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BORDER TOURISM BETWEEN THAILAND AND CAMBODIA AFTER THE END  
OF THE COLD WAR: IDENTITY, SPIRIT, AND PROSPECT



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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
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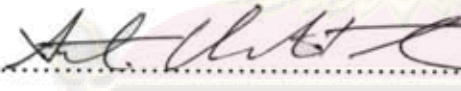
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อักษรพงษ์ คำคุณ: การท่องเที่ยวชายแดนระหว่างไทยกับกัมพูชาภายหลังการสิ้นสุดของสงครามเย็น: อัตลักษณ์ จิตสำนึก และโอกาส (BORDER TOURISM BETWEEN THAILAND AND CAMBODIA AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR: IDENTITY, SPIRIT, AND PROSPECT) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก: อาจารย์ ดร.สุนทร ชุตินทรานนท์, 109 หน้า

ระยะเวลาก่อนหน้าและระหว่างช่วงเวลาของ “ยุคสงครามเย็น” นั้น แนวพรมแดนระหว่างไทยและกัมพูชาถูกปิด ไม่อนุญาตให้มีการข้ามพรมแดนไปมาอย่างเป็นทางการ นอกจากการข้ามพรมแดนตามภารกิจของเหล่าทหาร และการข้ามไปมาหากันของบรรดาผู้คนที่อาศัยอยู่ตามแนวชายแดนของทั้งสองประเทศ แต่เมื่อเกิดความเปลี่ยนแปลงทางการเมืองของประเทศกัมพูชาในช่วงทศวรรษ 1990 ประกอบกับนโยบายของประเทศไทยที่สนับสนุนการ “เปลี่ยนสนามรบ เป็นสนามการค้า” จึงทำให้แนวชายแดนระหว่างไทยและกัมพูชาเริ่มเปิดตัวและดึงดูดนักท่องเที่ยวมากขึ้นเป็นลำดับ วิทยานิพนธ์เล่มนี้เสนอคำอธิบายว่า การปรากฏตัวขึ้นของลัทธิการท่องเที่ยวชายแดน ได้กลายเป็นแรงผลักดันสำคัญที่ทะลุทะลวงแนวเส้นพรมแดน ซึ่งแต่เดิมเส้นพรมแดนนี้ถูกมองว่าเป็นปราการกั้นขวางระหว่างประเทศ ด้วยเหตุผลดังกล่าว ลัทธิการท่องเที่ยวชายแดน จึงแสดงความเกี่ยวพันกันระหว่างพรมแดนรัฐชาติ กับแนวทางการปฏิบัติของนักท่องเที่ยว และวิถีการดำเนินวิถีชีวิตของผู้คนที่อาศัยอยู่ตามแนวชายแดนของทั้งสองประเทศ นอกจากนั้นวิทยานิพนธ์เล่มนี้ พยายามนำเสนอความหมายที่ประชันกันของเส้นเขตแดนไทย-กัมพูชา ซึ่งเป็นการช่วงชิงระหว่างความหมายที่เกิดจาก “ลัทธิชาตินิยม” และความหมายที่เกิดจาก “ลัทธิท่องเที่ยวนิยม” เนื่องจากในด้านหนึ่ง เส้นพรมแดน คือ สัญลักษณ์ของการแบ่งแยกระหว่าง “พวกเรา” กับ “พวกเขา” และ “ที่นี่” กับ “ที่โน่น” หรือ “ภายใน” กับ “ภายนอก” แต่ในอีกด้านหนึ่ง อาจกล่าวได้ว่า การเปิดออกของพรมแดนระหว่างประเทศจะสามารถลดระดับของอคติและความขัดแย้งระหว่างกันและกันลงได้ ดังนั้น ในตอนท้ายของวิทยานิพนธ์ได้สรุปว่า บรรดาผู้คนที่เคยได้ไปเยี่ยมเยือนบริเวณแนวชายแดนและผู้คนที่อาศัยอยู่ตามแนวชายแดนสำหรับเขาเหล่านั้น เส้นเขตแดนได้ถูกลดความหมายและความสำคัญในฐานะเครื่องขีดกั้นระหว่างประเทศ แต่กลับกลายมาทำหน้าที่เช่นเดียวกับประตู ที่นำไปสู่ช่องทางทางก้นหน้าเข้าหากันของทั้งสองประเทศ ส่วนหนึ่งของงานศึกษาวิจัยในครั้งนี้ เป็นผลมาจากข้อมูลและหลักฐานเบื้องต้นที่ได้รวบรวมโดยการลงพื้นที่สำรวจตามแนวชายแดนไทย-กัมพูชา ซึ่งมีความยาวกว่า 800 กิโลเมตร ติดต่อกันเป็นระยะเวลา 20 วัน แม้การสำรวจส่วนใหญ่จะดำเนินการอยู่ในเขตแดนของประเทศไทย แต่ผู้ศึกษาก็ได้ข้ามพรมแดนไปทำการสำรวจและเก็บข้อมูลในเขตแดนของประเทศกัมพูชาด้วยเช่นกัน

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ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....

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KEY WORDS: THAI-CAMBODIAN BORDER / BORDER TOURISM /  
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AKKHARAPHONG KHAMKHUN: BORDER TOURISM BETWEEN  
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Prior to and during the 'Cold War' period the border between Thailand and Cambodia was more or less closed; only the military mission and local people were able to cross it. Then, with the political changes in Cambodia during 1990s and Thailand's policy of 'turning the battlefield into a market place', the border became more open, and began to attract tourists. This thesis argues that the advent of border tourism has become a pivotal force which efficiently penetrates through the national territory – traditionally considered as barrier between countries. Consequently, border tourism manifests the juxtaposition of the national territory and the daily life practices of both regular visitors and border residents. The thesis then attempts to reveal the competing meanings of the Thai-Cambodian borderline as expresses through Nationalism and Tourism. On the one hand, the border is a symbol of separation between 'us' and 'them', 'here' and 'there', or 'inside' and 'outside'; on the other hand, it can be argued that opening of the border can weaken people's antagonisms and prejudices. This thesis concludes that for regular visitors and border residents, the borderline has lost its significance as a barrier between nation states and instead has taken on characteristics of a tourist gateway representing the convergence of the two countries. This empirical study is based on evidence that was collected during a 20-day trip along the 800-km Thai-Cambodian borderline. The survey was conducted mainly along the Thai side of the border, but several visits were also made to locations on the Cambodian side to gather information from there as well.

Field of Studies: Southeast Asian Studies Student's signature.....

Academic year: 2008

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Rational/Background

It is hard to imagine an advent of tourism arriving to the border region, especially the border between Thailand and Cambodia. However, prior to and during the ‘Cold War’ period, the border between Thailand and Cambodia was more or less closed; only the military mission and local people were able to cross it. Then, with the political changes in Cambodia during 1990s and Thailand’s policy of ‘turning the battlefield into a market place’, the border became more open, and began to attract tourists. Between 1962 and 1992, the Thai-Cambodian border was inundated with violence by communist guerillas on both sides. Despite the region’s significant tourism potential, this violence frustrated the development of tourism during that period (Timothy 2001: 24). The inherited infrastructures of war such as road constructions, electricity suppliers, camps of refugees, and battle field’s appliances, become tourist attractions after fighting terminated. Moreover, the unique geographical characteristics of the Cardamom and Dangrek Mountain Ranges generates plenty of tourism resources; there are many interesting sights and great views to be had as well as wildlife, hill tribes and ancient temples which are located adjacent to the border on both the Thai and Cambodian sides.

Moreover, border is the place where states collide, economics converge, and cultural blend. When border and tourism run together several interesting and unique relationships become evident; border as barrier, border as tourist destination, border as a line of transit, and the growth of supranationalism (Timothy, 2006a: 9). As a result, the

border tourism in this thesis describes many different types of tourist activity occur in close proximity to the Thai-Cambodian border, or directly on the border itself. These include crossing the border checkpoint for sightseeing; traveling to the local attractions such as waterfalls, national parks, places of historical interest or temples; shopping at markets which may be located on either side of the border, or sometimes on both sides; playing golf or gambling in casinos; relaxing in the hotels and leisure resorts. A new foundation gradually creates a new travel trend culminating at the borders. This has generated new occupations, incomes, and communities related to tourism spirits and prospects. Nevertheless, the studies of border regions are still focused on the topics of, security issues border trade, contraband, labor permeability and demarcation debates. Despite the fact that millions of people cross border every year for the purpose of tourism, the links between borders and tourism are not well defined, and the subject has been all but completely ignored by scholars of both tourism and border studies. With this awareness, the idea of this thesis was conceived. There is much to learn about the growth and development of border tourism between the two countries. Thus, this thesis aims to bring together the scattered concepts and theories that help explain the relationship between borders based on an empirical study from the Thai-Cambodian border area and concepts borrowed from a wide range of disciplines.

