne serait-ce qu'un seul pouce de son territoire national déjà réduit à sa plus simple expression.

Tel est notre droit le plus légitime que la Cour Internationale de Justice a consacré d'éclatante façon.

Tel est notre devoir envers nos pères et envers la postérité.

Telle est notre inflexible détermination quels que puissent être les sacrifices auxquels nous devons consentir dans le présent com-

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me dans le futur.

A l'occasion où nous procédons à la commémoration de la victoire de la Justice, nous devons nous faire le serment de rester toujours étroitement unis pour la défense de l'intégrité territoriale de notre pays dans l'esprit le plus ferme et sans souffrir qu'il soit porté la moindre atteinte à notre honneur national et ce, pour que puisse survivre le Cambodge, comme nous l'a enseigné la leçon de l'histoire.

Plus particulièrement, dans la situation qu'a à affronter actuellement l'Asie du Sud-Est, nous devons nous dire que l'avenir du Cambodge est entre les mains du peuple khmer, du peuple khmer seul et non de nul autre.

Annex 12

United States Embassy in Bangkok, Airgram to the Department of State, “Cambodian Chronology”, No. A-363, 3 July 1969

ACTION: <i>cc WS</i>			Action: D rec		
EA-L			POL 2 CAMB		
DEPARTMENT OF STATE			FOR RM USE ONLY		
AIRGRAM					
A-363			CONFIDENTIAL		
NO.			HANDLING INDICATOR		
TO : Department of State			RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE JUL 8 8 28 AM		
INFO : HONG KONG, LONDON, NEW DELHI, PARIS, SAIGON, TOKYO, VIENTIANE			ANALYSIS BRANCH		
FROM : AnEmbassy BANGKOK			Date of Action: Initial		
SUBJECT : Cambodian Chronology			Action Office Stamp: 3, 1969		
REF :			Page of Officer		
<p>Included as an unclassified enclosure to this airgram is a chronology of developments in Cambodia which may prove helpful for personnel at Phnom Penh at such time as an Embassy is opened there.</p> <p>The material has been gleaned from both official and unofficial records. This listing is by no means comprehensive, reflecting relatively limited research material at Bangkok; it is contemplated, however, that the chronology will be augmented or expanded as more material becomes available.</p> <p>A striking aspect of the research which has gone into this study has been the realization that various authorities on Cambodia frequently disagree as to the dates of specific events. Where this has occurred the disparity has been resolved by recourse, whenever possible, to the source which is seemingly most authoritative (the date of the proclamation of Prince Sihanouk as King, for example, is April 23, 1941, as cited in his official biography, rather than April 25, as recorded by the former French Governor General, Admiral Jean Decoux). It should be noted also that Cambodian media are often inaccurate. As a recent example, Australian Ambassador Graham B. Feakes presented his credentials to Prince Sihanouk on April 10, 1969; the date was reported, however, in both the French and English-language editions of the monthly <u>Kambuja</u> (edited by Norodom Sihanouk) as April 30. There is no substitute for participation</p>			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		
<p>1000 JUL 8 PM 12 20</p> <p>DECLASSIFIED</p> <p>Authority 969000</p> <p>Dec NARA Date 1/13/12</p>			<p>GROUP 3</p> <p>Downgraded at 12-year intervals; not automatically declassified.</p> <p>CONFIDENTIAL</p>		
<p>Printed by:</p> <p>Clearances:</p>			<p>FOR DEPT. USE ONLY</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1a <input type="checkbox"/> Other</p> <p>Location and Classification Approved by:</p> <p>POL:William C. Hamilton</p>		

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Some dates, therefore, should be taken as approximate.

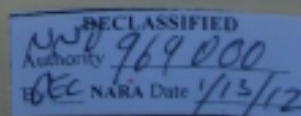
No attempt has been made at interpretation or analysis, developments are merely chronicled, often as reported by Prince Sihanouk. Some of this material, therefore, such as Sihanouk's frequent accusations of "CIA plots" (March 22, September 26, 1967) would seem to be pejorative to the United States; these are recorded, however, to alert those concerned with Cambodia to the fact that such things have happened before, and may well happen again. For easier reference purposes, this almanac is presented in reverse chronological order, the more pertinent events appearing first.

Enclosure:

Chronology of Developments Affecting Cambodia (UNCLASSIFIED)

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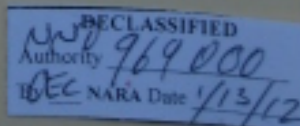
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 CHRONOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING CAMBODIA
 7/3/69

- 1969 June 19 In a speech at Svay Rieng Province, Prince Sihanouk says he has told NLF Representative to withdraw their forces from his territory (although "those in bad health who could not return to their country might stay") and that NLF (now "Provisional Government") Ambassador had signed a pledge promising that once peace is restored to Vietnam they will no longer remain on Khmer territory but will leave it immediately.
- In same speech he offers amnesty to Khmer Rouge who cease their treasonous activities.
- " June 18 New Communist Chinese Ambassador, K'ang Mao-chao, presents credentials (post had been vacant for over two years).
- " June 16 Prince Sihanouk releases 2 South Korean nationals (Army Lt. and civilian engineer) who were sentenced in 1968 to 6 years for "espionage" after they escaped VC captors and crossed the border into Cambodia.
- Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu, former NLF "Representative" at Phnom Penh, presents his credentials as "Ambassador of the Republic of South Vietnam." At same time it is announced that "President" Huynh Tan Phat will visit Cambodia "on his first trip abroad" at undisclosed date.
- " June 14 Cambodia recognizes NLF "Provisional Revolutionary Government."
- " June 11 Prince Sihanouk states at press conference that Vietnamese communists have occupied large portions of Ratanakiri Province, where they have installed their own governor and government, and that "at present there is war in Ratanakiri between Cambodia and Vietnam."
- Prince Sihanouk announces decision to sever relations with FRG, reject its aid, and the intention to normalize relations with the US by exchange of Charges.

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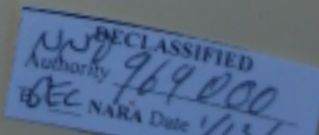


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1969	June	4	West Germany announces decision to "freeze" relations with Cambodia.
"	June	3	Acting Prime Minister Lon Nol departs for Paris; Ung Hong Sath becomes Acting PM, Ngoun Chhay Kry becomes Acting Defense Minister and Vann Molyvan Acting Foreign Minister.
"	May	22	Australian Ambassador, on behalf of US, reassures RKG that no authorized statements had been made contradicting, expanding upon, or expressing reservations to US border declaration of April 16.
"	May	20	Foreign Minister Prince Norodom Phurissara leaves for foreign visits; Minister of Public Works and Telecommunications Ngoun Chhay Kry acts in his absence. Phurissara is to stop in Tokyo en route; Moscow May 22-26; East Germany May 26 - June 2; Warsaw June 2-10, and return Phnom Penh June 18.
"	May	19	US receives note from Cambodian Government protesting alleged damage to Cambodian territory by US/ARVN defoliation missions. Prince Sihanouk opens second session of 1968-69 parliamentary year, speaks of economic difficulties, dangers from abroad, necessity for national unity to confront these difficulties.
"	May	17	First Ambassador from German Democratic Republic, Heinz-Dieter Winter, presents credentials. Prince Sihanouk tells press he considers diplomatic relations (with FRG) broken and German aid cut.
"	May	16	Prince Sihanouk announces that 4 Thai soldiers and 72 Thai civilians, engaged in construction of "Angkoreach Ville," site of a "provisional

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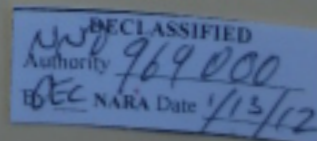
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government" for the Khmer Serei in Sisophon region of Battambang, captured by FARK elements, and that 907 Khmer Serei (248 men, 155 women, 504 children) surrender to the FARK.

1969	May	8	Cambodia raises status of MLF "representation" at Phnom Penh to Embassy level.
"	May	7	Cambodia announces that status of East German "representation" at Phnom Penh is raised to Embassy level.
"	May	4	Premier Penn Nouth accorded additional 6 months sick leave; Gen. Lon Nol continues to act as Prime Minister.
"	May	3	Prince Sihanouk announces he has abandoned intention to send Prime Minister to Bangkok to negotiate on resumption of relations with Thai.
"	April 30		Prince Sihanouk rejects US border declaration, warns of threat of Asian communists, calls for expansion of Paris conference to "a truly international conference concerning the whole region." Says he offers to attend "not as a mediator but as a plaintiff."
"	April 29		Prince Sihanouk says that in Ratanakiri he found "my children were driving the enemy out of the country," and reminds his audience that "formerly the Vietnamese occupied Phnom Penh several times just as the Germans occupied Paris"; he says that Cambodia is now "on a war footing."
"	April 28		Two US Navy helicopters downed in Svay Rieng Province; 4 killed, 4 wounded.
"	April 26		Speaking in Ratanakiri Province, Prince Sihanouk says "to deal with the Viet Cong and Viet Minh" he has ordered Gen. Lon Nol to give up "the defensive spirit" and adopt the "offensive spirit."

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1969 April 25 Prince Sihanouk says he will not restore relations with US if statement reported to him from Washington is true--that US spokesman said "frontiers between Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam are undefined."

" April 23 FARK CIC Gen. Nhiek Tioulong, leading a military delegation, departs for Moscow. He is to leave Moscow for Paris May 7, return to Phnom Penh May 21.

" April 16 Acting on behalf of US, Australian Ambassador Graham B. Feakes presents following declaration to Prince Sihanouk: "In conformity with the UN Charter, the USA recognizes and respects the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

" April 11 Switzerland issues border declaration.

" March 6 Tonle Sap Province created.

" March 11 Four US "Otter" crewmen released by Prince Sihanouk after receipt of personal message from President Nixon.

" Feb 26 National Assembly adopts draft plan for Second Five Year Plan (was to have been 1968-72) and supporting legislation.

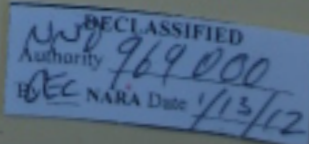
Plan aims at increasing Gross Domestic Product by 5% during the period. With total expenditures envisaged at 32 billion riel (43% from public sector), priorities are agriculture, industry, tourism, transportation, social services--in that order.

" Feb 12 Four crewmen of downed US "Otter" aircraft captured by Cambodian elements.

" Jan 28 Congo (K) "recognizes frontiers of the Kingdom of Cambodia within its present limits."

" Jan 13 Dahomey declares "recognition and respect of the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

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1968 Dec 29 Prince Sihanouk proclaims "new economic policy" in speech before opening session of National Assembly.

" Dec 19 US LCU crewmen released by Prince Sihanouk (see July 17, 1968); US helicopter crewman Earl Gurnsey released 2 hrs. later.

" Dec 5 Penn Nouth departs for 2-month medical leave in France; Lon Nol takes over as Acting Prime Minister.

" Dec 2 Soviet Ambassador turns over shipment of military aid to Prime Minister.

" Nov 26 - 27 US helicopter crewman Earl Gurnsey apprehended by PARK elements near Svay Rieng after his craft downed and other crewmen killed. /Hospitalized at Phnom Penh, Gurnsey to be released by Prince Sihanouk December 19 after receipt of a personal message from President Johnson (2 hours after release of LCU crewmen-- see July 17, 1968). Gurnsey left Phnom Penh bound for US January 7, 1969./

" Nov 15 - 30 First international film festival at Phnom Penh.

" Nov 14 Prince Sihanouk inaugurates new oil refinery at Sihanoukville.

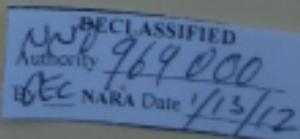
" Nov 13 Representatives of 10 nations and UNDP sign administrative agreement for Prek Thnot power and irrigation plan, pledging \$17.7 million of total \$27 million.

" Nov 9 Correspondents from Free World press permitted to enter Cambodia for Independence Day festivities and film festival.

" Nov 8 UK issues second border declaration (see January 12, 1968).

" Nov 7 Austria issues border declaration.

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1968	Oct	26	NLF "Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces" issues border declaration.
"	Oct	25	Elections for Council of the Kingdom; 88 candidates for 24 seats.
"	Oct	23	National Assembly's first session opens, Cheng Heng elected as President.
"	Oct	21	Cambodia applies for membership in the International Monetary Fund.
"	Oct	16	Cambodia and East Germany sign fifth plan for cultural and scientific cooperation for 1968-69.
"	Oct	9	Cambodia and North Korea sign third plan for cultural and scientific cooperation.
"	Sept	26	Foreign Minister Phurissara leaves for visits to Guinea, Senegal and France (to return October 16).
"	Sept	25	NLFH and "Patriotic Neutralists," in communique of 3rd political conference meeting at Sam Neua, pledge support to "the successful defense of the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within its present borders." Subsequent border declarations made by Prince Souphanouvong on Oct 29 and Nov 7.
"	Sept	16	Japan issues border declaration in acceptable format (see also January 12, 1968 and October 30, 1967).
"	Sept	11-14	Special US Presidential Representative Eugene Black visits Cambodia with delegation to discuss Mekong development.
"	Sept	3 - 22	Foreign Minister Phurissara leads delegation to North Korea (stopping in Peking Sept 3-5) to observe Pyongyang's 20th anniversary celebrations.

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1968 Sept 2 Assembly of Youth meets with Central Committee of Association of Cambodian Students to discuss problems of studies abroad and foreign aid.

Canada, "in conformity with UN Charter," issues border declaration.

" Aug 24 In Special Session National Assembly adopts resolution conferring all powers (especially those in Article 15 of the Constitution*) for ending the crisis "created by external threats, acts of aggression of all kinds, as well as the activities of traitors of all persuasions...who are leading the country to catastrophe."

(*Arrest and detention outside the law, censorship of all public statements, banning of public meetings and censorship of mail.)

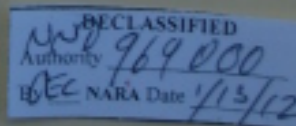
" Aug 5 Ceylon "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

" July 23 Chinese Communist technicians arrive to study feasibility of establishing a foundry.

" July 18 West Germany "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers" (see also October 12, 1967).

" July 17 US LCU 1577, crewed by 11 US Army men with one Vietnamese military passenger, captured in Cambodian waters on the Mekong; ship left Vung Tau for Can Tho and inadvertently intruded. /Crewmen and Vietnamese were released by Prince Sihanouk December 19 (after a personal message had been sent by President Johnson but before it was received). RKG retained possession of the ship.

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1968 July 12 Son Sann resigns from government for family and health reasons; Gen. Lon Nol takes over as First Deputy Prime Minister, retaining Defense portfolio. Touch Kim becomes Third Deputy Premier and Minister of Commerce and Planning, handing over Finance portfolio to Yem Sarong.

" June 29 Border incident at Svay A Ngong, Prey Veng Province.

" June 22 Prince Sihanouk inaugurates new international airport at Siem Reap, built with Chinese Communist assistance.

" June 15-23 Visit of North Korean friendship delegation led by the Vice President of the Presidium of the Supreme Popular Assembly.

" June 11 Prince Sihanouk opens glass factory at Choeung Ek, Kandal Province, presented by Communist China as "unconditional gift."

" June 10 Crewmen and US guards of the Philippine tugboat "Bream" released by Prince Sihanouk (see May 21, 1968). /Boat later returned to Philippine contractor--Luzon Stevedoring--after Philippine President Marcos sends personal message to Prince. / Prince Sihanouk says release of Americans was a gesture of respect to the memory of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Denmark, "in conformity with UN Charter," issues border declaration.

" June 5 Phouk Chhay, Chairman of Peking-oriented General Association of Khmer students, sentenced to death by military tribunal for crimes against security of the state (later commuted to life imprisonment by Prince Sihanouk).

" June 3 Prince Sihanouk announces intention to establish "special assembly of youth," within the Sangkum, to involve youth in government. Inter alia, youth would review Cabinet and sub-Cabinet appointments before

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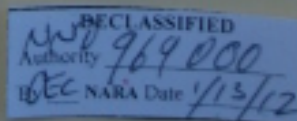
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the National Assembly and review the performance of Cabinet members.

1968	May	21	Philippine tugboat "Bream", under contract to US forces operating out of Vung Tau, SVN, apprehended in Cambodian waters of the Mekong after inadvertent intrusion, with 8 Philippine crewmen and 2 US Army guards (later released by Prince Sihanouk; see June 10, 1968).
"	May	19	During a speech at Stung Treng, Prince Sihanouk says "Cambodians studying in Moscow have sought to incite students and leftists in Phnom Penh to oppose the Sangkum by writing inflammatory letters to them."
"	May	7	Sweden, "in conformity with UN Charter," issues border declaration.
"	May	6	Ethiopia, "in conformity with UN Charter," issues border declaration.
"	May	4-7	Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia makes State visit.
"	May	3	President Johnson announces that US and DRV will begin conversations in Paris. First meeting convened May 13.
"	May	1	Gen. Lon Nol enters the Cabinet as Third Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Defense, replacing Gen. Duong Sam Ol in latter position; other Cabinet shifts.
"	April	20	Radio Phnom Penh says US had rejected Phnom Penh as site for "conversations" on Vietnam war "because of its desire to deprive us of a very appreciable moral advantage."
"	April	1-4	President Suharto of Indonesia makes State visit.

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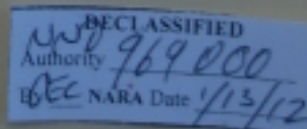


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1968	March 30	Netherlands, "in conformity with UN Charter," issues border declaration, as does Belgium.
"	March 16	Iraq "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	March 6	Prince Sihanouk announces capture of a motorized junk near Koh Ses island with 3 Vietnamese, 2 Khmers Krom and quantities of arms destined for the Khmer Rouge.
"	March 3	Mass demonstrations of loyalty to the Throne, Prince Sihanouk, and the Sangkum throughout the country.
"	March 2-10	East German Foreign Minister Otto Winzer makes visit.
"	Feb 21	"In conformity with the UN Charter, Australia recognizes and respects the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers" (see also July 8, 1967).
"	Feb 20-March 3	Foreign Minister Phurissara visits Australia for discussions on bilateral relations (visiting also Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta en route).
"	Feb 16	UN de Ribbing Mission terminated (see August 16, 1966).
"	Feb 12	India "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers" (see also July 24, 1967).
"	Feb 11	Pakistan "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Feb 5	Cambodia congratulates North Korea for capturing the USS Pueblo.
"	Feb 4 - 20	Defense Minister Gen. Duong Sam Ol heads military mission to Moscow.

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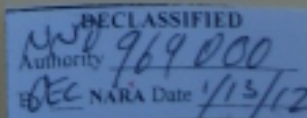


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1968	February	First attacks by Khmer Loeu elements in Ratanskiri Province--to spread to Stung Treng and Mondolkiri by June.
"	February	Cambodian-Soviet arms agreement signed, to value of \$5.8 million.
"	Jan 30	Gen. Lon Nol appointed FARK Inspector General.
"	Jan 29	New government takes office under Penn Nouth as Prime Minister.
"	Jan 27	Prince Sihanouk says at press conference Battambang rebellion is organized by communists in collusion with "Thai Patriotic Front" which is "itself controlled by external forces."
"	Jan 20	Syria "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Jan 18	Spain "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Jan 17 - 22	President Tito of Yugoslavia makes State visit. On his arrival Phnom Penh police announce discovery of a Chinese plot to assassinate him.
"	Jan 16	Italy "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Jan 12	Japan "recognizes the inviolability of the present frontiers of Cambodia" (see also October 30, 1967 and Sept. 16, 1968). UK "recognizes the inviolability of the present frontiers of Cambodia" (see also Nov. 8, 1968).
"	Jan 8 - 12	US delegation led by Ambassador Chester Bowles visits Phnom Penh.

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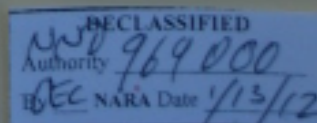


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1968	Jan	8	Foreign Minister Phurissara concludes visit to Hanoi.
"	Jan	7	Private newspapers again permitted to publish, but only in Khmer language.
"	Jan	6	Mali "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers." NLF "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers" (see also May 31, 1967).
"	Jan	4	Shipment of Chinese military aid goods, including MIG aircraft, arrives.
"	Jan	1	Son Sann government resigns.
1967	Dec	31	Foreign Minister Phurissara leaves for visit to Hanoi.
"	Dec	12	France "recognizes and respects the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers" (see also August 31, Sept. 2, 1966).
"	Dec	2-8	Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan-yew makes semi-private visit.
"	Nov	28	East German Consulate General at Phnom Penh elevated to "Representation."
"	Nov	20	Three American correspondents (Herndon, MacArthur and Fass) report discovery of a VC base camp between Mimot and Snoul.
"	Nov	16 - 21	Philippine Foreign Minister Narciso Ramos visits Cambodia.
"	Nov	11	Three American prisoners of the NLF released at Phnom Penh.
"	Nov	2-8	Mrs. John F. Kennedy visits Cambodia, dedicates J. F. Kennedy Avenue at

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Sihanoukville November 6. Western press permitted to enter country for visit and to remain for Independence Day ceremonies November 9.

1967 Oct 30 Japan issues border declaration (see also January 12, 1968).

" Oct 15 The Philippines "recognizes and respects the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

" Oct 12 West Germany "recognizes the inviolability of the present frontiers of Cambodia" (see also July 18, 1968).

" Oct 11 Mauritania "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

" Oct 4 Guinea "recognizes present frontiers of Cambodia."

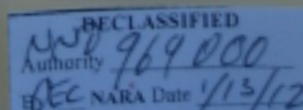
" October Gen. Lon Nol returns to Cambodia.

" Sept 26 Prince Sihanouk announces discovery of alleged CIA plot involving personnel of five embassies in Phnom Penh.

" Sept 18 Prince Sihanouk announces that following receipt of a personal and conciliatory message from Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, he has reversed his decision to close his Embassy at Peking. He added "We wish to maintain unity with China on the basis of the five Bandung principles, but not on the basis of the Cultural Revolution." He says, however, that in view of continuing provocation Cambodia forthwith abrogates its agreement with the Chinese news agency NCNA.

" Sept 15 Association Generale des Etudiants Khmers dissolved (Chairman was Phouk Chhay).

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1967 Sept 13 Prince Sihanouk declares his intention to withdraw personnel of the Cambodian Embassy at Peking.

Prince Sihanouk says State newspapers will be established to replace the suspended private press.

" Sept 12 Cambodian Ambassador to Australia is recalled.

Senegal "recognizes present frontiers of Cambodia."

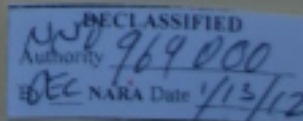
" Sept 11 Prince Sihanouk publicly attacks Peking for interference in Cambodian affairs, dismisses Economy Minister Chau Seng and Health Minister So Nem from Cabinet, announces suspension of all private newspapers, says he will call for national referendum following January or February to decide between his policy of neutrality and "policy of opening the door for the Chinese to come and master Cambodia as certain people have done."

Singapore "recognizes the present frontiers of Cambodia."

Yemen "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

" Sept 9 Private newspaper La Nouvelle Depeche, owned by Chau Seng, publishes a congratulatory telegram dated September 4 from the Chinese-Cambodian Friendship Association at Peking to its Phnom Penh counterpart (which had been dissolved September 1). Prince Sihanouk charges that the telegram illustrates that Peking is deliberately instructing the dissolved Cambodian association to continue its activities.

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1967	Sept	7	Cambodia withdraws from the Asian Development Bank.
"	Sept	6	Albania "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Sept	4	During a speech at Svay Rieng Prince Sihanouk accuses Australia, as well as the US, of supporting the Khmer Serei.
"	Sept	3	Prince Sihanouk creates groupings of nationalized Friendship Associations to replace those dissolved September 1.
"	Sept	1	Sino-Khmer Friendship Association and all other bi-national associations dissolved on Prince Sihanouk's orders.
"	Aug	27	DRV Embassy opened at Phnom Penh (relations had been established June 24).
"	Aug	25	Algeria "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Aug	22	Israel "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	Aug	16	Foreign Minister Phurissara visits Communist China.
"	Aug	13	Prince Sihanouk announces his intention to close his Embassy at Canberra.
"	Aug	11	Burma "recognizes and respects sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia."
"	Aug	4	Hungary "recognizes the present frontiers of Cambodia."
"	July	31	Indonesia and Communist China "recognize and respect territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."

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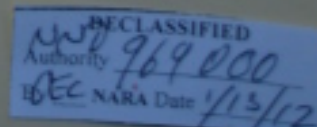
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1967	July 24	India issues border declaration (see also February 12, 1968).
"	July 17	NLF "Representation" established at Phnom Penh.
"	July 13	Bulgaria "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	July 8	Australia "respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers." Declaration later nullified by Prince Sihanouk following Australian statement that it was not intended to imply endorsement of specific demarcations (see also Feb. 21, 1968).
"	July 7	East Germany "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	July 5	At opening of National Assembly, Prince Sihanouk says his government is now ready to resign. Two days later Assembly and Council of the Kingdom asked the Prince to resign to agree to continue to function as President of the Council of Ministers of the Special Government."
"	July 4	Poland "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	June 30	Czechoslovakia "recognizes present frontiers of Cambodia"; North Korea "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	June 27	Yugoslavia "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	June 25	Offices of <u>Khmer Ekareach</u> , newspaper of Sim Var, sacked by youth in Phnom Penh.

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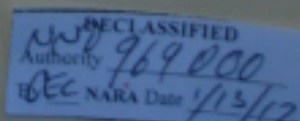
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1967	June 24	Announcement that Battambang rebellion completely at an end.
		Diplomatic relations established with DRV.
"	June 22	Relations established with National Liberation Front.
"	June 18	Cuba "recognizes present frontiers of Cambodia."
"	June 12	North Vietnam "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	June 6	USSR "recognizes and respects territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers."
"	May 31	MLF issues border declaration (see also January 6, 1968).
"	May 29	Foreign Minister Phurissara leaves for one-week visit to USSR.
"	May 6	Formal investiture of new government takes place on Constitution Day.
"	May 2	Prince Sihanouk forms new government (including five members of outgoing Lon Nol government--three of whom had been appointed in preceding few weeks--five members of the Counter-Government, including its former leader Ung Hong Sath). "Exceptional government," he said, will continue for three months, after which the situation will be reviewed.
"	April 29	Prime Minister Lon Nol resigns because of ill health; resignation accepted by Prince Sihanouk May 1. Lon Nol departs for France.
"	April 24	Prince Sihanouk nominates Vann Molyvann to replace Mnc. Diep Dinar as Secretary of State for Education.

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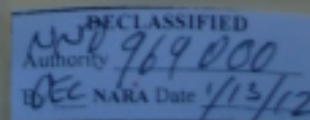
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- 1967 April 22 Prince Sihanouk says Reds in Battambang have named Chau Seng, So Nem, Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim as their leaders and that all of them will appear before a military tribunal, but that he will not make martyrs of them by having them shot.
- National Assembly passes motion of censure against Mee. Diep Dinar, Secretary of State for Education.
- Khmer Serei leader Sao Ngoy executed at Phnom Penh.
- " April 8 Touch Kim and Mee. Tip Mam appointed to take Cabinet places of Mau Say and Douc Rasy, respectively.
- " April 7 Prince Sihanouk announces that some of Khmer Rouge captured in Battambang have admitted taking orders from "their chiefs in Phnom Penh" and that Khieu Samphan, Hu Nim and Hou Yuon are implicated.
- " April 4 Prince Sihanouk announces the outbreak of armed rebellion by pro-Communist Cambodians "the Khmer-Viet minh" or "Khmer Rouge" in Battambang Province, where first attacks had occurred in January.
- Full powers granted to Prince Sihanouk by National Assembly.
- " March 30 National Assembly passes motion of censure against Second VP Council of Ministers Mau Say and Secretary of State for Plans Douc Rasy, who forced to resign. Some opinion expressed that censure against individual ministers constitutes censure of government as whole.

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1967	March 22	Prince Sihanouk charges at press conference that senior members of the Armed Forces, National Assembly, the Cabinet and Staff of the Royal Palace are conspiring at CIA instigation to have him removed from the national scene. Subsequently, members of the Assembly, the Cabinet and most members of the government take oath of fealty to the Prince at the Silver Pagoda.
"	March 12	Extraordinary National Congress convened by Prince Sihanouk to deal with unsettled conditions caused by demonstrations against Lon Nol government.
"	March 11	Demonstration outside offices of <u>Bulletin</u> of Counter-Government calling for resignation of Lon Nol government, lowering of prices, withdrawal of armed forces from Pailin in Battambang and dissolution of the National Assembly.
"	March 9	Prince Sihanouk returns from European trip.
"	March 5	Prime Minister Lon Nol injured in automobile accident while en route to Battambang.
"	Jan 6	Prince Sihanouk leaves for two months trip to Europe.
1966	Dec 21	Cambodia breaks off relations with South Korea after North Korean athlete, who had come to Phnom Penh for GANEFO, attempted to defect but was forceably flown back to Pyongyang.
"	Dec 13	Khmer Serei leader Chau Bory executed
"	Oct 26	Counter-Government formed.
"	Oct 22	Lon Nol Cabinet approved by National Assembly.

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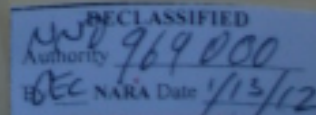
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1966	Oct 18	Gen. Lon Nol elected Prime Minister by National Assembly.
"	September	Contemplated visit by US Special Envoy Governor W. Averell Harriman cancelled by Cambodia after border incident.
"	Sept 11	National Assembly elections. Sangkum ran all candidates, wins all seats (82 out of 415 candidates). Of 2,477,702 registered voters, 1,612,598 or 65.48% vote. Of 42 deputies from former Assembly who stood for election, 27 are reelected.
"	Aug 31- Sept 2	President de Gaulle pays State visit to Cambodia, at conclusion of which France declares "respect for Cambodia's territorial integrity within the limits of her present frontiers." (See also December 12, 1967.)
"	Aug 16	Baron Herbert de Ribbing, Special Representative UN SYG, begins efforts to mediate Thai-Cambodian dispute. <u>Mission ended unsuccessfully February 15, 1968.</u>
"	June 25	Prime Minister Norodom Kantol writes to Geneva co-chairmen asking them to examine favorably proposal by Prince Sihanouk for expansion of control by International Control Commission.
"	January	Prince Sihanouk appeals for recognition of Cambodia's neutrality by "the great powers of East and West" and asks that this be accompanied by recognition of Cambodia's frontiers.
1965	Oct 3	Prince Sihanouk and Liu Shao-chi sign a communique in Peking endorsing the four and five points (of April 8, 1965 and March 22, 1965) suggested by the DRV and NLF for solution of the Vietnam war.

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1965	October	Soviet Government cancels visit to Moscow by Prince Sihanouk scheduled for November; Sihanouk cancels tour of Eastern European capitals which had been scheduled to follow the Moscow visit.
"	Aug 11	Province of Oddar Meanchey created from portions of Siem Reap, Kompong Thom and Battambang in northeast; capital Samrong. Maj. Chea Kim Eng installed as governor.
"	May 3	Diplomatic relations with US severed.
"	April	US Embassy attacked by demonstrators.
"	March 1-9	Indochinese People's Conference meets at Phnom Penh; final resolution calls for new Geneva Conference "to afford the Kingdom of Cambodia legitimate guarantees concerning her neutrality and territorial integrity."
1964	Dec 8 - 10	US-Cambodian talks aimed at resolving differences held at New Delhi. Broken off to permit consultations and not reconvened.
"	December	Relations established with Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
"	Nov 8 - 13	Communist Chinese Foreign Minister visits Cambodia.
"	Oct 5	During visit to Peking, Prince Sihanouk signs joint communique which condemns US actions in Indochina and China and reiterates support for an international conference on Cambodia.
"	May 7 - 8	Border incidents at Cambodian village of Trey. RRG complains to UN Security Council against US and GVN and "their repeated acts of aggression against Cambodia."

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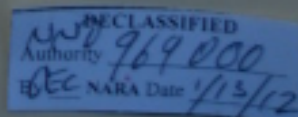
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1964	April 13	British Foreign Secretary states he is continuing efforts "to establish a basis acceptable to all concerned for an international conference on Cambodia; unfortunately, not all concerned are yet ready to take part in such a conference."
"	March 20	Cambodian/South Vietnamese talks are interrupted by accidental Vietnamese bombing of Cambodian village of Chantrea.
"	March 11	British and American Embassies at Phnom Penh attacked by student demonstrators.
"	Jan 28	British Government advises Soviet Government of its position that before an international conference to guarantee Cambodian neutrality is called, there should be common agreement on the tasks to be achieved.
"	Jan 18	Soviet Government proposes to British Government (as Geneva co-chairman) that a conference should be held in April to guarantee Cambodian neutrality.
"	Jan 4 - 8	During visit of French Minister for Armed Forces, Franco-Khmer military assistance agreement signed.
"	January	Import-export trade nationalized.
1963	Dec 20	British Government announces that it has informed the governments of Cambodia and the USSR of its support, in principle, of a conference in Cambodia on Cambodian neutrality.
"	Nov 24	RKG proposes to Geneva co-chairmen that a conference be called to guarantee Cambodian neutrality.

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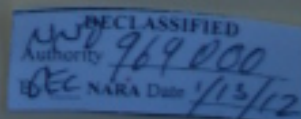
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1963	Nov	21	Prince Sihanouk requests US to cut off economic assistance. Next day USG indicates willingness to begin discussions on aid termination and categorically denies involvement in any plots against Cambodia.
"	Aug	27	Political (but not economic) relations between South Vietnam and Cambodia severed.
"	May	1 - 6	CPR President Liu Shao-chi visits Cambodia. Friendship treaty with Red China signed.
"	February		Prince Sihanouk visits Peking.
1962	Nov	19	Prince Sihanouk sends proposals to various heads of state for the official recognition of Cambodia's independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.
"	October		Nils Goran Gussing, Special Representative of the UN SYG, begins attempts to mediate Thai-Cambodian dispute; mission to end November 1964.
"	Aug	20	Prince Sihanouk appeals for 14-nation conference to guarantee Cambodia's independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.
"	June	15	International Court of Justice at The Hague renders decision favorable to Cambodia in the "Case Concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear"; after examining evidence submitted by Thailand and Cambodia, Court rules that the temple is in Cambodia (June 15 is celebrated, consequently, as "National Solidarity Day").
"	June	10	National Assembly elections; Sangkum candidates win all 77 seats.
1961	Oct	23	Relations with Thailand severed, Prince Sihanouk alleging that the Thai Prime Minister vilified Cambodia at diplomatic gatherings in Bangkok.