## **1.2 Objectives of the thesis**

1. To examine the growth and development of border tourism at the border between Thailand and Cambodia after the end of the 'Cold War' period up to the present.
2. To explore the identity, spirit, and prospect of the Thai-Cambodian border tourism.

### **1.3 Major arguments/Hypotheses**

This thesis discusses that the advent of border tourism has become a pivotal force which efficiently penetrates through the national territory – traditionally considered as barrier between countries. Consequently, border tourism manifests the juxtaposition of the national territory and the daily life practices of both regular visitors and border residents. Moreover, there are the competing meanings of the Thai-Cambodian borderline as expressed through the spatial relations of Nationalism and Tourism. On the one hand, the border is a symbol of separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘here’ and ‘there’, or ‘inside’ and ‘outside’; on the other hand, it can be argued that opening of the border can weaken people’s antagonisms and prejudices.

### **1.4 Scope of study**

This thesis will focus on the border tourism along the 800-km Thai-Cambodian borderline which many land-based crossing points located on. This border is separated by the range of Dong Rek and Cardamom Mountain. It also means that this border and the adjacent borderlands are among the most remote area of the country. This thesis will be highly descriptive and explorative, trying to figure out the nature of tourism related to crossing the border by land between Thailand and Cambodia starting from after the end of the Cold War, primarily focusing on travel and tourism from Thailand to Cambodia. The thesis will begin by placing border tourism as a matter within the frame of border studies. Then the size of the tourism in focus will be presented, and the types of tourism involved will be discussed. The tourist attractions will be further described, followed by a discussion of what the major experiences of the border tourism represented.

## 1.5 Definition of terms

For more understanding, some the technical terms using in this thesis should be defined as follows.

*Border Tourism:*

Many different types of tourist activity occur in close proximity to the Thai-Cambodian border, or directly on the border itself. These include crossing the border checkpoint for sightseeing; traveling to the local attractions such as waterfalls, national parks, places of historical interest or temples; shopping at markets which may be located on either side of the border, or sometimes on both sides; playing golf or gambling in casinos; relaxing in the hotels and leisure resorts. (Timothy: 2001)

*Border Checkpoint:*

A border checkpoint is, as its name suggests, a place on the land border between two states where the travelers and/or goods are inspected. Historically all borders had checkpoints (unless they were completely closed to travelers), and these were usually the only places at which it was legal to cross the border, but in modern times checkpoints have been reduced on some borders due to international and supranational arrangements. In this thesis, the border checkpoints which will be studied are only the land-based border checkpoints, which can be contrasted with the customs and immigration facilities at seaports and international airports.

*Chong or Crossing Point:*

The word ‘*Chong*’ literary means the terrestrial site for crossing at the particular border path from one country to another. It has the same meaning as crossing point and border pass. Some of the ‘*Chongs*’ are located on the terrestrial site which is easily to cross forth and back, while some are located on the cliff of the mountain where the opposite side has difficulty to cross.

*Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint:*

The Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint has the purpose to allow local people, tourists, and vehicles to traveling across the border by the reasons of trade, tourism and others. The Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint must be recognized by the governmental agreement between the two countries. In Thailand, the Minister of Interior will sign the declaration to officially open the Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint by the approval of the Cabinet. It will be legitimately resulted when it is declared in the government gazette. (Wacharin, 2004: 11-12)

*Checkpoint for Border Trade:*

The Checkpoint for Border Trade has the purpose to promote good relationships between local people of the two countries. It is to allow local people for trading goods and products, which are necessary for daily living such as foods and medicines, within the permitted area. In Thailand, the authority to open the Checkpoint for Border Trade is under the consideration of Provincial Governor and thereafter must be recognized by the Ministry of Interior. (Wacharin, 2004: 11-12)



## 1.6 Methodology

The study will adopt a qualitative research method. Research techniques include documentary research and fieldwork. In addition, the fieldwork is an empirical study based on evidence that was collected during an initial 20-day trip with several follow up visit afterwards along the 800-km Thai-Cambodian borderline between December 2007 and April 2008. The survey was conducted mainly along the Thai side of the border, but several visits were also made to locations on the Cambodian side to gather information from there as well. As for documentary research, a review of relevant literatures and documents both in the Thai and English languages will be conducted. Regarding the previous works, will be used for analyses.

## 1.7 Significance/Usefulness of Research

1. To contribute to the still limited body of knowledge about border tourism at the border between Thailand and Cambodia.
2. To provide innovative information for scholars who are interested in the context of tourism at the border between Thailand and Cambodia.

## 1.8 Review of literatures

In Thailand, the studies which directly concern to the relationship between the border and tourism are limited. Despite the significance of borders, and humankind's long history of foreign and domestic travel within the Thai-Cambodian border region, very little has ever been written, and thus little is known, about them in the context of

tourism, only recently have scholars started to merge border research with tourism, which likely reflects the relative infancy of tourism as an area of academic study. For this literature review, I will roughly choose some works that concern to my thesis topic. These four books may demonstrate the ideas and frameworks drawing pictures of what is called 'border tourism'.

**Timothy, Dallen J. *Tourism and Political Boundaries*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.**

This is the most important work to conceptualize the idea of relationship between the border and tourism. The author describes the three types of areas facing borders from a touristic point of view. The first is that there are significant tourist areas on both sides, but with a certain distance in between, being the tourist destinations. On the interior the borders of the borderlands are vague. So, in some aspects the entire regions or counties facing the borders can be seen as borderlands even if they are big. However, there are also tendencies towards the second pattern where there is a tourist destination only on one of the sides. The third pattern is that the boundary is crossing through a tourist destination.

As a cross-border phenomenon it is not surprising that tourism is seen as an area for cross-border cooperation. The book discusses different ways – there is a whole spectrum – in which such relationships can be developed. At the one end there are no relations. The second level is coexistence with minimal levels of partnership. In this case neighbors visit each other but without working together. The third level involves initial efforts between adjacent jurisdictions to solve common problem. There are signs of

movements towards this situation, as there are negotiations both between authorities and private enterprises to facilitate the border crossing system. The fourth level is that of an ongoing collaboration, where committees, organizations, projects and firms are established. This is the case in the Mekong Region involving four countries; Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The fifth level is integrated business relation across border where the border is no hindrance.

Borders are most often located in the periphery of the countries. Often such peripheries are natural resource areas and areas that are poor or scarcely populated. But, of the same reasons peripheries often are tourism areas, and tourism is often given priority by the authorities, as this is one of few industrial opportunities for such regions. Border-crossing for most people is often more than just passing a line. But the experience has very much to do with the status of the border, and the differences that exist between the neighbor countries socially, politically and culturally. Borders are lines between life as lived in one places and life lived in another – most often in a different way. For international travelers borders are symbols underlining a process of transition, of going from one situation to another, from one state of mind to another; from a daily life modus to a holiday or away-from-home modus, or vice versa. Thus, there is a close relation between crossing of borders and change of mind.

According to Matznetter (1979: 67, quoted by Timothy 1995), he highlighted some of the connections between border and tourism, and suggested a tree-fold typology of spatial relationships between the two: (1) where the boundary line is distant from tourist areas, (2) where a tourist zone exists adjacent to the boundary on only one side, (3) tourist zone that extend across, or meet at, borders. He suggests that in the first case, the

frontier functions as a barrier or simple line of transit. Thus, the influence of the border depends largely on its degree of permeability. In the second case, Matznetter suggests that in addition to being attracted to the tourist-oriented side, some people will be attracted to visit the other side as well, which presents opportunities for the tourism development to spill onto the non-tourist side of the border. In the third instance, there may be communication and cooperation between the two sides, so that the entire natural or cultural attraction system operates as one entity, or conversely the border may act as a significant barrier altogether.

Furthermore, the author examines several of the relationships between tourism and political boundaries, the cases and effects, as well as the symbiotic relationships that exist. While the real implications of the intersection between borders and tourism are multifaceted, they were examined in Timothy's study, which has its foundations in the borders as modifiers of tourism landscape. Boundaries form real and perceived barriers to international travel owing to specific functions and methods of demarcation, as well as the experiences and expectations of individual travelers concerning the border itself or what lies on the opposite side. Various scales of borders also act as tourist attractions when they offer unique spectacle in the cultural landscape. The depth and influence of the frontier into the borderlands also create economic, legal, and cultural differences that become significant attractions in many locations. Finally, human landscapes unique to border regions also strongly influence the way tourism develops spatially on opposite sides of a border – not simply in the borderlands but also deep within national space.

These three primary relationships comprise the more traditional views of political boundaries in that they focus more on the cultural landscapes, conflicts, barriers, and

push and pull factors that are commonly attributed to boundary location. However, this picture is not complete. This thesis will also attempt to answer questions of change as monumental political transitions have occurred throughout the world during the past 10 years and as the process of rapid globalization continues to race on, resulting in clear alterations of the more traditional functions and roles of political boundary.

Moreover the book said that, borders are attractions in different ways. If there has been or is a political conflict between two countries the border often has a strong symbolic significance, it is the concrete line between potential or real enemies, us and them. The frontier aspect of the border is materialized physically with fences, gates, alarms and guard, and formally with border controls. There are, and have been many such boundaries, several of them turned into tourist attractions in the aftermath, The Chinese Wall, Hadrian's Wall, the Berlin Wall are among the most known. Often, borders are said to be natural, as they follow natural "lines" as valleys, mountain tops or rivers.

Thus, the border attraction is mainly the man made markers, and a symbolic and mental matter. Borders are attractions also because they are thresholds to countries. There are quite many people collecting countries. According to book there are several versions of this motive. Some have as their goal to have been to as many countries as possible, this is the real country-collector. A variant of this are the pass-port stamp collectors. Passport with many stamps is a kind of life career monument. Another type of country-collectors is those going to a particular country because of the particular experiences that are offered. Lastly, and related to this, to have visited a certain destination or country can be a way to impress others and to gain status, and a way to communicate identity.

**Charnvit, Kasetsiri. *Thong Takheb Daein Siam: Kan Samruaj Naew Phromdaein Thai-Phama-Lao-Kambhucha [Border Exploration: A Survey of Areas between Siam/Thailand and Her Neighbors in Burma, Laos, and Cambodia]*. Bangkok: Thammasat University Press, 2000.**

The author Charnvit Kasetsiri is a distinguished historian, former Rector of Thammasat University, and long-standing activist on social, political, and intellectual issues especially in the area of Southeast Asian Studies and the Mekong region. This book is the author's final report when he was driving along the border in Thailand side to survey the area in between Thailand, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia in 1990 – when the Cold War just ended. Moreover, this survey was conducted when Premier General Chatichai Choonhawan announced the policy of turning Indochina from “a battle field into a marketplace.”

The author's idea of border survey was conceived by many reasons. For the first thing, the economic achievement of Thailand using the Laissez-faire or capitalism in almost the past three decades from 1961 – when Thailand started to employ the first National Economic Plan – until late 1980s to early 1990s, Thailand continuously reached to 10 percent of the economic growth rate for many years. Thus, Thailand became the center of Southeast Asian region in economic, political, social, and cultural development. It is because Thailand has surrounded by the borders of her four neighboring countries namely Cambodia, Laos, Burma, and Malaysia. This long-borderline has been inevitably affected to the economic development in Thailand.

For the second thing, this long-borderline has many border trade points such as Khlong Yai District in Trat Province, Aranyaprathet District in Prachinburi Province (Aranyaprathet is now in Sa Kaeo Province), Chong Mek in Ubon Ratchathani Province, along the Mekong River bordering to Laos at Mae Sai District in Chiang Rai Province, Mae Sot District in Tak Province, The Three Pagodas Pass at Sangkhla Buri District in Kanchanaburi Province, and the Victoria Point (Koh Song in Thai or Kawthaung in Burmese) in Ranong Province.

For the third thing, this border area has significance of the natural resources plenty of floras, faunas, and minerals. These natural resources are the main factor for economic growth and development of Thailand. Briefly speaking, the economic achievement in Thailand is immensely depended on these resources from her neighboring countries. In one hand, these resources become a raw material to increase value-added in the economic growth rate of Thailand. In the other hand, to consume these natural resources, at the same time, it is followed by the destruction of ecosystem leading to the environmental problems.

For the fourth thing, this border area is a home of people who are multi-linguistic ethnicities and differences in cultures and traditions. The people living along the border area are not only the Majority like Thai, Khmer (Cambodian), Laotian, or Burmese, but also the Minority such as Kha, Khammu, Kui, Chong, Mon, Chao Lay, and the hill tribes. These ethnic diversities make the area of Southeast Asia become ‘the paradise of anthropologist.’

For the fifth thing, this border area has many important sites in which involved the Tourism Industry. It is the area where the archaeological sites and objects are found. However, these sites and objects are the evidence of the past; probably thousand years ago when the wealthy of cultural diversity and the beauty of nature were still alive, they are now destructed by the economic development and war.

From all given reasons, the author Charnvit Kasetsiri as a leader and his team – Songyote Waeohongsa, Thamrongsak Petchlert-anan, and Kriangsak Chetpattanavanich – started driving survey in October 1990 from Thailand side from Tak Province in the West of Thailand at the border side of Burma, then went along the borderline to Laos and ended at the East of Thailand the border side of Cambodia. The author and his team journeyed by driving a four-wheel-drive jeep car, spent 28 days and 27 nights along the borderline with the total distance of 7,081 kilometers when they arrived back to Bangkok. Nevertheless, my thesis will use informative details from only some part of the book in which the author reported about the border to Cambodia in order to explore the changes since then to the present.

**Wacharin Yongsiri. *Kankha Chaidaein Thai Kab Kambhucha: Panha Thi Phrasob Nai Pajuban Lea Neawthang Kaekhai Nai Anakod [Border Trading between Thailand and Cambodia: Problems and Solutions].* Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2004.**

This is the distinguish work in Thai by Wacharin Yongsiri, who is the researcher at the Institute of Asian Studies of Chulalongkorn University, providing informative data of the subject matters. This book was published after the riots against Thai interests in



Phanom Penh and the burning of the Royal Thai Embassy. The book argues that the problems arose from the unequal nature of the border trade between Thailand and Cambodia, and it proposes new methods of border trading to correct the imbalance.

The book started with the introducing to the policy instrument of Thailand and Cambodia for border trade. Then, the book gives the data-based information of the Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint, and the Temporarily Permitted Area or the Checkpoint for Border Trade in which located at seven provinces namely Trat, Sa Kaeo, Chanthaburi, Buriram, Surin, Si Sa Ket, and Ubon Ratchathani. The book obviously said that the border in the past was the strategic sites for the national security, but it is now become the significant area where the permeability of labors and contrabands affected the national economic development. Thus, the border is one of the trading windows helping to increase the economic growth rate of the nation. Regarding to this economic aspect, the healthy border trading could build a good relationship between the two countries.

Moreover, the author has interviewed the key informants who involved in the border trade between Thailand and Cambodia. In the last chapter of this book, the author gives some recommendation for solving the problems of the Thailand-Cambodia border trading. In addition, the appendix of this book provides the governmental declarations, the statistic table of border trading between Thailand and Cambodia, and list of the official committee responsible to the border trading, which directly related to my thesis.

For my thesis, this book is a reference book to confirm and correct what I have seen from the border survey during my field work. Although, this book does not directly

study about tourism subject, in page 164 – 176 of this book has also examined the possibility of the promotion of the border tourism between Thailand and Cambodia.

**Franklin, Adrian. *Tourism: An Introduction*. London: SAGE Publication, 2003.**

To guide what the tourism is, I choose this book to review for more understanding about the tourism and its nature. The author proclaimed that this book is an up to date guide to understanding the theory, practice, development and effects of tourism. It considers general theories of tourism to be inadequate on their own and goes on to develop a new approach that recognizes tourism as a complex set of social and cultural phenomena. This approach requires a variety of theoretical perspectives, a theoretical pluralism, that can make sense of its various connections and engagements within the constantly changing social and cultural milieu of modernity, unlike some approaches this book does not view tourism as merely based on the pleurability of the unusual and the different. Instead, tourism is viewed also as a serious individual engagement with the changing (and fluid) conditions of modernity with implications for nation formation and citizenship, the rise of consumerism, cosmopolitanism, the natural world and globalization.

The book argues that tourism is therefore a central component of modern social identity formation and engagement, rather than something shallow and insignificant that takes place on the social margin. It identifies the transformative and redemptive components of tourism and in so doing places more emphasis on its ritual, performative and embodied dimensions. Here tourism can be understood as spaces and times of self-making – rather special types of space and time that allow latitudes, freedoms and

experimentation. As such it opposes more standardized accounts based on the tourist gaze and the central significance of authenticity where both the tourist and object of their gaze stand apart. The author's approach emphasizes the interaction and effects of people and these objects. It is argued that tourism can not be separated from cultural, political and economic conditions in which it has developed and changed, and critically, the book argues that tourism is no longer something that happens away from the everyday life world. Rather tourism is infused into the everyday and has become one of the ways in which our lives are ordered and one of the ways in which consumers orientate themselves, or take a stance to globalized world.