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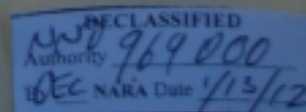
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1961	September	Prince Sihanouk visits the United States.
"	March 9-10	Conversations in Phnom Penh between Lao General Phoumi Nosavan and Prime Minister Prince Souvanna Phouma.
"	Jan 1	Prince Sihanouk sends messages to various heads of state proposing an international conference on Laos to be comprised of the Geneva signatories, the ICC principals, Burma and Thailand.
1960	Dec 21	10th National Congress opened.
"	Dec 15-24	Prince Sihanouk visits Peking; on December 19 signs treaty of friendship and non-aggression with China.
"	Dec 15	Thai-Cambodian accords signed, after mediation by UN SYG Special Representative, Norwegian Ambassador Hans Engen, and in the presence of UN SYG Dag Hammarskjold, on the questions of political refugees, extradition of criminals, the enforcement of law in mutual border regions, and on the problems of press and radio attacks (less than two weeks later, however, each country claimed the other had violated the accords).
"	Sept 29	At UN, Prince Sihanouk proposes that neutral zone composed of Laos and Cambodia be established and guaranteed by major power blocs.
"	Aug 30	Cambodian-Soviet friendship hospital inaugurated.
"	June 20	Prince Sihanouk assumes the title of Chief of State after resignation of Regency Council and in response to request of National Assembly.
"	June 5	National referendum shows overwhelming support of Prince Sihanouk's policies, 2,020,349 for the Prince versus 133 for the Khmer Serei, 133 for the Communists and 93 without opinion.

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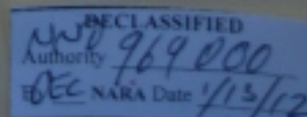
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1960	June	Province of Haut Chhlong created (later to be called Mondulkiri).
"	May 5 - 9	CPR Premier Chou En-lai, accompanied by Foreign Minister Chen I, visits Cambodia.
"	May	Prince Sihanouk claims that Khmer Serei ("Free Cambodians," successors to the Khmer Issarak), under Son Ngoc Thanh and with US assistance, are threatening Cambodia from South Vietnam.
"	April 12	Prince Sihanouk resigns the Premiership.
"	April 3	Death of King Suramarit. Regency Council established under Prince Sisowath Monireth.
"	April	Sihanoukville port inaugurated after four years of construction with French assistance.
"	Jan 1	First Five Year Plan launched (to run through 1964). Aimed at increasing per capita gross national product by 3% a year. Provides for development expenditures of 12,000 million riel, 8,000 million from public sector (budget resources and aid receipts), remainder from private sector. Gives first priority to infrastructure development and education.
1959	Nov 29	National referendum rejects provincial popular assemblies.
"	Oct 9	Question of sovereignty over Preah Vihear submitted to International Court of Justice by RKG.
"	Aug 31	Reported attempt to assassinate King and Queen; bomb kills palace Chief of Protocol; Sam Sary accused.
"	July 22	Cambodian-American Friendship Highway inaugurated (Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville); 232 km., including 59 bridges.

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1959	July 4	Eighth National Congress convenes.
"	June 13	Following visit of Thai Foreign Minister, joint communique issued which affirms intention to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs.
"	March 3	Abortive revolt led by General "Dap" Chhuon Mochulpich, military commander of Siem Reap Province, who is killed by FARK units. Son Ngoc Thanh and Sam Sary implicated, in what is known in Cambodia as the "Bangkok Plot".
"	Feb 20	Diplomatic relations resumed between Cambodia and Thailand after mediation by UN SYG Special Representative Baron Beck-Friis.
1958	Dec 13-15	Seventh National Congress meets.
"	Nov 28	Relations with Thailand broken, with explanation that relations had been impaired through attacks by Thai press.
"	October	GRC Consul expelled.
"	September	Prince Sihanouk presides over Cambodian Delegation to 13th UNGA at New York. Has discussions with President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles.
"	August	Prince Sihanouk visits Communist China; receives guarantees for an additional (US)\$ 5,600,000 in aid.
"	Aug 5 - 6	Ngo Dinh Nhu, Political Advisor to the President of South Vietnam, visits Cambodia.
"	July 24	Relations established with Communist China.
"	July 12	Negotiations commence with Thailand regarding sovereignty over Preah Vihear.

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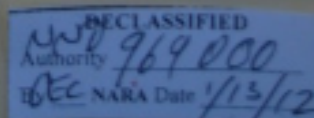
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1958	June 25	Following minor ARVN incursions into north-eastern Province of Ratanakiri, state of emergency declared.
"	June	Ratanakiri Province created.
"	May	Chinese congregation (Bang) system abolished.
"	March 23	National Assembly elections, women vote for first time. 61 of 62 seats won by Sangkum candidates, with 1,646,488 of 1,646,897 votes.
"	Jan 26	National referendum to decide on question of women's suffrage, which wins by 99% of votes.
"	Jan 4 - 6	Sixth National Congress.
1957	Dec 18	Law incorporating National Congress into Constitution is passed.
"	Sept 11	National Assembly passes neutrality act (proposed by Prince Sihanouk during January sessions), which declares that Cambodia will abstain from military or ideological alliances and from aggression, but reserves the right to self-defense.
"	September	JSRK--Royal Khmer Socialist Youth--founded as youth auxiliary to the Sangkum.
"	July 15	Fifth National Congress opens.
"	June 21	Prince Sihanouk resigns from Premiership and Cabinet positions for reasons of health.
"	May	Koh Kong Province created.
"	April 7	Prince Sihanouk accepts Premiership and Portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Planning in new Cabinet.

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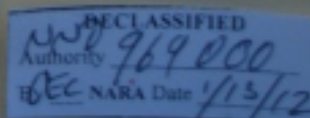
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1957	Jan	12	Fourth National Congress convenes. Prince Sihanouk proposes that the Constitution be amended to include a neutrality act.
1956	Nov	27	During visit to Cambodia, CPR Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai signs communique calling for the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence and urging all Chinese residents of Cambodia to "abide by the laws and decrees of Cambodia."
"	Sept	15	At the request of the King, to put an end to a five-week government crisis, Prince Sihanouk accepts Premiership of new Cabinet.
"	Aug	8	Khim Tit resigns as Prime Minister, telling press he did so because of internal dissension caused by members of the Sangkum provoked by "the ambitions of some of its members." He accepts appointment as High Commissioner to France.
"	July 2 -	9	Prince Sihanouk visits the USSR. Soviets offer technical and economic assistance to Cambodia and pledge to respect Cambodia's independence.
"	June		GRC Foreign Minister visits Cambodia.
"	May	18	Relations established with USSR.
"	May	17	Cambodia announces intention to exchange diplomatic representatives with South Vietnam.
"	May		Work begun on Sihanoukville port, formerly Kompong San.
"	April	24	Economic assistance agreement signed with Peking. At a Congress of the Sangkum Prince Sihanouk says "the policy to be followed is to accept that the influence of the Communist bloc shall counter-balance the influence of the Western bloc. From henceforth we shall hold out one hand to

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the West and the other to the Communists, at the same time as we derive support from the active friendship of the neutrals."

1956	April 21	Third National Congress organized by the Sangkum.
"	April 19	US Secretary of State Dulles emphasizes in a letter to the RKG that the United States will respect Cambodia's desire to pursue a neutral policy.
"	April 5	Prince Sihanouk says US economic assistance is "the oxygen that keeps Cambodia alive."
"	April 2	New Cabinet formed by Khim Tit.
"	March 30	Prince Sihanouk resigns Premiership because of opposition to his policies.
		Thailand closes its border with Cambodia.
"	March	Cambodian-South Vietnamese border is closed for first time.
"	March 1	Prince Sihanouk invested as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in new Cabinet.
"	Feb 13 - 18	Prince Sihanouk visits Peking. In a joint declaration China pledges to abide by principles of peaceful coexistence and to avoid interference in Cambodian affairs.
"	Jan 31 - Feb 4	During a visit to the Philippines Prince Sihanouk tells joint session of Philippine Congress that neutrality in international affairs is consonant with "the feelings and deep convictions of all the Khmer people who have learned in the course of the last four years to distrust the quarrels of the great and to rely mainly upon themselves." Upon his arrival the Philippine press speculates that the Prince might join SEATO, and after his departure he charges that undue pressure had been brought upon him to do so.

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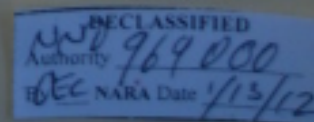
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1956	Jan	3	Prince Sihanouk resigns Premiership to travel to France for rest cure. Oum Chheang Sun, President of National Assembly, appointed Prime Minister by King but forced to resign after only 3 days after popular demonstrations demanding Sihanouk's return; crisis was resolved only after he agreed to do so.
"	January		Important Constitutional amendments.
1955	Dec	30	Second National Congress held.
"	Dec	14	Cambodia admitted to the United Nations.
"	December		Treaty of amity signed with Japan which contemplated immigration of 2,000 Japanese over a period of 5 years to settle, cultivate and exploit mountain areas and wastelands where Cambodians have always refused to live.
"	October		Constitutional amendment gives measure of self-government to provinces by authorizing establishment of elected provincial assemblies.
"	Sept	26	Prince Sihanouk assumes the Premiership.
"	Sept	22-26	First Khmer National Congress, organized by the Sangkum, held at Phnom Penh. Deals with transformation of the 1947 Constitution.
"	Sept	11	National Assembly elections. New Sangkum party wins all the seats of the 91 member Assembly. 309 candidates representing seven parties, in addition to the Sangkum. 761,958 votes cast, or 75% of the registered voters.
"	September		Cambodia withdraws from the French Union.
"	July	11	Pracheachon Party formed.
"	June	13	First Sangkum Congress held at Phnom Penh.

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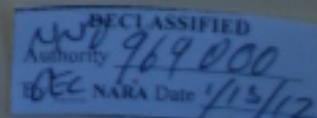
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1955	May 16	US military assistance agreement signed, providing for direct US assistance and a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) of approximately 30 officers and men to supervise delivery and end-use of US military aid.
"	April 18 -24	Sihanouk attends Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African nations, where he reportedly says one of the most important problems deserving discussion is the danger of Chinese and North Vietnamese expansion; has private meeting with Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong.
"	March 24	Prince Sihanouk founds the <u>Sangkum Reastr Nyum</u> (People's Socialist Community) as a "national political movement," in opposition to a political party system which he considers a threat to national unity.
"	March 2	King Sihanouk abdicates the throne in favor of his father Norodom Suramarit, in order to more actively enter politics.
"	Feb 7	National referendum held to decide whether King Sihanouk fulfilled 3-year mandate of attaining independence and security for country. He receives 99.8% of the vote (925,000 of 927,000 votes cast).
"	Jan 1	National Bank of Cambodia (Inadana Jati) established as the bank of issue.
1954	Dec 29	<p>Quadripartite system established at Pau in 1950 dissolved and each of three Associated States given full sovereignty over services that had previously been subject to joint administration.</p> <p>Interstate Commission established to control navigation on the Mekong, and the Indo-chinese Customs Union abolished and replaced by bilateral agreements.</p>

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1954	Nov 19	Refused an audience with King Sihanouk, Son Ngoc Thanh leaves for Thailand.
"	October	Robert McClintock, first resident US Ambassador, arrives.
"	Sept 30	Son Ngoc Thanh surrenders.
"	Sept 21	France and the three Indochinese States reach agreement at Paris to abolish the Interstate Bank of Issue and to create national exchange control offices in each of the three States.
"	Sept 8	Manila Pact establishes Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, comprised of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and the United States, with Cambodia included (with Laos and Vietnam) under a "protective umbrella."
"	September	Agreement reached between US and France that US financial assistance be channelled direct to the Associated States.
"	July 20	Agreements on cessation of hostilities in Cambodia, signed at Geneva by Gen. Nhiek Tioulong for FARK C-I-C and Ta Quang Buu "for C-I-C of the Units of the Khmer Resistance Forces and for the C-I-C of the Vietnamese military units" (cease-fire agreements for Laos and Vietnam signed same day). Viet Minh agree to withdraw all forces from Cambodia by October 20.
		Final Geneva Agreements also orally accepted same day by participants, except for US which made a unilateral declaration. GVN made a number of protests and reservations.
"	April	Extensive Viet Minh incursions into Cambodia reported.

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1954	Feb		By "exchange of letters," Cambodia obtains transfer of all economic and technical services still in French hands.
1953	Nov	9	Independence declared and King Sihanouk formally takes command of the Cambodian Army (FARK).
"	Nov	8	King Sihanouk returns to Phnom Penh from Battambang.
"	Oct	17	Formalities for the transfer of military powers signed with France.
"	Sept	6	RKG issues offer of amnesty to all dissidents.
"	Sept	1	All Cambodia placed under Cambodian military command and a separate Khmer High Command is activated.
"	Aug	29	Formalities on transfer of legal powers and agreement regarding the transfer of police and security services signed with France.
"	July	3	French declare themselves prepared to "perfect the independence" granted the three Associated States.
"	June	14	King Sihanouk goes to Thailand to protest against French delay in granting meaningful independence. He then proceeds to Battambang and goes into "retirement."
"	May	11	France devalues the Indochinese piastre without informing Cambodia, Laos or Vietnam.
"	May	2	Puth Chhay surrenders his Khmer Issarak force to the Royal Government.
"	April		King Sihanouk visits New York, where he tells press conference that France should give full independence to Cambodia as this would strengthen Franco-Khmer resistance against

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communism and eliminate the risk of
Cambodian rebellion against French authority.

1953	March 25	King Sihanouk meets with French President in Paris. Joint communique says agreement has been reached in principle on actions to be taken to satisfy Cambodian demands.
"	Jan 13	King Sihanouk dissolves National Assembly after Assembly refuses to endorse his June 1952 action of assuming full powers.
1952	September	King Sihanouk takes personal command of army operations against Son Ngoc Thanh's forces in Siem Reap Province, claims "700 Red guerrillas" were driven across the frontier into Thailand as a result of this effort.
"	June 15	King Sihanouk dismisses Democratic Party government and assumes Premiership. Taking full powers outside the Constitution "to restore order in the national administration and order and security throughout the country," he thus begins "Royal Mandate" period (which will last to February 1955). He establishes a "temporary advisory council" to assist him and serve in lieu of a national legislature and undertakes to obtain full national independence within three years.
"	March 9	Son Ngoc Thanh joins Issarak band operating near the Thailand frontier.
1951	Oct 30	Son Ngoc Thanh returned to Cambodia by French at the request of the King and Democratic Party government.
"	Sept 9	National Assembly elections. Democratic Party takes 54 seats, Liberals 18, Victorious Northeast 4, Khmer Renovation (under Lon Nol) 2. "Spoils system" government with Buy Kanthoul as Prime Minister installed.

Pact of economic cooperation signed between Cambodia and the United States.

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1950	Dec	23	Agreement on defense and mutual assistance signed by representatives of USG, France and the Associated States. This lays down the conditions for apportionment of US aid and establishes principle that all materials provided will be handed to the French command. Direct relations between the Associated States and the US MAAG are precluded.
"	Nov	27	End of Pau Conference (which began at Pau, France, in June). Agreement reached that within the framework of inter-state coordination, each of the Indochinese States will control its own finances, customs services, foreign trade, immigration, communications and posts. France will participate in the economic conferences of the Indochinese States only when its interests are involved.
"	June	15	"Supplementary conventions" signed with France.
"	May	3	Yen Sambaur government resigns and King Sihanouk takes over to form a government of national unity.
"	April		Provisional Central Committee for Liberation of Cambodian People and a United Issarak Front formed, both under Son Ngoc Thanh as President and under Viet Minh auspices.
"	Feb	7	US recognizes the Kingdom of Cambodia as an "independent state within the French Union."
"	Jan	14	Ieu Koeus, former National Assembly President and Democratic Party leader, is assassinated (by hand grenade).
1949	Nov	8	Treaty with France gives Cambodia first prerogatives of internal sovereignty but (particularly irksome to Cambodians) non-Cambodians residing in country are still outside Cambodia jurisdiction (as in the time of the protectorate).

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1949	Sept 18	King Sihanouk dissolves National Assembly at request of Prime Minister Yem Sambaur (country to be governed without Assembly for next two years).
1948	January	Lower and Upper Houses of Legislature convened and parliamentary government begun.
1947	December	First full representative elections held. Democratic Party headed by Chhean Van takes 54 of 74 seats.
"	Sept 26	New electoral law, providing one deputy for each 10,000. Two new political parties appear: "Khmer Renovation Party," under Nhiek Tiouloung, and "Cambodian National Unity Party," under Khim Tit.
"	September	"Free Cambodian Government" established by the Khmer Issarak.
"	July 18	Democratic Party leader Prince Youtevong dies.
"	May 6	Constitution, similar to French Constitution of 1946, promulgated by Prince Youtevong. Provides for Council of the Crown which will elect future Kings ("the heritage of King Ang Duong's descendants").
1946	Nov 17	Franco-Siamese accord signed in Washington annulling the 1941 Tokyo convention and restoring the pre-war frontier between Thailand and French Indochina; territory is thus regained by both Cambodia and Laos.
"	Sept 25	Constituent Assembly convenes to consider a draft constitution.
"	Sept 1	Elections for Constituent Assembly. 60% of the voters go to the polls. Democrats win 50 seats, Liberals 16, 5 independents (Progressive Democratic Party none).

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1946	May	31	Royal Ordinance establishes electoral law which, for first time, provides for universal suffrage by secret ballot of all males 20 years or over.
"	April		First political parties formed: Liberal, Democratic, Progressive Democratic.
"	Jan	7	"Modus Vivendi" signed by France recognizing Cambodia as "autonomous Kingdom within the French Union." Title and functions of the former Resident General for Cambodia abolished and French "Commissioner of the Republic" installed at Phnom Penh. France retains control of external affairs and internal security.
1945	Oct	12	Prime Minister Son Ngoc Thanh arrested by General Leclerc's order and deported to France. Khmer Issarak continues to fight.
"	Oct	3	"Faked" national referendum by Son Ngoc Thanh. 674,048 registered. 541,470 or 100% of votes cast are for total independence, against protection provided by any foreign power. 541,468 (two blank ballots) vote "unanimous confidence" in the Cabinet of Son Ngoc Thanh.
"	September		French and British units occupy Phnom Penh.
"	Sept	2	Japanese forces in Indochina formally capitulate.
"	Aug	15	Japanese Government resolves to accept terms of unconditional surrender.
"	Aug	14	Cabinet formed with Son Ngoc Thanh as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.
"	May		Son Ngoc Thanh returned from Japan by the Japanese.
"	March	24	French Provisional Government issues declaration providing in general terms for a federal Indochina with autonomy within the French Union.

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1945	March 18	First Cabinet formed with King Sihanouk as Prime Minister.
"	March 17	Royal Ordinance provides for organization of absolute monarchy, the King holding all legislative, executive and juridical powers.
"	March 12	Independence declared by King Sihanouk.
"	March 9	French Colonial Administration of Indochina removed by Japanese "coup," and States of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam authorized by Japanese to declare independence within Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japanese representative in Saigon becomes simultaneously Ambassador to Cambodia and Laos. Son Ngoc Thanh appointed Cambodian Prime Minister by Japanese.
1944	July 17	Royal Ordinance imposes official use of the Gregorian.
1942	Dec 19	After abortive demonstrations and attempt at (anti-French) coup d'etat, Son Ngoc Thanh, with Japanese support, flees Cambodia for Siam, and eventually Japan.
1941	Oct 28	Norodom Sihanouk crowned King of Cambodia.
"	May 9	Franco-Siamese treaty signed, after Japanese intervene diplomatically, compelling France to grant to Thailand border provinces of Cambodia which had been regained by treaty of 1904.
"	April 23	With the death of King Sisowath Monivong, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, son of the late King's eldest daughter, proclaimed King of Cambodia by the Crown Council (with the concurrence of French Governor-General Admiral Decoux), thus by-passing Prince Sisowath Monireth, Norodom Sihanouk's uncle.

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1940	August	Thai forces attack French in Indochina.
"	April 10	"House of Representatives of the Cambodian People" established to replace former "Indigenous Consultative Assembly." Suffrage still restricted and political matters can not be subject of discussion.
1927		Sisowath Monivong, son of King Sisowath, ascends throne.
1922	Oct 31	Birth of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, son of Prince Norodom Suramarit and Princess Sisowath Monivong Kossamak.
1921		First <u>Khets</u> (provinces) established.
1919		Royal Ordinance provides that, regardless of nationality, any person of 21 who registers for per capita taxes can become a voter to elect advisors to the <u>Khum</u> (every four years).
1917	Nov 20	First school of public administration (for Cambodians) established ("Royal School of Administration of Cambodia").
1915	April 12	Council of the Royal Family established by Royal Ordinance, composed of eight princes or princesses.
1913	March 18	"Indigenous Consultative Assembly" established by Royal Ordinance, consisting of members elected for three years by restricted vote (there were only 41 in 1924). Consulted only on the budget of the Protectorate, it is forbidden for the Assembly to make any political resolutions.
1908		First <u>Khum</u> (communes) established by Royal Ordinance, based on organization of the French commune.
1907	March 23	Siem Reap, Battambang, Sisophon annexed to Cambodia by France under terms of Franco-Siamese treaty.

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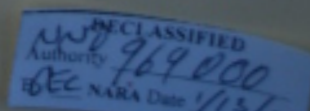
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- 1904 King Norodom dies; replaced by his brother Sisowath (who will reign until 1927). From this time on Monarchy becomes elective--by the Crown Council.
- " Feb 13 Franco-Siamese Convention. Siam cedes portions of what is now Cambodia above the Tonle Sap to France.
- 1903 Organization of "Conseil de Residence" consisting of limited number of "Khmers and assimilated" with a limited and consultative role to the Resident Superieur.
- 1897 July 11 Accord signed making the King's decisions or ordinances enforceable only after approval of the French Resident Superieur and Cambodian jurisdiction valid only for affairs involving Cambodians.
- 1893 Oct 3 Under terms of Franco-Siamese treaty, Siam renounces all claims to the territories on the left bank of the Mekong and to all islands in the river. A zone of 25 kilometers on the right bank of the Mekong is demilitarized.
- 1887 Cambodia becomes part of Indochinese Union, comprised of Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchina, Laos and Kwangchowan (French leasehold in southeast China).
- 1884 June 18 Franco-Cambodian Convention, based on the treaty of 1863, proclaims the Protectorate. France is given exclusive control of Cambodian foreign affairs and the right to defend Cambodia against external and internal enemies. A French Resident General is installed at Phnom Penh as "Executive Officer."
- 1867 July 15 Franco-Siamese treaty which, inter alia, recognizes Battambang and Siem Reap as Siamese territory--over the bitter protests of King Norodom (the price of Siamese agreement to the establishment of the French Protectorate over Cambodia).

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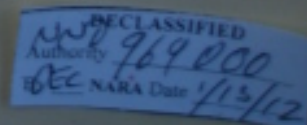
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- 1866 - Popular rebellion against French
1867 presence, led by self-proclaimed Prince
Pukoumbo, put down by actions of
combined French-Cambodian forces.
- 1864 June 3 Norodom, oldest son of King Ang Duong
crowned King by representatives of both
France and Thailand.
- " Unsuccessful popular rebellion against
terms of French-Khmer treaty.
- 1863 Aug 11 Franco-Cambodian treaty establishes the
basis for a Protectorate.
- 1860 Angkor "rediscovered" by Henri Mouhot.
- 1859 King Ang Duong dies.
- 1846 Thailand and Annam join together in
crowning Cambodian King, Ang Duong,
founder of the dynasty, and Cambodia
is subjected to dual vassalage. During
his reign, however, Ang Duong makes
first overtures to French for assistance.
- 1603 Thailand seats a Cambodian King wholly
under its domination, and Thailand and
Annam begin struggle for control of
Cambodia which is to last for next 260
years.
- 1598 Second military expedition sent from
Manila to assist King Baronn Reachea.
- 1596 First military expedition sent from
Manila to assist King Satha.
- 1353 Thai army captures Angkor for first time.
- 802 -
1432 Kamboja or Angkor Period, "the time of
greatness." Angkor erected during this
period (1200). Outstanding kings were
Jayavarman II (802), who although originally
a vassal of the Malays turned from them
and asserted Khmer independence, and
Jayavarman VII. All of present-day Laos

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and much of present-day Thailand belongs to this Kingdom. In 1430-31 Thai capture Angkor (for second time) and era begins to wane.

8th Century AD

Indo-Malay invasion from Java.

535 -
802

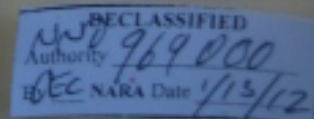
Chen-La Period. Chen-La overcomes Funan in the middle of the 6th Century, at one time extending its empire to the boundaries of present-day China. Inhabited by Khmers, it produces Kambu Svayambhuva, from whose name "Cambodia" is derived.

200 -
535

Funan Period. Funanese, Chams and Khmers lived in the lower Mekong region. By the 3rd Century the Funanese overcome the others and by the 5th Century Funan is at the height of its power. Thoroughly Hinduized, the Laws of Manu (Indian legal code) are in effect, and the central Indian alphabet introduced.

3rd Century BC

Beginning of successive waves of migration from India which Hinduize Cambodia--through the 9th and 10th Centuries AD.



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Annex 13

Washington Post, 11 July 1970, “Thai Troops Reported
Guarding Threatened Temple in Cambodia”

Thai Troops Reported Guarding Threatened Temple in Cambodia: Thai Troops Reported At Site in Cambodia
The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973); Jul 11, 1970;
 ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1994)
 pg. A1

Thai Troops Reported Guarding Threatened Temple in Cambodia

PHNOM PENH, July 10 (UPI)—Thai troops moved onto Cambodian soil at the ancient temple of Preah Vihear, subject of a long-standing border dispute between the two countries, Cambodian sources said Friday. [Other reports of the temple have been gained in reports of troops there.] There was no report of fighting in the area.

The temple actually stands on the Thai side of a mountain divide that forms the border in the area, 190 miles north of Phnom Penh, but it and the area around it are Cambodian territory. The temple and a few hundred square yards of territory around it were awarded Cambodia in a controversial 1961 World Court decision based on a 19th century French colonial map.

These are the first Thai troops reported in Cambodia. The government of Premier Lon Nol has asked help from Bangkok in fighting the Communists. The sources said Cambodian units around the temple site had been joined by Thai units in the past few days. See THAI, A14, Col. 1

[Thai and U.S. officials in Washington said yesterday they had no knowledge of Thai troops in Cambodia. They said Communist units had seized the city of Thbeng Meanchey, 35 miles southeast of the temple, and controlled

Thai Troops Reported At Site in Cambodia

THAI, From A1

Riots in Bangkok followed the decision and Thailand broke relations with Cambodia because of it. The Thais permitted Cambodia to occupy the temple but have never clearly recognized the Cambodian title to it.

Reuters reported yesterday from Bangkok:

Fears that the Indochina war would spread to Thailand increased here amid reports of Communist infiltration along the country's border with Cambodia.

Police sources in Bangkok said the incursions, into the border province of Si Sa Ket, took place on the day Premier Thanom Kittikachorn warned the nation that the Communists were planning to invade Thailand from Cambodia.

The Communist troops were reported to have entered three

villages in the Kantharalak district of Si Sa Ket, 220 miles northeast of Bangkok, Wednesday but apparently returned to Cambodia after avoiding conflict with Thai border police.

Thai police are on 24-hour alert along the length of Thailand's border with its embattled neighbor and reinforcements have been rushed to several areas where Communist activity is feared.

Informed sources in Bangkok said Friday Vietcong infiltrators in the Kantharalak district of Thailand sought information from villagers about police border patrols.

Thai army chief Gen. Praphas Charusathien Monday drove to Aranyaprathet — the area in which a Communist attack was expected. He inspected border defenses and discussed joint defense measures with Cambodian officials.

Annex 14

The Guardian, 6 November 1974, “Cambodia’s temple outpost”

Cambodia's temple outpost

Woollacott, Martin

The Guardian (1959-2003); Nov 6, 1974;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Guardian* (1821-2003) and *The Observer* (1791-2003)

pg. 4

THE TEMPLE of Preah Vihear is one of the four or five great magic places of Cambodia, those ancient sites which testify to past greatness and have now become totems of national identity.

Its Hindu builders pointed it at the sky like a rocket ramp, constructing steps and avenues up the slope of an enormous sandstone bluff, one of the peaks of the range of hills which now marks the frontier between Thailand and Northern Cambodia. They placed the sanctuary to Siva on the crest, nearly 2,000ft above the great plain that sweeps south to the Tonle Sap lake.

Thai territory runs to the very foot of Preah Vihear's first flight of stone steps, buckled and shuttered by 900 years of monsoon rains. Beyond, beneath the escarpment, is an immense tract of land — most of three provinces — which the Khmer Rouge have owned and controlled since the first year of the war. Some 80 miles south-west is Angkor, also held by the Khmer Rouge.

But Preah Vihear belongs to the Lon Nol Government, thanks to Thai support, its formidable geography and — possibly — the battered blue and white Hague Convention signs that call on all belligerents to respect its status as a cultural monument.

Or, as our Thai police guide told us brightly, like a department store lift operator, "Cambodian Army upstairs, Khmer Rouge downstairs."

Cambodian soldiers were toiling up the steps as we arrived, carrying mortar rounds, live chickens, and baskets of food.

A major and his 600 disgruntled troops fight a lonely war against the Khmer Rouge. MARTIN WOOLLACOTT reports

Cambodia's temple outpost

Communications wire is strung from the broken staturary. On the causeway above, a dapper young Cambodian major, carrying a polished bamboo swagger stick, greeted us morosely.

The major's great ambition in life, it turned out, is to go to Fort Bragg in the United States and advance his career by attending US Infantry School. Instead his Government has given him command of Preah Vihear—a temple, perhaps 600 disgruntled troops, their families, seven Cambodian bonzes, and six gardeners from the Cambodian Department of Antiquities.

"The life is monotonous, incredibly monotonous," he said. "I have asked for a film projector and films... I have asked for a lot of things but all I get are promises. I plan in the future to organise some religious festivals but..." He relapses into silence.

A corporal passes by and grinningly displays an American "Jumping Jack" mine, a neat little plastic device designed to blow your leg off.

The major cheers up later when he describes the hunting in the Thai forest behind the temple. There are deer and a kind of wild goat which are both excellent.

The major passes out patrols from his tiny garrison into the plain below and every now and again they meet Khmer Rouge patrols. "We have at least —

at least — one engagement a month on average," he insisted. But dead or seriously wounded were, he conceded, "very rare." However, a month ago, a patrol captured a Khmer Rouge prisoner. He was sent to Phnom Penh for questioning via Thailand.

Everything is via Thailand. The rare reinforcements and replacements — most of the soldiers on Preah Vihear have been there since the war began four years ago — come in by truck through Thailand, as do the meagre munitions. The garrison's food comes from Thailand, its sick and wounded go to hospital in the Thai town of Sissaket to the north, and the men take their one day off a week in the smaller town of Kantaralek.

Troops or supplies destined for Preah Vihear come from Siem Reap, the Government-held town close to Angkor. But it is a long time since anybody has tried even to get through by the direct route within Cambodian territory.

The Khmer Rouge controls the entire region, and the roads, always poor, have virtually disappeared. Instead the trucks must make a roundabout 300 miles journey through Thai territory. As a result the troops in Preah Vihear are there "for the duration," as they used to say in the Second World War. There is no home leave.

Most of them now speak Thai and have resigned themselves

to their isolated life. Their hutments trail down the side of the hill, festooned with washing, and the major has constructed a school for their children.

Both mail and pay arrive at irregular intervals, together with consignments of "prahoc," a special fish paste needed for Cambodian meals, and of Cambodian whisky and brandy. The major buys the Bangkok Post to keep in touch with the world.

Each succeeding stone pavilion of Preah Vihear is larger than the previous one and the steps and avenues between are flanked with pilinths that once held carved lions, lotus buds, seven-headed Naga snakes, and seated gods. Not many remain, but the pavilions themselves are largely intact, their massive pediments carved with representations of Vishnu and Siva.

The main sanctuary is reached by a final short flight of stairs and flanked by subsidiary buildings and courts. Much of it is tumbled down, like a broken wedding cake, and the carvings are mottled with lichen. Its tremendous solidity — the great stones were handcut with amazing accuracy to key together without mortar — is belied by a lightness in the style that draws the eye upward, and, like all good religious architecture, it soars.

In the porch of the sanctuary — where once there must have

been a great phallic stone dedicated to Siva—there are a cluster of inappropriate Buddhas. Bright cloth decorations made up by the bonzes hang from a string. Beyond the sanctuary is the cliff edge, and beneath it, through the layers of translucent air, the North Cambodian plain, forested and green, and enormously silent.

It is like something out of Conan Doyle, for the land below is empty of human beings and of human habitation. The tree line of what once may have been a road can be vaguely followed on the landscape, and a white speck proves, on examination through binoculars, to be an overturned white Land-Rover, mined and blown up four years ago.

Otherwise there is nothing except that occasionally bird song drifts up from the plain. On the cliff edge is mounted a mortar. It looks like a tin toy against the background of the temple masonry, and punier still when measured against the vastness of the land.

This part of Cambodia had always been lightly populated. Sihanouk, in the days before his removal from power, had a programme of settlement. But there were some people here once and most of them have crossed over to the Thai side of the border since the war.

The others are in Khmer Rouge villages and towns, but the first one of these of any importance is some 20 miles



from Preah Vihear. In the void between, the major's patrols make their rounds, sometimes meeting those of their enemy. Very occasionally, the Khmer Rouge come close to the temple. Once, earlier this year, they mortared it, damaging one of the temple walls.

It is ironic it should be Thailand that provides the Lon Nol Government with the means to retain this strange outpost, for the temple was the subject of a most bitter quarrel between the two countries in the 50s.

Thailand held Preah Vihear from 1907, under a treaty with France which settled the border with French Indo-China, and had come to regard it, irrationally but passionately, as a

great Thai cultural monument. After Cambodia's independence in 1954, Cambodia contested Thai possession and the temple became a focus of emotional nationalism in both countries, leading to demonstrations and riots.

When the International Court decided in Cambodia's favour in 1962 there were elements in the Thai Army which favoured holding it by force. It was eventually handed over peacefully, and eight years later when the war began in Cambodia, Thai border police, operating with Cambodian infantry, fought a series of skirmishes with North Vietnamese units around the temple.

Whether the North Viet-

namese wanted to take the temple is unclear, but the Thai certainly signalled their disinclination to see it in Communist hands. As for the Khmer Rouge, they no doubt have other problems.

"I don't think they will ever attack," the major said. "I have laid too many mines. It is too difficult... and the big war, the war of the divisions, is a long way away."

Thus Preah Vihear, built some time in the eleventh century by King Suryavarman the First, and added to by King Suryavarman the Third, the builder of Angkor, is likely for the time being to remain a talisman in the hands of Marshal Lon Nol, their erstwhile successor.

Annex 15

New York Times, 23 May 1975, “Thais Report
Cambodian Reds Overrun a Cliff-Top Shrine”

Thais Report Cambodian Reds Overrun a Cliff-Top Shrine

New York Times (1923-Current file); May 23, 1975;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2007)

pg. 3

Thais Report Cambodian Reds Overrun a Cliff-Top Shrine

BANGKOK, Thailand, Friday, May 23 (UPI)—Cambodian Communist troops have captured a cliff along the Thai border, overrunning a small force of Anti-Communist soldiers holding out since the collapse of the Phnom Penh Government last month, Thai officials said today. They said that the Cambodian forces pounded the top of the cliff with heavy artillery fire, scaled it and drove out the defenders. The Cambodians had previously launched several unsuccessful assaults against the holdouts.

The Thai officials said that the final attack against the anti-Communists, who had been holed up in a Buddhist shrine atop the cliff, began early yesterday, and that the position had been seized by the end of the day.

The commander of the Thai border police, Maj. Gen. Suraphol Chullabrahm, said there had been fierce fighting at the shrine, Preah Vihear temple, which is situated some 300 miles northeast of Bangkok.

Ownership Contested

The temple is nearly impossible to reach from the Cambodian side and the soldiers have supported themselves and their families by collecting fees from pilgrims and tourists visiting the shrine from the more accessible Thai side.

Thailand and Cambodia long

contested ownership of the shrine, which is about 1,000 years old, roughly the same age as Cambodia's famed Angkor Wat.

The World Court ruled in 1963 that Preah Vihear belonged to Cambodia, a ruling that was a major reason for the break in diplomatic relations between the two countries at the time.

Meanwhile, Anand Panyarachun, Thailand's recalled Ambassador to the United States, said at a news conference today that he believed the Ford Administration and Congress disagreed on whether all American military forces should be withdrawn from Thailand.

"The Congress and the Administration have been debating on this matter," the Ambassador said.

He said Congress felt the end of the Indochina war removed the need for United States troops in Thailand, but the Administration disagreed.

Anger over United States use of bases in Thailand to rescue the crew of the American freighter Mayaguez led to the recall of the Ambassador.

Thailand has ordered the withdrawal of the remaining 25,000 American troops by next March, but there have been indications Washington wants to keep about 10,000 troops in Thailand to insure that some of the five major air bases in the country will be ready for use if needed.

Cambodians Taken From Isle

BANGKOK, May 22 (Agence France-Presse) — Communist troops are still emptying Cambodian towns by force, refugees who arrived here yesterday reported.

They said the 1,000 inhabitants of Koh Kong island at the Thai border were taken away after being surprised at dawn by Communists last Friday.

A few fishermen who escaped said the villagers were routed from their homes and herded into boats. They were not allowed to take any belongings.

The Communist troops said the islanders were being taken to grow rice.

Annex 16

French Embassy in Thailand, Note *No. 88/AS* to
the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, 28 January 1977

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
EN THAILANDE

Bangkok, le 28 janvier 1977

N° 88/AS

L'Ambassadeur de France en Thaïlande
à
Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires étrangères
Direction d'Asie Océanie
Paris

A/S : des activités diverses sur les frontières thaïlandaises.

La Thaïlande, par les données conjuguées de la géographie et de l'histoire, connaît les troubles les plus divers sur toutes ses frontières : un relief accidenté, des forêts denses rendent les zones périphériques difficilement accessibles ; des groupes ethniques différents, voire dissidents, établis indifféremment de part et d'autre, font que ces frontières n'ont souvent qu'un caractère virtuel.

Les confins de la Birmanie, du Laos, du Cambodge et de la Malaisie, sont un refuge pour les uns, un lieu d'affrontement ou une zone d'échanges fructueux pour d'autres.

Ces dernières semaines, la tension s'est accrue particulièrement à la frontière cambodgienne (ma dépêche n° 1 /DA-AS du 14.1.77), malaisienne (dépêche n° 4 /DA-AS du 21.1.77), et birmane dans des circonstances diverses-(*). Les autorités thaïlandaises, quoique soucieuses de protéger l'intégrité du territoire ne s'alarment pas

Voir diffusion
au verso

... /...

(*) - en ce qui concerne le Laos, je prie le Département de se reporter à ma dépêche n° 1/DA-AS du 14.1.77)

2.

davantage pour l'instant.

1 / BIRMANIE

On a annoncé le 21 janvier l'incursion en territoire thaïlandais (district de Mae Chan, province de Chiang Rai) de 600 rebelles shans, poursuivis par 200 à 300 soldats gouvernementaux birmans. L'armée thaïlandaise sans intervenir par les armes, est parvenue à "convaincre" chacune des deux parties de repasser la frontière.

Dans le même temps, des contacts étaient pris entre les gouvernements thaïs et birmans pour assurer un retrait sans accrochage. Le 25, rebelles et soldats birmans avaient quitté le sol thaïlandais.

La visite en Birmanie du Ministre thaïlandais des Affaires étrangères n'est peut-être pas étrangère au dénouement pacifique de l'incident. Déjà, des gestes de bonne volonté avaient été remarqués de la part des Birmans notamment la libération annoncée le 21 janvier de 92 pêcheurs thaïs arrêtés pour violation des eaux territoriales birmanes.

M. Upadit PACHARIYANGKUN est en effet à Rangoun en visite officielle, du 25 au 29 janvier. Il devra, entre autres sujets aborder la question des conditions de pêche en mer, la coopération des deux pays en matière de lutte contre la drogue et la mise en application de quelques projets économiques. S'il est peu probable que des accords précis émanent de ces entretiens, il est significatif toutefois que le gouvernement thaïlandais ait jugé utile de mettre au point sa politique vis-à-vis de Rangoun. Il vient en effet de déclarer son soutien total au gouvernement birman, qu'il juge comme le seul légal. Par ce fait, il veut écarter les soupçons quant à sa collusion avec les rebelles (shans, karens, Mons, Kachins) qui trouvent refuge sur son territoire. C'est surtout et de longue date dans le domaine du trafic de drogue, et d'armes et des contrebandes diverses que des complicités de ce genre avaient été évoquées.

.../...3

3.

2/ CAMBODGE

La frontière cambodgienne est le théâtre d'incidents qui opposent directement les forces thaïes et khmères depuis des mois(*). La tension ne diminue pas : les contacts qui se poursuivent au Bureau de Liaison thai-khmer n'ont jusqu'alors apporté aucun résultat. Du moins le communiqué du 15 janvier publié par le gouvernement cambodgien atteste-t-il que ce dernier est informé de la situation(**).

Dans ce document,

- a) les incidents ne sont mentionnés que par allusion ;
- b) le Cambodge dénie toute responsabilité dans des incidents qui auraient pu avoir lieu aux frontières et dont l'initiative revient entièrement à des éléments "réactionnaires" et "impérialistes" ;
- c) aucun pays voisin n'est nommé expressément ;
- d) le Cambodge saisit cette occasion pour rappeler les principes de coexistence pacifique auxquels il est absolument attaché vis-à-vis de ses voisins dans les limites des frontières "actuelles".

Les incidents continuent à se produire le long de la frontière cambodgienne dans les provinces de Trad et de Prachinburi notamment. On annonce presque quotidiennement des embuscades tendues par des groupes khmers rouges en territoire thaïlandais. Des mines ont déjà fait plusieurs victimes, soldats ou villageois. Certains villages ont dû être évacués. Un avion thaïlandais aurait été mitraillé par un poste khmaer situé en Thaïlande.

Le 28 janvier, on annonçait que des unités khmères d'artillerie lourde avaient pris position sur la frontière au sanctuaire de Khao Phra Vihara, lieu de culte bouddhiste. Le temple, situé en territoire

... /...4

(*) - dépêche n° 1 /DA-AS du 14 janvier 1977

(**)- texte complet en annexe.

4.

khmer, était accessible jusqu'en avril 1975 par une seule voie, laquelle traversait une partie du territoire thaïlandais. Cette voie est actuellement minée.

On peut penser que ce renforcement se justifie par les sorties clandestines de réfugiés ; il reste que, selon l'armée thaïe, les batteries khmères sont dirigées vers la Thaïlande. Pour l'instant, l'état de tension, ne devrait cependant pas, dit-on au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, conduire les autorités thaïlandaises à protester auprès du gouvernement khmer. D'autant que celui-ci a, dans le communiqué précité, réitéré ses bonnes intentions à l'égard de la Thaïlande en général et son absence de préjugés vis-à-vis du nouveau régime de Bangkok en particulier.

3/ MALAISIE

Loin de conduire à des incidents de frontière, les relations thai-malaisiennes illustrent une coopération, dans le domaine militaire. En effet, l'opération "Big Star", menée conjointement par les forces thaïes et malaisiennes pour la première fois, était destinée à réduire les foyers de guérilla communiste du PCM, situé en territoire thaïlandais. Elle est aujourd'hui en voie d'achèvement, avec la jonction des contingents thaïlandais et malaisiens, au terme de leur mouvement "en tenailles".

Cette opération ne devrait pas cependant avoir l'impact que lui prêtant les journaux de Bangkok et de Kuala-Lumpur. Sur un terrain et contre un ennemi aussi inaccessible, il apparaît évident que les moyens engagés et les méthodes employées ne pouvaient que dispenser provisoirement les différents groupes d'insurgés.

On a pu remarquer que en effet :

... /...5

5.

On a pu remarquer en effet :

- l'opération qui doit se terminer sous peu, ne rassemblait que 1500 hommes du côté thai et 2000 du côté malaisien.

- la zone choisie (le district de Sadao) abritant environ 150 insurgés n'est pas la plus "infestée" de la région.

- les forces aériennes dont l'intervention était prévue, ont cessé de bombarder la zone d'opérations pour "manque d'objectifs précis".

- ce n'est qu'après 10 jours de campagne que les troupes se sont accrochées avec des insurgés.

- les seules victimes militaires ont été causées par des explosions de mines.

- les camps découverts étaient vides d'insurgés et de matériel.

Il en résulte l'impression que cette campagne était surtout considérée au départ comme une démonstration de la coopération retrouvée entre les deux pays. Il y a tout lieu de penser en effet que, pour les militaires thais et malaisiens, le but recherché était :

1) contraindre les maquisards au mouvement, leur retirer leur sentiment de sécurité et rendre plus difficile leur approvisionnement et leur contact avec la population.

2) marquer de façon spectaculaire le regain de coopération avec les Malaisiens. Du reste, on annonce d'autres opérations conjointes dans un avenir proche. Du 3 au 6 février, doit se tenir en Malaisie une réunion du comité frontalier. Le nouvel accord frontalier, qui doit être signé à bref délai, reproduirait, pense t-on, l'essentiel de l'ancien accord, à quelques modifications près./.

Henri M. J.

Annex 17

Bangkok Post, 30 March 1998,
“Historic temple said to be under govt hold”

CAMBODIA

Historic temple said to be under govt hold

Occupying guerrillas at peace with troops

A senior Cambodian military official said the historic Khmer Rouge-held temple of Preah Vihear on the Thai-Cambodian border fell under government control early yesterday when the guerrillas occupying it defected.

Deputy Chief of Staff Meas Sophea, speaking to reporters in this military base about 60 kilometres south of the Khmer Rouge base of Anglong Veng, said the guerrilla division garrisoned there had "shaken hands" with government troops at 7.30 a.m. Sunday morning.

Thailand's Suranaree Task Force Commander Maj-Gen Vivat Sasrat said it was most likely now that the Khmer Rouge commanders controlling Preah Vihear have switched loyalty to the government.

"From the information I have obtained, it's now 90% confirmed that a ceremony will be held at midnight tonight (last night) to hand over the control of Preah Vihear to the government. Celebrations of some sort are now under way," Maj-Gen Vivat said.

"The Khmer Rouge shook hands with members of the government's division number one," Meas Sophea said. "There was no fighting and the (defecting) commander, Uth Heuon, said the temple is safe, there is no damage."

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"The Khmer Rouge shook hands with members of the government's division number one," Meas Sophea said. "There was no fighting and the (defecting) commander, Uth Heuon, said the temple is safe, there is no damage."

He said more than 1,000 civilians in the immediate vicinity of the temple and a further 6,000 living to the east were affected by the defection of Uth Heuon's Khmer Rouge Division 616.

The alleged defection comes as the government is making a concerted push to lure defectors from the Khmer Rouge in their remaining strongholds.

Preah Vihear is an ancient Buddhist temple that sits on a mountain astride the Thai-Cambodian border.

Long claimed and occupied by Thailand, the temple was awarded to Cambodia by the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 1961.

Anlong Veng, the largest such stronghold located some 65 kilometres west of Preah Vihear, was said yesterday to be partly under the control of the government as fighting continued.

Maj-Gen Vivat could only confirm that fighting was going on at Anlong Veng and that some 4,000 civilians have left the place and were heading towards the Thai border.

"We have to wait and see for a few more days before being able to say what is actually happening there," Maj-Gen Vivat said.

According to a reporter, Phnom Penh troops and their allies were late Saturday occupying the tiny hamlet of Anlong Veng near the centre of the last refuge of the rebels who ruled Cambodia during the "Killing Fields" years.

But while troops held the village at the foot of a range of mountains, their grip appeared shaky as the hardline Khmer Rouge appeared to be in control of most of the high ground

The measures are designed to ensure that the public is not exploited by the newly-formed companies.

They come as the government moves to speed up attempts to privatise state enterprises and liberalise government-controlled business and services under conditions laid down by the International Monetary Fund.

Minister Savit Bhodivihok, of PM's Office, said that efforts by state to retain some supervisory controls would not put off needed foreign investment. He said a similar approach was taken in other countries.

Mr Savit said the Telephone Organisation of Thailand (TOT), which is to be privatised, was an example where the Post and Telegraph department could look after frequencies, quality and price control.

It would make sure that subscribers would not be forced to pay higher charges after privatisation. New regulatory bodies may also be needed, he said.

The minister said the government will ensure privatisations do not adversely affect workers' benefits, privileges or job security. However, he said state subsidies would be moved.

Mr Savit said the privatisation of state enterprises was due to accelerate mid-year when the necessary legislative proposals are expected to be approved by parliament.

Amendments to existing laws are needed to allow some state enterprises

◆ Continued on page 3

From page 1

Cambodia

The village — which had been at the centre of the Khmer Rouge's mysterious world for years — was Saturday all but deserted after most of the 10,000 civilians in the area fled to safety near the Thai border.

Chickens, pigs and other livestock ran freely through the deserted village of shacks, terrified by the sounds of fighting and after being left with no food as government troops and their new allies took control.

The government brought reporters to the area by truck in the first such access to Anlong Veng from the Cambodian side since 1994.

The journalists were holed up in a shack in the village as they came under barrages of anti-aircraft gunfire from the Khmer Rouge above them.

The spot is one to two kilometres from the homes of the two guerrilla leaders Khieu Samphan and Ta Mok, who had left the area two days before defectors launched a mutiny here last Wednesday.

Access to the centre of the Khmer Rouge operation here — deserted by the leadership last week — was impossible amid heavy but sporadic clashes in the area.

Anlong Veng is a remote jungle stronghold of the Khmer Rouge and is made up of scores of villages set in tough and inhospitable countryside.

It was not immediately clear how much of the sprawling Anlong Veng area the government controlled, but analysts stressed that the control of a handful of villages did not amount to the base being totally overrun. —

AFP/Bangkok Post

MFI-114

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 30-03-1998

Page: 1

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: CAMBODIA

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian relations

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

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Access to the centre of the Khmer Rouge operation here -- deserted by the leadership last week -- was impossible amid heavy but sporadic clashes in the area.

At least one Phnom Penh soldier was injured in one attack which took place in the several hours that reporters were here, while Khmer Rouge commanders sent three men down from the hills in a failed attempt to ambush the visiting party from behind.

Anlong Veng is a remote jungle stronghold of the Khmer Rouge and is made up of scores of villages set in tough and inhospitable countryside.

It was not immediately clear how much of the sprawling Anlong Veng area the government controlled, but analysts stressed that the control of a handful of villages did not amount to the base being totally overrun. -- AFP/Bangkok Post

Annex 18

Bangkok Post, 1 April 1998, “Hun Sen troops take Preah Vihear”

CAMBODIA

Hun Sen troops take Preah Vihear

*267 civilians seek
refuge in
Thailand, placed
in refugee camp*

Pichit Saisaengchan
Prasit Saengrungruang

Some 267 Cambodian civilians who fled their homes as Phnom Penh troops thrust into Preah Vihear hamlet, which has long been under Khmer Rouge sway, were yesterday taken to a refugee camp in Surin province.

The former governor of Preah Vihear, Mean Salin, who was among the refugees, said that Hun Sen troops had taken control of the historic temple of Preah Vihear (Khao Phra Viharn) on Monday.

He said Khmer Rouge soldiers guarding the temple had defected to the government forces.

The Cambodians who fled across the border were taken by trucks from Kantharalak border district in Si Sa Ket to the Huay Choeng camp in Kap Choeng district of Surin. They were accompanied by troops from the 23rd Rangers Regiment.

The latest exodus of refugees brought the number of Cambodians seeking refuge in this camp to 18,244, said Hang Yuth, former deputy governor of Preah Vihear.

Of the refugees, 8,735 were men and 9,509 were women, added Mr Hang Yuth, also the leader of the refugees.

If the situation in Cambodia returned to normal, Cambodians would go back to their homeland to exercise their voting rights during the election scheduled to be held on July 26, said the former deputy governor.

At Anlong Veng, which is about 65 kilometres west of Preah Vihear, an estimated 6,000 Cambodians were poised to cross the border into Si Sa Ket. They had massed at the Changanam border pass in Phusing district here, said a border official.

They fled as the battle for the Anlong Veng jungle base continued sporadically for the fourth day. The base, which is the Khmer Rouge headquarters, was said to be partly under the control of government troops.

Fierce fighting inside Cambodia and the exodus of refugees prompted the Suranaree Task Force to deploy its troops to guard the Thai border.

◆ Report page 5

MF1-115

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Date: 01-04-1998

Page: 1

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: CAMBODIA

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian relations

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Annex 19

Bangkok Post, 26 July 1998, “Ancient Khmer temple to reopen to visitors Aug 1”

Ancient Khmer temple to reopen to visitors Aug 1

Si Sa Ket

The ancient Khmer temple of Preah Vihear (Khao Phra Viharn) will be reopened to the public on August 1, Thai border officials said yesterday.

Cambodian authorities guarantee safety for tourists as they have cleared some of the landmines, said the officials.

Thai and Cambodian authorities confirmed the reopening on Friday.

Tourists are required to pay entrance fees to Cambodia — 100 baht

for an adult and 50 baht for a child. Thai visitors will be charged at 30 baht per head and students in uniform will pay only five baht for a visit. The opening hours are 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

According to officials, authorities concerned on the Thai side have decided against collecting admission fees because of the slump and alleged corruption in the past.

The mountaintop temple located along the Thai-Cambodian border had been closed for years due to fighting in Cambodia.

MF1-118

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 26-07-1998

Page: 2

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Ancient Khmer temple to reopen to visitors Aug 1

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Annex 20

A Photograph of the Ceremony to mark the Trial Opening
of the Phra Viharn Promontory for Archeological
Site Visits and Studies, 1 August 1998



(Translation of the sign from the Thai language)

Royal Thai Army, by the Suranaree Task Force

Trial Opening of the Phra Viharn Promontory

for Archeological Site Visits and Studies

1 August B.E. 2541 (1998)

Annex 21

Bangkok Post, 2 August 1998, “Tourists flock to Preah Vihear”

TOURISM / KHMER TEMPLE REOPENS TO VISITORS

Tourists flock to Preah Vihear

Questions over timing of opening

Nusara Thaitawat
Si Sa Ket

The strategic hilltop Preah Vihear temple was under siege yesterday, not by Cambodian government forces or remnants of the Khmer Rouge, but by thousands of mostly local tourists, young and old.

The temple, built in 1038, was opened to tourists yesterday under a bilateral agreement between the Thai and Cambodian armies on a trial basis after being closed since 1993 due to fighting in Cambodia.

Maj-Gen Virat Satharak, commander of the Suranaree Task Force, said if all went well, concerned ministers — interior, finance and foreign affairs

— would be called upon to work out the formalities for an agreement at the national level between Bangkok and Phnom Penh for an official and permanent opening of the temple for tourism.

He could not say how long the trial period would take but what Thai and Cambodian armies were looking to ensure is the safety of all tourists and the appropriate management of tourism at the temple grounds.

For now, the temple will be opened daily, 8.00 a.m. to 4 p.m. Cambodian officials charge foreign tourists 100 baht for the adults and 50 baht for children while Thai tourists 30 baht for adults and 5 baht for children, students in uniforms and monks.

The Thai side will charge nothing, but expects to benefit from sales by the souvenir shops and restaurant at the foot of the temple which is on

Thai soil, and parking fees. Later, it expects to include the temple as a key tourist destination of Si Sa Ket.

"The opening of Preah Vihear temple represents the stabilisation of the political and military situation in the area," said Maj-Gen Virat.

The Khmer Rouge is no longer a significant military force in Cambodia. "There are daily defections," he said.

The guerrillas usually move in groups of 50-60 and can cause only minor disturbances," he said.

"We're sure it's safe for tourists," the commander said. Mr Chuen Savudh, a representative of the Cambodian Defence Ministry, echoed the remarks.

Both said they were pleased the temple was opened to visitors again for tourism and also to study the history and art of Preah Vihear.

◆ Continued on page 3



Thai visitors stand on top of the Preah Vihear temple hill in Cambodia during the official opening of the temple to tourists yesterday. — JETJARAS NA RANONG

From page 1

Temple

The temple, which is located atop a hill over 650 metres above sea level and just 65km from the Khmer Rouge stronghold at Anlong Veng, has been under guerrilla control since 1993. It fell to government forces only because of defections by the guerrillas following the death of Pol Pot.

Maj-Gen Virat brushed aside questions on the timing of the opening, which coincides with the completion of vote counting of the July 26 general election in Cambodia.

"Some people may think we should wait for the election results and the formation of a government in Phnom Penh, but we're ready and don't want to waste any more time. We've wasted enough time already and should take the opportunity to benefit the local people, the country and the revival of the economy," he said.

More than one thousand tourists flocked to the temple by noon time. Cambodian officials who had prepared 700 tickets ran out by around 10 a.m. and were recycling tickets.

Even the elderly were climbing the steep steps of the temple with much enthusiasm, and parents carried infants.

MF1-119

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 02-08-1998

Page: 1

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: TOURISM / KHMER TEMPLE REOPENS TO VISITORS

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Tourists flock to Preah Vihear

Questions over timing of opening

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Annex 22

Records of the Meeting on Cooperation on Tourism Development of Khao Phra Viharn between H.E. Mr. Somsak Thepsutin, Minister to the Prime Minister's Office and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tourism Authority of Thailand, and H.E. Mr. So Mara, Director General, Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia, 1 June 2001

Records of the Meeting

on

Cooperation on Tourism Development of Khao Phra Viham

between

H.E. Mr. Somsak Thepsutin

Minister to the Prime Minister's Office and Chairman of the Board of Directors
of the Tourism Authority of Thailand

and

H.E. Mr. So Mara

Director General, Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
Pha Mo E Daeng, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province, Thailand

1 June 2001

Pursuant to the Agreement on Tourism Cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia signed in Bangkok, Thailand on 29 March 1995. The meeting on tourism development of Khao Phra Viham was held at the Pha Mo E Daeng, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province, Thailand on 1 June 2001. The Thai Delegation led by H.E. Mr. Somsak Thepsutin, Minister to the Prime Minister's Office and Chairman of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), and the Cambodian Delegation led by Mr. So Mara, Director General, Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia (MOT). The name list of the delegations appears as **ANNEX I** of the records of this meeting. Both sides had discussed cooperation schemes as follows:

1. Tourism Development of Khao Prah Viham

- Both sides agreed to cooperate and develop Khao Phra Viham to be a tourist destination for international visitors as well as the Thai and Cambodian visitors.
- The inspection of the Prasart Phra Viham and surrounding area was conducted by both delegations and it has been agreed on the following:
 - The conservation and environment protection of Khao Phra Viham
Both sides agreed that the conservation and preservation as well as environment protection of Khao Phra Viham is vital to sustainably develop the area to be a long term tourist attraction.
 - Management of Khao Phra Viham area as tourism site
Both sides agreed to respectively administer the management of facilitation for tourists. The concerned authorities of both sides will closely cooperate to ensure convenience and safety of visitors and will encourage investment from private sectors of both countries.
 - The Thai side informed the Cambodian Delegation of the plans to develop the area on the Thai territory which will provide more convenient access to Prasart Phra Viham by improving accessibility condition, landscape, adding parking facilities and a visitor center.

2. Development of Tourism Linkages

- Both sides agreed to develop overland linkages to provide access for visitors both from the Thai and Cambodian territories.
- The agreed tourism routes which can utilize land and combination of air and land transportation modes are:

Bangkok-Ubon Ratchathani-Si Sa Ket-Khao Phra Viham-Chong Chom/Osmach-Siem Reap-Snsophon-Aranyaprathet

Bangkok-Ubon Ratchathani-Si Sa Ket-Khao Phra Viham-Chong Chom/Osmach-Siem Reap-Kampon Thom-Phnom Penh and vice versa

Bangkok-Ubon Ratchathani-Si Sa Ket-Khao Phra Viham-Chong Chom/Osmach-Siem Reap-Kampon Thom-Phnom Penh-Bangkok

Details itineraries enroute which the two sides agreed to develop for tourism appears as **ANNEX II**

- Both sides also agreed to develop facilitation and services necessary for border crossing by coordinating with concerned authorities of respective countries.

3. Joint Tourism Promotion

Both sides agreed to promote Khao Phra Viham to the international tourism markets as part of the agreed "Two Kingdoms, One Destination" theme by jointly engaging in :

- Public Relations

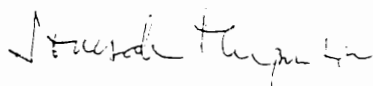
TAT will utilize its 15 overseas offices to publicize and create awareness of Khao Phra Viham and the MOT will do likewise by the Cambodian Embassies and Consulates. The national airlines of both countries will be requested to assist in the endeavor.

- Marketing

- TAT and MOT will cooperate in the production of promotional materials such as posters, brochures and other collaterals.
- Jointly organization of familiarization visits for media and tour operators
- Development of package tour programs which combine the destinations of the two countries as per the agreed routes

For the Tourism Authority of Thailand

For the Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia



Somsak Thepsutin
Minister to the Prime Minister's Office &
Chairman of the Tourism Authority of Thailand



So Mara
Director General of Tourism
Ministry of Tourism of the Kingdom of Cambodia

List of Thai Delegation

1. H.E. Mr. Somsak Thepsutin
Minister to the Prime Minister's Office
Chairman of the Board of Directors
The Tourism Authority of Thailand
2. ACM. Theesin Kumpeerayannont
Advisor to the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office
3. Mr. Jaturong Pengnorapat
Secretaries to the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office
4. Mr. Pradech Phayakvichien
Governor
The Tourism Authority of Thailand
5. Mr. Sujarit Nanthamontri
Governor
Si Sa Ket Province
6. Mr. Wirapol Duangsungnoen
Director-General
The Public Relations Department
7. Mr. Santichai Euachongprasit
Deputy Governor for Planning and Development
The Tourism Authority of Thailand
8. Col. Pichet Wisaichorn
Commanding General Suranaree Command
Suranaree Command
9. Mr. Paisan Wangsai
Director, Office of the Governor
The Tourism Authority of Thailand

10.Mr. Vichit Phattanagosai
Director, National Parks Division
The Royal Forest Department

11.Mr.Surasak Srisamang
Director, Office of the 9th Regional Archeology and National
Museum, Nakhon Ratchasima
The Fine Arts Department

List of Cambodian Delegation

1. Mr. So Mara
Director General
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
2. Mr. Ruos Sam Ear
Director, Planning Development Department
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
3. Mr. Yang Van
Director, Tourism Industry Department
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
4. Mr. Tith Chantha
Deputy Director, Marketing and Promotion Department
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
5. Mr. Chan Dara
Deputy Director, Marketing and Promotion Department
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
6. Mr. Heng Makara
Direction General Officer
Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia
7. Mr. Nov Soeun
Reporter

ANNEX II

Itineraries enroute, which the two sides agreed to develop overland route for tourism are as follows:

1. Arayanprathet-Poi Pet-Sisophon-Siem Reap
2. Chong Chom-Siem Reap
3. Ubon Ratchathani-Si Sa Ket-Preah Vihear-Siam Reap

Annex 23

Bangkok Post, 25 July 2001, “Minister erases
proof of talks on temple’s ‘lease’”

CAMBODIA

Minister erases proof of talks on temple's 'lease'

Sacked official had exceeded mandate

Nusara Thaitawat
Phnom Penh

Cambodia says it has annulled the signed records of a meeting between Thai and Cambodian officials on the so-called "lease" of Preah Vihear temple.

In a July 17 letter to Somsak Thepsutin, PM's Office minister for tourism, Cambodia's minister of tourism, Veng Sereyvuth, said the Cambodian representative at the June 1 talks in Si Sa Ket exceeded his mandate.

He also signed records of the meeting without the Ministry of Tourism's consent.

So Mara, an influential director-general overseeing promotion, discussed "joint management" and "profit sharing" in relation to the hill-top sandstone temple straddling the Thai-Cambodian border.

"As the content of the meeting records exceeded his authority and since there was no prior approval from the ministry, I would like to hereby exercise my right and prerogative to

annul such records," the letter said.

Mr Veng said he trusted his Thai counterpart would "understand the reason for our decision" and requested his continued co-operation on tourism.

Mr Mara was sacked on July 10 by Prime Minister Hun Sen at the urging of 30 Cambodian members of parliament. King Norodom Sihanouk endorsed the move in a royal decree the next day.

Mr Veng said he had yet to receive a response from his Thai counterpart.

"I have worked with Thailand for so many years, building a good working relationship between the Ministry of Tourism and the Tourism Authority of Thailand, and there's so much more to be done," Mr Veng said, urging both sides to look at the bigger picture.

Thailand and Cambodia have been working together under a "one destination-two countries" promotion.

Preah Vihear temple, built between the mid-10th and early 12th centuries, was a sensitive historical issue. Located on the Cambodian side, it is accessible only from the Thai side.

Thailand occupied the temple in 1949 when Cambodia was a protectorate of France. King Sihanouk took the case to the World Court which voted in favour of Cambodia in 1962.

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 25-07-2001

Page: 6

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: CAMBODIA

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

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Mr Veng said he had yet to receive a response from his Thai counterpart.

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Annex 24

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Note No. Kor Tor
0603/1165 to the Governor of Si Sa Ket Province: Solving
the Problems of Kiosks Selling Goods and Wastewater Disposal
in the Area of the Temple of Phra Viharn, dated
11 December B.E. 2544 (2001) (Declassified on 12 June 2012)

(Translation)

Copy
~~Confidential~~

VERY URGENT

No. Kor Tor 0603/1165

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Sri Ayudhya Rd. Bangkok 10400

11 December B.E. 2544 (2001)

Subject: Solving the problems of kiosks selling goods and wastewater disposal in the area of the Temple of Phra Viharn
 To: Governor of Si Sa Ket Province
 Reference: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Note, Immediate, No. Kor Tor 0603/1006 dated 31 October B.E. 2544 (2001)

Following the Note under reference inviting you to join field inspection and consultation between the Co-Chairmen of the Thai-Cambodian Joint Commission on Demarcation for Land Boundary on 5 November B.E. 2544 (2001), details of which have already been stated therein;

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to inform you that after the aforesaid field inspection and consultation, a meeting of the Thai-Cambodian Technical Officers under the Thai-Cambodian Joint Commission on Demarcation for Land Boundary was convened on 7-8 November B.E. 2544 (2001) in Bangkok where the Cambodian side confirmed that it will arrange for the Governor of Phra Viharn Province to come and meet with the Governor of Si Sa Ket Province at an early opportunity, in order to solve the problems of the kiosks selling goods at the market in the area of the path leading up to the Temple of Phra Viharn, as well as the problem of pollution caused by disposal of waste and wastewater into the stream flowing into Sa Trao.

It is hereby communicated for your consideration for further action and it would be highly appreciated if the Ministry could be informed of the outcome thereof.