Moreover, this book is a guide to understanding tourism, particularly as different writers have tried to understand it and to keep track of it as a changing cultural and commercial form in modern life. But tourism is now far too blended into everyday life and the global flows of people and things to be treated as a detachable phenomenon. So, unlike many other tourism texts, this book also identifies how tourism configures with everyday social relations and cultures.

### **1.9 Limitation**

Notwithstanding, this thesis discusses the border tourism between Thailand and Cambodia, the narrative approach is mainly employed by Thailand perspective. It is because most of the information is selected from Thai and English, little has been written in Cambodian. Actually, the utmost limitation of this thesis is time of writing, but I hope this limitation is not affected to the main idea of this thesis.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BORDER AND TOURISM

This chapter is to conceptualize the relationships between border and tourism in order to set up theoretical framework of this thesis's subject matter. To elucidate the border tourism along Thai-Cambodian border area, this thesis employs the idea of the study of political boundaries and tourism by Timothy (1995a; 2006a; 2001). Initially, Timothy (2001: 6) has defined the five prime functions of border. The first is that “the borders are legal limits that define the territory of a state”, the limits for its sovereignty and authority. Related to tourism, the border can be a barrier both for people who want to leave and for people who want to enter a country. During the Cold War period the Thailand-Cambodia border had both these functions. The second is that boundaries have an important economic role; they are there to filter goods and to provide the border countries with incomes from duties and other taxes. This has relevance for tourism as far as there may be restriction on how much the tourists can bring along of goods – and in fact decisive for shopping tourism. Third, the border is a control of flow of people. Fourth, the borders are ideological boundaries. This may still be one side of the Thailand-Cambodia border, although it was much more crucial during the Cold War period. Fifth, borders are lines of military defense. This is also pretty obvious on the Thailand-Cambodia border.

As a review of the border studies and tourism (Viken, 2006: 3-6), that in recent years there has been an increasing focus on border studies, and a series of research centers and organization have been formed, and both disciplinary and interdisciplinary

milieus exist coping with such issues (Newman, 2006b). One reason is the recognition of a more international and global world, another is the creation of new national states and new international regions, and therefore new borders with new functions. According to Newman (2006b), there are some significant approaches to border studies. The focus classically was on borders and boundaries as lines and processes of demarcation and delimitation, phenomena that are seen as outcomes of historical and political processes. More recently scholars have focused on trans-boundary cooperation and regions. Borders have been seen as sources for economic, social and cultural development, particularly within the European Union. Thus, a series of studies has been made based on recognition of borders as dynamic and creational entities. There is also a strong approach within the realm of border studies that focuses on borders as lines of separation, but also as opportunities for unification.

Every day millions of people cross the border of neighboring countries for a variety of reasons. However, millions more people cross each day for purposes directly opposite of work-leisure. In most cases, people cross some form of political boundary every time they leave home for a weekend, go on an extended holiday. While these issues are closely linked to tourism in many ways, the most notable boundaries from a tourism perspective are found at the international level. Borders are places where political entities collide, economies converge, and cultures blend, they are perhaps one of the best laboratories for studying the globalization process. Likewise, tourism, one to the most globalized of all industries, has many unique characteristics. When the two, borders and tourism, run together, several interesting and unique relationships become evident: border as tourist attractions and destinations, borders as barriers to travel and the growth of

tourism, and border as modifiers of the tourism landscape. This chapter describes and examines of these three relationships between border and tourism.

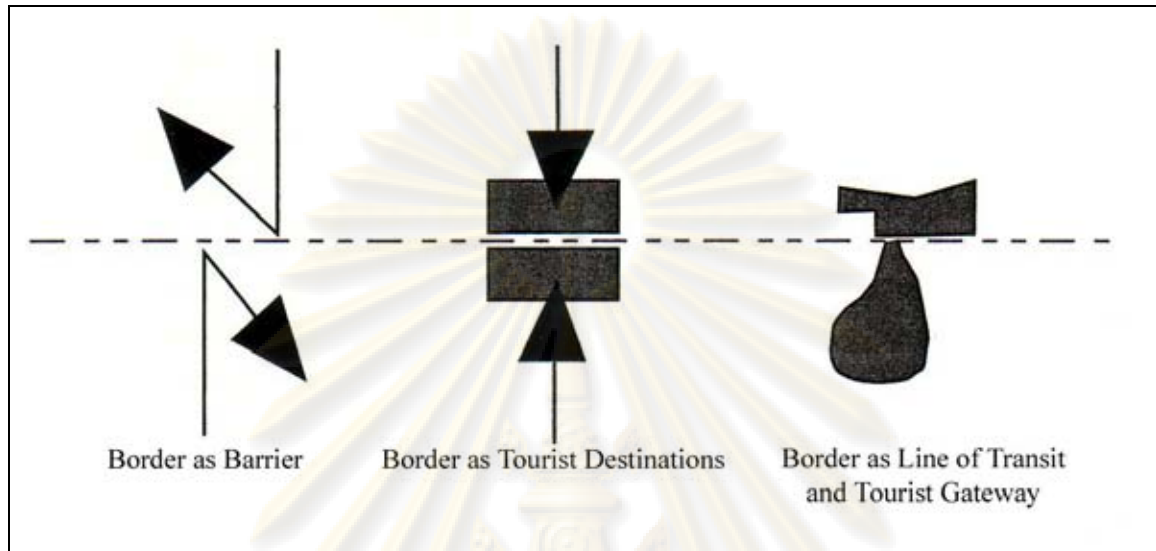


Figure 2.1 The relationships between borders and tourism (from Timothy 2001: 11)

## 2.1 Border as Barrier to Tourism

While borders may in many instances be significant tourist attractions and destinations, they also function as barriers to travel. In this sense, borders can be seen as either real or perceived impediments to travel. Real barriers are created when heavy fortifications are erected by a country to defend itself against threatening forces. Barbed wire fences, concrete walls, minefields, and armed guards contribute to the development of landscapes of conflict that are generally uninviting to cross (Timothy 2001). Strict immigration and customs policies may also function as real barriers to travel when citizens of certain countries are refused entry or are made to go through rigorous visa application processes or physical scrutiny when entering a country. It is not uncommon for people to choose countries where a visa is not needed over destinations that require

one. Travel to Cambodia during the communist period was affected by this phenomenon quite notably. Strict visa requirements to enter this country, for instance, deterred many people from visiting. Thai citizens were not permitted entry into Cambodia, and it was difficult at best for other nationalities to acquire visas. If they were allowed, border crossings between the two countries would be important in the realm of tourism owing to the heritage tourism linkages with a common past that exist on both sides and many cultural similarities.

Psychological, or perceived, barriers are the second type of border impediment to tourism. This is certainly the situation with borders that separate hostile neighbors or at borders that are heavily fortified and defended. However, even at friendly borders, people may feel a sense of nervousness or apprehension about crossing. Language and cultural differences, different currencies, and opposing political ideologies may contribute to some travelers' reluctance to cross. In addition, border formalities can be an intimidating process that might keep some people from traveling abroad. Even the Thai-Cambodian border may erect psychological barriers when it comes to customs and immigration policies and procedures and perceived differences on opposite sides of the border. The Thai-Cambodian border is an excellent example of a line that separates two very different entities – the well developed border region from the less-developed one on the opposite side, language and culture, history, and political systems. For many Thais, crossing into Cambodia is not easy owing to different driving laws, language differences, and fears of food and quality of hygiene.

Border is usually recognized as barriers to human interaction; it is common sore spots in international conflicts, and restrictive government policies are often most vivid in

frontier communities and at border crossing points. International boundaries can be viewed as barriers to travel from at least two perspectives: real and perceived. Real barriers create insurmountable constraints to tourism because they either hinder tourist flows physically or, through strict border-related policies, make travel difficult or virtually impossible. Perceived barriers do not generally pose real physical obstacles to border crossing. Instead, they create conditions wherein border crossing is challenging and therefore undesirable. Thus, people are permitted to cross, but owing to perceived constraints, do not. In addition to hindering the flow of tourists, the planning, development, and promotion of tourism in destination areas can be significantly hampered in the face of border conflicts and other political problems.