Yours respectfully,

-signed-

(Mr. Thana Duangratana)

Director-General of the Department of Treaties and Legal Affairs

Department of Treaties and Legal Affairs
 Boundary Division
 Tel. 0 2643 5036-7
 Fax. 0 2643 5035

Certified true copy

-signed-

(Mr. Songchai Chaipatituyut)
 Second Secretary

Governor of Si Sa Ket Cambodia 13/44

~~Confidential~~

กษณา
ติบ

ความบก

ที่ กต 0603/ 1165

กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ

ถนนศรีอยุธยา กทม. 10400

11 ธันวาคม 2544

เรื่อง การแก้ไขปัญหาเพิงขายของและการทิ้งน้ำเสียบริเวณปราสาทพระวิหาร

เรียน ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

อ้างถึง หนังสือกระทรวงการต่างประเทศ ด่วนที่สุด ที่ กต 0603/1006 ลงวันที่ 31 ตุลาคม 2544

อนุสนธิหนังสือที่อ้างถึง เรียนเชิญท่านร่วมการตรวจพื้นที่และหารือระหว่างประธานคณะกรรมการเขตแดนร่วมไทย-กัมพูชา เมื่อวันที่ 5 พฤศจิกายน 2544 ความละเอียดแจ้งอยู่แล้ว นั้น กระทรวงการต่างประเทศขอเรียนว่าหลังจากการตรวจพื้นที่และหารือข้างต้น ได้มีการประชุมคณะเจ้าหน้าที่เทคนิคไทย-กัมพูชา ภายใต้คณะกรรมการเขตแดนร่วมไทย-กัมพูชา เมื่อวันที่ 7-8 พฤศจิกายน 2544 ที่กรุงเทพฯ ซึ่งฝ่ายกัมพูชาได้ยืนยันว่าจะประสานให้ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดพระวิหารมาประชุมกับผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษโดยเร็ว เพื่อแก้ไขปัญหาเรื่องเพิงขายของที่ตลาดบริเวณทางขึ้นปราสาทพระวิหารและปัญหามลภาวะจากการทิ้งขยะและน้ำเสียลงในลำธารซึ่งไหลลงสระตราว

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาดำเนินการและแจ้งผลให้กระทรวงการต่างประเทศทราบต่อไปด้วย จะขอบคุณยิ่ง

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

จิระ อดิศักดิ์
11 ธ.ค. 44

(นายชนะ ดวงรัตน์)

อธิบดีกรมสันติสัญญาและกฎหมาย

กรมสันติสัญญาและกฎหมาย

กองเขตแดน

โทร. 0 2643 5036-7

โทรสาร 0 2643 5035

ผู้ว่าศรีสะเกษ กพร 13/44

รับรองสำเนาถูกต้อง

ทิวาสี ชัยปัญญ

(นายทรงชัย ชัยปัญญ)

เจ้าหน้าที่การทูต 5

กษณา
ติบ

Annex 25

Photographs of the Iron Gate and the Iron Bridge at
Takhop/Tani stream, taken on 17 December 2001



(Translation of the signs above the iron gate from the Thai Language)

All kinds of weapons strictly not allowed in

IN

OUT



Annex 26

Si Sa Ket Province, Memorandum No. Sor Kor
0017.3/ : Closure of the path leading up to the Temple
of Phra Viharn, dated 20 December B.E. 2544 (2001)

(Translation)

Memorandum

Agency Si Sa Ket Provincial Governor's Office General Service Subdivision Tel. 0-4561-2581
 No. Sor Kor 0017.3/ Date 20 December B.E. 2544 (2001)
 Subject Closure of the path leading up to the Temple of Phra Viharn

To Governor of Si Sa Ket Province

1. Origin

1.1 Whereas the Suranaree Task Force informed us that, in conjunction with the Cambodian military, it had operated a trial opening of the Phra Viharn Promontory since 1 August B.E. 2541 (1998); on 5 November B.E. 2544 (2001), the Suranaree Task Force and the Cambodian side held a meeting at Pha Mor I Dang, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province, to resolve the problem of hardship experienced by Thai citizens, which was caused by the settlement of Cambodian citizens in the area in front of the path leading up to the Temple of Phra Viharn in order to set up a market to sell Cambodian goods. This has resulted in littering, and sewage and waste water have been dumped into the Ta Khop Stream. The Suranaree Task Force gave the Cambodian side until 15 December B.E. 2544 (2001) to permanently resolve the problem. However, at present, the Cambodian side has not done anything concrete. Therefore, the Suranaree Task Force has suspended public access to the Phra Viharn Promontory since 17 December B.E. 2544 (2001).

1.2 The Kantharalak District informed us that at present, some of the Cambodian forces stationed on the Phra Viharn Promontory has occupied the area to seek benefits from the opening of the Phra Viharn Promontory to visits. This may affect the safety of Thai citizens and foreigners who go up to visit the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn. Therefore, the Suranaree Task Force ordered a suspension of the access to Khao Phra Viharn on 17 December B.E. 2544 (2001).

2. Matters for consideration

- The above-mentioned matter should be reported to the Ministry of Interior for its information.
- It is hereby reported for consideration. If it is agreeable, please sign the attached Note.

-signed -

(Mr. Chai Tamnakpothi)
 Chief of Si Sa Ket Provincial Governor's Office

Submitted for your information

-signed-

(Mr. Pramoon Sawetadharma)
 Deputy Governor of Si Sa Ket
 Acting For Governor of Si Sa Ket
 22 Dec B.E. 2544 (2001)

Acknowledged

-signed-

(Mr. Sucharit Nantamontri)
 Governor of Si Sa Ket
 24 Dec B.E. 2544 (2001)



บันทึกข้อความ

ส่วนราชการ สำนักงานจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

ฝ่ายอำนวยการ โทร. 0-4561-2581

ที่ สก 0017.3/

วันที่ 20 ธันวาคม 2544

เรื่อง การปิดทางขึ้นชมปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร

เรียน ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

1. ต้นเรื่อง

1.1 ด้วยกองกำลังสุรนารี แจ้งว่าได้ร่วมกับทหารกัมพูชาทดลองเปิดเขาพระวิหาร ตั้งแต่วันที่ 1 สิงหาคม 2541 เป็นต้นมา นั้น เมื่อวันที่ 5 พฤศจิกายน 2544 ที่ผ่านมากองกำลังสุรนารีและฝ่ายกัมพูชาได้ประชุมหารือ ณ บริเวณผามออีแดง อำเภอกันทรลักษ์ จังหวัดศรีสะเกษ เพื่อแก้ไขปัญหาความเดือดร้อนของราษฎรไทย ซึ่งเกิดจากราษฎรกัมพูชามาตั้งบ้านเรือนเพื่อเป็นตลาดจำหน่ายสินค้าของชาวกัมพูชาบริเวณก่อนทางขึ้นปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร ทำความสกปรกทั้งสิ่งปฏิกูลและน้ำเน่าเสียลงลำห้วยตะขบ โดยกองกำลังสุรนารี ให้ฝ่ายกัมพูชาดำเนินการแก้ไขปัญหาดังกล่าวแบบถาวรให้เสร็จสิ้นภายในวันที่ 15 ธันวาคม 2544 แต่ปัจจุบันฝ่ายกัมพูชายังไม่ดำเนินการใด ๆ ให้เป็นรูปธรรม กองกำลังสุรนารีจึงสั่งการให้ประชาชนขึ้นชมเขาพระวิหาร ตั้งแต่วันที่ 17 ธันวาคม 2544

1.2 อำเภอกันทรลักษ์ ได้แจ้งว่า ในปัจจุบันกองกำลังทหารฝ่ายกัมพูชาที่คุมบนเขาพระวิหารมีบางกลุ่มเข้าไปยึดครองพื้นที่แสวงหาผลประโยชน์ จากการเปิดขึ้นชมเขาพระวิหาร อาจจะกระทบถึงความปลอดภัยของชาวไทย และชาวดังประเทศที่ขึ้นชมปราสาทเขาพระวิหารได้ กองกำลังสุรนารีจึงสั่งการขึ้นปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร เมื่อวันที่ 17 ธันวาคม 2544

2. ข้อพิจารณา

- เรื่องดังกล่าว เห็นควรรายงานให้กระทรวงมหาดไทยได้ทราบ
- จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณา หากเห็นชอบโปรดลงนามในหนังสือที่เสนอมาพร้อมนี้

(นายชัย คำนวณโพธิ์)

ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

(นายประมุข เสวตธรรม)

รองผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัด ปฏิบัติราชการแทน

ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

(นายสุทธิภักดิ์ นันทนตรี)

ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดศรีสะเกษ

24 ธ.ค. 2544

Annex 27

Bangkok Post, 23 December 2001,
“Army closes stairway to old temple”

ENVIRONMENT

Army closes stairway to old temple

Cambodia told to clean up villages

Pichit Saisaengchan
Si Sa Ket

Environmental damage to Thai villages has forced the authorities to close the only entrance to Cambodia's Preah Vihear Temple.

The only way for people to reach the temple is by climbing stairs from the Thai side of the border in Kantharalak district as the ancient temple is on a steep cliff in Cambodia.

Suranaree task force commander Maj-Gen Wibulsak Neeparn said the entrance was closed on Monday after Cambodian authorities failed to curb ongoing environmental damage.

Trash and waste water from a market and shops run by Cambodians near the temple were reportedly flowing into a stream which runs through five nearby Thai villages.

A provincial panel would find ways to ease the environmental problems facing the Thai villages, Maj-Gen Wibulsak said.

Second Army chief Lt-Gen Jirasak Prommopakorn and Maj-Gen Wibulsak will inspect the area tomorrow to consider reopening the stairs on condition Cambodia took action on the environmental problems.

Maj-Gen Wibulsak said Mor E Daeng cliff and the ancient Don Traun temple, which were in Thai territory, remained open.

MF1-166

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 23-12-2001

Page: 3

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: ENVIRONMENT

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

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Maj-Gen Wibulsak said Mor E Daeng cliff and the ancient Don Traun temple, which were in Thai territory, remained open.

Annex 28

Bangkok Post, 24 December 2001,
“Temple still blocked as settlers stay”

CAMBODIA

Temple still blocked as settlers stay

Passage to the historic Preah Vihear temple opposite Si Sa Ket remained closed as Cambodian authorities failed to relocate settlements reportedly responsible for polluting a river feeding Thai residents.

A military source said pollution was among the reasons cited for the temporary closure. Thai authorities ordered the passage shut also because of lack of security for tourists.

Although the hilly historical ruin is in Cambodia, its entrance is in Thailand.

A recent relocation of Cambodian villagers near the hill had prompted environmental concerns.

The villagers were found to lack proper sanitation systems and dumped waste water into the downstream river used for consumption by Thai border residents.

Thai border authorities blocked entry to Preah Vihear in protest and demanded the villagers leave. Lt-Gen Jirasak Prommopakorn, Region 2 Army commander, said the settlement comprised communities near the border

*AFI - 166

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 24-12-2001

Page: 3

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: CAMBODIA

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

Temple still blocked as settlers stay

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Annex 29

Bangkok Post, 14 January 2002,
“Health concern leads to closure of temple”

Preah Vihear temple before the closure of the entrance on the Thai side of the border. — JETARAS NA RANONG

Health concern leads to closure of temple

Cambodia ignoring pollution problems

Corrinne Hanning

Pollution of Takhob stream, in Thai land, with rubbish from visitors to Preah Vihear temple in Cambodia is the source of the latest dispute between Bangkok and Phnom Penh, and has resulted in the indefinite closure of access to the ancient site.

Takhob is a small stream on the Phnom Dongrak mountain range. France cited the watershed of the stream as the border between Thailand and Cambodia when it was the colonial power there. It also claimed the hilltop temple which sits on the border for 150 years, over Thai protests.

In 1962 the World Court ruled in favour of France although the entrance is on Thai soil, in Si Sa Ket province.

Thai authorities closed the border at the entrance to Preah Vihear on Dec 17, on grounds of public health concerns.

They said Cambodians operating a market at the foot of the temple were polluting Takhob stream, which runs through several Thai villages. "We have asked Cambodia several times to solve the problem, but to no avail. Therefore, we will close the entrance to the sanctuary until the problem is solved," Second Army chief Lt-Col Jirasak Prompakorn said on Jan 9.

Access to Preah Vihear has been closed off several times.

After the World Court's ruling in 1962, the place was opened to tourists in 1970, but its condition was so poor Thai and Cambodian authorities agreed to jointly renovate it. The civil war in Cambodia prevented this.

In 1975 the temple was closed when the Khmer Rouge took over the area.

Heavy fighting around the temple between Khmer Rouge and Vietnamese troops sparked international concern about whether the historic monument would survive. The temple building finally collapsed under shelling when the Phnom Penh government occupied the vicinity in 1991. Preah Vihear was reopened to tourists on Jan 9, 1992, but the war forced its closure again in 1993. This time it was closed off from the world for almost five years.

The hill area was among the last strongholds of the Khmer Rouge before its final defeat at Anlong Weng. Preah Vihear reopened to visitors on Aug 1, 1998, under a joint agreement between Thai and the Cambodian military. Just over three years later the entrance is again shut, closed indefinitely by the Thai military because of pollution.

Apart from uncontrolled waste in the Takhob stream, the military also cited a demarcation dispute, tourists' safety, the disorganisation of Cambodian vendors and the smuggling of gold and drugs. Vithaya Virarat, chairman of the Si Sa Ket chamber of commerce, said the border closure had cost Si Sa Ket and adjacent northeastern provinces

about 90 million baht in lost income from Thai and foreign tourists over the new year. "The impact on the tourist industry in the Northeast is huge. There should be negotiations instead of closure," he said.

Boonme Buaton, chief of tambon Saothongchai administrative organisation, disagreed. He said Cambodian authorities at Preah Vihear always ignored requests from Thailand to solve the pollution problem.

There were six local Cambodian agencies involved: military, customs, tourism, immigration, police and Preah Vihear provincial authorities.

"The number of Cambodians building shelters at the foot of the Preah Vihear is soaring. Last year there were about 70 families or over 300 people but their shelters were disorganised and lacking in hygiene. Garbage is left everywhere around their shelters but what is stunning is that there are only a few toilets for all of them. Most excrete and discharge waste water into the stream," Mr Boonme said.

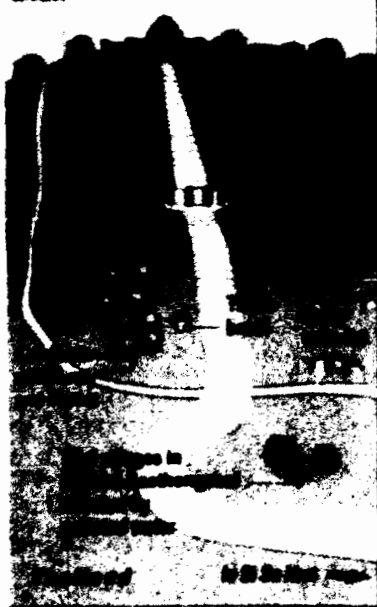
This pollution directly affects about 3,000 Thais living in six downstream villages including Ban Saothongchai, Ban Phumsarol, Ban Nuanchaen and Ban Nongmek. The people use the stream for cooking and washing, and draw their tap water from it.

"We have been worried about the cleanliness of the water. One day the stream from Preah Vihear to Satao waterfall, which is a kilometre from the border, turned rusty red and stank. Villagers suffered rashes and itches after swimming there. Then we realised the problem is critical and we can't sit still any more," Mr Boonme said.

The closure of the temple entrance has cost the local tambon organisation about 20,000 baht a month as its share from entry fees. The Forestry Department collected the fees: 20 baht for Thai visitors and 200 for foreigners.

"Of course this loss is a huge sum for a small organisation like ours, but it's nothing compared with the health of the people in our jurisdiction," Mr Boonme said. The closure to the entrance is certainly costing Cambodia heavily in lost income, he said.

The Thai Authorities closed the entrance to Preah Vihear Temple to tourists from Thailand. The authorities were dissatisfied that the Cambodian community and traders were disorganised and were polluting the Takhob stream which affect Thai villages living down stream.



Preah Vihear temple

MFI-167

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 14-01-2002

Page: 2

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: PREAH VIHEAR

Health concern leads to closure of temple

Cambodia ignoring pollution problems

Onnucha Hutasing

Pollution of Takhob stream, in Thailand, with rubbish from visitors to Preah Vihear temple in Cambodia is the source of the latest dispute between Bangkok and Phnom Penh, and has resulted in the indefinite closure of access to the ancient site.

Takhob is a small stream on the Phanom Dongrak mountain range. France cited the watershed of the stream as the border between Thailand and Cambodia when it was the colonial power there. It also claimed the hilltop temple, which dates back to about the 11th century, over Thai protests.

In 1962 the World Court ruled in favour of France although the entrance is on Thai soil, in Si Sa Ket province.

Thai authorities closed the border at the entrance to Preah Vihear on Dec 17, on grounds of public health concerns.

They said Cambodians operating a market at the foot of the temple were polluting Takhob stream, which runs through several Thai villages. "We have asked Cambodia several times to solve the problem, but to no avail. Therefore, we will close the entrance to the sanctuary until the problem is solved," Second Army chief Lt-Col Jirasak Prommopakorn said on Jan 9.

Access to Preah Vihear has been closed off several times.

After the World Court's ruling in 1962, the place was opened to tourists in 1970, but its condition was so poor Thai and Cambodian authorities agreed to jointly renovate it. The civil war in Cambodia prevented this.

In 1975 the temple was closed when the Khmer Rouge took over the area.

Heavy fighting around the temple between Khmer Rouge and Vietnamese troops sparked international concern about whether the historic monument would survive. The temple building finally collapsed under shelling when the Phnom Penh government occupied the vicinity in 1991. Preah Vihear was reopened to tourists on Jan 9, 1992, but the war forced its closure again in 1993. This time it was closed off from the world for almost five years.

The hill area was among the last strongholds of the Khmer Rouge before its final defeat at Anlong Weng. Preah Vihear reopened to visitors on Aug 1, 1998, under a joint agreement between Thai and the Cambodian military. Just over three years later the entrance is again shut, closed indefinitely by the Thai military because of pollution.

Apart from uncontrolled waste in the Takhob stream, the military also cited a demarcation dispute, tourists' safety, the disorganisation of Cambodian vendors and the smuggling of gold and drugs. Vithaya Virarat, chairman of the Si Sa Ket chamber of commerce, said the border closure had cost Si Sa Ket and adjacent northeastern provinces about 50 million baht in lost income from Thai and foreign tourists over the new year. "The impact on the tourist industry in the Northeast is huge. There should be negotiations instead of closure," he said.

Boonme Buaton, chief of tambon Saothongchai administrative organisation, disagreed. He said Cambodian authorities at Preah Vihear always ignored requests from Thailand to solve the pollution problem.

There were six local Cambodian agencies involved: military, customs, tourism, immigration, police and Preah Vihear provincial authorities.

"The number of Cambodians building shelters at the foot of the Preah Vihear is soaring. Last year there were about 70 families or over 300 people but their shelters were disorganised and lacking in hygiene. "Garbage is left everywhere around their shelters but what is stunning is that there are only a few toilets for all of them. Most excrete and discharge waste water into the stream," Mr Boonme said.

This pollution directly affects about 3,000 Thais living in six downstream villages including Ban Saotongchai, Ban Phumsarol, Ban Nuancharoen and Ban Nongmek. The people use the stream for cooking and washing, and draw their tap water from it.

“We have been worried about the cleanliness of the water. One day the stream from Preah Vihear to Satao waterfall, which is a kilometre from the border, turned rusty red and stank. Villagers suffered rashes and itches after swimming there. Then we realised the problem is critical and we can't sit still any more,” Mr Boonme said.

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Annex 30

Bangkok Post, 16 January 2002,
“Vendors in clean-up drive at Khmer ruins”

Vendors in clean-up drive at Khmer ruins

Se Sa Kei

Cambodian vendors have begun clearing Takhob stream of piles of garbage to persuade Thai authorities to reopen Preah Vihear temple.

The Second Army closed the border at the entrance to Preah Vihear on Dec 17 on grounds of public health concerns.

Cambodians operating a market at

the foot of the temple were accused of polluting Takhob stream, which runs through several Thai villages.

Sandbags were placed in the stream to stop polluted water and piles of garbage were collected and burned.

Te H. 28, a Cambodian vendor, said: "My business has been badly hurt by the closure. We are improving things here so that the temple can be reopened soon."

MF1-167

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 16-01-2002

Page: 4

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Vendors in clean-up drive at Khmer ruins

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Annex 31

Bangkok Post, 7 March 2002,
“Landmines to be cleared”

TOURISM

Landmines to be cleared

Wassana Nanuam:

Landmine clearance operations are set to begin soon in a 250,000 square-metre area of Si Sa Ket province to boost tourism at Preah Vihear temple, a World Heritage Site on the Cambodian border.

Thailand Mining Action Centre director Maj-Gen Kitti Sukomsatham said it would take about five months to clear the area of thousands of anti-personnel mines at a cost of US\$400,000, with financial assistance from donor countries.

A similar budget would be required to clear an adjacent plot of the same size.

Maj-Gen Kitti said donor countries

would also be asked to subsidise a proposed 200 million baht operation to clear mines from a four-square kilometre piece of land in Nong Bua Subdistrict, Nakhon Phanom province, which has been earmarked for an international oil-gas project known as the Emerald Triangle.

Representatives from donor countries including the United States, Britain, Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and Norway would be invited to visit Preah Vihear next month, he said.

The TMAC also plans to designate a mine-free zone in the village of Sathayee in Sot Daeng district, Chanthaburi province, similar to Nong Ya Kew village in Sa Kaeo province.



An official talks to residents of Nong Ya Kew village in Aranyaprathet district of Sa Kaeo province after a ceremony to mark the clearance of landmines by the Thailand Mining Action Centre. The ceremony was presided over by US Ambassador Darryl N. Johnson.

MF1-169

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 07-03-2002

Page: 4

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: TOURISM

Keyword: demining

Keyword: tourism-Si Sa Ket

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

Landmines to be cleared

Wassana Nanuam

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Maj-Gen Kitti said donor countries would also be asked to subsidise a proposed 250-million-baht operation to clear mines from a four-square-kilometre piece of land in Ubon Ratchathani province, which has been earmarked for an international golf-course project known as the Emerald Triangle.

Representatives from donor countries including the United States, Britain, Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and Norway would be invited to visit Preah Vihear next month, he said.

The TMAC also plans to designate a mine-free zone in the village of Subtalee in Soi Dao district, Chanthaburi province, similar to Nong Ya Kew village in Sa Kaew province.

Annex 32

The Cambodia Daily, 30-31 March 2002,
“Cambodia Determined to Find Own Route to
Development in Preah Vehear” [sic]

14/06/2012

The Cambodia Daily WEEKEND

The Cambodia Daily , WEEKEND Saturday, March 30-31, 2002

Cultural Frontiers

Cambodia Determined to Find Own Route to Development in Preah Vihear

By Jody McPhillips
and Phann Ana
The Cambodia Daily

Preah Vihear temple--It used to be easy to visit this spectacular mountaintop temple on the border between Cambodia and Thailand.

As many as 1,000 tourists a day boarded buses in Thailand, traveled on smoothly paved Thai roads, walked up the steps and started snapping pictures.

Until last Dec 17, when the Thai army closed the border at Preah Vihear, claiming Cambodian vendors living near the temple were polluting a stream that flows into Thailand.

The border has stayed closed ever since.

Sure, tourists can get to the temple from the Cambodian side. But unless they rent a helicopter, they face a couple days of spine-jolting rides through former Khmer Rouge battlefields followed by a three-hour climb up a mine-infested mountain.



The Cambodian flag flies over the gopura at the first level of the Preah Vihear temple complex



An aerial view of the Preah Vihear temple complex, with the plains of Cambodia stretching into the distance

Now a road crew from Phnom Penh is building a new highway north from the provincial capital of Tbeang Meanchey so people can get to the temple from the Cambodian side.

It may take as much as two years to finish the road, but Cambodian officials say they don't care: they are fed up, and they no longer want another country controlling access to such an important symbol of Khmer heritage.

Dirt-poor Preah Vihear province stands to lose thousands of tourist dollars for every month the temple remains closed, but the Cambodian officials say it is worth the wait.

"The Cambodians and the Thais have argued over the Preah Vihear temple for years," says Long Sovann, second deputy governor of Preah Vihear province.

"The Thais were very surprised that we did not care" about the border closure, he says with a grin. "They are surprised that we are so strong and are working so hard on development."

14/06/2012

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"But if we don't take care of the temple, we are afraid the Thais will look down on us and our heritage."

Others are more blunt. "They are collecting money from our ancestors, and I don't like it," said Phnom Penh Governor Chea Sophara, who is sending men, money and equipment to Preah Vihear to build the new road.

Thai embassy officials declined to comment on the situation. PREAH VIHEAR is potentially a money machine second only to Angkor Wat, and both countries know it.

Before the border closed, despite few development or promotion efforts, the Cambodians and Thais were splitting annual ticket receipts of at least \$130,000, with Cambodia getting 70 percent and the Thais 30 percent.

But Thai interest in the temple has always been a sore spot with Cambodia. The countries have feuded for years over who should control the site, which Thai soldiers occupied several times before the World Court ordered it returned to Cambodia in 1962.

The issue arouses strong passions among many Cambodians, who consider Preah Vihear an important symbol of Khmer sovereignty.

It doesn't help that most quarrels at Preah Vihear erupt between soldiers from each country posted at the border, who rarely wait for diplomatic instructions before reacting. Since the border was closed, gunfire has erupted at least once, although no one was hurt.

Twice during the past decade, the two countries have tried to cooperate to run the site as a tourist destination. It seemed like a good idea: Cambodia had no money, and Thai tourists were eager to visit.

The first attempt, in 1992, fell apart when the Khmer Rouge regained control of the mountain. The second lasted from 1998 until last December, but the relationship was always volatile.

Cambodian officials who work too closely with the Thais do so at their peril. When former Ministry of Tourism general director So Mara signed a joint-operation deal with Thailand last year, he was denounced by parliamentarians and fired, and the deal was voided.

Oblivious to the tension, tourists flock to Preah Vihear whenever they can. When it reopened in 1998, up to 30,000 people a day poured in. But unlike Siem Reap, which was initially developed by foreign companies (including many from Thailand), it appears that Cambodian investors want to develop Preah Vihear.

The Sokimex petroleum company is planning projects not only in Preah Vihear, but at the Sambor Prei Kuk temples in Kompong Thom. The Preah Vihear project would include a hotel, golf course and other facilities.

Sokimex president Sok Kong says his Preah Vihear proposal was submitted on Jan 15 to Prime Minister Hun Sen. "The prime minister has agreed and sent it on to the Cambodian Development Council," he says, declining to provide more details.

Cambodia is also seeking World Heritage status for Preah Vihear, which would typically involve strict controls on how the area could be developed. But World Heritage approval is likely several years away, and any development now would not be subject to such controls.

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PREAH VIHEAR, which means sacred monastery in Khmer, was built over a span of about 300 years, starting in the late 9th century.

Unlike many Khmer temples, which were built by one king and then ignored by his successors, Preah Vihear was maintained and enlarged by many kings.

The mountain site itself was believed to be holy, seemingly designed by the gods to support the ascending series of stairs, walkways and structures which lie along a perfect north-south axis.

According to "Preah Vihear," a history of the temple by Vittorio Roveda, the temple complex was a monastery, which explains why the top-most sanctuary, on the edge of a cliff overlooking Cambodia, faces away from the view.

"The mountain was ascended because it offered spiritual rewards for pilgrims and provided the solitude necessary for religious meditation, not because it afforded spectacular views from its summit," Roveda writes.

He said that in 1018, the Khmer king Suryavarman I declared Preah Vihear to be the northernmost point of his empire, which stretched from Phnom Chisor in the south to Jayakestra (near Battambang) in the west to Isanathirtha (an unknown location that might have been on the Mekong River) in the east.

Some restoration work was completed in the 1930s, but the temple suffered during the prolonged years of war in Cambodia. The central tower of the main shrine collapsed long ago; the size of the pieces lying on the ground inside the enclosure indicate it was very large.

THE DANGREK Mountains run east-west along Cambodia's northern border with Thailand, a chain of steep hills that rise abruptly from a flat plain.

They form a rocky wall at Cambodia's northern edge. Preah Vihear is built on the edge of a 600-meter drop to the plains below. On clear days, the view to the south stretches to Phnom Kulen.

To the north, the mountain descends in a long, gradual slope into Thailand. Preah Vihear is not one temple but a series of elegant complexes linked by stone stairways and causeways. Its entrance is halfway down the northern slope, where a massive flight of stone steps beckons pilgrims to begin a climb towards the sacred summit.

The land around the temples is rugged. There are no real roads, just forest tracks, for about 20 kilometers on the Cambodian side. On the Thai side, a modern highway runs nearly to the temple entrance.

A small stream 100 meters north of the entrance marks the official border, which writhes like a snake through the mountains, prompting frequent arguments between the countries as to exactly where it lies.

The current dispute involves the stream and a small Cambodian market community located in a small area between the border crossing and the temple steps. The vendors, many of whom migrated to Preah Vihear since peace returned to earn a living selling to the tourists, were in the habit of buying food and water in Thailand, since the nearest Cambodian town was 20 kilometers away.

"There is a problem with the sewage," Êsays a Thai border officer posted at Preah Vihear, who asks that his name not be used. He stands at the chain-link gate through which tourists used to pass, but which is now kept locked and has been newly surrounded with razor wire.

"Waste water [from the market] is getting into Thailand, and five Thai villages downstream are upset," the Thai guard said. He claims the Thais want the market closed so the two countries can plant a "friendship garden" at the temple entrance. He also says the Thais would like the Cambodians to pick up the trash that blows around the entrance.

"We asked them to solve this problem. If they solve it, we will reopen the border," he say as he hands a small Cambodian boy money to buy him cigarettes at the offending market.

Cambodian border police don't buy this story for a minute. They are convinced the Thais ultimately want to reclaim the temple as their own, a charge the Thai officer rejects vehemently.

"No! No! It is a Khmer temple! The Thai people, everybody, knows this temple belongs to the Khmer nation," the Thai guard says.

The Cambodians say the Thais had hoped they could starve out the vendors by cutting off their food supply. They say they intercepted radio transmissions in which they heard Thai soldiers asking: "Are those Khmers dead yet?"

"They are very tricky," ÊUn Radin, a commander with the Cambodian border guard, says with a bitter grimace. "You can't believe what they say."

PHNOM PENH Governor Chea Sophara says he was furious when he heard about the stranded vendors. He won't say who issued the orders, but he swung into action, hounding wealthy contractors and businessmen for contributions and convincing 66 city employees that they wanted to relocate to Preah Vihear province for an unspecified period to build a new road.

He concedes it could take two years, maybe longer. "They are volunteers, doing this just for food and 5,000 riel (about \$1.25) a day," he says. He claims all money to pay for the project is being raised privately, and that he can't say how much it will cost.

Asked if Sokimex plans to contribute toward the building of the new road, Sok Kong says, "We must. We have to cooperate with that." But he would not say how much he would donate.

Chea Sophara has personally promised to feed the mountain's 650 residents for up to five years, and has already had drawn up elaborate plans for a new village, complete with market, school and hospital, to be located about one kilometer from the temple entrance.

"It will all be Khmer style," he says proudly, right down to the trash cans.

The trapped villagers say Chea Sophara has saved their lives as well as their livelihoods. Oeun Borith, 37, sells soft drinks in the marketplace. "Before the closing, I had between 400 and 500 customers a day on the weekends," he says. "Now there is no business."

Choy Lim, 49, is one of the residents who says she heard the sneering radio transmissions about "dead Khmers."

14/06/2012

The Cambodia Daily WEEKEND

"We have not died yet," she says. "And we will not die, because our government is giving us rice and fish and petrol. [The Thais] can come to see if they don't believe me.

"Life is a little bit harder than before, but we will not die."

THE JOB is huge. The Khmer Rouge occupied Preah Vihear from 1975 until the war's end, burying thousands of landmines all over the mountain before defecting to the government in 1998.

Today more than 50 deminers from the Halo Trust are working to clear them away. In the past six weeks, teams have found more than 100 mines close to trails and walkways at the temples.

Other deminers are examining the route for the planned new road, which will pass through scrublands south of the mountains that remain littered with rusting tanks and military vehicles, the detritus of heavy fighting between the Vietnamese-supported government forces and the Khmer Rouge.

Sra'em village lies about 30 kilometers south of the temple, just north of an area called the Death Field because so many Vietnamese and Cambodian soldiers died there.

Thong Chan, a 60-year-old former government soldier, remembers it well. The houses in the village are only a few years old, because the Khmer Rouge torched the entire village in the final days of the war.

"We will be very happy to have the new road, because it will make it easier for us to get to the provincial capital, to Anlong Veng, and to the temple," he says.

The road will extend 113 kilometers north from the provincial capital of Tbeang Meanchey to Preah Vihear. At least 22 kilometers are believed to be mined. There are no roads over the last 20 kilometers to the mountain, just dirt trails.

The crews have completed about 10 kilometers of the new road, moving at a rate of about 200 meters a day. They hope to reach the Sen River by Khmer New Year in mid-April, says Chea Sophara. A 100-meter bridge is currently being constructed over the river.

Ting Samon, deputy chief of the Phnom Penh municipality's road and bridge unit, doesn't know how long the project will take, saying it depends on how much equipment and supplies are donated and whether machines break down.

He brushes aside the idea that it could be difficult for his crew to leave their homes in Phnom Penh for a long, hard, dangerous job, with no end in sight.

"We are lonely here without our families," he says, "but we are staying until the job is done."

Photo by Sok Sam Ath for the Ministry of Tourism

Annex 33

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Telegram to
the Royal Thai Embassy in Phnom Penh,
5 April B.E. 2545 (2002) (Declassified on 12 June 2012)

(Translation)

~~Confidential~~

Telegram

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TL. 1103/369

Page 1 of 3 pages

Date 5 April B.E. 2545 (2002)	Classification: Confidential	Urgency:
Department of East Asia	East Asian Division II	cc. 0605
Subject : Differences over the closure of the path leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory		

Submitted	<p>To: Royal Thai Embassy in Phnom Penh</p> <p>No. 1103/154/2545</p> <p>Replying to the Embassy's Telegram No. PNH 196/2545 dated 1 April B.E. 2545 (2002) on the differences over the closure of the path leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory.</p>
Approved	<p>The Ministry took note of the information and the Embassy's views contained in the telegram under reference with thanks and wishes to inform the Embassy of preliminary information and the status of the problem following an informal coordination with the 2nd Army Area and the relevant government agencies as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The suspension of tourist access to the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn, Chom Ka Saan District, Phra Viharn Province, from the Thai side since 17 December B.E. 2544 (2001) results from 2 main reasons: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 The construction of a <i>wat</i>, shops and a Cambodian community in an area where the boundary is still unclear; and 1.2 The environmental impacts resulting from sub-para. 1.1 causing hardship for the Thai population. 2. Depiction of the problem area appears in the attached sketch map. 3. With regard to the construction of a <i>wat</i> in the region of the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn, which commenced in October B.E. 2544 (2001), the Thai side through the 2nd Army Area and the mechanisms at local levels have protested to Cambodia and requested that it suspends construction in the said area until there is clarity in boundary delimitation, but Cambodia did not take notice and proceeded with the construction of the <i>wat</i> until its completion in January B.E. 2545 (2002). At present, there are more than 50 Cambodian military and police personnel residing in the <i>wat</i> enclosure and construction of residential structures is expanding continuously. 4. With regard to the construction of shops and the community, this followed the trial opening of the Phra Viharn Promontory for tourism purposes, which started in August B.E. 2541 (1998). Since then, the Cambodian side has constructed structures and shops in the area at the foot of the path leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory, in which the 2nd Army Area considers that the boundary line is unclear. Subsequently, it was reported that the Cambodian side encourages more people to settle in the said area
Record of Communication Division	
Sender	

~~Confidential~~

~~Confidential~~
Telegram
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TL. 1103/369

Page 2 of 3 pages

Date 5 April B.E. 2545 (2002)	Classification: Confidential	Urgency cc. 0605
Department of East Asia	East Asian Division II	
Subject : Differences over the closure of the path leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory		

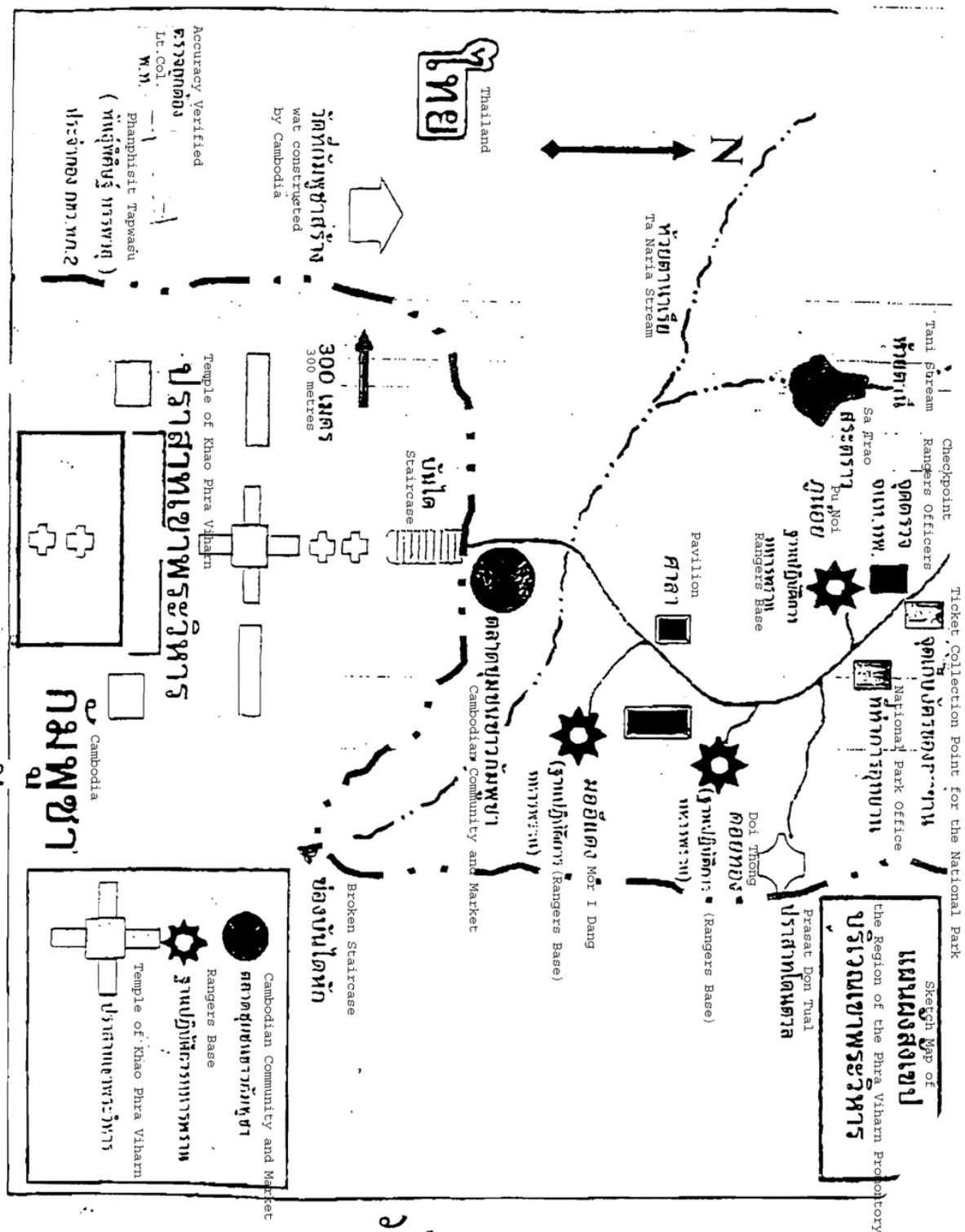
Approved	<p>and named the community “Khao Phra Viharn Village” and that the Phra Viharn Province campaigns for the population in the said village not to resettle elsewhere. Also, incentives have been provided so that there are more settlements. Any Cambodian family wishing to settle in the said village will receive 500 baht and 50 kg of rice each. Furthermore, the Cambodian authorities plan to construct 2 routes up to the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn to avoid using the route to the Temple via Thailand.</p> <p>Up to now, 40 shops, 68 families, 270 individuals, as well as 8 families of military and police personnel totaling more than 30 persons, have settled in the said area.</p>
Sender	<p>5. Apart from the possible impacts on the watershed and land boundary, Cambodia’s activities as specified in paras. 2 and 3 have caused environmental impacts and hardship to the Thai population living in 5 villages in Sao Thong Chai Sub-district, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province. This results from the fact that the Cambodian community has been disposing sewage and waste into the Tani and Ta Maria Streams which flow into Sa Trao and Ta Khop Stream in Thailand, to the point that the water from these sources cannot be used for consumption. In this regard, the said Thai communities have jointly filed a complaint letter through the provincial authority, the Member of Parliament for Si Sa Ket Province, the Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister.</p>
Division	<p>6. As for the action taken by the Thai side, in addition to protests at the local levels throughout this period, problems related to the matter have also been raised and discussed with the Cambodian side at the JBC level. The Department of Treaties and Legal Affairs as the responsible agency for this matter will, for its part, keep the Embassy informed of the outcome thereof at the earliest opportunity.</p>

It is hereby communicated for information.

Laxanachantorn

(attachment 1 page)

~~Confidential~~



5. APR. 2002 19:48

Mail

faxserv03@mfa.go.th

กองการสื่อสาร P. 1/3

เลขที่ 3 ของ 3 ชุด

หน้า 1 ของ 3 หน้า

ทล. 403/34

กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ

หน้าที่ ๑ ของ ๓ หน้า

วันที่ ๕ เม.ย. ๕๕	ชั้นความลับ-ลับ	ความเร่งด่วน
กรม เอเชียตะวันออก	กอง เอเชียตะวันออก ๒	สำเนา ๐๖๐๕
เรื่อง ความขัดแย้งเรื่องการปิดทางขึ้นเขาพระวิหาร		

เลข 475 15 เม.ย. 45 5 เม.ย. 45 5 เม.ย. 45	ถึง สอท. ณ กรุงพนมเปญ ที่ ๑๑๐๓/154/๒๕๕๕ ตอบโทรเลข สอท. ที่ PNH ๑๙๖/๒๕๕๕ ลว. ๑ เม.ย. ๕๕ เรื่องความขัดแย้งเรื่องการปิดทางขึ้นเขาพระวิหาร กระทรวงฯ ได้รับทราบข้อมูลและความเห็นของ สอท. ตามนัยโทรเลขดังกล่าวแล้วด้วยความขอบคุณ และขอเรียนข้อมูลเบื้องต้นและสถานภาพของปัญหา ตามผลการประสานงานภายในกับ ทก. ๒ และส่วนราชการที่เกี่ยวข้อง ดังนี้ ๑. การระงับการขึ้นเที่ยวชมปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร อ.จอมกระสาน จ. พระวิหาร จากฝั่งไทย ตั้งแต่ ๑๗ ธ.ค. ๕๔ เป็นผลสืบเนื่องมาจากปัญหาสำคัญ ๒ ประการ คือ ๑.๑ การก่อสร้างวัด ร้านค้า และชุมชนของฝ่าย กพข. ในพื้นที่ซึ่งยังไม่มีความชัดเจนในเรื่องเขตแดน ๑.๒ ผลกระทบด้านสิ่งแวดล้อมจากข้อ ๑.๑ ซึ่งสร้างความเดือดร้อนแก่ประชาชนไทย ๒. สภาพพื้นที่ซึ่งเป็นปัญหาปรากฏตามแผนผังสังเขปที่แนบมาด้วย ๓. กรณีการก่อสร้างวัด ในบริเวณทลของปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร การก่อสร้างเริ่มเมื่อ ต.ค. ๕๔ ฝ่ายไทยโดย ทก. ๒ และกลไกระดับท้องถิ่นได้ทักท้วง และขอให้ กพข. ชะลอการก่อสร้างในพื้นที่ดังกล่าวไว้ก่อน จนกว่าจะมีความชัดเจนในเรื่องการปักปันเขตแดน แต่ กพข. ไม่รับฟังและก่อสร้างวัดจนแล้วเสร็จเมื่อ ม.ค. ๕๕ ปัจจุบันมี จันท. ทหารและ ตร. กพข. เข้ามาอาศัยพำนักในพื้นที่วัดกว่า ๕๐ คน และมีการก่อสร้างอาคารที่พักอาศัยเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างต่อเนื่อง ๔. กรณีก่อสร้างร้านค้าและชุมชน สืบเนื่องจากการทดลองเปิดเขาพระวิหารเพื่อการท่องเที่ยว ซึ่งดำเนินการมาตั้งแต่ ส.ค. ๕๑ นับจากนั้น ฝ่าย กพข. ได้ปลุกสิ่งก่อสร้างและร้านค้าบริเวณเชิงทางขึ้นเขาพระวิหาร ในพื้นที่ซึ่ง ทก. ๒ เห็นว่า เส้นเขตแดนไม่ชัดเจน ต่อมา มีข่าวสารว่า ฝ่าย กพข. ส่งเสริมให้ประชาชนเข้าไปตั้งชุมชนบริเวณดังกล่าวเพิ่มขึ้น เรียกชื่อชุมชนว่า "หมู่บ้านเขาพระวิหาร" และมีการประชาสัมพันธ์จาก จ. พระวิหารไม่ให้ประชาชนในหมู่บ้านดังกล่าวย้ายถิ่นฐาน
อนุมัติ ๑๓ เม.ย. ๕๕	
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faxserv03@mfa.go.th

โทรเลข

ลับ

กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ

หน้าที่ ๒ ของ ๓ หน้า

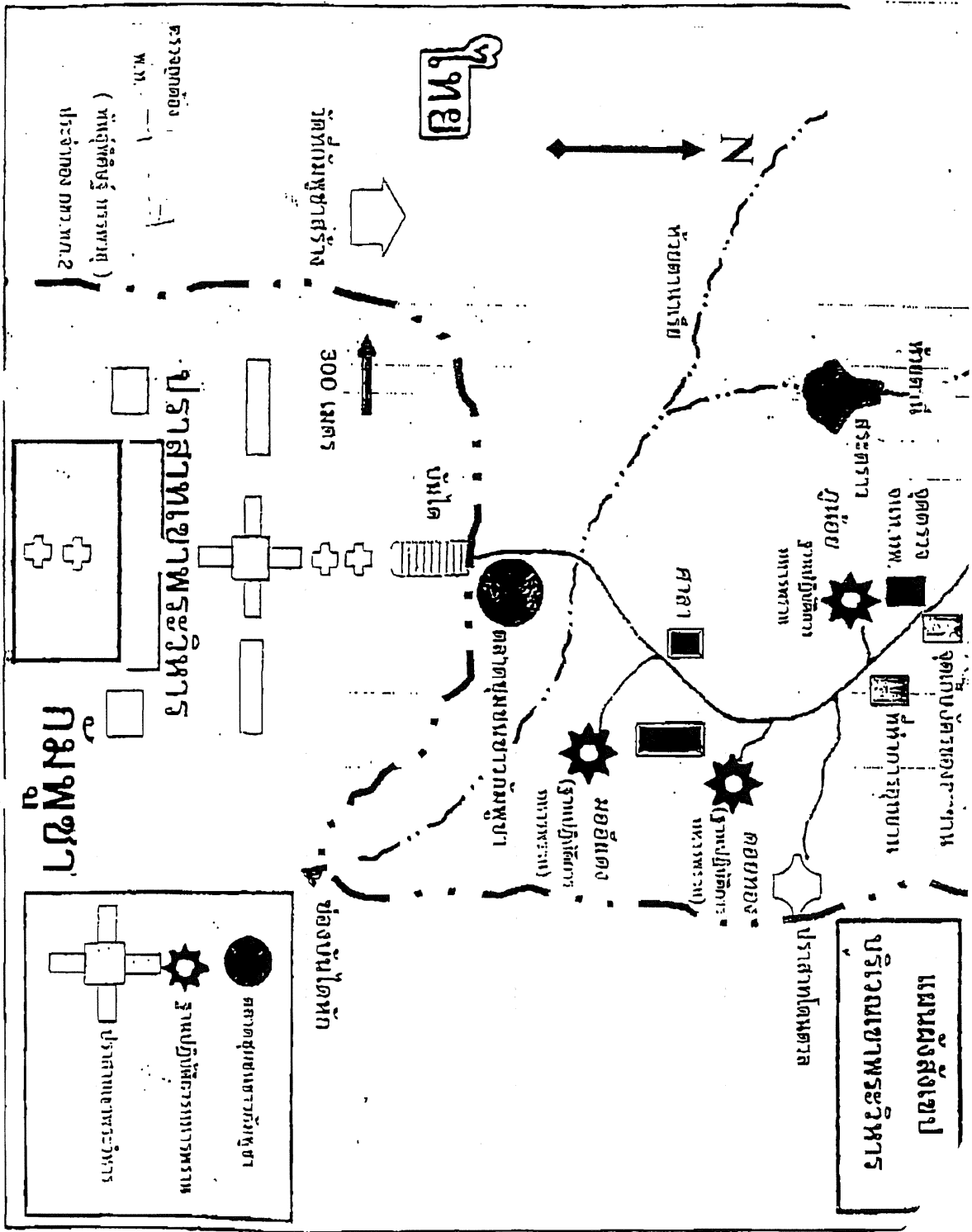
วันที่ ๕ เม.ย. ๕๕	ชั้นความลับ ลับ	ความเร่งด่วน
กรม เอเชียตะวันออก	กอง เอเชียตะวันออก ๒	สำเนา ๐๖๐๕
เรื่อง ความขัดแย้งเรื่องการปิดทางขึ้นเขาพระวิหาร		

เลข หทอ 51ม.๑45 หทท 51ม.๖5 พร รอมม.๑5	-๒-
อนุมัติ	<p>อีกทั้งเสริมแรงจูงใจให้มีการเข้าไปอยู่อาศัยมากขึ้น โดยหากครอบครัว กพข. รายใดประสงค์จะเข้าไปตั้งถิ่นฐานในหมู่บ้านดังกล่าว จะได้รับเงินครอบครัวละ ๕๐๐ บาท และข่าวสารครอบครัวละ ๕๐ กก. นอกจากนี้ ทางกรม กพข. มีแผนที่จะสร้างเส้นทางขึ้นปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร ๒ เส้นทาง เพื่อไม่ต้องใช้เส้นทางขึ้นชมปราสาทโดยผ่านเขตไทยด้วย</p> <p>จนถึงปัจจุบันมีร้านค้าและครัวเรือน กพข. ตั้งถิ่นฐานในพื้นที่ดังกล่าว ๔๐ ร้านค้า ๖๔ ครอบครัว ประชากร ๒๗๐ คน กับมี จนท.ตร./ทหาร อีก ๔ ครอบครัว จำนวนกว่า ๓๐ คน</p> <p>๕. นอกจากผลกระทบที่อาจเกิดขึ้นต่อสันปันน้ำและเขตแดนทางบกแล้ว การดำเนินการของ กพข. ตามข้อ ๒ และ ๓ ก่อให้เกิดผลกระทบกับสิ่งแวดล้อมและทำให้ประชาชนไทย ๕ หมู่บ้าน ในเขต ต.เสาธงชัย อ.กันทรลักษ์ จ.ศรีสะเกษ ได้รับความเดือดร้อน เนื่องจากชุมชน กพข. ทั้งสิ่งปฏิกูลและของเสียลงในแหล่งน้ำห้วยตานี ห้วยตามาเรียบ ซึ่งเป็นต้นน้ำไหลลงสู่สระตราวและลำห้วยตะขบในเขตไทย จนไม่สามารถใช้น้ำจากแหล่งดังกล่าวเพื่อการอุปโภคและบริโภคได้ และชุมชนไทยดังกล่าวได้รวมตัวกันยื่นหนังสือร้องเรียนเกี่ยวกับเรื่องนี้ผ่าน จว. และ สส. ศรีสะเกษ ทปช.รอมว.กต. และ หน่วยงาน นรม. ด้วย</p> <p>๖. ในส่วนของการดำเนินการของฝ่ายไทยนั้น นอกจากการหักหัวงฝ่าย กพข.ในระดับท้องถิ่นตลอดระยะเวลาที่ผ่านมาแล้ว ในระดับ JBC ก็ได้มีการหยิบยกปัญหาต่าง ๆ ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับ หัวงกับฝ่าย กพข. ด้วยแล้ว ซึ่งกรมสนธิสัญญา ในฐานะผู้รับผิดชอบเรื่องนี้ จะได้แจ้งผลการดำเนินการมาให้ สอท. แยกต่างหากในโอกาสแรก</p> <p>จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดทราบ</p> <p>ลักษณะจันทร์</p>
บันทึก กองการสื่อสาร	
ผู้ส่ง	(เอกสารแนบ ๑ แผ่น)

ลับ

33

รูป



รูป

Annex 34

Bangkok Post, 3 November 2002,
“Chavalit backs new Preah Vihear gateway”

Chavalit backs new Preah Vihear gateway

Seo Ae Ket

Deputy Prime Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh has thrown his weight behind a proposal to reopen and upgrade Sa-ngam border pass in a bid to establish a more convenient gateway to the historic Preah Vihear temple in Cambodia.

The province's most revered monk, Phra Rajwarawongse, said Gen Chavalit had given his backing during a recent trip to Ubon Ratchathani, and had ordered Second Army chief Lt Gen Thap-pawat Prommanpakorn to proceed accordingly.

Provincial official Hattachai Pengkarn

said a petition of 50,000 signatures would be handed to Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra after a civic meeting tomorrow at Phu Sing district hall.

Many residents supported reopening of the border pass to boost tourism and the local economy, he said.

Mr Hattachai said a Japanese firm was preparing to begin construction of a cable-car service between the temple and the Cambodian district of Chomp-saen, opposite the pass.

The Sa-ngam pass would prove more convenient than the current gateway, Phu Mor E-daeng checkpoint in Kantharaboli district, as it was located only 10 km from the temple.

MF1-179

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 03-11-2002

Page: 3

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Keyword: Sa-ngam border pass

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

Chavalit backs new Preah Vihear gateway

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Mr Hattachai said a Japanese firm was preparing to begin construction of a cable-car service between the temple and the Cambodian district of Chomprasan, opposite the pass.

The Sa-ngam pass would prove more convenient than the current gateway, Pha Mor E-daeng checkpoint in Kantharalak district, as it was located only 142km from the temple.

Annex 35

Bangkok Post, 13 November 2002,
“Push to open temple, border pass together”

WAT PHREAH VIHEAR

Push to open temple, border pass together

Mine clearance nearly complete

Si Sa Ket

Local authorities and businessmen want Sa-ngum border pass in Si Sa Ket and Cambodia's Phreah Vihear historic temple to reopen simultaneously.

The reopening and upgrading of the border pass in Kantharalak district would provide a more convenient gateway to Phreah Vihear, known in Thai as Khao Phra Vihear, they say.

The historic temple is expected to reopen to tourists entering from Si Sa Ket province early next month following completion of landmine clearing.

Kalyanas Thammajee, head of the Si Sa Ket tourism association, said the temple's closure had badly affected the border economy and tourism.

Provincial authorities and businessmen were pushing for the reopening of the temple and Sa-ngum border pass. This would draw more tourists.

A Japanese firm was preparing to begin construction of a cable car service between the temple and the Cambodian district of Chomprasan, opposite the pass, she said.

Sa-ngum pass would prove more convenient than the current gateway, Pha

Mor E-daeng checkpoint in Kantharalak district, as it was only 142km from the temple.

MP Chaturong Pengnoraphat, an adviser to the industry ministry, said reopening of Phreah Vihear was in line with the government's policy to promote tourism in neighbouring countries.

Sources said the governors of Si Sa Ket and Phreah Vihear and a representative from the Second Army would soon meet to discuss the reopening of the border pass.

Landmine clearance began in the area last February.

The clearance operation at Phreah Vihear is being done by Cambodian troops and the Halo Trust, an England-based non-governmental organisation specialised in removing the debris of war.

The reopening of the temple was earlier agreed on at a meeting between Phreah Vihear province governor Rong Suwan and Si Sa Ket governor Sawat Sriuwandee. Thai officials and the private sector.

Cheney Samnang, head of a mine clearance team from the Halo Trust, said Phreah Vihear Temple would be free of bombs soon.

A total of 894 mines had been found and destroyed in the past 10 months — an average of 15 mines a day.

MF1-179

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 13-11-2002

Page: 4

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: WAT PHREAH VIHEAR

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

Push to open temple, border pass together**Mine clearance nearly complete**

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Annex 36

Bangkok Post, 9 December 2002,
“Ruins still closed to all visitors”

Ruins still closed to all visitors

Celebration run barred entry

Si Sa Ket

About 3,000 runners in a mini-marathon commemorating the King's birthday were barred from entering Cambodia's Preah Vihear temple complex yesterday.

The Si Sa Ket governor had expected the temple ruins to reopen to visitors. But as he was about to lead the runners and waiting tourists up to Preah Vihear (Khae Phra Vihear), they were denied access by the Cambodian authorities who cited safety reasons, but did not elaborate.

Governor Sawasdi Srisuwan said the ban may have stemmed from an unsettled dispute over interests generated from trading and businesses associated with Preah Vihear.

Mine clearance teams have been working in the area around Preah Vihear since last February.

MF1-180

Publication: BANGKOK POST Date: 09-12-2002

Page: 3 Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: PREAH VIHEAR TEMPLE Keyword: mini-marathon commemorating the King's birthday

Ruins still closed to all visitors

Celebration run barred entry

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Annex 37

Bangkok Post, 17 January 2003,
“New border posts planned, hours extended to boost trade”

RELATIONS WITH CAMBODIA

New border posts planned, hours extended to boost trade

Yuwadee Tunyasiri

New border passes will be opened with Cambodia and existing passes will stay open longer to spur trade and tourism, Deputy Prime Minister Chaturon Chaisaeng said.

At present there are three permanent checkpoints and 10 temporary passes.

New temporary passes would be opened at Preah Vihear in Si Sa Ket, Bang Ma Muang and Ban Nong Ree in Trat, and Ban Sai Taku in Buri Ram.

A permanent checkpoint would be set up in Ban Laem in Chanthaburi's Pong Nam Ron district.

Mr Chaturon said the new passes could be open by March if negotiations went smoothly.

Opening hours would be extended for passes in Sa Kaew's Aranyaprathet district, Trat's Khlong Yai district, and in Surin's Chong Jom.

It was also proposed that Cambodians crossing the border be allowed to travel into the district town centre rather than

stopping at the border area to shop.

Visas could be granted on arrival at border passes.

Mr Chaturon said projects to improve roads and the power network were being considered. Trade exhibitions would be held and cultural centres set up.

The projects would have to go to the National Economic and Social Development Board and the Budget Bureau. The government was also keen on encouraging Cambodian teenagers to study in Thai schools.

MF1-182

Publication: BANGKOK POST

Date: 17-01-2003

Page: 4

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: RELATIONS WITH CAMBODIA

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian relations

New border posts planned, hours extended to boost trade

Yuwadee Tunyasiri

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Annex 38

Kantharalak District Office, Note No. Sor Kor 0318/36
to the Governor of Si Sa Ket Province: Inquiry about
the situation in the area of Pha Mor I Dang, dated
5 February B.E. 2546 (2003) (Declassified on 15 June 2012)

(Translation)~~**Confidential**~~

No. Sor Kor 0318/36

Kantharalak District Office
Anantapakdi Road, Sor Kor 33110

5 February B.E. 2546 (2003)

Subject: Inquiry about the situation in the area of Pha Mor I Dang
 To: Governor of Si Sa Ket Province
 Reference: Si Sa Ket Province's Note No. Sor Kor 0017.3/Wor 775 dated 13 January B.E. 2546 (2003)
 Attachments: 1. One copy of news report in the Daily News newspaper dated 5 February B.E. 2546 (2003), page 32.
 2. One copy of news report in the Matichon newspaper dated 8 January B.E. 2546 (2003), page 17.
 3. One copy of Kantharalak District Office's Note, Very Urgent, Confidential, No. Sor Kor 0318/2 dated 13 January B.E. 2546 (2003).

Following reports in the Matichon newspaper dated 8 January B.E. 2546 (2003) and the Daily News newspaper dated 5 February B.E. 2546 (2003) on "Dissecting the 10 Billion Baht Project: Warriors – Members of Parliament Funded from Abroad are Shaking Hands to Take over the Phra Viharn Promontory" and "the Phra Viharn Promontory Project Fails", which claimed that the Cambodian Government had already granted concession to a foreign company to build a laterite road from Udon Meechai Province to Chom Ka Saan District, Khao Phra Viharn Province, and another one to join Chong Ta Thao, Sao Thong Chai Sub-district, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province, as well as another laterite road leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory; and referring to information that there will be a construction project for a 5-star hotel, a modern casino, as well as a cable car to access the Phra Viharn Promontory; and that there has been coordination to request the opening of a permanent point of entry between Thailand and Cambodia at Chong Ta Thao; and the Si Sa Ket Province has assigned Kantharalak District to verify the facts, details of which have been stated therein.

The Kantharalak District hereby reports for information that it had sent notes to the relevant agencies asking for cooperation in verifying the facts of the matter, and hereby reports preliminary findings as follows:

1. The Temple of Khao Phra Viharn has been opened and closed for several times. The latest occasion was when the Suranaree Task Force which is responsible for the area, agreed with Cambodian Army Area 4 on 1 August B.E. 2541 (1998) to operate a trial opening of the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn, which lasted until 17 December B.E. 2544 (2001) when the Suranaree Task Force declared the closure of the path leading up to the Phra Viharn Promontory, in the area of the Pha Mor I Dang, Kantharalak District, invoking the fact that the Cambodian merchants who had set up a market selling goods have been littering and releasing wastes and waste water into the stream which flows down into Sa Trao, Sao Thong Chai Sub-district, causing hardship for Thai citizens. Only when improvement of the environment of the area including proper organization of the shops has taken place, will there be a consideration to request an opening of the path for tourists to visit the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn. At present, the concerned parties of Cambodia have not done anything to solve the problem.

/2. At present...

~~**Confidential**~~

Confidential

-2-

2. At present, investigation has been made and it was found that Cambodian merchants have open up around 50 shops to sell goods in the area of the path leading up to the Temple of Khao Phra Viharn. A *wat* has also been constructed in the area of the Broken Stairway, where the junction of country limit is still unclear and the definite apportioning of area has not yet been done. The 23rd Ranger Regiment has already reported the matter to the Suranaree Task Force.

3. In June B.E. 2545 (2002), Cambodia speeded up the improvement of the laterite road into the Thai border area, bringing in machines to build a 6-metre wide laterite road from Udon Meechai Province into the Thai border area in the region of the Phra Viharn Promontory: one road was built to join Chong Ta Thao and another built next to the foot of the mountain behind the Phra Viharn Promontory. At present, there has not yet been any construction of a cable car, a casino and a 5-star hotel. As for future likelihood, no information has yet been found.

4. As for the iron staircase and the iron gate built across a limit canal, they were built with the budget of the Si Sa Ket Provincial Administrative Organization and were formerly used to facilitate the flows of incoming and outgoing tourists, with regular opening and closing time for tourists. Mr. Pakdi Ratanapol, Inspector-General of the Ministry of Interior, who came to follow up on the consideration of the request for the opening of the Phra Viharn Promontory for tourism purposes, has been informed of the above-mentioned matter. He suggested that the iron gate be dismantled so as to build a good image and bring about an atmosphere of friendly relations between the two countries. However, at present, the iron gate is shut and no one can enter or exit through it.

For you preliminary information. Any additional facts found shall be reported accordingly.

Yours respectfully,

- signed -

(Mr. Payom Thareechan)

Chief District Officer of Kantharalak

District Administration Office

Confidential

~~ลับ~~

- 2 -

2 ขณะนี้ได้ตรวจสอบแล้ว ปรากฏว่า มีร้านค้าที่พ่อค้าแม่ค้าชาวกัมพูชาไปเปิดร้านจำหน่ายสินค้า บริเวณทางขึ้นปราสาทเขาพระวิหาร จำนวน 50 หลังคาเรือน และได้มีการก่อสร้างวัด 1 แห่ง บริเวณร่องบันไดหัก ซึ่งเป็นเขตรอยต่อของประเทศที่ยังไม่ชัดเจน และยังไม่มี การแบ่งเขตที่แน่นอน กองทหารลาวที่ 23 ได้รายงานให้กองกำลังบูรณาการได้ทราบแล้ว

3 ในช่วงเดือนมิถุนายน 2545 ประเทศกัมพูชาได้เร่งปรับปรุงถนนลูกรังเข้ามายังเขตชายแดนประเทศไทย โดยได้นำเครื่องจักรกลมาตัดถนนลูกรัง ขนาดกว้างประมาณ 6 เมตร จากจังหวัดอุดรธานี เข้ามาจนถึงชายแดนประเทศไทยบริเวณเขาพระวิหาร ชายฝั่งตรงข้ามไปยังช่องคาเปา อีกจุดหนึ่งสร้างกีดกันเขาค่านหลังเขาพระวิหาร ในขณะนี้ยังไม่มี การก่อสร้างกระเช้าลอยฟ้า บ่อนักกีฬา และโรงอาบน้ำตากผ้า ส่วนแนวรั้วในบริเวณกั้นยังไม่ทราบข้อมูลแต่อย่างใด

4 ส่วนบันไดเหล็ก และประตูเหล็ก จำนวน 1 แห่ง ซึ่งทำข้ามคลองน้ำตามแนวเขตนั้น ได้สร้างขึ้นโดยใช้งบประมาณขององค์การบริหารส่วนจังหวัดสระแก้ว ซึ่งเดิมเน้นเคยใช้ด้านความมั่นคง ให้แก่นักท่องเที่ยวในการสัญจรไปมา และเปิด - ปิด เป็นเวลาให้นักท่องเที่ยว ซึ่งนายกักตี่ จิตนผล ผู้ตรวจราชการกระทรวงมหาดไทย ได้มาตรวจติดตามผลการดำเนินงานการพิจารณาขอเปิดเขาพระวิหาร เพื่อการท่องเที่ยว ได้ทราบเรื่องดังกล่าวแล้ว และมีข้อเสนอแนะ สมควรที่จะรื้อประตูเหล็ก ออกเสีย เพื่อสร้างภาพแทนที่ดีและสร้างบรรยากาศดีเห็นรักษาที่ดีทั้งสองประเทศ แต่ขณะนี้ประตูเหล็กได้ปิดมิให้ผู้ใดเข้า - ออกแต่อย่างใด

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดทราบในชั้นต้น หากมีข้อเท็จจริงเพิ่มเติม จักได้รายงานเพื่อโปรดทราบในโอกาสต่อไป

ขอแสดงความนับถือ



(นายพยม ธาวัชชาญ)

นายอำเภอกันทรลักษ์

ที่ทำการปกครองอำเภอ

Annex 39

Bangkok Post, 18 February 2003,
“Border Talks”

Border talks

Si Sa Ket -- The Thai and Cambodian border demarcation committee will survey the border area at Preah Vihear temple on Thursday, to try to define the border line following complaints of encroachment by Khmer vendors.

Hattachai Penglaem, chairman of the provincial border affairs coordination committee, said trading stalls built in Thai territory by Cambodian vendors had become a new problem stalling talks to reopen the ancient Khmer temple to tourists.

The local Cambodian authority wants the temple opened soon but this has been delayed by the Cambodians' failure to build a waste treatment facility at the ruins. The hilltop temple can be accessed only through Thai territory. Thailand closed the entrance to the Khmer temple in 2001 because untreated waste was being discharged from the temple into Thailand.

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Date: 18-02-2003

Page: 1

Sections: MAIN SECTION

Label: I n b r i e f

Column: In Brief

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Annex 40

Bangkok Post, 20 February 2003,
“Clear borders would help end temple row”

Clear borders would help end temple row

The plan to survey the Thai-Cambodian border at Preah Vihear is welcome news because fuzzy lines make for uncertain destinies. But surveyors must wear kid gloves as recent riots have shown hard feelings lie close to the surface on both sides.

Reports from Si Sa Ket say the border demarcation committee is due to survey the area near Preah Vihear temple today. For Thais and Cambodians depending on this tourist attraction for their livelihood, and for tourists without the time or the means to penetrate deeper into Cambodia for an appreciation of ancient Khmer art and culture, the work schedule comes none too soon.

Thailand provides the only access to the temple built between the 10th and 12th centuries on an escarpment overlooking the two countries. But Thai authorities closed the area in 2001 because untreated waste was being discharged into the country, and Cambodia's failure to install waste treatment facilities has stalled talks to re-open the site to tourists. The alleged encroachment of Cambodian vendors on territory deemed to be Thai has posed an additional problem.

Thailand occupied Preah Vihear in 1949, when Cambodia was still a French protectorate. Thailand and Cambodia quarrelled bitterly over the ownership of the temple from 1953, when Cambodia won independence from France, to 1962, when the International Court of Justice ruled in Cambodia's favour. The temple was off-limits to visitors throughout the war in Cambodia from the late 1960s till the surrender of the last Khmer Rouge in 1998.