The primary function of border is to control the flow of people in and out of a country. This can be done in at least two ways. First, heavy fortification and defensive demarcation methods physically keep people in a country, which was of primary importance along the Thai-Cambodian border during the 'Cold War' period. They can also keep people out, such as in the case of the walls and fences along this border, erected by the two sides of the border to keep illegal immigrants from crossing. Second, strict frontier-crossing formalities can be operationalized by home and host country that will function as a filter to keep people at home or to keep undesirables out.

International border possesses different degrees of permeability, ranging from open crossings with no checkpoints to borders that are completely closed and which no one is permitted to cross. This condition depends to a large degree on the friendliness between nations and the history of how their common boundary was established. Real barriers, such as those associated with strict formalities and defensive demarcation



methods, necessarily deter many people from crossing a border. Indeed this may be one of the primary aims of such a boundary (Timothy 1995a). This notion of permeability varies from place to place, however, sometimes depending on which side of a border a person lives. When physical demarcation and strict border policies work together, however, which they usually do in cases of highly fortified boundaries, the border becomes even more impermeable. Political problems and borderland crime also act as real barriers to tourism in terms of affecting the flow of tourists and the development of the industry itself. Wars, border disputes, and crime can physically destroy natural and cultural resources and prevent the successful development of tourism in certain destinations. The same problems also deter many potential tourists from visiting disturbed areas.

The extent to which a government allows its people to experience the border influences their perceptions of it. People who live a distance from the border will have a different perception of it from people who live in daily contact with it. This behavior demonstrates a tendency to ignore the actual features of the border in favor of a standardized social perception of what the border is and how it functions. Phenomena, places or events outside the behavioral, or subjective, space have no relevance to, and no influence on, conscious decision making and human behavior. Travelers commonly view borders as barriers in the sense that they must present proof of citizenship, declare goods purchased, and respond to a series of questions from intimidating immigration and customs officials.

While some borders divide different cultural groups, but the Thai-Cambodian border divides similar social groups – the Khmer descent people. The degree of cultural

similarity on both sides of a border is determined largely by the history of the border and to what degree residents are permitted to interact. Long-established borders, on the other hand, will have separated societies for a long enough time that each will have developed individually from those across the border. With time, values change and social representations of the two countries are altered. When languages and cultures are different on opposite sides of a border, an additional barrier is created. Potential tourists may fear driving into another country if road signs are in a foreign language or if residents do not speak the same language as the tourists. This problem is compounded even more when residents on one side are unaware of the culture on the other side. For example, many Thais are ignorant about what lies on the Cambodian side of the border in terms of culture. They understand that Cambodian and Thai share many social and cultural similarities and that many Cambodian can speak Thai. While travel to Cambodia by Thai people was regulated by real barriers as discussed earlier, travel by Thais to Cambodia was hindered more by a perceptual barrier created by complex border formalities, strict currency controls, accommodations, and limited designed itineraries, as well as the fact that ideological differences were often in direct opposition to systems at home. It is clear that this kept many Thai tourists from traveling to Cambodia.

## **2.2 Border as Tourist Destinations**

The border-crossing activity has fascinated people for centuries. However, the Thai-Cambodian border, for example, is vague area of dubious political control, where exact borderline is few and far between. Today, however, most of the border area have been clearly defined and well marked on the landscape, and they are even more of an

attraction than they have been in the past. Border as tourist attraction may be seen from two main perspectives (Timothy, 2006: 10-11). First, the borderline itself, including the demarcation indicators, fences, walls, and guard towers, exude considerable appeal for curiosity seekers. This is especially the case with famous borders (e.g. the former Berlin Wall and the North-South Korean and Vietnam DMZ) or where the methods of demarcation provide an interesting contrast in otherwise ordinary landscapes. The 'Golden Triangle'; the point where Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos meet, was well as the 'Emerald Triangle'; the meeting point of border between Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, has become a rather important tourist destination from the Thai side of the border. Thousands of tourists visit the locations each year to have themselves photographed at the Golden Triangle monument on the bank of the Mekong River, and the three-facet pavilion at the Emerald Triangle on the Dangrek mountain range. Research and commentary demonstrate that wherever a borderline is clearly marked, visitors will have an interest in standing astride it, hopping over it, or learning against it for photo opportunities. Therefore, perhaps the simplest manifestation of the 'border as attraction' phenomenon is people's propensity to want to straddle borderlines, so that they can claim to have been in two or many places at once or at least having been abroad, even if only by a few meter (Timothy, 2006: 10). It is not uncommon to find travelers stopped at 'Welcome to...' signs and border markers photographing and standing on them. In some cases, the existence of a borderline and its historical significance becomes a tourist icon for the border community's marketing and promotional efforts.

The second way in which border attract attention among tourists and recreationists is not the line itself, but the activities, attractions, and special features of communities in the immediate vicinity of the boundary. While the line itself in these

cases is not necessarily the main feature, the area's appeal is rooted in its location adjacent to the border, which creates some kind of competitive advantage from what lies on the other side. This perspective could more accurately describe as the border as tourist destination, while the first type might best be termed the border as an attraction. Places where the border is a destination tend to have several activities and attractions in common: shopping, prostitution, gambling/casinos, restaurants, bars and nightclubs, and liquor stores. People who live in countries where gambling is not permitted often travel across a border to neighboring countries where it is allowed. In this situation, casinos tend to dot the landscape near border crossing points or further inland, and the majority to their clientele is from abroad. Shopping is among the most popular activities undertaken in border communities, usually spurred by the existence of cheaper products, lower taxes, wider arrays of goods, and differences of operation in neighboring countries.

### **2.3 Border as Line of Transit and Tourist Gateway**

The third relationship between tourism and border, and perhaps the least understood, is that of borders as lines of transit. In the majority of cases throughout the world, borderlines are simply places to go beyond to get to more important destinations. Many people pass through entry procedures and then continue on to their final destinations. The Thai-Cambodian border is the line of transit in the sense that tourists, who want to visit more attractions in the countryside of the two countries, cross the land-based border because it is cheaper than travel by air plane. Moreover, a look at border and tourism would not be complete without at least a cursory discussion of the changes that have taken place during the 'post-Cold War period' and the ongoing geopolitical

transformations that are changing the relationships between tourism and political boundaries. Broadly speaking two dichotomous patterns of change exist: a decrease in the barrier effects of borders and an increase in their role as barriers (Timothy, 2006a: 14).

In the realm of decreasing barriers, one of the most prominent types of change is popular known as supranationalism (Jessop 1995; Teye 2000). As early as the mid-twentieth century, countries began to realize the value in working together to further one another's economic development. Since that time, many supranational alliances have been formed, although some of the most prominent include the European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and the recently establishment of the Greater Mekong Subregion Economic Cooperation (GMS). Many more exist in all regions of the world, and most countries belong to more than one. These associations are sometimes better known as trading blocs, customs unions, or economic communities, but what they all have in common is a desire to collaborate in an effort to reduce trade barriers, tariffs, and import and export quotas.

While relatively few of these alliances have tourism as a major focus, almost all of them deal with issues that directly affect tourism. For example, ASEAN has its own tourism section, which is heavily involved in promoting the entire region of Southeast Asia as a large-scale tourist destination. It also acts as a liaison in negotiations between national governments, airlines, and other forms of transportation. GMS is concerned with tourism and its effects in the Mekong region, and one of the main goals of GMS is to

simplify and encourage cross-border travel by citizens of its member countries. Cross-border co-operation is also taking place on bilateral and multilateral scales in the realm of environmental conservation. Another form of positive change is the opening up of previously closed societies and the opening of new tourist destinations. For example, it has only been since the 1990s that Cambodia began to allow tourists to visit Preah Vihear and Tamuen temples and some other parts of the country. Likewise, with the collapse of communism in many parts of the world, countries have opened up to tourism and embraced the industry as an economic development tool. Despite these widespread changes toward higher levels of openness, in some parts of the world as well as some crossing points along the Thai-Cambodian border, there is a change in the opposite direction - that is, borders are becoming stronger lines of defense and therefore greater barriers to travel – in the case of International Checkpoints which requires the approving of passport and visa. Tourism and border share a number of relationships. Probably the most common linkage is that of borders as tourist attractions or destinations. When the borderline itself creates the tourist appeal, it can be said that sometime if the border has no attraction the tourism at the border can be modified as an attraction.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร  
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

### CHAPTER III

#### THE THAI-CAMBODIAN BORDER

In order to understand the relationships between border and tourism of the Thai-Cambodian border in Chapter 2, this chapter generates rough information about Thai-Cambodian border which is affected by the unique geographical characteristics of the Cardamom and Dangrek Mountain Ranges as well as the uneven political situation between the two countries. However, the three general geographical terms including *frontier*, *boundary*, and *border* should be initially defined. First, '*frontier*' describes the zones of varying widths which were common features of physical landscape belonged to the state. Second, the term '*boundary*' rather refers to a line, while *frontier* refers to a zone (Prescott, 1987: 13). The last term '*border*' represents the line of physical contact immediately adjacent to the neighboring state, which is the zone where international law may apply (Prescott, 1987: 13). However, at the state level, *borders* are usually considered as inaccessible, mountainous areas where the demarcation of boundaries is difficult, and it sometimes becomes areas of overlapping territorial claims (Lee, 1982: 8). For people in Thailand, especially the bureaucratic officials who regularly work in the metropolitan city such as Bangkok, they tend to avoid any posting at the border region. It is because the border's place-image is remote and dangerous as well as uncomfortable. This chapter is to set up general characteristics of the Thai-Cambodian border including geographical features, history of boundary delimitation between the two countries, and the comprehensive situations during and after the 'Cold War' period.