The site re-opened to tourists for about three years before Thai and Cambodian officials in June 2001 discussed a joint management and profit-sharing scheme. But these discussions did not go down well in Cambodia, which understandably cherishes its national heritage and depends heavily on tourism for foreign exchange. Within seven weeks, then Cambodian Tourism Minister Veng Sereyvuth wrote to his Thai counterpart Somrak Thepsuthin,

Thailand clearly does not want a repeat of any such incident, with bilateral relations badly torn by the burning of the Thai

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Thailand clearly does not want a repeat of any such incident now, with bilateral relations badly torn by the burning of the Thai embassy and business premises in Phnom Penh on Jan 29. Hence the need for the government to give careful consideration to any proposal for the re-opening of the access route to Preah Vihear temple. Regional military authorities in Cambodia probably are keen, as reports suggest, to have tourists come back to the site. They have offered to bring the governor of Preah Vihear province for talks with the governor of Si Sa Ket. But the Interior Ministry in Bangkok wisely has delayed any such discussions for the time being.

The problem of alleged encroachment by Khmer vendors certainly is more difficult to address than that of ensuring waste treatment facilities on the Cambodian side of the border. It underlines the need for the two sides to clear up grey areas that exist at far too many spots along the common border. Hence the demarcation committee must go about its business very carefully. Proper demarcation will prevent the recurrence of problems which inevitably strain relations at the local level, weakening the foundation for further communications. Improper demarcation will have the reverse effect, harming both sides.

Statements made by Cambodian leaders to our government and reports of internal differences among Cambodians since the riots in Phnom Penh have shown that national pride runs deep in that country. The lesson for Thais who have to work, trade or live with Cambodians is to plug any loophole allowing problems to rear their ugly head. The lesson for the government is to ensure proper border demarcation, and peace and quiet on all fronts.

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Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian relations

Keyword: Preah Vihear Temple

Keyword: Wat Preah Vihear

Keyword: Khao Phra Viharn

Column: Editorial

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Annex 41

Bangkok Post, 22 February 2003,
“Cambodians ‘encroach’ on Thai soil”

BORDER

Cambodians 'encroach' on Thai soil

Sanoh Worarak
Si Sa Ket

The army's border problem-solving panel is looking into an allegation that Cambodian construction workers encroached on Thai territory in Si Sa Ket.

Committee members led by adviser Maj-Gen Wathit Sompatyuth yesterday inspected the Pha Mor E Daeng area in Si Sa Ket's Kantharalak district near Cambodia's Preah Vihear temple, which was allegedly encroached on by workers building another temple.

The inspection team was briefed by ~~deputy governor Wamong~~ **Wamong** Siripanich, provincial administration organisation president Wichit Traisoranikul, Kantharalak district chief Phayom Tharicharn and 23rd Ranger Regiment commander Col At Singhatthita.

From Pha Mor E Daeng cliff, the team could see a road under construction in Cambodia about 1km away from the border towards Ta Tao pass.

The road contractor, a Japanese firm, had asked Phnom Penh to negotiate with Bangkok to get Ta Tao pass open, so tourists could take cable cars from there to Preah Vihear temple.

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Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian border dispute

Keyword: Thai-Cambodian relations

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Annex 42

Photographs of the Opening Ceremony of the Phra
Viharn Promontory Border Area Point of Entry for
the Purpose of Tourism, taken on 31 May 2003



<p>(Translation of the sign from the Thai language)</p> <p>Opening Ceremony</p> <p>Phra Viharn Promontory Border Area Point of Entry</p> <p>For the Purpose of Tourism</p> <p>Si Sa Ket Province, the Kingdom of Thailand</p> <p>Phra Viharn Province, the Kingdom of Cambodia</p> <p>31 May B.E. 2546 (2003)</p>	<p>(Translation of the sign from the Khmer language)</p> <p>Ceremony</p> <p>Opening of the Point of Entry for Tourism</p> <p>The Temple of Phra Viharn</p> <p>and Chong Ta Thao</p> <p>31 May 2003</p>
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(Translation of the sign from the Khmer language)

The Kingdom of Cambodia

The Temple of Phra Vihear



Annex 43

Department of East Asian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Thailand, The Thai-Cambodian Joint Cabinet
Retreat, 31 May – 1 June 2003, dated 4 June 2003

The Thai-Cambodian Joint Cabinet Retreat
Siem Reap and Ubon Ratchathani
31 May - 1 June 2003

1. The Thai-Cambodian Joint Cabinet Retreat was held in Siem Reap Province of Cambodia and Ubon Ratchathani Province of Thailand from 31 May-1 June 2003. The whole Thai Cabinet led by PM Thaksin participated in the Retreat while all members of the Cambodian Cabinet led by Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian PM and senior Cambodian officials at ministerial level totaling 46 persons (excluding H.E. Sar Keng, DPM and Co-Minister of Interior of Cambodia who needed to be in Phnom Penh as an acting PM) were present at the Retreat.

2. The Retreat was an initiative of PM Thaksin with a view to strengthening the bilateral ties between Thailand and Cambodia, promoting bond of friendship between the two cabinet members, and enhancing efficiency for problem-solving through direct personal contact between ministers of the two sides. The Retreat was originally scheduled in March 2003 but was postponed due to the 29 January incident and its aftermath. However, with positive developments that lead to the normalization of Thailand-Cambodia diplomatic relations (both sides sent their Ambassadors back to BKK and Phnom Penh on 13 and 21 April 2003 respectively), the Retreat was rescheduled and became a reality. The Retreat, therefore, represents the full return to normalcy of Thailand-Cambodia relations.

3. The Retreat was conducted in the most amicable atmosphere both in Siem Reap and Ubon Ratchathani. The Thai cabinet flew in Siem Reap where the opening ceremony took place. After the opening session, the two cabinets were divided into 5 groups namely (1) Security (2) Economic (3) Education, Tourism and Culture (4) Social Development, Labour, and Public Health (5) Science, Technology, Environment. Seven Thai DPM's and Senior Ministers/Ministers of Cambodia were tasked to co-chaired each group. The small group discussions were held from 10.00-12.15 hrs, during which a tete-a-tete between PM Thaksin and Samdech Hun Sen also took place. It was followed by a lunch hosted in honour of PM Thaksin and the Thai Cabinet by Samdech Hun Sen. After lunch, both cabinets took a group photo in front of Angkor Wat before leaving together on board a special aircraft of TG to Ubon Ratchathani.

4. In Ubon Ratchathani after welcoming ceremony at "Thung Sri Muang Candle Ground" in front of the Provincial Hall, the plenary session of the Retreat co-chaired by PM Thaksin and Samdech Hun Sen was convened for the briefing and adoption of the small-group meeting reports. In this connection, the two PM's made several decisions regarding the future bilateral cooperation programme between the two countries. In the evening, PM Thaksin hosted a dinner in honour of Samdech Hun Sen and the Cambodian cabinet. To show their affinity and close bond of friendship, the Thai cabinet members wore Khmer silk shirt provided by Cambodian government, while Cambodian Ministers were in Thai silk outfit prepared by the Thai Government. Unfortunately, the friendship golf tournament for the two PM's and golfers of both cabinets, and the excursion tours to SUPPORT (H.M. the Queen's project) and OTOP("One Tambon One Product") in the following morning was cancelled due to heavy rain in Ubon Ratchathani. Samdech Hun Sen and the Cambodian cabinet members returned to Phnom Penh on 1 June 2003 at 10.30 hrs by a special flight of TG provided by the Thai Government.

5. In their opening statements at the Retreat, Samdech Hun Sen extended his warm welcome to PM Thaksin and the Thai delegation. He reiterated the Cambodian government's policy to promote progress and development of the country by which the close and cordial relations with her neighbours have been attached with great priority. He expressed his thanks for Thailand's continued policy to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding with Cambodia and applaud in particular the so-called "Thaksin Vision" of PM Thaksin to promote regional cooperation for self-sufficiency of the region.

PM Thaksin underlined the Retreat as a "historic" moment for it was the first ever opportunity that full cabinet members of the two countries meet in one gathering. He referred to the 29 January incident as a "nightmare" that both countries will never let it recur. As Thailand-Cambodia relations return to normalcy, he reiterated the need for close coordination between the two cabinets to gear both countries toward mutual progress and prosperity. He reaffirmed Thai policy to utilize her potential and accumulated experiences for development to assist her neighbours to move together forward. This was a strategic point of views that forms the basis to Cambodia-Laos-Myanmar-Thailand cooperation for economic development that he proposed during the SARS Summit in BKK last April and was unanimously agreed upon by all concerned parties. With close and effective

cooperation this "Economic Cooperation Strategy" will be materialized soon.

6. The following were agreeable issues that both sides reached at the Retreat:

(1) Security

- Upgrading of 3 new international points of entry namely (1) Sa-Ngam (Srisaket)- Chuam (Odar Meanchey); (2) Ban Laem (Chantaburi)- Khum Rieng (Battambang); (3) Ban Pakkard (Chantaburi)- Prum (Pailin), making the total number of international points of entry between Thailand and Cambodia to six (in addition to the existing international points of entry at Klong Leuk (Sra Kaew) - Poipet (Banteay Meanchey), Had Lek (Trat) - Cham Yiem (Koh Kong), and Chong Chom (Surin) - O'Smach (Odar Meanchey). In addition, both sides also agreed to extend the opening hours at these international points of entry from 07.00-18.00 hrs to 06.00-20.00 hrs.

- Redefining of the border areas to cover the whole border provinces to promote people-to-people contact. As a result, the local Cambodian and Thai peoples in the border areas who hold the "border pass" will be able to travel deeper inside the other country. Both sides also agreed to launch a pilot project to allow holders of the "border pass" to enter to hinter areas namely Siem Reap Province of Cambodia and Prachinburi of Thailand.

- Endorsement of the Concept Paper on Border Point of Entry which suggests various measures and commitment of both governments for effective border management.

- Agreements to the promotion of cooperation at local levels including provincial authorities, police etc.

(2) Economic

- Promotion of bilateral trade through Account Trade.

- The First Meeting of the Joint Trade Commission (JTC) in Siem Riep in July 2003.

- Facilitation of bilateral trade in the framework of ASEAN Integration System of Preference (AISP).

- Collective efforts to reduce/eliminate various trade barriers.

- Cooperation in the purchase of commodities from Cambodia on G-to-G basis i.e soya bean etc.

- Cooperation in contract farming for Caster seeds and Eucalyptus plantation.

- Cooperation in the area of sanitary of agricultural products with a view to upgrading commodities standard.

- The development of Road No.48 (Koh Kong-Sre Ambel) linking Trat province of Thailand to Koh Kong and connected to Highway 4 that leads to Phnom Penh, and Road No.67 (Sa-Ngam - Anlongveng - Siem Reap) that connects lower Northeastern part of Thailand to the ancient site of Angkor in Siem Reap, Cambodia by financial assistance from Thailand.

- Cooperation in energy by which: (1) the Cambodian government welcomed Thailand's assistance to conduct a detailed survey for the establishment of electricity network throughout Cambodia and other assistance aimed to increase electricity supply in Cambodia; (2) Promotion of bilateral cooperation in Stung-Mnam hydropower project.

(3) Education, Culture and Tourism

- Cooperation in the area of human resource development.

- Establishment of the Thai-Cambodian Joint Cultural Association with a view to promoting people-to-people relations and mutual understanding.

- Promotion of tourism including (1) those programme of activities under the campaign of "Two Kingdoms One Destination"; (2) joint development of "Preah Vihear Temple" by which FM Surakiart and Senior Minister Sok An wer appointed as Co-chairmen of the Joint Working Group in this regard; (3) cooperation on tourism in the trilateral framework of "Emerald Triangle" between Thailand-Cambodia-Laos.

(4) Social Development, Labour and Public Health

- Promotion of bilateral cooperation to combat against human trafficking, illegal workers, and irregular migration.

- Cooperation in border health and disease control in the border areas particularly on HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis.

(5) Science, Technology and Environment

- Development of Internet network between Thailand and Cambodia for education ("School net").

- Transfer of agricultural technology from Thailand to Cambodia such as the production of organic fertilizer, and the cooperation in Bio-technology and Bio-safety.

- Cooperation on environment conservation in the border areas.

- Assistance from Thailand regarding satellite map and remote sensing.

- Cooperation in the management of overlapping frequency in the border areas.

6. Seven important documents were signed (4 in Siem reap and 3 in Ubon Ratchathani) during the Retreat namely :

(1) MOU between the Kingdom of Thailand and the Kingdom of Cambodia on Bilateral Cooperation for Eliminating Trafficking in Children and Women and Assisting Victims of Trafficking

(2) MOU between the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia on Agricultural Cooperation

(3) Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia on Technical Cooperation on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures

(4) MOU on the Development of Road Number 48 (Koh Kong-Sre Ambel) and Road Number 67 (Sa-Ngam-Alongveng-Siem Reap)

(5) MOU between the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia on Cooperation in the Employment of Workers

(6) MOU on Cooperation in Education between the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Kingdom of Cambodia

(7) Joint Ministerial Statement on the Concept Paper on Thailand-Cambodia Border Points of Entry

7. The Retreat was a clear testimony of the brotherly, durable relations between Thailand and Cambodia, marking the new chapter of closer bilateral cooperation for mutual progress and prosperity in the future.

* * * * *

Division II
Department of East Asian Affairs
4 June 2003

Annex 44

Photographs of the Keo Sikha Kiri Svara
Pagoda, taken during 2006 – 2010





Circa 2007



Annex 45

A Photograph Taken at the International Court of Justice on
30 May 2012 of the Map on the Scale of 1:2,000 Prepared by
the International Training Centre for Aerial Survey, exhibited in
the Court room and submitted to the Court as Annex No. 85 *d*
in 1962



Annex 46

International Boundaries Research Unit,
Durham University, *A review of maps presented in
the period 1959 – 1962 and others prepared in 2012,*
June 2012



**A review of maps presented in the
period 1959-1962 and others
prepared in 2012**

*Report prepared for the
Government of the Kingdom of Thailand
June 2012*

Authors: Alastair Macdonald & Martin Pratt



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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 In the 1959-62 *Temple of Preah Vihear* case, maps were specially produced for the pleadings and were also enlarged and/or reduced to support various arguments. In some cases, spot heights appeared on some maps but were removed from enlargements and substituted by other heights obtained by different methods. A close reading of the pleadings is necessary to find out the reasons.
- 1.2 Now, in 2012, Cambodia has submitted as a single map¹ its own version of the 1962 overlay of the International Training Centre (ITC) map and the Annex I map extract², apparently to try and define the section of boundary that it wishes the Court to determine. Thailand has commissioned a comparison of the 1962 Cabinet Line map and the Doeringsfeld, Amuedo and Ivey (DAI) "revised" ITC map (see Section 9).
- 1.3 It is important that, in all this comparative work, one does not lose sight of the limitations of the underlying maps and it is important to establish from the available records what those limitations might be. This review sets out to do this.

2. SOME TECHNICAL ISSUES

- 2.1 In 1961 Thailand commissioned a 1:10,000 map of the area from ITC in The Netherlands³. The Centre produced the map by photogrammetric processes which were then fairly new. It may be useful to have a brief explanation of the process.
- 2.2 The map is made from a pair of overlapping aerial photographs taken at an altitude of 20,000 feet from aircraft positions some 5 kms apart. Think of a giant, with eyes 5 kms apart, looking down on the Temple from 20,000 feet. The photogrammetric plotting machine allows a human being with eyes only 5 cms apart to access the giant's view and see the temple surroundings in 3D.
- 2.3 While it is simple enough to see the 3D model, that is not sufficient. The operator cannot accurately estimate the scale of the model nor whether it is level or not. To do this he needs the coordinates of at least two plan positions identified on the aerial photographs for scale and at least three height points for levelling the model. It is usual to

¹ Response of Cambodia, 8 March 2012, map between pp 76 and 77.

² Map sheets 3 and 4 of Annex 49, Counter Memorial of Thailand.

³ This map is discussed in detail in Section 3.

supply more so that there are some check points that will show up any errors in the process.

- 2.4 When comparing maps made by photogrammetric processes, there are four influences on quality that need to be considered:
 - a. The quality of the photography;
 - b. The quality of the ground control used to orientate the model;
 - c. The precision with which the ground control points can be identified in the model (e.g. a corner of the temple ruins would be easy to identify whereas a small bush in a clearing in rain forest much less so);
 - d. The skill of the operator, especially in contouring. This will be influenced to a considerable extent by the machine he is using.
- 2.5 Unfortunately, a lot of this information is probably now unavailable. Professor Schermerhorn, the Dean of the ITC who authored the report accompanying the map, seemed satisfied with the quality of the ground control and its identification on the photographs. Fifty years on, it is difficult to find any other information on the quality of the control.⁴ The aerial photographs used by Professor Schermerhorn can still be viewed in the Court archive and are in excellent condition even after 50 years – a tribute to the archivist and the conditions in the archive. We do also know that ITC used much superior equipment to DAI and that becomes relevant when considering the “DAI revised ITC map”.

3. THE MAPS OF THE 1959-62 CASE – THE ITC MAP

- 3.1 Thailand commissioned ITC to produce 1:10,000 mapping of the area with a contour interval of 20 m in outlying areas and 10 m closer to the temple⁵. The aim was to define the watershed.
- 3.2 Professor Schermerhorn prepared a report on his work which was submitted as Annex 49 to Thailand’s Counter

⁴ The management of ITC has indicated in an email to the authors that the ITC archive no longer contains any records relating to the production of the maps used in the case. Any records that that might have been retained following the *Temple* case were destroyed when the Institute moved from Delft to Enschede in the 1970s.

⁵ From inspection, it appears that the 10 m. area was defined as all that land lying above the 500 m. ring contour around the temple. This definition would produce a larger area than might be needed but would be a simple instruction to give the photogrammetrist before he started work.

Memorial. In it, he described the method used⁶ and identified the photographic scale and vintage. In the oral hearings⁷, he confirmed that he used US Army Map Service photography taken on 4 Jan 1954 at a notional scale of 1:40,000. The area of the 3D overlap between photograph numbers 9050 and 9051 covers the whole width of Sheet 2 from east to west and from the Cambodian plain to the old dam south to north. Macdonald, in the company of the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Netherlands and officials from the Royal Thai Embassy at the Hague viewed the original photographs at the Court on 30 May 2012. The photographs (identified in the 1962 hearings as S1 and S2⁸) were of good quality when taken and remain so. It is therefore very easy to understand the difficulties caused by heavy tree cover in parts of the area as the different types of vegetation are clearly visible. The photographs also carry what appear to be the locations of the control points provided by the Royal Thai Survey Department (RTSD) inked up in red.

- 3.3 The maps carry a production date of April 1961. Under cross-examination from Cambodian counsel Dean Acheson, Schermerhorn explained that it represented the month in which the initial plotting was carried out and that Sheet 2 was not finalised until Ackermann had returned from Thailand in August 1961.⁹
- 3.4 ITC provided a number of photogrammetric spot heights in a flat area where the 10 m contour interval did not provide an adequate indication of the slope of the terrain. In addition, part of the area was obscured by dense tree cover. This is the area marked by the letter F and immediately to the west of it. There was uncertainty over the definition of precisely where the watershed crossed the area before continuing on to point E. Because of the uncertainty, Schermerhorn sent out a young engineer called Friedrich Ackermann¹⁰ to examine the area in detail and to determine the precise course of the watershed in the vicinity of F in July 1961.

⁶ Counter Memorial of Thailand pp. 432-433. The ITC's approach to the production of the map was also pithily summarised in the Rejoinder of Sir Frank Soskice in the oral hearings (p.612).

⁷ Oral Hearings p. 348 and p.350.

⁸ Oral Hearings, p.351-2.

⁹ Oral Hearings pp. 368-9. But see also paragraphs 3.5 and 4.5.

¹⁰ Ackermann went on to revolutionise the photogrammetric process. He became a monumental figure in the profession and is now a retired and much respected professor emeritus, living in Stuttgart.

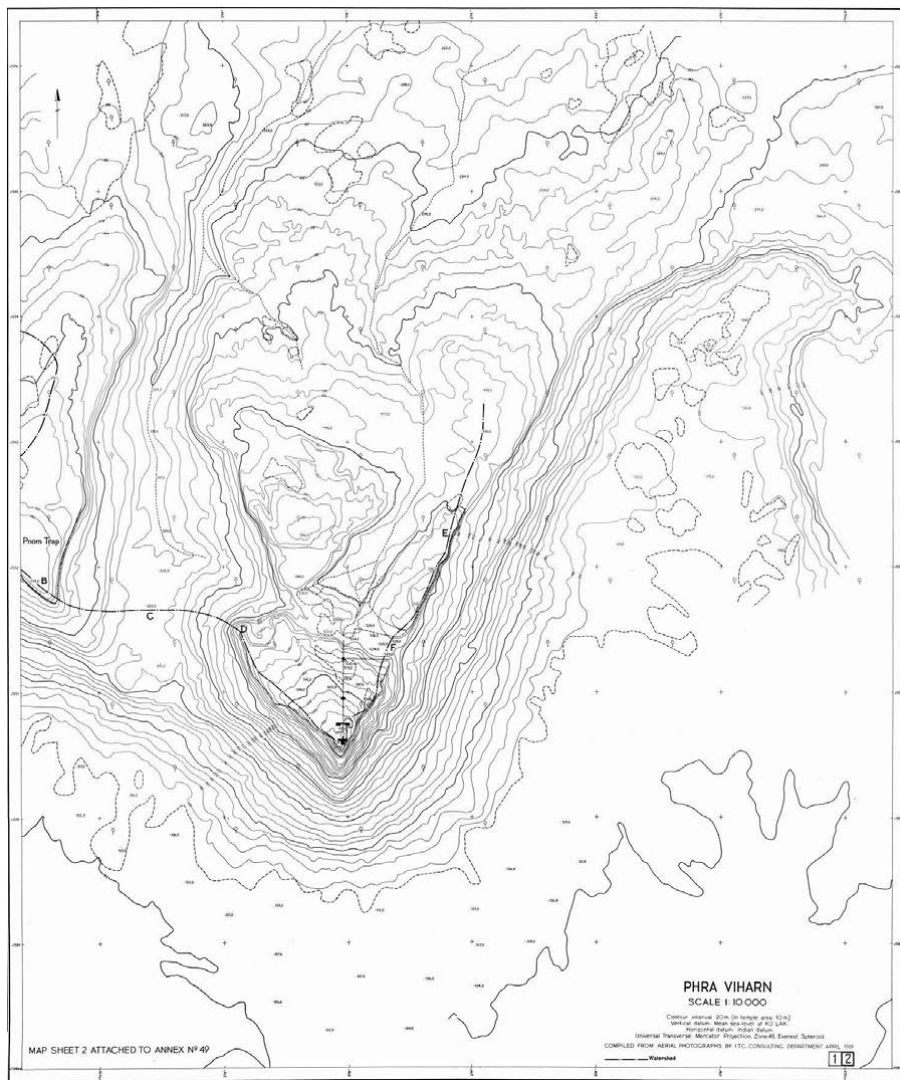


Figure 1: The ITC map, sheet 2

Note: The versions of the maps and photographs in this report are included primarily as *aides memoires*. Most are significantly reduced from their original scale, and detail may be difficult to discern. More legible, larger scale versions of all the maps can be supplied in digital format on request.

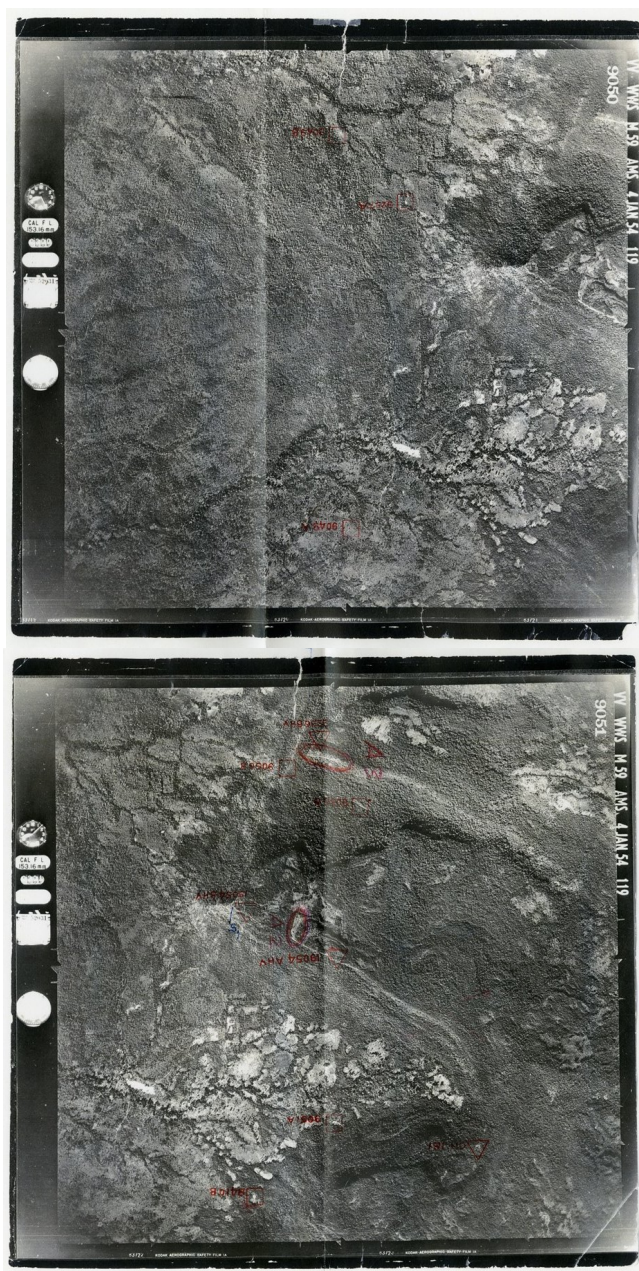


Figure 2: The 1954 aerial photography used in the production of the ITC map, identified as S1 and S2 in the 1962 oral hearings (see paragraph 3.2)

- 3.5 Sheet 2 itself contains very little evidence of Ackermann's work, which is quite surprising. He carried out some useful survey work both to provide the alignment of a stream running down on the east side of the temple and continuing to the north, and a series of heightened points in the vicinity of F. This work appears to have definitively solved the question of the alignment of the watershed in this area by establishing the existence of a saddle at Point F. His spot heights provided additional useful information about the slope of the area down to the west from Point F.
- 3.6 As far as one can see, the only use of his work on Sheet 2 of the ITC map itself was in placing the alignment of the watershed in the vicinity of F. In its Rejoinder, Thailand did submit Annex 75b (see Figure 9) in overlay form. This Annex depicted the course of Ackermann's stream and was intended to show how the stream related to other detail on the map. The original spot heights to the west of F were left undisturbed even though Ackermann had provided additional and more reliable values from his field work.¹¹ His field work was, however, displayed on the "Big Map" (see 5.3 and Figure 6) which was on view in the Court during the oral hearings.
- 3.7 In spite of this, it must be emphasised that the main purpose of the ITC maps was to depict the course of the watershed in the vicinity of the Temple. The maps do indeed fulfil this purpose.

4. THE MAPS OF THE 1959-62 CASE – THE DAI REVISED ITC MAP

- 4.1 When Cambodia saw the ITC mapping, they commissioned an American firm of photogeologists, Doeringsfeld, Amuedo and Ivey, to comment on it. DAI made several changes to the ITC map Sheet 2 and its version, annotated "REVISED EDITION", together with its report, were then submitted by Cambodia in its Reply.¹² During

¹¹ For an explanation, see 4.5 below.

¹² Reply of Cambodia, Annexes LXVIa (report), LXVIc and d (maps). LXVIc was a paper copy of the map, referred to as Annexe 1 in the Report. LXVI d was a transparency intended for use as an overlay on the original ITC map and referred to as Annexe 2 in the Report. This transparency is no longer present in the Court archive. There are least two versions of Annexe LXVIc in the archive. Both have an archive label with the number 29793 and the date 29-11-61; one copy, annotated during the oral hearings as S3, carries the annotations "Annexe L XVI (c)" in the northeast corner and "ANNEX 2 TO THE REPORT OF DOERINGSFELD, AMUEDO and IVEY" in the southeast corner. It is this S3 version that we have used as the basis of our remarks in this section.

the oral hearings, Counsel from both sides used the DAI version of Sheet 2 as the basis for their examinations and both sides referred to this DAI version of Sheet 2 as the "DAI revised ITC map". It contained the following changes (See Figure 5 below):

- a. A new 525 metre contour was inserted in the dip to the west of point F, running up the south side of the dip and returning towards F on the north side. A second 525 m contour was inserted further to the west around a ring contour. This allowed DAI to claim that a saddle lay between them in the vicinity of Point 2.
- b. The 520 m contour on the escarpment was deviated about 70 m to the west to intrude into the gap at F.
- c. A new watershed line was developed to run to the west of the line of the temple ruins down to cross the alleged saddle near Point 2 before turning east to regain the watershed, thus placing the Temple in Cambodia.
- d. DAI stated, in their accompanying report¹³, that "certain of the contour lines on the I.T.C. map are in error. Such errors in the temple area have been corrected on the revised map. These corrections are all minor, except at the location marked point 2 on the revised map where the 520-metre contour on the original map is in error".
- e. A visual comparison of the ITC and DAI maps has failed to reveal any of the minor changes that DAI claimed to have made to contour lines although the major change to the 520 m. contour (already referred to in b. above) is clearly visible. DAI introduced changes to the watershed line from Pnom Trap eastwards but these appear to have resulted from a re-interpretation of the existing ITC contours.

4.2 In their report¹⁴, DAI stated:

"It is believed that the watershed line as shown on the revised map is more accurate than is shown on the I.T.C. map because more emphasis was given to a study of the natural factors of stream channels and stream divides, whereas the I.T.C. watershed line is based mainly on deductions from the contour lines, as is stated in paragraph 4 (Procedure) of the I.T.C. Report.

¹³ Reply of Cambodia, Annex LXVIa., p.541 footnote.

¹⁴ Reply of Cambodia, Annex LXVIa.

The I.T.C. map is contoured at an interval of ten metres in the temple area, which is not a small enough interval for accurate definition of the watershed. The small magnitude of the stream channels in this area would require a contour interval of about one metre in order adequately to show all the details required for an accurate watershed determination based on contour lines. It is possible that even a one-metre interval would not be sufficient."