### 3.1 Geographical Setting of the Thai-Cambodian Border

The physical landscape in *Figure 3.1* is showing two mountain ranges, the Cardamom and the Dangrek; these mountain ranges constituted the border between Thailand and Cambodia. At the East of Thailand and the West of Cambodia, the Cardamom Mountains, called *Chuõr Phnum Krâvanh* in Cambodian and *Khao Banthat* in Thai, separates the two countries; besides, the Dangrek Mountains, called *Phanom Dongrak* in Thai and *Chuõr Phnum Dânggrêk* in Cambodia, divides between the Northeast of Thailand and the North of Cambodia. In Cambodia, the isolated Cardamom is the largest mountain in the country including the highest elevation in Cambodia at the 1,813 meters (5,948 feet) Phnom Aural near Pursat Province; while in Thailand, the highest elevation of the Dangrek is at 753 meters (2,470 feet) above sea level.

According to Prescott (1975: 428), the sandstones comprising the area of Cardamom have been dissected by deep, short valleys, and the high rainfall of about 5,080 millimeters (200 inches) encourages dense tropical forest. The linear Dangrek is also composed of sandstones, but there are few peaks over 610 meters (2,000 feet) and the structure, with the steeper scarp face overlooking Cambodia, is much simpler than that of the Cardamom. The lower elevation and distance from the coast give these uplands a slighter rainfall than the southern mountains, and the tropical forest is correspondingly more open. On the Thai side from the west of the Cardamom ranges, the roads are well constructed throughout the mountainous region and most of lands are well developed as an urbanizing province. But on the Cambodian side, only small path and logging roads intersect the Cardamom, and most of lands are uninhabited or only occupied by scattered and remote villages. On the other hand, the range of Dangrek



dominates the plain of northern Cambodia and separating the *Korat Plateau* in the *Esarn*, or the northeastern region of Thailand. On Cambodian side, the Dangrek is an escarpment spreading along the border; thus, it features inaccessible as well as remote and heavily mined.

The Thai-Cambodian border discussed in this thesis is only the land-based boundary (see *Figure 3.2*). The length of the Thai-Cambodian borderline was measured as 798 kilometers by the Royal Thai Survey Department under the Supreme Command Headquarters (Wacharin, 2004: 55); otherwise, another digit was given as 803 kilometers by Prescott (1975: 428). In this case, the accurate number, whatever, does not affect to the purpose of this thesis; thus, this thesis rather prefers to employ an empirical survey in 1990 by Charnvit Kasetsiri who simply gave the approximate length of the Thai-Cambodia borderline as 800 kilometers (Charnvit, 2000: 2). The 800-kilometer Thai-Cambodian borderline traverses seven provinces on both Thai and Cambodian side. On the Thai side the provinces include Ubon Ratchathani, Si Sa Ket, Surin, Buriram, Sa Kaeo, Chanthaburi, and Trat; while on the Cambodian side they consist of Preah Vihear, Ourdor Meanchey, Banteay Meanchey, Battambang, Pailin, Pursat, and Koh Kong.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร  
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

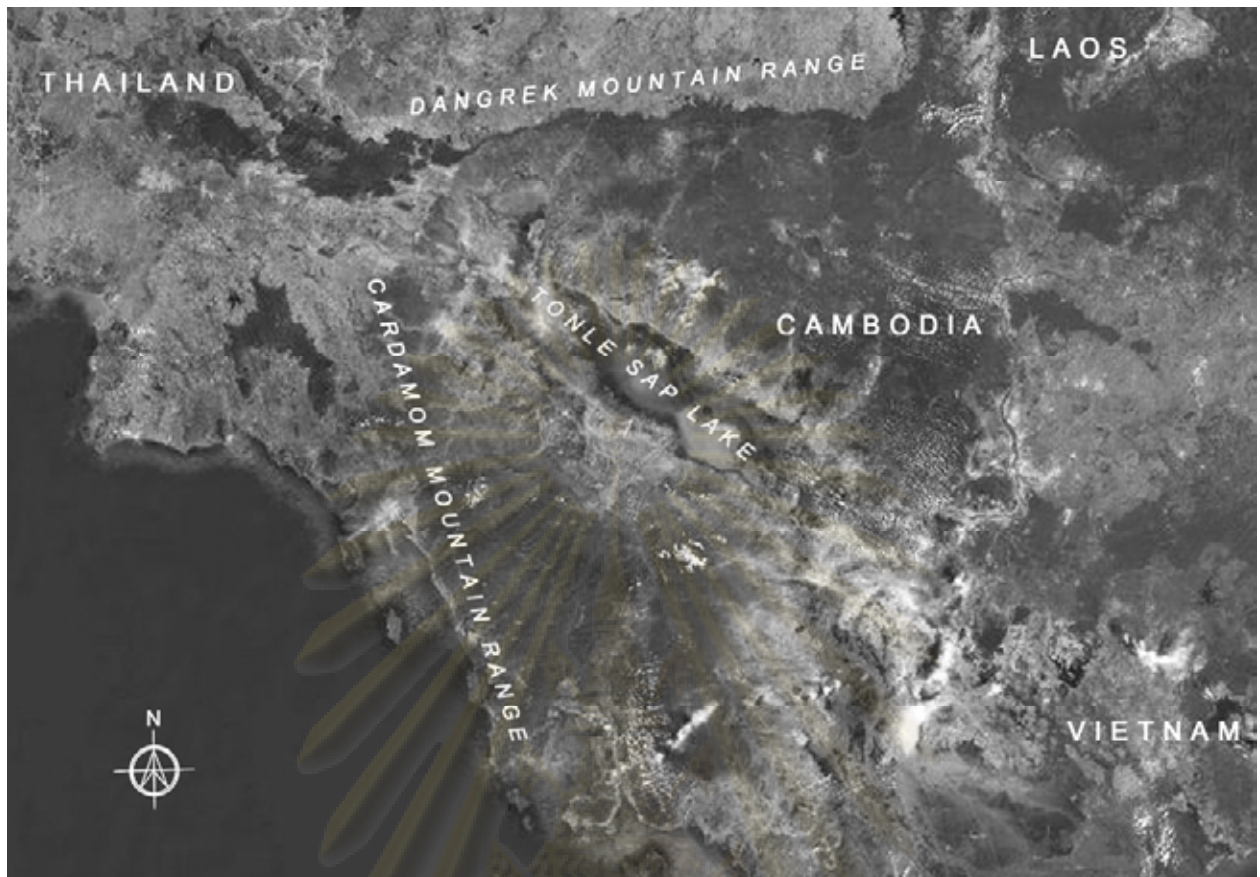


Figure 3.1 Map showing the Dangrek and Cardamom Mountain Ranges



Figure 3.2 Map of the Thai-Cambodian Land-Based Boundary

### **3.2 Historical Setting of the Thai-Cambodian Border**

To describe a history of the Thai-Cambodian border, the making of its boundary should be elucidated. The mapping of the Thai-Cambodian boundary is the main focus of this section. Then, the history of the border region during and after the 'Cold War' period would be described in order to explain general situation of the border. The political changes and the international relations between Thailand and Cambodia become main factors leading touristic tendency to this border region. Thus, this particular historical characteristic also benefits this border as one of the most desirable tourist destinations.

#### **3.2.1 The Thai-Cambodian Spatial Relations from Frontier to Border**

In mainland Southeast Asia, the obvious line of boundary is an artifact introduced by the arrival of the Europeans in the nineteenth century, and it was an inception of the political map of Southeast Asia (Lee, 1982: 1). However, the lines, theoretically without any width, make the territorial division between states. Historical chronology, in general, shows that Cambodia dominated large parts of modern Thailand from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, but Siamese forces repeatedly invaded Cambodia after the fifteenth century. Thus, there was only vague sphere of influence claimed over the land by the two kingdoms. During some significant periods when each realm was ruled by powerful kings, the sphere of influence met roughly. However, this kind of traditional boundary was fast replaced by international boundaries, boundaries between competing power domains in mainland Southeast Asia were 'negotiable'. In a sparsely populated world, for Thai, Khmer, Burmese, and Lao kings, control of manpower and allegiance of vassal provinces were greater significance than the precise delimitation and control of territory.

Protection of the symbols of religio-political legitimacy at the centre was of paramount importance. Hence, the military power of kings was concentrated in their capital and was weakest at the periphery if their kingdom where vassal rulers formed a tenuous quarantine line. British and French colonialism forced Thailand to accept a new ordering of political space and a new regime of interstate relations built upon the principle of territorial sovereignty. Ethnic communities over which the Thai court claimed suzerainty were split by arbitrary divisions that ignored traditional cultural and economic relations and left a legacy of poorly demarcated land borders. Decolonization exposed the fragility of the new Southeast Asian states. So fragmented were newly independent mainland polities during the 'Cold War' in Asia, that the actual political reach of government in Rangoon, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane, did not correspond to territorial jurisdictions conferred by international law. In practice, borders were mere frontiers where central power was weak and contested. Relations between Thailand and its neighbors in the 'Cold War' era reflected a tension between traditional interstate practice and the expectations of the modern nation-state system. From the Thai point of view, borders imposed by Britain and France were impossible to defend, and left Thailand strategically exposed. Echoing traditional strategies for protecting the core of the Thai kingdom, material assistance and refuge were given to antigovernment movements in Burma, Laos and Cambodia – an approach to border security that perpetuated and exacerbated political divisions among its neighbors (Battersby, 1998-99: 474-745).

During the colonial period, describing the mapping the Thai-Cambodian border is inevitable to mention the areas in Laos and Vietnam. According to Prescott (1975, 429-438), France secured a foothold at the mouth of the Mekong in 1862. In the same treaty Annam/Vietnam renounced any claims to sovereignty over Cambodia, which at that time

was a weak state subject to demands and instructions from both Annam/Vietnam and Siam/Thailand. Some local French officers judged that France had inherited claim of Annam/Vietnam to influence in Cambodia, and collect information about Cambodia and possibly sign a treaty favorable to French interests, which were mainly centered about securing access to or control over the Mekong valley (Priestley, 1966: 116; Cady, 1967: 275-6). French successfully concluded a secret treaty with the Cambodian ruler. The first article of this document conferred French protection over Cambodia, and the fourth gave France exclusive influence over Cambodia's foreign relations. The limits of Cambodian territory were not specified in this treaty. This caused concern to the Cambodian ruler, who hastened to offset the possible wrath of Siam/Thailand by signing a treaty indicated that Cambodia was a tributary state of Siam/Thailand. This treaty was signed on 1 December 1863 and ratified on 4 January 1864. By April, the Frenchmen in favor of further expansion in Indo-China had persuaded the emperor to ratify the Franco-Cambodian treaty, and on 14 April the Cambodian ruler was forced by French officials to complete the formal validation of the treaty. When French officials resisted Thai claims to the right to perform the coronation of King Norodom as ruler of Cambodia, on 3 June 1864, French ascendancy in Cambodia was symbolically confirmed. However, there was still the problem of the two conflicting treaties and France opened negotiations with Siam/Thailand to settle the problem.

In April 1865, Siam/Thailand recognized the French protectorate over Cambodia, while France acknowledged Cambodia's duty to pay tribute to Siam/Thailand. Then, new negotiations began in 1866 and a year later the first Franco-Siamese boundary treaty was signed on 15 July 1867. By this treaty Thailand recognized France's protection of Cambodia and relinquished any rights to tribute from Cambodia. In return France

recognized that the Cambodian provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap/Angkor became part of Siam/Thailand. These provinces were nominally Cambodian, but they had been under effective Siamese control since 1795. The treaty made provision for the early identification and demarcation of the Franco-Siamese boundary, and the preparation of an accurate map by French survey officers. On 13 April 1893, France demanded Siam/Thailand to sign the treaty of 3 October 1893. Thereafter, France's territorial and strategic gains by the treaty and convention were considerable. Siam/Thailand renounced all claims to islands in the Mekong and territory on the east bank of that river, and agreed that it would not maintain any armed forces in Battambang and Siem Reap and a zone 25 kilometers wide adjoining the west bank of the Mekong. Siam/Thailand's warships were barred from the Tonle Sap, and the Mekong and its tributaries. French citizens were accorded complete freedom to move and trade within the demilitarized areas. Finally France was allowed to remain in control of Chanthaburi until Siam/Thailand had complied with all the terms of the treaty and convention.

On 29 June 1904, the agreement made slight amendments to the Luang Prabang boundary west of the Mekong and fixed the boundary between the Tonle Sap and the Gulf of Siam. The amendments to the Luang Prabang boundary were in favor of France and concerned the north and south termini on the watershed between the Mekong and Mae Nam. In the south, instead of swinging northwest at the confluence of the Heung and Tang rivers, to reach the watershed near the source of the Tang river, the boundary continued southwards to the source of the Heung, which upstream is also called the Man river. This shifted the terminus on the watershed and transferred to France a triangular area west of Daen Sai, which is now Dan Sai District in Loei Province of Thailand. Thereafter on 23 March 1907, the Franco-Siamese treaty made the last major change in

the boundary between the two countries. By the terms of this treaty France retroceded of the Trat lowlands, and the triangular area west of Daen Sai to Siam/Thailand in exchange for the territories of Battambang, Siem Reap and Sisophon. The new boundary recognized that the Cardamom range represented a significant obstacle. The boundary then crossed the alluvial plain linking Phnom Penh and Bangkok almost at its narrowest point. The road from Aranyaprathet to the Chong-Ta-Koh pass, as far as the Dangrek range between that Chong-Ta-Koh pass and the Chong-So-Met pass, the line followed the Dangrek range to the Mekong according to the 1904 convention. The 1907 treaty also made provision for the delimitation of the new boundary, which was carried out by a joint commission within a year, without any serious difficulty (*Figure 3.3*).

During World War II, Thailand (changed from Siam since 1939) took advantage to regain some of the territory it had earlier lost. The Thai army invaded northwestern Cambodia in 1941, and after fierce fighting, took control of Battambang and Siem Reap provinces with the exception of the French garrisons at Angkor Wat and Siem Reap town. The Thai takeover was legitimized with Japanese backing in a peace treaty signed in Tokyo in March 1941. Through this agreement, France agreed to return to Thailand most of the territory, including Preah Vihear. But the end of the war in 1945, the Tokyo convention was overturned; and in the 1946 Treaty of Washington, Thailand returned the border provinces it had seized five years earlier. These last treaties are the final effect to leave the unchanged boundary of the present day Thailand and Cambodia.