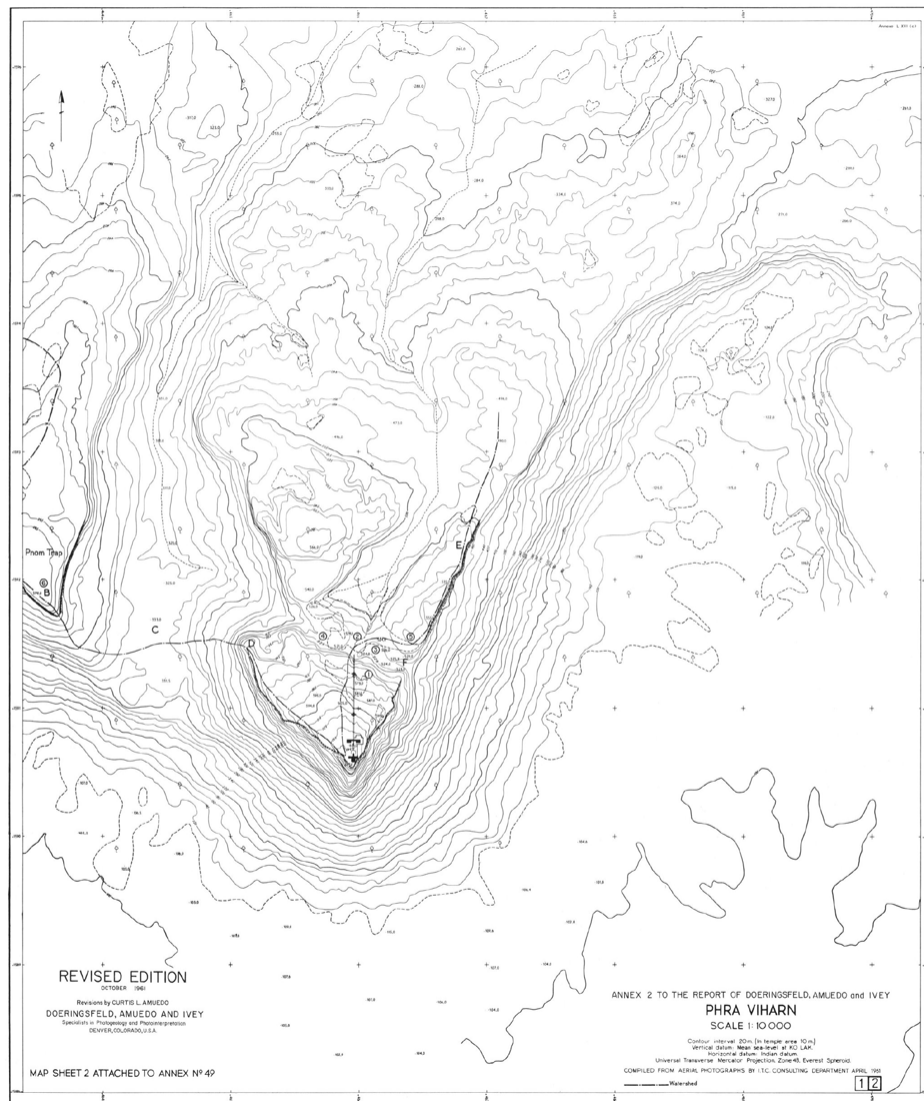


Figure 3: The DAI revised ITC map, sheet 2

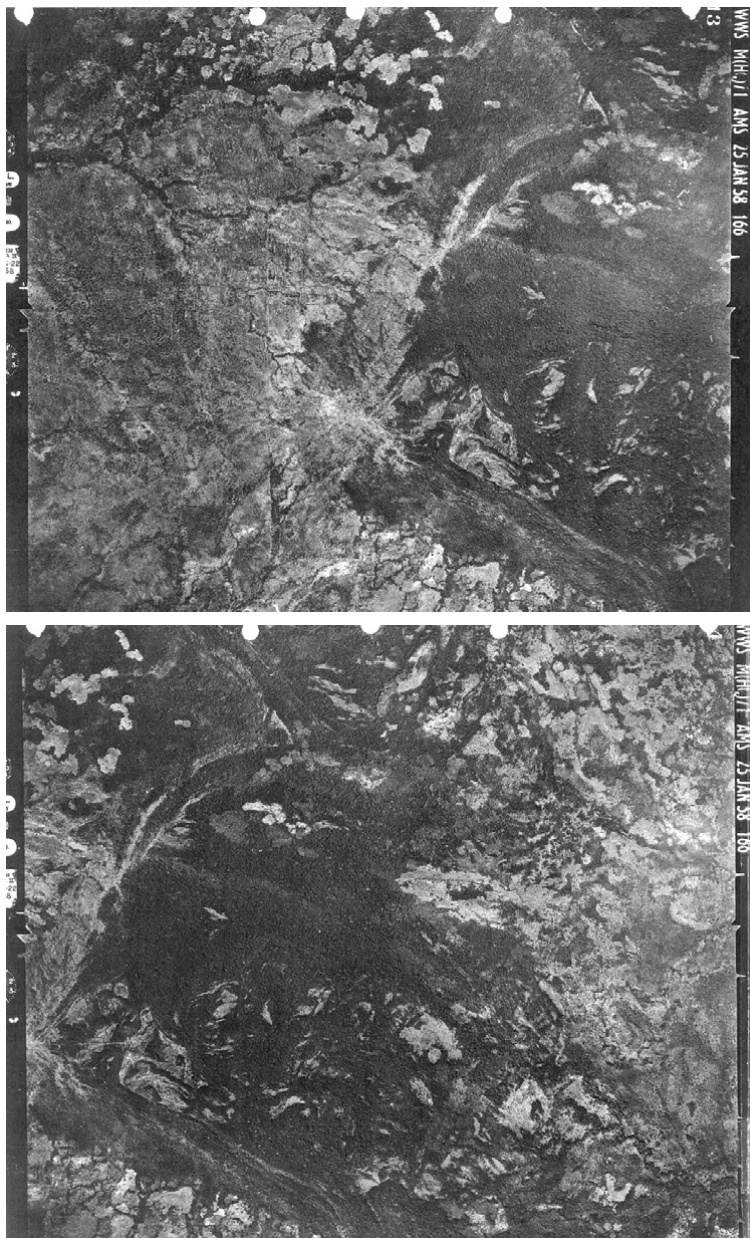


Figure 4: The 1958 aerial photography used in the production of the DAI revised ITC map (Annex LXVIb to the Cambodian Reply; see paragraph 4.5)

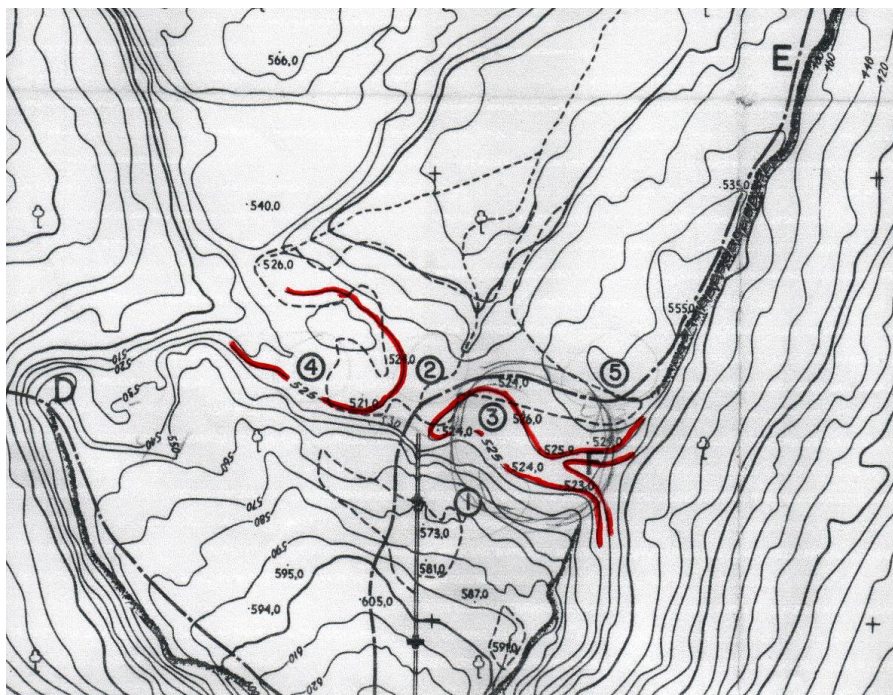


Figure 5: Extract of the DAI revised ITC Map on which we have highlighted in red the contour adjustments described in paragraph 4.1 above. The circle drawn in pencil is the "area of uncertainty" marked by Professor Schermerhorn during the 1962 oral hearings (see paragraph 4.12).

- 4.3 This is a reasonable criticism of the ITC map in the vicinity of the valley west of Point F where the 10 m contour interval could not indicate the lie of the land clearly (hence the ITC spot heights). It is noteworthy, however, that DAI displayed none of the streams they claim to have detected on their version of the ITC map. Other than in the Point F area, the ITC contour interval is adequate for the general definition of the watershed line.
- 4.4 When DAI go on to make the following claim, they are on much weaker ground:

"The contour lines and ground-control elevations on the I.T.C. map are fully consistent with the fact, observed from the aerial photographs, that a generally southeastward-flowing stream channel is present at the location marked point 3 on the revised map. To emphasize this consistency an intermediate 525-metre contour line has been placed on the revised map. This contour line is based on the actual ground-control elevations indicated on the I.T.C. map."
- 4.5 It is true that the 525 m contour is generally, though not entirely, consistent with the ITC spot heights but there are other ways of interpolating a 525 m contour line from

those heights. DAI offer no specific evidence for the existence of a south east flowing stream and no such claim can be made from the 1958 aerial photographs that they used¹⁵ because of the presence of a significant area of dense forest where height determination and stream detection would have been impossible without a field visit.

- 4.6 From the beginning, ITC were aware that there was a difficulty in determining the watershed in this area and sent Ackermann out to resolve it. Unfortunately, after Ackermann's work, although ITC now had additional reliable height information, they did not modify their original map sheet. Had Ackermann's spot heights and his stream been shown on the ITC map and additional contours provided to indicate the saddle at Point F, DAI would have found it much more difficult to have claimed the existence of the 525 m contour and the south east flowing stream. Schermerhorn explained his reasoning for not revising the ITC map to the Court thus:

"Mr President, what I tried to explain in a few words was that, although we knew that the ground survey could cause, and should cause also, some alterations of the existing map, in particular in those areas which were a little doubtful during the photogrammetric restitution, we decided to leave the map just as it was and only do no more than to take away from our first pencil manuscript the alternative [line of watershed] which we considered as wrong; because if we once would have started in one corner - well, changing a little bit a contour line - well, then you come into difficulties and then you don't know exactly how far it runs. There was one additional point which was that we found that within the precision of the twenty metres contours, there was no important contradiction between the ground survey and the photogrammetric restitution, except for that one point which had misled us about the saddle."¹⁶

- 4.7 Schermerhorn was being strictly and professionally correct. To have adjusted the contours to fit Ackermann's heights would have involved a degree of speculation in their position which he felt – in contrast to DAI – was unjustified. With hindsight, the ideal course would have been for Ackermann to have taken a copy of the map sheet with him to the field and corrected it on site.¹⁷
- 4.8 In assessing the DAI map, we are faced with making a choice between Ackermann's survey work and the claims of DAI. During our own field visit in August 2011, we saw

¹⁵ Reply of Cambodia, Annex LXVIb, p.540; copies obtained by the Royal Thai Embassy in The Hague.

¹⁶ Oral Hearings p.373.

¹⁷ As the original edition of the map was available at the time of Ackermann's visit, it seems inconceivable that he would not have had the map with him in the field. So the question might be: why did he not revise the map on the spot?

Ackermann's stream flowing in the direction that he indicated in the vicinity of Points 2 and 3 and therefore crossing the DAI 525 m. contour on more than one occasion, a clear impossibility. From Macdonald's personal knowledge of Ackermann's reputation, we believe his work would have been correct. Thus, we believe that the 525 m. contour is incorrectly placed on the DAI map.

- 4.9 In any case, DAI were using very simple equipment that was simply not capable of detecting a 5m contour, especially from aerial photography at such a small scale. Schermerhorn ridiculed the inferiority of the DAI equipment compared to his own¹⁸ and, based on our knowledge of the equipment in question, we feel he was justified in doing so.
- 4.10 We are therefore left with the conclusion that the DAI amendments to the ITC map are unsupportable and incorrect. The watershed that DAI depicts is based on a false and (in our personal opinion) an unprofessional interpretation of the facts available.
- 4.11 Thailand's counsel Sir Frank Soskice used the "DAI revised ITC map" as the basis of his questions to Professor Schermerhorn during the oral hearings. With hindsight, one might think that this would have given unnecessary additional credibility to this map. Even the phrase used to refer to it – the "DAI revised ITC map" – implied that it was in some way superior to the ITC map. We would have preferred the phrase "DAI degraded ITC map"!
- 4.12 Soskice even led Schermerhorn into drawing a "circle of uncertainty" in the vicinity of Point F on this map which was then deposited in the Court's records as S3.¹⁹ It is easy, when reading the transcript, to think that this was a current area of uncertainty but, in fact, Schermerhorn was only indicating an area which, at the start of his work, was flagged up as needing more careful investigation. Ackermann went out and resolved the uncertainty.

¹⁸ Oral hearings, p.366.

¹⁹ Oral Hearings p. 354.

5. THE MAPS OF THE 1959-62 CASE – THE “BIG MAP”

- 5.1 The “big map”²⁰ was introduced into the oral hearings by Thailand’s counsel, James Hyde, and was presumably intended to allow the Court to follow more easily the arguments of counsel on both sides. It was a 5x enlargement to 1:2000 scale of both sheets of the ITC 1:10,000 map.²¹ A 90 cm x 60 cm extract from the eastern third of the map, representing 4% of the area of the “big map”, is lodged as Annex 85d to the published record of the 1962 oral hearings. The western two thirds of the original map are also located in the Court archive and were examined by Macdonald, in the company of the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Netherlands and officials from the Royal Thai Embassy at the Court on 30 May 2012.²² The original version of the full eastern section is missing from the Court archive.
- 5.2 The map was made in three sections, each 3 m. north to south and 1.5 m. east to west. Underlying the contour detail is a faint pencil grid, in which each square is equivalent to an area of 1000 m. x 1000 m. on the ground. The squares are numbered sequentially from east to west and south to north. We noted that the version of ITC map sheet 2 archived as S3 (see footnote 12 above) carried a similar 1000 m. grid and the same grid numbers. A close inspection of the contours on the big map revealed a regular spacing of very small discontinuities every 2 grid squares. From this information, we deduce that the most probable method of production for this map, described by Hyde in the oral hearings as an “optically made enlargement”²³ was as follows:
- A transparent copy of Sheet 2 was cut into smaller units of 4 grid squares.
 - A 4 grid square unit was then placed in an enlarger and projected on to the base board to produce a 5x enlargement.
 - The relevant section of the gridded paper map was laid onto the base board and adjusted until the grid lines coincided. The contour lines were traced from the projected image with a pen of 3.5 mm. diameter. Stream detail was added in

²⁰ This was the term by which it was frequently referred to in Court by counsel on both sides.

²¹ The “big map” measures 3 m. by 4.5 m. and was constructed in three separate sections each 1.5 m. wide.

²² See Figure 7.

²³ Oral hearings, p. 273.

blue, ITC watershed detail in black and DAI watershed detail in red.

- d. The process was repeated for all 4 grid square units until the whole map had been completed.
- e. The course of the O Tasem and the Annex I line were added by eye. First, a thin pencil line was sketched in on the map following alignments probably suggested by Map Sheets 3 and 4 to Annex 49.²⁴ These lines were then suitably enhanced by applying a green crayon to produce a thick line approximately 1 cm wide.

5.3 Counsel for Thailand, James Hyde introduced this map to the Court with the following words.²⁵ We comment on the text we have indicated in red in the paragraphs that follow:

"Now I should like to turn to this large map which is behind me, a map on the scale of 1: 2,000 prepared by the International Training Centre for Aerial Survey. It plots on this one sheet some of the information contained on the maps which are annexes in this case.²⁶ This is an optically made enlargement, reproducing with some precision the information plotted. **There is no new evidence presented by this map**; it is simply a visual aid, and if there was an issue of some deviation between what the annexes before the Court show and this map, the argument should of course be addressed to the annexes. I should add that there is a slight element of approximation in expanding by one hundred times to this scale the information contained in Annex I. And, Mr. President, Members of the Court, I shall ask Mr. Ackermann of the Institute to assist me by pointing out on this map several elements I shall mention, and I shall ask him to point them out as they are mentioned in the French translation as well.

The basic sheet is an enlargement of Thailand's Annexes 49 (these two brown sheets, prepared by the Institute), and on it, these two brown sheets being in fact the background of the large map, are **plotted first of all the frontier line as it appears in Annex I, that is to say the line represented by the crosses in Cambodia's Annex I**. Would you indicate the Annex I frontier line? It is indicated in green and marked by the legend "A.1". It also contains the geographical watershed line, prepared by Thailand's experts, which appears on these two map sheets of the Institute. Will you now please indicate the Institute's topographical watershed line? And then it contains the line of Cambodia's experts,

²⁴ For further discussion of the Annex I line see Section 6.

²⁵ Oral hearings p. 273-4.

²⁶ A footnote by Registry indicates that the map is located at Annex 85d.

Messrs. Doeringsfeld, Amuedo and Ivey, which, as you will see, corresponds in part with the Institute's line and then differs very substantially as it runs to the north.

It also shows where the contours indicate the cliff edge in the area of the Temple; and finally it indicates some streams of vital importance, and at this point I shall mention just one. And that is a stream, a river, known as O Tasem. Now this river O Tasem is indicated in green as it is plotted on Annex I, and you will see how it comes all round that mountain and then flows down through that saddle into Cambodia. You will notice how there is a juncture between that stream, as plotted on Annex I, and the watershed line as both experts are agreed on it. Would you indicate where O Tasem is plotted, crosses the watershed line as both experts are agreed? That cross. And finally this map indicates in blue the actual flow of this river O Tasem as Professor Schermerhorn's study shows that it really exists.

That, Mr. President and Members of the Court, is the information drawn from the annexes which that map behind me presents.

5.4 Hyde suggested that there was no new evidence presented by this map. However, it does appear that there are some significant new pieces of information on the map (See Figure 8):

- a. The stream that Ackermann surveyed is shown as an integral part of the map. This is an improvement on the overlay provided for use with the original ITC map.²⁷ The "big map" makes it much easier to understand the relationship between the stream and the surrounding contours.
- b. The inclusion of a number of spot heights surveyed by Ackermann in the area of Point F and immediately to the west of it. These heights indicate that the ITC alignment of the watershed is substantially correct. Later in the hearings, Ackermann was taken through these heights on this map by Soskice.²⁸

²⁷ See 3.6 above.

²⁸ Oral Hearings, p. 388-9.

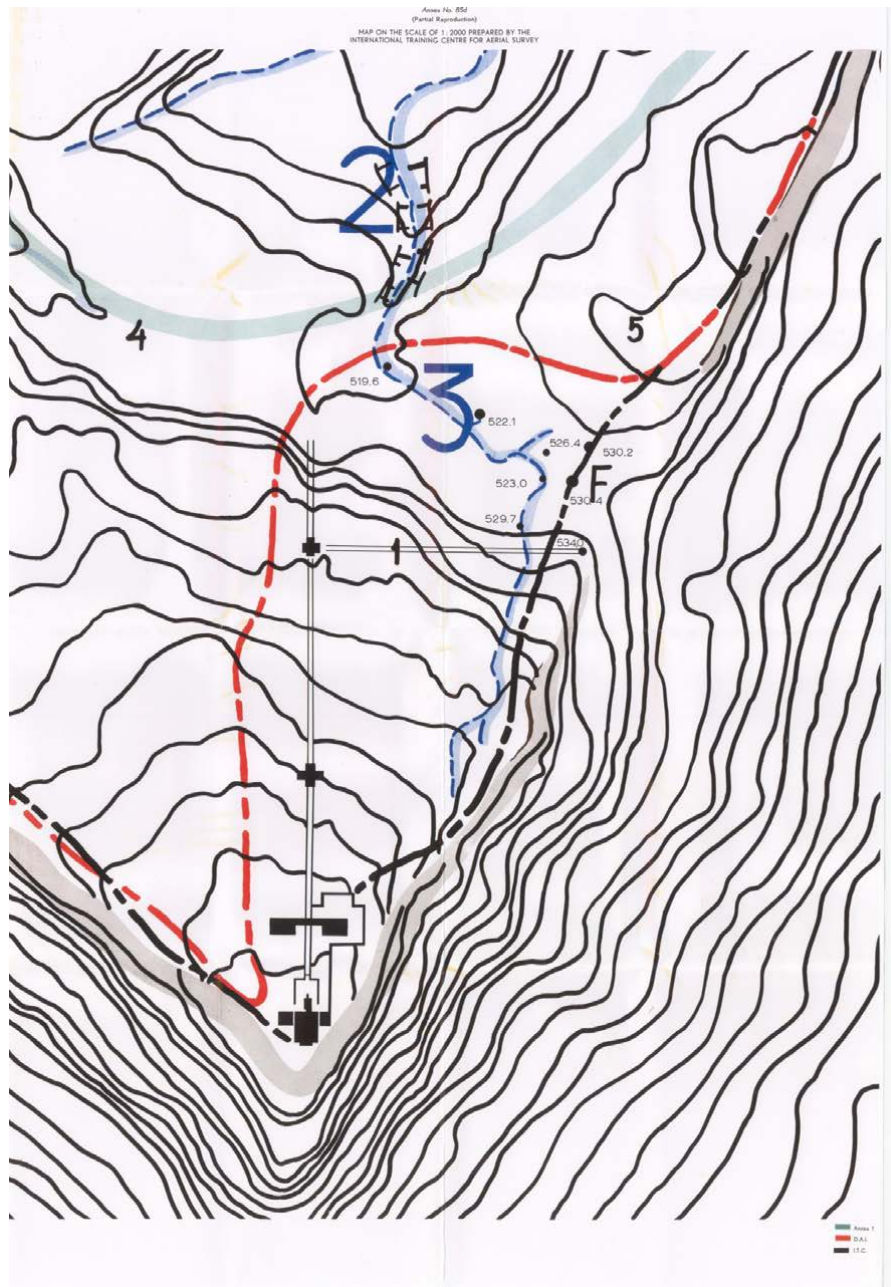


Figure 6: The extract from the "Big Map" annexed to the published record of the 1962 oral hearings (Annex 85d)



Figure 7: Photograph of two of the three sheets comprising the “Big Map” (viewed by Macdonald during a visit to the ICJ on 30 May 2012) (See paragraphs 5.1 and 5.2)

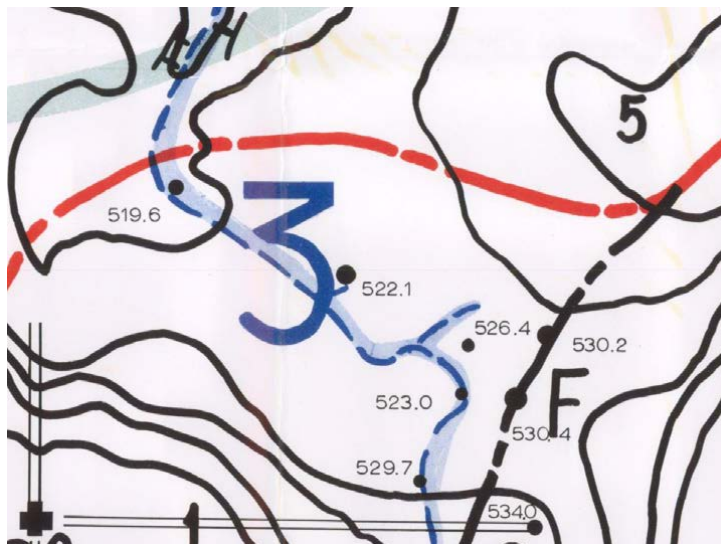


Figure 8: Extract of the "Big Map" showing the spot heights included from Ackermann's work, the lower section of his stream in blue and a portion of the Annex I boundary in green (which has reproduced with a bluey tone) (see paragraph 5.5 and 5.6)

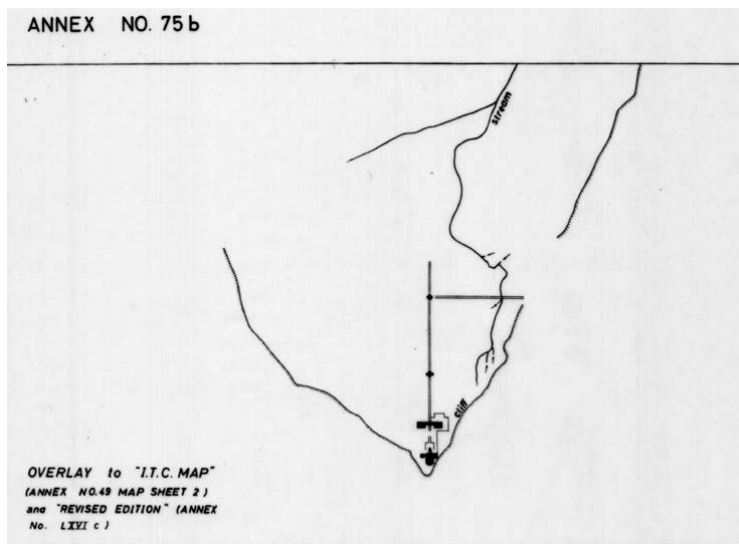


Figure 9: Annex 75b to Thailand's Rejoinder, an overlay which was designed to add Ackermann's survey work to the ITC map and the "DAI revised ITC map" (see paragraphs 3.6 and 5.4a)

- 5.5 Two large numerals, "2" and "3", in blue, have been added to the map. Their purpose was to allow the Court to follow a discussion of stream channels in the area to the west of

Point F.²⁹ In the vicinity of Point 2, symbols were added to the stream running north. An examination of the aerial photography and our own observations in the field suggest that this was to represent a gorge.

- 5.6 We cannot find any evidence that an explanation was ever given to the Court about how the Annex I map was collocated with the “big map” to produce the Annex I line that appears on the latter. In 5.2, we describe the process by which we think the line was added. A careful examination of the 1:50,000 overlay discussed in the next section and a comparison with the “big map” suggests that this overlay might have been the basis for locating the Annex I line, in spite of the amount of enlargement involved. It is important to remember that displaying the Annex I line on the big map had only one purpose – to display the way in which the presence of the imaginary O Tasem had pushed the Annex I line well to the north of the true watershed. It was never intended to be an accurate positioning – this would require a more complex procedure as set out in 6.9 below.

²⁹ Oral Hearings, p. 363. A rather confusing discussion between Soskice and Schermerhorn on the streams in the area and the uncertainty surrounding them which is then superseded by a discussion of Ackermann’s work which provided certainty.

6. THE MAPS OF THE 1959-62 CASE – THE ITC/ANNEX I COMPARISON

- 6.1 Professor Schermerhorn was asked to compare his mapping with the Annex I map of 1908.³⁰ As with the “big map”, the purpose of this exercise was to display the way in which the presence of the imaginary O Tasem had pushed the Annex I line well to the north of the true watershed.
- 6.2 The scales of these two maps differed by a factor of 20 so he supplied a 5X reduction of the whole area covered by the two ITC map sheets on a transparency at a scale of 1:50,000 (see Figure 10) and a 4x enlargement of the same area from the Annex I map printed on paper at the same scale (see Figure 11). The transparency was to be overlaid onto the paper map using four registration crosses provided on the transparency which were to coincide with the corners of the bounding rectangle of the Annex I extract (see Figure 12). It is not clear from the Report how the corners of the ITC area were defined nor how the equivalent area of the Annex I extract was chosen. He might have used the escarpment edge in the vicinity of the temple, but not the temple symbols themselves (as the temple symbol on the Annex I map does not coincide with the detail on the ITC map).³¹ Alternatively, he might have converted the grid values of his corner crosses on the ITC map to latitudes and longitudes and, ignoring any errors arising from a change of projection, used these values to define the extract from the Annex I map.
- 6.3 It should be remembered that Schermerhorn was not interested in great accuracy for this comparison. The purpose of comparing the two maps in the chosen area was simply to demonstrate visually to the Court how wrong the Annex I line was and how that error had been caused by the unjustified inclusion of the O Tasem, a stream which was wholly imaginary. The map and the overlay were fit for this purpose but not necessarily for any further use such as demarcation. As Macdonald and Pratt have already stated³²:

³⁰ Counter Memorial of Thailand, Annex 49, pp. 434-436.

³¹ This is as it should be – the temple symbol is crudely positioned on the Annex I map and is too far west of the edge of the escarpment.

³² *Assessment of the task of translating the Cambodia-Thailand boundary depicted on the 'Annex I' map onto the ground*, October 2011, p. 17 (reproduced as Annex 96 to the Written Observations of the Kingdom of Thailand, 21 November 2011).

"... there is a need to consider the technical limitations of a small scale map such as the Annex I map. Even if the map is accurate, the scale will define the precision with which the position of any feature on the map can be determined. The arms of the cross symbols used to mark the boundary on the Annex I map are about 0.6 millimetres wide, which is 120 metres on the ground. The contours which define the watershed are fairly crude and the choice of location of the boundary line within the ring contours of the crest line (made most probably by a cartographer in Paris) must have been fairly arbitrary, leading to further uncertainty of position."

- 6.4 Schermerhorn describes the error in the Annex I map as follows:

"The relative agreement between both maps above referred to does not apply to the western parts of the mapped area. Apart from the fact that the Phnom Trap mountain is not very well represented in the "annex I" map there is one very striking difference concerning the headwaters of the O'Tasem river. According to the "annex I" map there is a valley going around the northern side of the Phnom Trap mountain draining the water coming down from the western side of Phra Viharn mountain. According to the "annex I" map the water flows around the Phnom Trap mountain and empties itself into the Cambodian territory in the southern direction. This representation does not agree with the actual topography and must be pointed out to be in error."

- 6.5 It is also worth pointing out that it is not just the O Tasem that is in error on the Annex I map. Of the five other streams flowing to the north, three are seriously in error. In addition, errors of 500m in the plan position of contours are not uncommon and errors of up to 1.5 kms exist.

- 6.6 Cambodia, in its Response in the present proceedings, has included a composite printing of the ITC map overlay on the Annex I extract³³. At 4.65, it suggests that the purpose is to define an area of dispute:

"La carte qui suit cette page est une comparaison effectuée par le Dr. Schermerhorn après superposition des deux cartes. La ligne surlignée en vert est la ligne sur la carte de l'annexe I ; la ligne surlignée en rouge montre le positionnement de la ligne de partage des eaux selon la Thaïlande. A l'est et à l'ouest du Temple, les deux lignes se rejoignent. Cependant, dans la partie centrale, il y a une zone délimitée où les deux lignes divergent. Cela correspond aux 4,6 km² qui étaient au centre du litige dans l'affaire initiale et qui demeurent litigieux aujourd'hui."

- 6.7 In overprinting the ITC map on the Annex I extract, Cambodia has not followed Schermerhorn's procedure. As mentioned in 6.2, Schermerhorn provided, on his reduction of the 1:10,000 map, four registration crosses with which to align the map to the Annex I enlargement. This results in the ITC detail of the temple buildings not

³³ A facsimile of this map is presented at Figure 13.

being coincident with the Annex I symbol, which is perfectly justifiable as the positioning of the temple symbol on the Annex I map is clearly rather crude. Cambodia has nevertheless chosen to make the two temple symbols coincident. This decision moves the positions of the two points at which the ITC watershed and the Annex I line intersect by about 500 m. in the west and 300 m. in the east³⁴ when compared to the positions given by the correct application of Schermerhorn's method. This one effect exposes the Cambodian attempt to define a zone "qui étaient au centre du litige dans l'affaire initiale et qui demeurent litigieux aujourd'hui" as both crude and unreliable.

- 6.8 Cambodia's decision also displaces the whole length of the Annex I line as it would appear on the real world by some 300 m. – to Thailand's disadvantage for most of its length. We believe that a correct application of Schermerhorn's procedure would produce an area of 4.2 km² rather than Cambodia's claim of 4.6 km².
- 6.9 Furthermore, Cambodia has taken an arbitrary position on the transformation of the Annex I watershed line onto the real world by simply overprinting the ITC map onto the Annex I map without any explanation of how it has collocated the two maps. Macdonald and Pratt discussed the options available for this purpose in their earlier report.³⁵ Looked at in a purely technical way, taking into account the practical problems, the following processes would be necessary before a relationship between the erroneous Annex I line and the true watershed could be established:
 - a. Agree between the parties how much of the Annex I watershed line is to be accepted for the delimitation of the boundary.
 - b. Agree on a mathematical transformation to be used to transform this agreed section of boundary.
 - c. Select common points (i.e. points on the Annex I map that can be confidently identified on the ITC map). As Macdonald and Pratt have already pointed out, there are not many points that can be confidently identified and it is quite likely that these points will lie one to the west

³⁴ The different values at the two points are accounted for by the different directions in which the lines are travelling at each end.

³⁵ *Assessment of the task of translating the Cambodia-Thailand boundary depicted on the 'Annex I' map onto the ground*, October 2011, pp19-42.

and the other to the east of the selected section of the Annex I line.

d. Carry out a transformation.

- 6.10 Only then could field teams set about the demarcation. However, even before attempting to agree this process, it is necessary to consider the logic behind the Cambodian approach to selecting this particular section of the Annex I watershed. There appears to be no physical significance to the two points of intersection. The ITC watershed line just happens to intersect the Annex I line at these two points. Thus, the proposal that the Annex I watershed should be used to define a boundary between these two points seems to be arbitrary. One might express the Cambodian logic as follows: *Where the Annex I watershed line apportions more land to Cambodia, it is to be taken as the authority for delimitation. Where it apportions more land to Thailand, it is to be abandoned and the ITC watershed (ie the true watershed) is to become the authority.* This would seem to be a logic designed simply to benefit Cambodia.

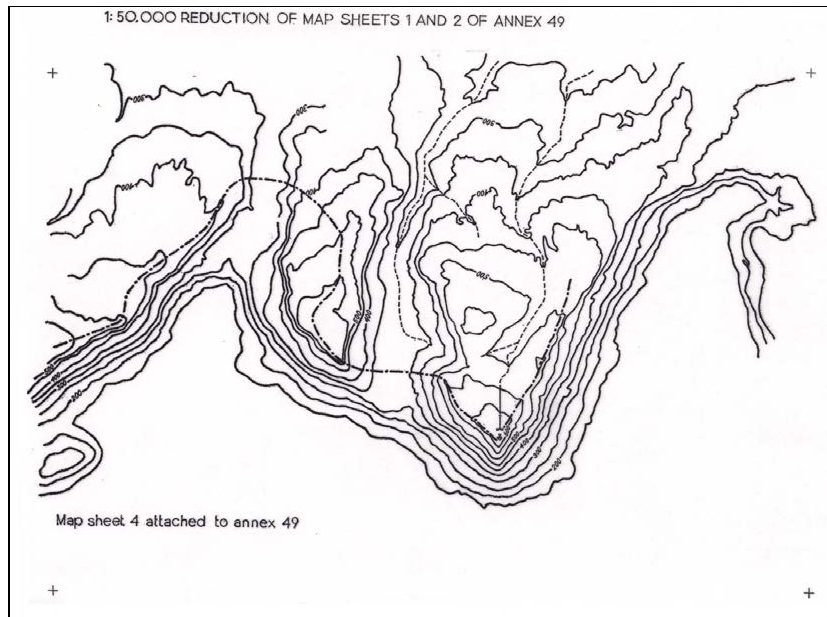


Figure 10: ITC's 1:50,000 reduction of the ITC map (the original was provided on transparent material)

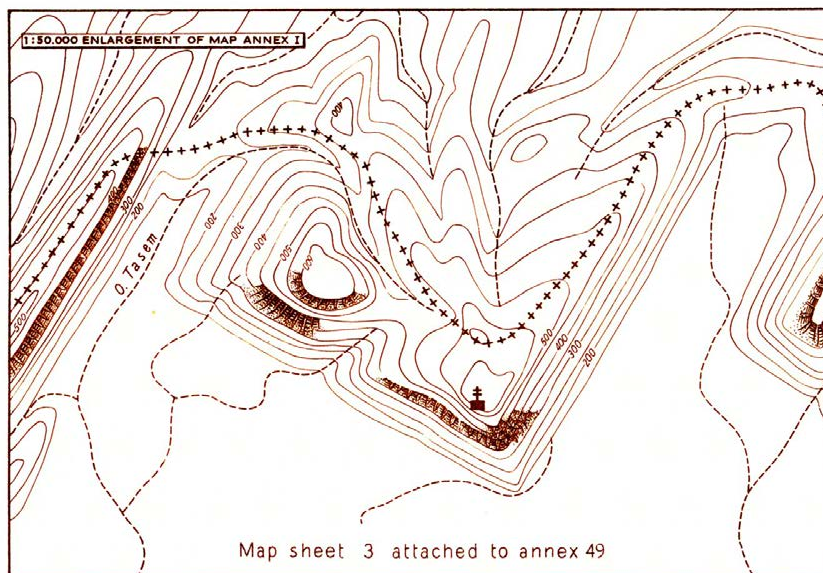


Figure 11: ITC's 1:50,000 enlargement of the Annex I map

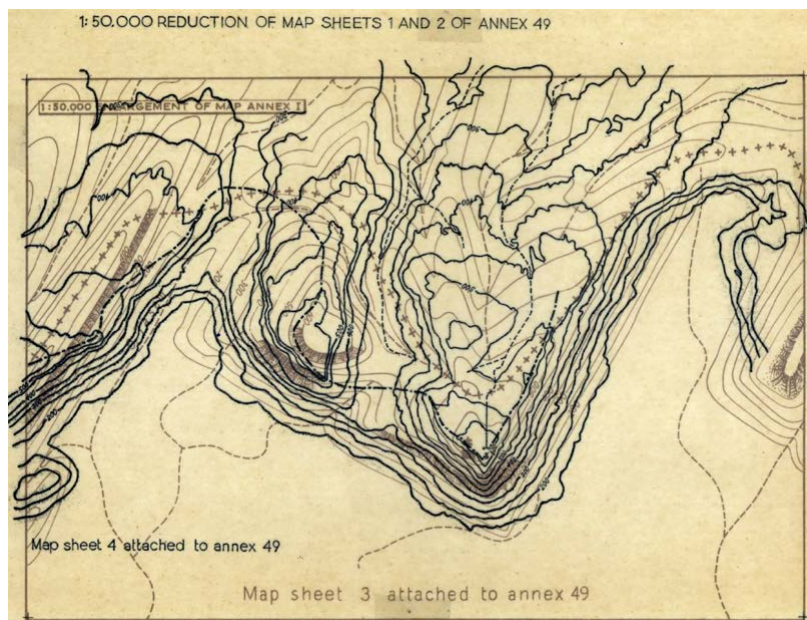


Figure 12: Overlay of the reduced ITC map and enlarged Annex I map using the registration crosses provided by ITC

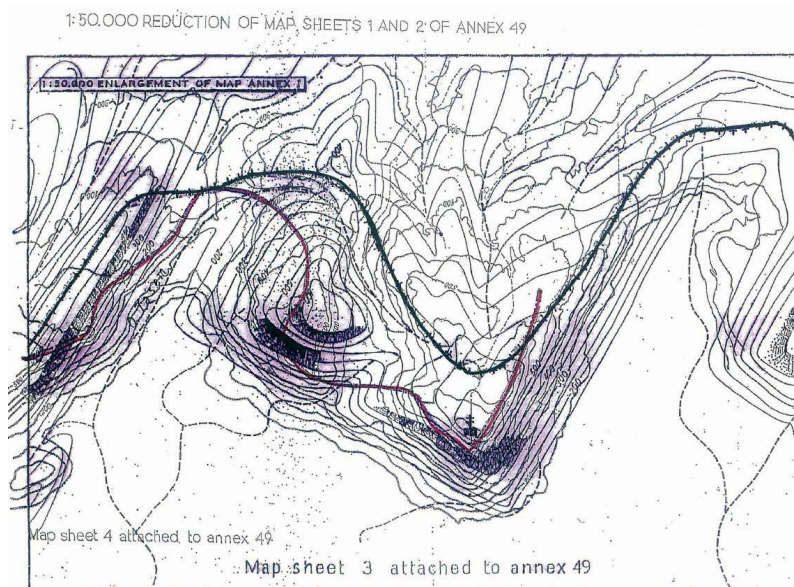


Figure 13: Cambodia's overlay of the two maps in its 2012 Response (see paragraphs 6.6-6.7)

7. THE MAPS OF THE 1959-62 CASE – THE ANNEX 61 MAP

- 7.1 This map, constructed in 1937 at a scale of 1:5,000 (see Figure 14), covers the immediate area of the temple and was introduced into the 1962 Rejoinder with the following text:
- "60. The Cambodian Government is thus mistaken in suggesting, in para. 69 of the Reply, that the Government of Thailand "did not render public before 1958 a map which affirmed or confirmed its territorial sovereignty". The Government of Thailand made such a map public in 1935, as soon as it could reasonably be expected to do so after the completion of its survey of the area. For the purpose of the production of another map of Phra Viharn, on a larger scale, another field survey was carried out in December, 1937. The original field sheet drawn as a result of this survey, on the scale 1: 5,000, has been deposited in the Registry (Annex No. 61). Like sheet No. 81/4-48-9, it shows the frontier in its proper place and the temple on the Thai side of it. This 1: 5,000 sheet was printed and made available to the public in 1940."³⁶
- 7.2 It was referred to again in the oral hearings by Soksice as evidence of the local topography which pre-dated the case and thus was untainted by any arguments surrounding it.³⁷
- 7.3 After such a long time interval, it is difficult to be sure of its method of production. It is very unlikely that aerial photography was available and the most likely method would have involved a detailed survey on the ground. This means that the streams shown would have been seen by the surveyors and the necessary measurements taken to position them on the map. One cannot form a view as to the accuracy of these streams but it is worth noting that a comparison with Ackermann's stream shows good agreement in the lower part where it flows to the north west. However, there is weak agreement in the upper part closer to the temple where the bed is much less clearly defined.
- 7.4 Nevertheless, the professional appearance of the map inspires some confidence that it was well made and is reliable.
- 7.5 It is interesting to note that this map clearly depicts a saddle in the vicinity of Point F on the ITC map in exactly the same way that Ackermann claimed in evidence during the oral hearings in 1961 (see Figure 15). Considering all the arguments about the saddle's existence in the oral hearings, it is surprising that the evidence of this map was never brought into play.

³⁶ Rejoinder of Thailand, p. 574-5.

³⁷ Oral Hearings, p.622-3.

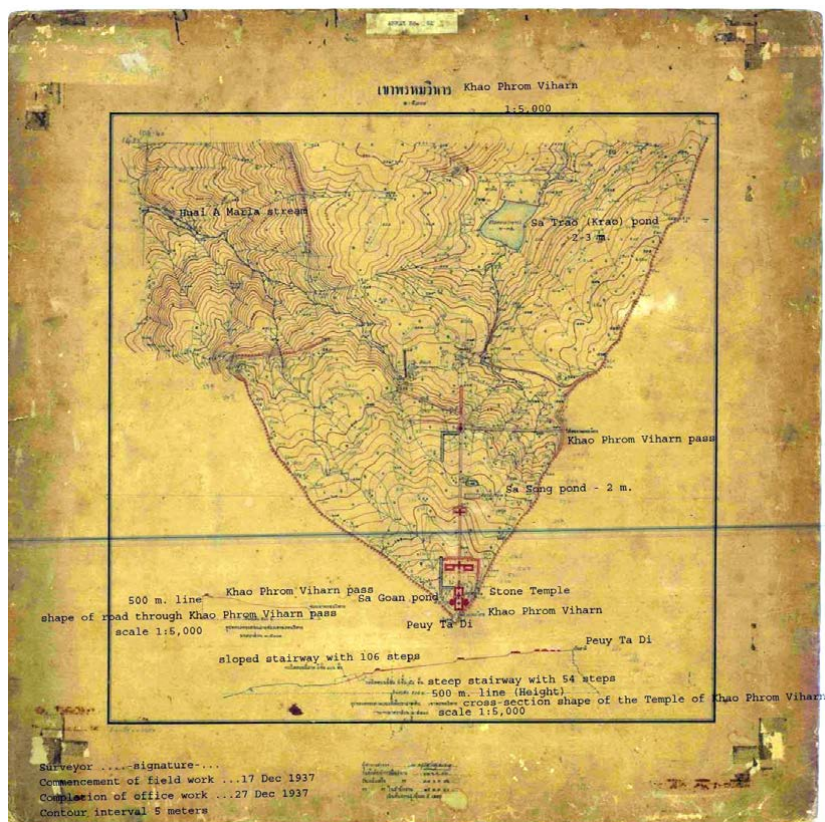


Figure 14: The Annex 61 map (English text added by RTSD)



Figure 15: Extract from the Annex 61 map with the saddle described by Ackermann highlighted

8. THE CABINET LINE MAP

- 8.1 This map covers the area immediately around the temple site. It was submitted to the Court during oral hearings on Provisional Measures in May 2011 (see Figure 16).
- 8.2 It was produced in the period 1960-1 at a scale of 1:5,000 and shows considerable similarity with the 1937 Annex 61 map. At least 80% of the contours are identical but there have been changes along the top of the escarpment running both east and west from the temple site. Much of the stream detail is similar too. It is known that aerial photography at 1:40,000 scale was used in its production and the most likely explanation is that the photogrammetrist used the existing 1937 map as a base map and revised it from the aerial photography where he felt it was necessary. As well as the contour changes, there are minor changes to the depiction of the temple buildings. Other modern features were added at the same time. Nevertheless, because of the significant areas of agreement with the 1937 map, it is reasonable to argue that the topography on this map is not tainted by any arguments or bias arising from the 1962 case.
- 8.3 The map provides much more detail of stream channels than the ITC map. This is not surprising given the probability that the original 1937 map involved surveyors going on the ground.

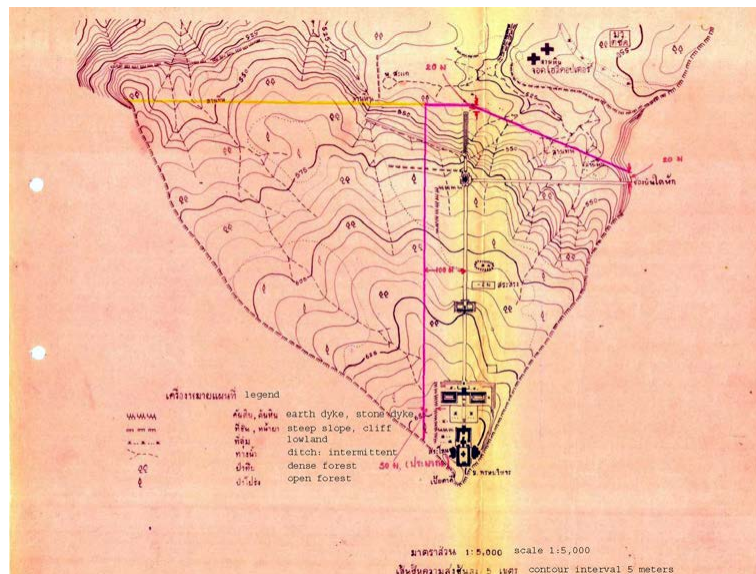


Figure 16: The Cabinet Line map (English text added by RTSD)

9. THE COMPARISON OF THE DAI REVISED ITC MAP AND THE CABINET LINE MAP

- 9.1 An overlay of selected features from the Cabinet Line map onto selected features from the "DAI revised ITC map" was prepared by IBRU following a request from the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand in March 2012 (see Figure 17).
- 9.2 The two maps were collocated and scaled using the length of the Temple feature and the composite map is presented at 1:10,000 scale (the scale of the original DAI revised map). There remain discrepancies in the position of intermediate features of the temple of up to 10 m. As the ITC map displayed few streams and the Cabinet Line many, no useful comparison of these features can be made. There are discrepancies in the line of the escarpment edge of up to 60 m but this could be due to uncertainty about where the plateau ends and the escarpment begins.
- 9.3 The most significant feature of the comparison is the variation between the two contour models.³⁸ The Cabinet Line contours are generally 10 m higher than the ITC contours. The height difference is uniform over the whole of the mapped area and suggests an error which requires a "block shift" correction – that is to say, either all the heights on the ITC model rise by 10 m or those on the Cabinet Line model are reduced by 10 m. Differences would still remain but they would be much smaller. The reason for such a difference cannot be determined with certainty so long after the event. However, if the Cabinet Line map is in some way connected to the 1937 Annex 61 map, then the fact that an understanding of height above mean sea level in this locality may have improved significantly between 1937 and 1961 may explain the difference. Many survey departments were improving their control networks at this time and a change to height values of 10 m is not impossible. The alternative is that all the height control provided to Professor Schermerhorn was in error by 10 m. There is no evidence to suggest that this was the case, but it remains a possibility.
- 9.4 Also of note is the variation in the shape and gradients of the slopes that the two models portray. The most likely

³⁸ The five metre contour lines depicted on the Cabinet Line map were omitted from the overlay to facilitate comparison (the DAI revised ITC map only depicts contours at ten metre intervals except for the two 525 m. contours which have been left in).

explanation is that the Cabinet Line map contours were largely based on surveys in the field and the ITC and DAI contours on the DAI map were based on aerial photography which gave a restricted view of parts of the area because of tree cover.

- 9.5 However, for the purposes of watershed definition, the differences are largely minor and have little effect on its location. The main exception is at Point F where the DAI contours show a valley running eastwards from 2 to F and over the escarpment into Cambodia whereas the Cabinet Line map shows a higher saddle at Point F and a stream running westwards. The 1937 Annex 61 map also shows this saddle at Point F and that depiction was supported by Ackermann's on-site observations in 1961. We ourselves have seen a stream flowing across the DAI valley 525 m. contour in two places. We therefore believe that the DAI claim of an eastward flowing stream flowing from 2 to F is unsupportable and that the DAI watershed line between the Temple and Point 5 is incorrect.

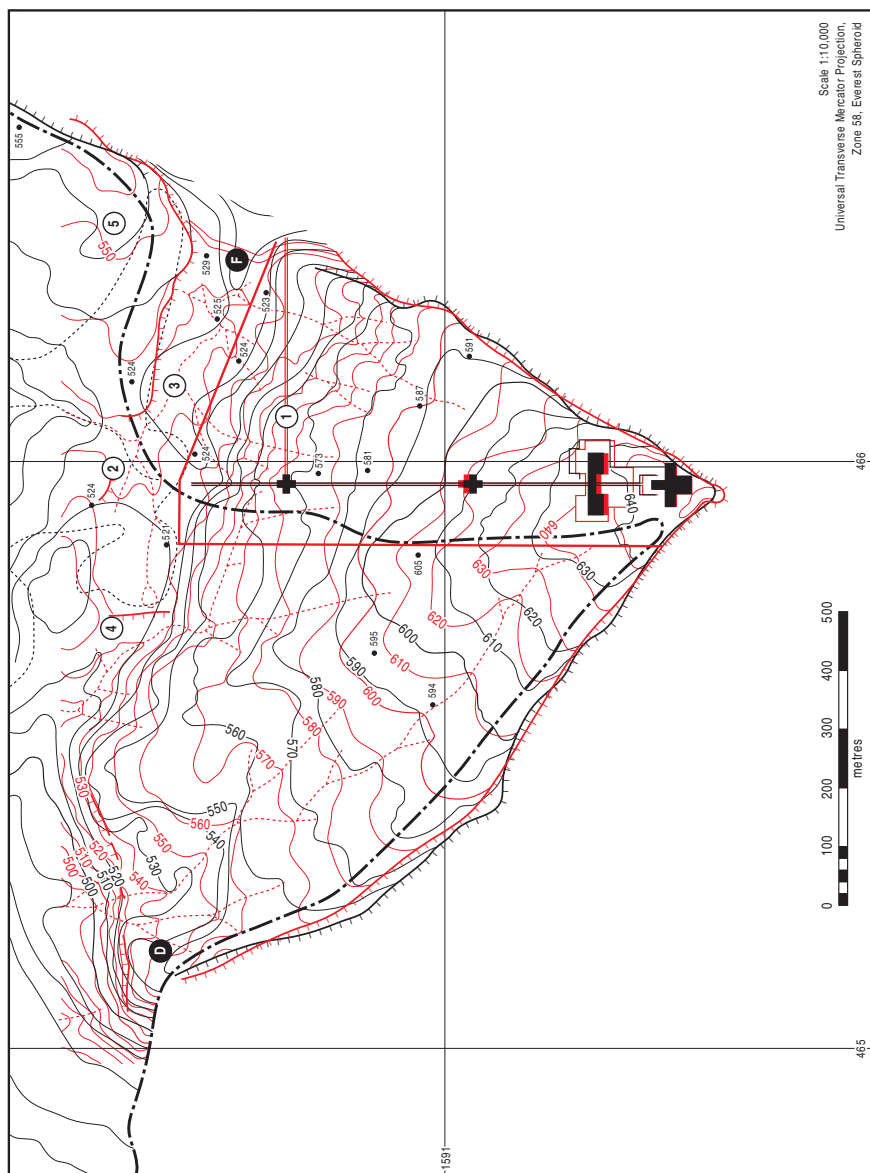


Figure 17: IBRU's comparison of selected features from the DAI revised ITC map (black) and selected features from the Cabinet line map (red)

10. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- 10.1 The ITC map appears to be a reliable map from a reputable organisation. However, it did give rise to confusion in the area to the west of Point F because of a decision not to revise it directly in the light of Ackermann's work.
- 10.2 The "DAI revised ITC map" contains what appear to be unjustified amendments to the original. The introduction of the 525 m. contour was very speculative. The claim of an eastwards flowing stream from Point 2 into Cambodia was wrong. It is difficult to avoid a conclusion that DAI were pushing themselves to achieve the outcome that their client wanted viz. that the temple lay clearly to the south of the watershed.
- 10.3 The "big map" displayed the results of Ackermann's work, which is visible on the extract that survives as Annex 85 d. An inspection of the two western sections of the map has suggested that the Annex I line might have been inserted on the "big map" by eye using Maps 3 and 4 of Annex 49 but there is still no clear understanding of how the equivalent areas of Maps 3 and 4 were decided upon at ITC.
- 10.4 The 1962 comparison between the reduced ITC map overlay and the enlarged Annex I map extract as presented in the Cambodian Response in the present case has an error in procedure which moves the points of intersection of the ITC watershed and the Annex I line by 600 m. and 300 m. respectively, showing up the Cambodian presentation as crude and unreliable. The Annex I line is itself moved some 300 m to the detriment of Thailand. The purpose of providing these two maps in ITC's Report was to make it visually clear to the Court that the imaginary O Tasem stream had created a major error of position in the depiction of the watershed on the Annex I map. For Cambodia to use such a generalised comparison to define the limits of a territorial dispute appears to us unsatisfactory and inaccurate. Adjusting the Annex I line to fit the real world would require other decisions to be made first and we have suggested what these might be. However, the logic behind the Cambodian proposal seems to be arbitrary and designed to favour Cambodia.
- 10.5 The Cabinet Line map appears to be based on the 1937 Annex 61 map of the same area with revisions to the contours, some of the temple structures and the inclusion of modern features being added from contemporary

1:40,000 aerial photography. The contours of the Cabinet Line map differ from those of the ITC map. At this distance in time, it is difficult to determine how, why and where the differences have arisen. Nevertheless, these differences do not affect the depiction of the true watershed on the ITC map, following the edge of the escarpment from the west to the Temple site, then north-eastwards along the edge of the escarpment through Point F.

- 10.6 The contours on the Cabinet Line map and the Annex 61 map both provide additional evidence that the contouring provided by DAI on the "DAI revised ITC map" in the vicinity of Point F was wrong and unjustifiable.

Annex 47

Map sheet 1 attached to Annex No. 49 to
Thailand's Counter-Memorial, 8 September 1961

(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)



Annex 48

Map sheet 2 attached to Annex No. 49 to
Thailand's Counter-Memorial, 8 September 1961

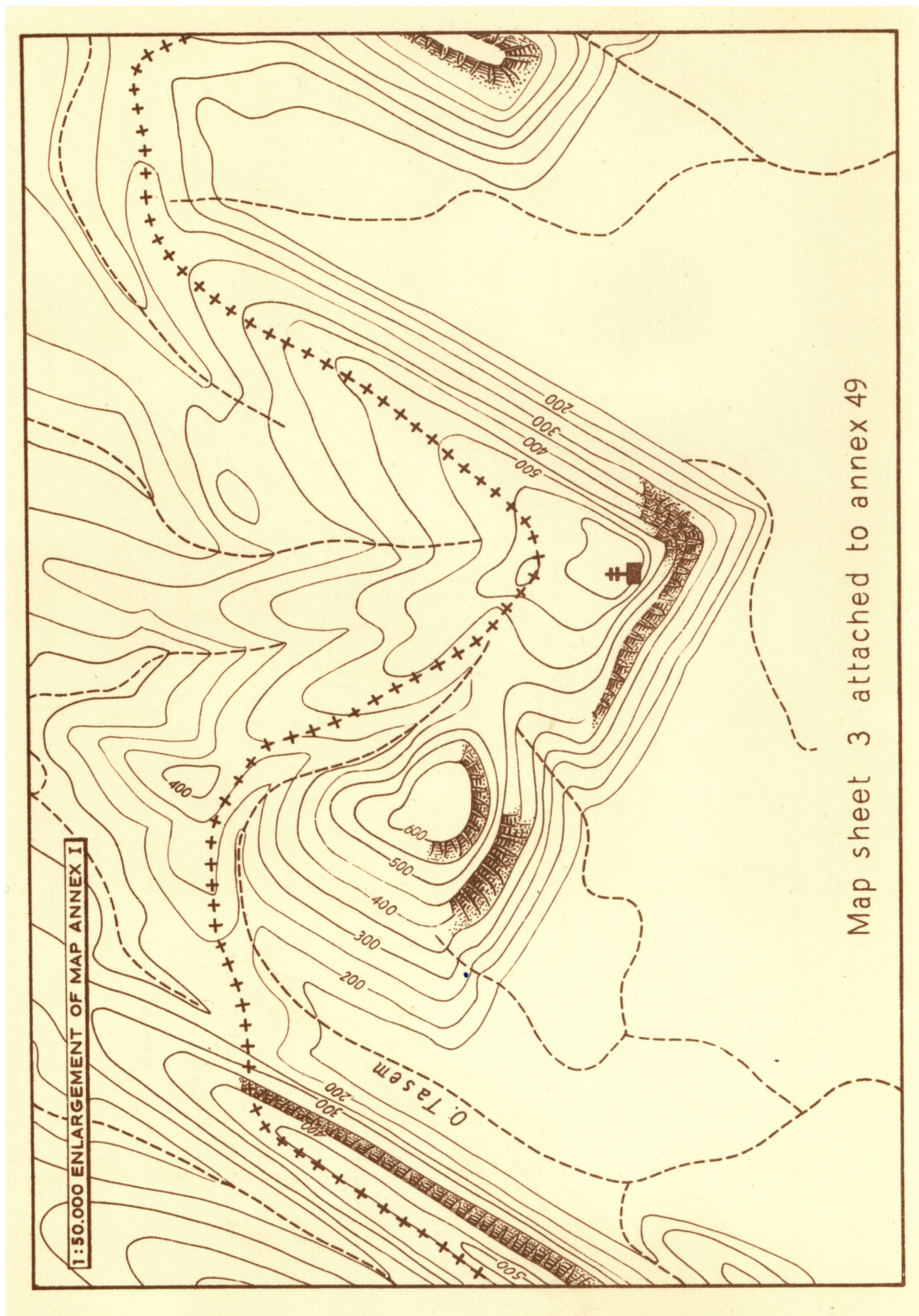
(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)



Annex 49

Map sheet 3 attached to Annex No. 49 to
Thailand's Counter-Memorial, 8 September 1961

(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)

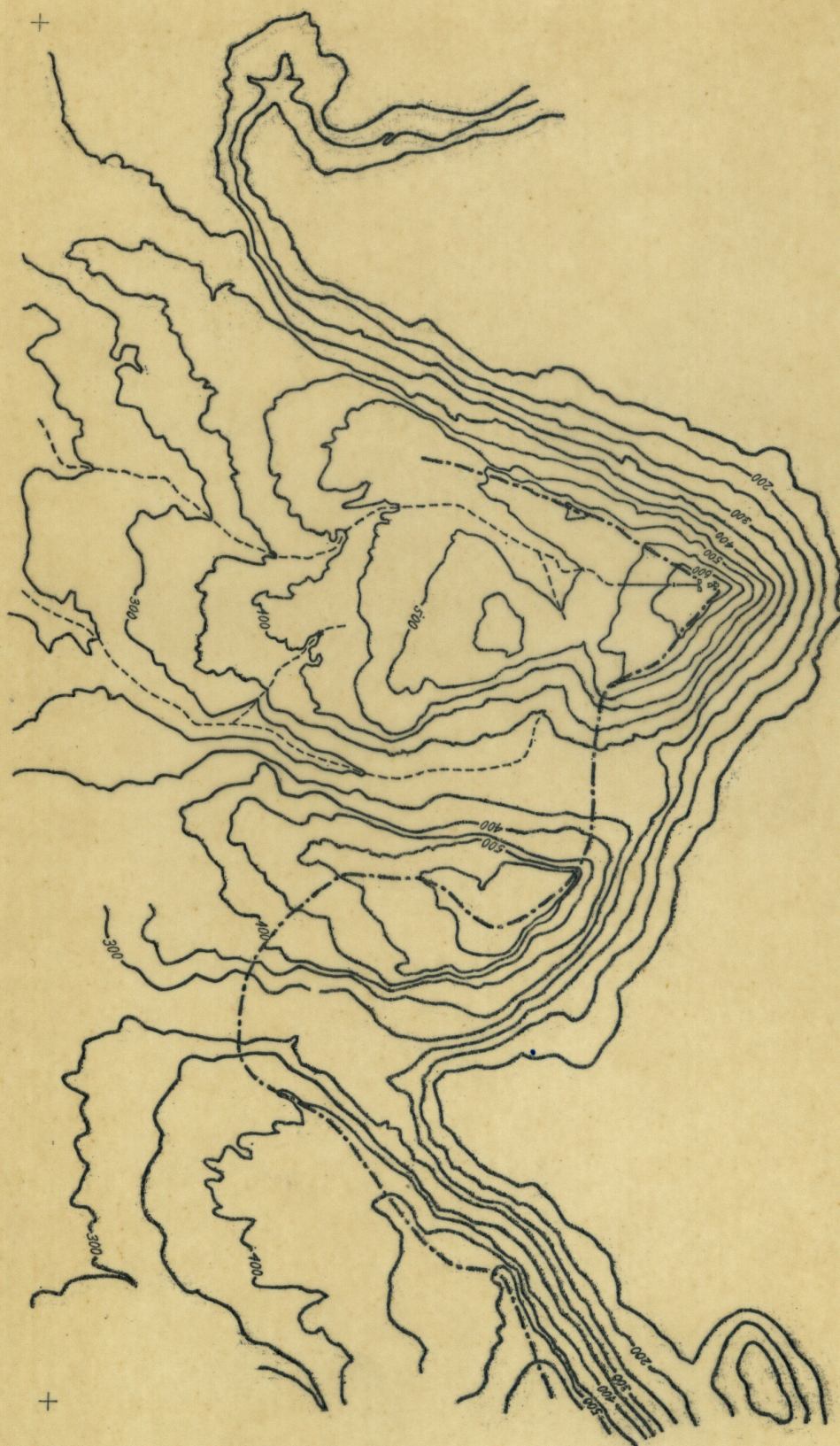


Annex 50

Map sheet 4 attached to Annex No. 49 to
Thailand's Counter-Memorial, 8 September 1961

(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)

1:50,000 REDUCTION OF MAP SHEETS 1 AND 2 OF ANNEX 49

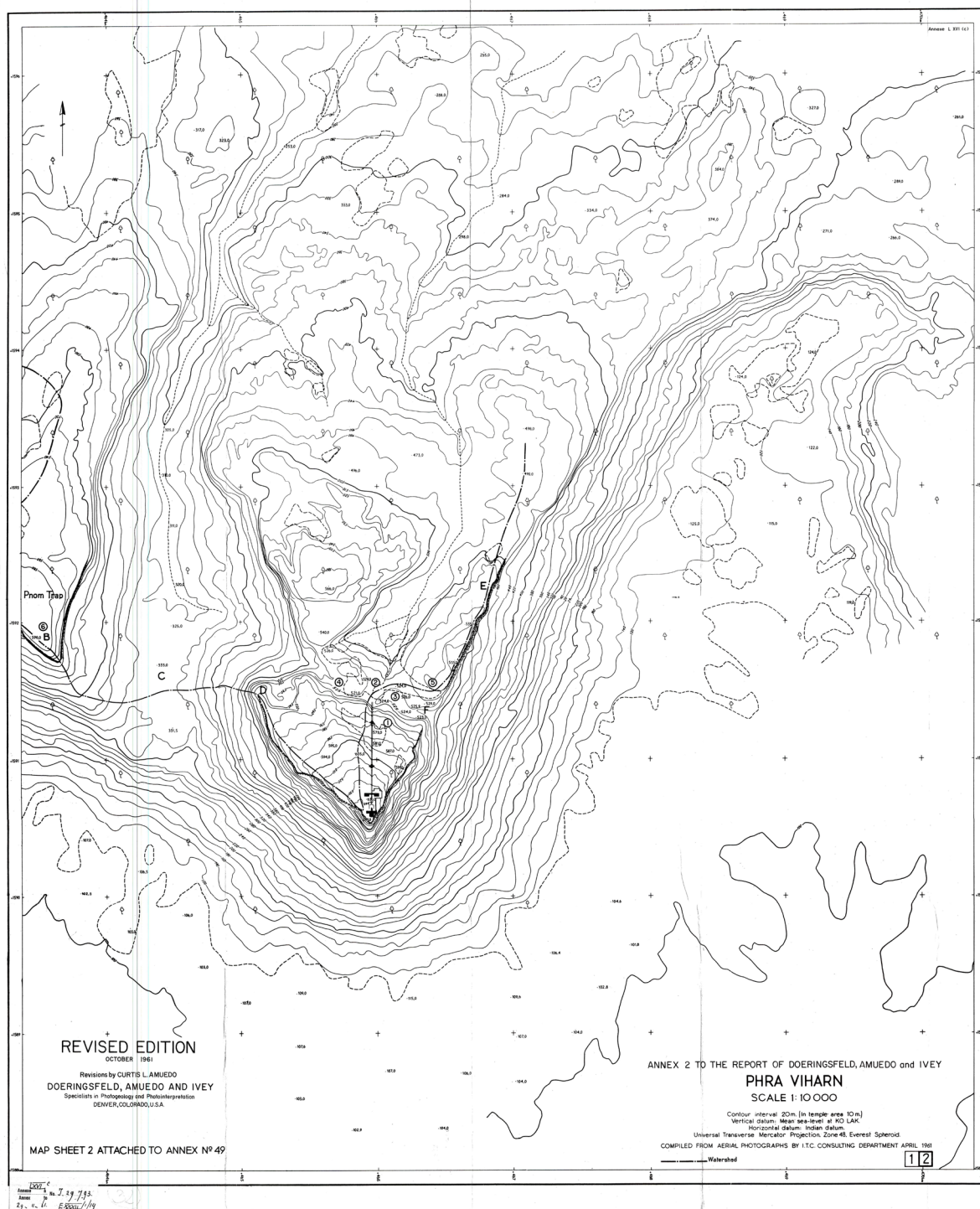


Map sheet 4 attached to annex 49

Annex 51

Carte annexée au Rapport de MM. Doeringsfeld,
Amuedo et Ivey (Annexe 2), filed as Annex LXVI c
to Cambodia's Reply, 23 October 1961

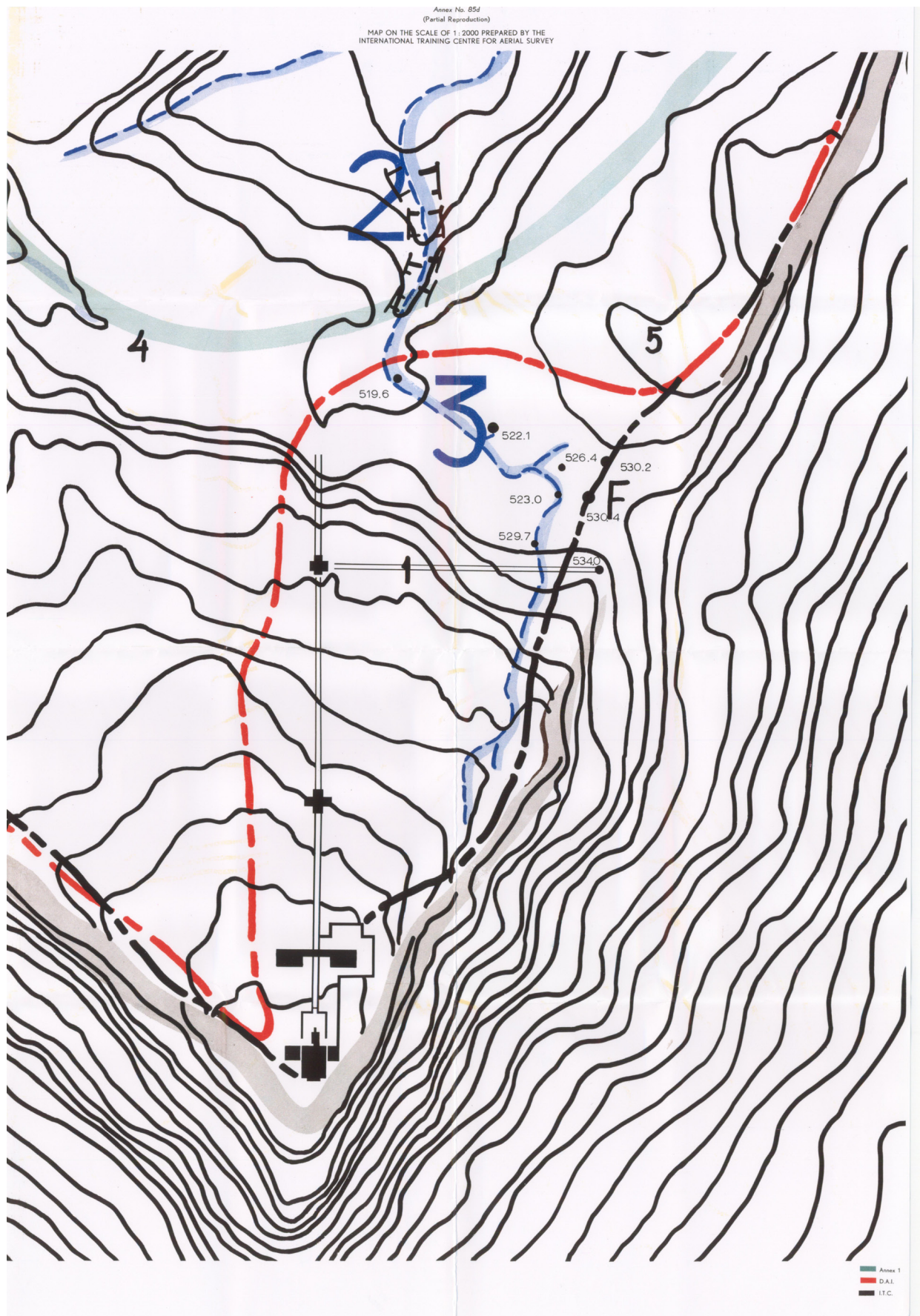
(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)



Annex 52

Annex No. 85 *d* (Partial Reproduction), Map on the scale of 1:2,000
prepared by the International Training Centre for
Aerial Survey, 1962

(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)



Annex 53

Royal Thai Survey Department, *Series L 7017 map*,
Ban Phum Saron (sheet 5937 IV), 2nd Edition, October 1988

(Reproduced in the original size in the Map Annexes)