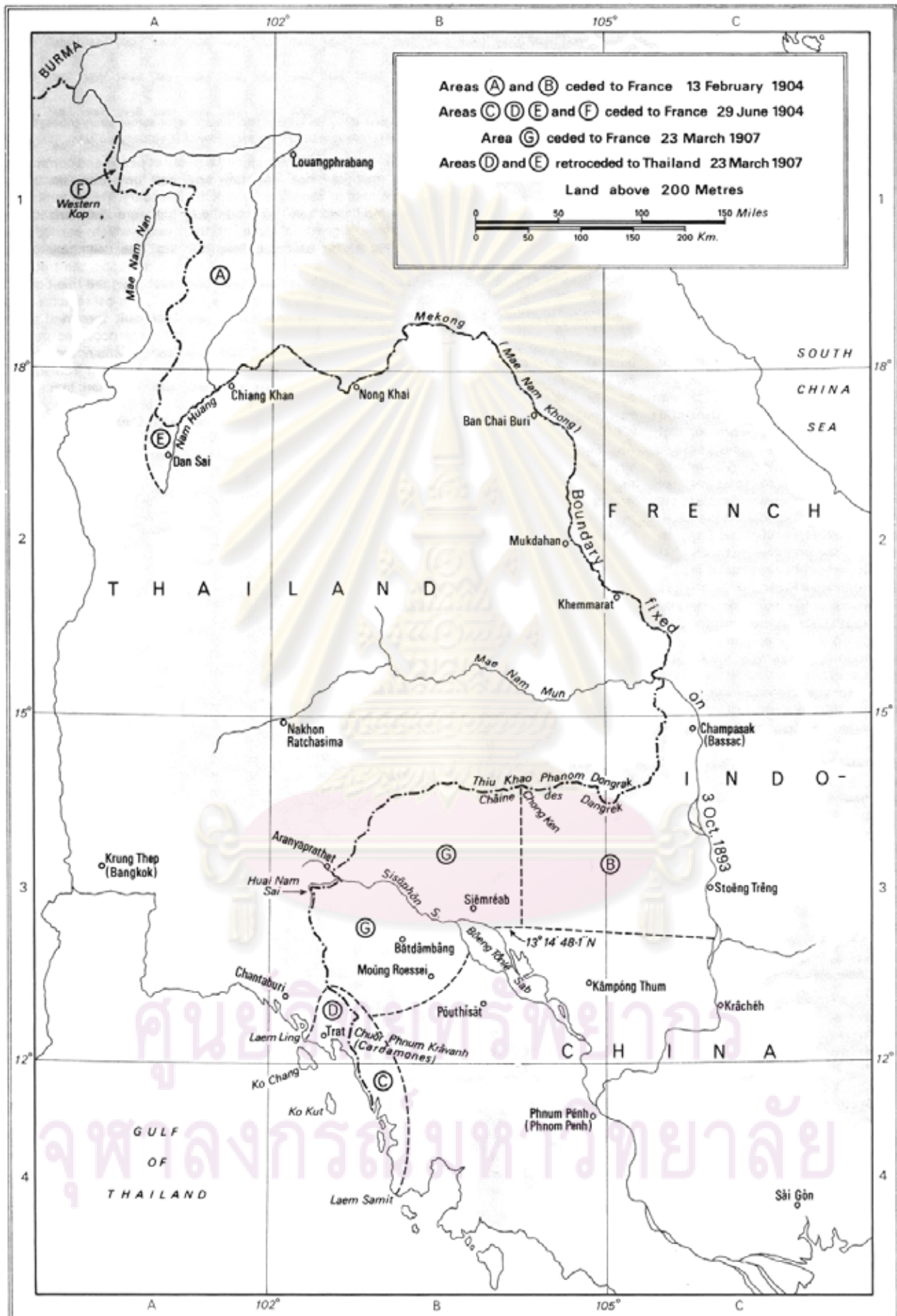


Figure 3.3 Map of Areas Ceded to France and the Current Thai-Cambodian Borderline (Map from Prescott, 1977: 59)



### 3.2.2 The Thai-Cambodian Border during and after the ‘Cold War’ period

During the ‘Cold War’ period, the relationship between Thailand and Cambodia was obstructed by the government policy based on the differentiation in the political ideology. Thus, the economic relation from Thailand to Cambodia, especially border trading, was affected by the Thai’s anti communism policy. However, the closing and opening of border was depended on the political situations. When the two countries have conflict such as boundary disputes or the confrontation of the political ideological differentiation, the border will be terminated. It is obviously that an advent of tourism arriving to this border region is quite impossible during the ‘Cold War’ period. But when Cambodian domestic political turmoil had been finished since 1990s with the new policy of Thailand ‘turning the battlefield into a market place’, the border was opened widely for trading and began to attract tourists.

As mentioned in French (2002: 428-30) The Thai–Cambodian border is a place where ethnic affiliation, national identity, political contingencies and economic interests have collided, combined and recombined in a variety of ways over the last thirty years. The ‘Cold War’ period bracket a dramatic shift from the political to the economic in the discourse of interaction at the border and in the region as a whole, as the ‘Cold War’ conflicts have given way to globalization, and national struggles with communism have evolved into regional commerce and transnational trade networks. The Thai–Cambodian border has been right in the middle of these epochal changes in the region. And while the actual location of the border has not shifted significantly over this period, and the significance of the border has changed for people on either side of it as well. Borders delineate and distinguish political entities constitute economic resources and serve as a

sign of both differences and relationships between the people they divide. This is amply illustrated in the border regions of Thailand and its neighbors, both historically and today. During the 1970s the growth of communist insurgencies throughout mainland Southeast Asia prompted the Thai government to close and militarize its border with Cambodia, and monitor activity on all its borders extremely closely. When the Vietnamese overthrew the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, however, hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees fled to the Thai border. In the late 1980s, however, Thai Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan announced his intention to “turn Cambodia’s battlefields into marketplaces,” marking a dramatic shift in the orientation of Thailand’s national policies toward Cambodia. It took three more years for the guerrilla war in Cambodia to end. But since the Cambodian Peace Accords were signed in Paris in 1991, and official relations were re-established between the governments of Thailand and Cambodia in 1993, the border has become the focus of a frenzy of commercial activity and transnational trade as well as touristic tendency.

In fact, the area along the Dangrek mountain range had been a hideout for Cambodian subversives for a long time. Before the Khmer Rouge used it to consolidate their power in the 1970s it was a haven for the anarchistic Khmer Issarak in the 1940s and 1950s, and the anti-Communist Khmer Serei in the 1950s and early 1960s. These groups had generally found support in Thailand, as they were working against, first, French colonialism, and later, the autocratic rule of Prince Sihanouk. But by the late 1960s, the Thai government feared the infiltration of Vietnamese communists into Thailand through Cambodia and Laos, and its borders were increasingly militarized. When the Vietnamese army overthrew the Khmer Rouge in early 1979 and hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees fled to the Thai border, this concern not only

intensified, but was combined with the additional anxiety of being overrun by desperate Cambodians trying to escape communism. The result was a Thai government policy which provided material and logistical support to a tripartite Cambodian resistance (which included the Khmer Rouge) fighting the Vietnamese from the Thai border but which, after a brief period of leniency, refused to allow any refugees across the border into Thailand itself.

During the first half of the 1980s, for the political and economic security of the nation, The Thai government had to deal with the Cambodian communist. With the Vietnamese-installed government in Phnom Penh the Thai government had no relations whatsoever. This rhetoric of strategic disengagement notwithstanding, the Thai *army* was in constant interaction with the Cambodian resistance during the 1980s: it supplied military assistance and training as well as material and financial support. Thailand was the conduit for outside assistance to the resistance factions, aid which came from the United States, China and other ASEAN and European nations. A special unit of the Thai army, code-named 838, was created to work exclusively with the resistance. Rather than operating through the ordinary chain of military command, 838 answered directly to the Supreme Commander of the Thai Armed Forces. But the entire border area had been placed under martial law for security reasons; hence the regular army was well-represented at the border as well, along with several other military and paramilitary units. While 838 worked directly with the resistance armies, all other military units cooperated in protecting Thailand's border from the encroachment of "dangerous outsiders" (French, 2002: 443).

The rhetoric of danger and distancing employed in relation to Cambodians changed dramatically when Chatichai Choonhaven was elected Prime Minister of Thailand in 1988. While the policies of the previous government had been heavily influenced by the interests and concerns of the military, Chatichai represented a new breed of businessman-politicians and was interested in reducing the influence of the military in government (Pasuk and Sangsit, 1994). His goal of “turning Indochina’s battlefields into marketplaces,” first articulated in 1988, was a dramatic switch from the foreign policy of the previous eight years, during which Thailand’s political integrity was protected both physically and rhetorically through the aggressive defense of its borders. This policy was economic interaction and cooperation. It promoted trade with countries which to that point had been embargoed by all the ASEAN countries in an effort to undermine and weaken their communist regimes. This policy shifted the consideration of Thailand’s neighbors onto a different plane entirely, suggesting that economic engagement could overcome political difference and lead to mutual benefit and satisfaction. As a guiding principle, “battlefields into marketplaces” continues to characterize the Thai government’s foreign-policy orientation toward its neighbors in the region. Chatichai’s slogan implies a very different attitude toward Cambodians and a rather different mode of border control as well. Economic opportunism has superseded loyalty to any national or ethnic grouping, state pronouncements about the national benefits of regional trade notwithstanding.

### 3.3 The Thai-Cambodian Border Crossing Points

Wacharin (2004: 55-56) informed that along the Thai-Cambodian borderline appears to have 264 land-based crossing points; which are 20 points in Ubon Ratchathani, 51 points in Si Sa Ket, 60 points in Surin, 14 points in Buriram, 73 points in Sa Kaeo, 16 points in Chanthaburi, and 30 points in Trat. As a result, because of many crossing points, the Thai-Cambodian border is porous and permeable for people and things to traverse. Along the Thai-Cambodian borderline there are two types of the official border-crossing point where the immigration bureau office will be situated; these are six of the *International Checkpoints* (or *Permanent Crossing Points*), and ten of the *Checkpoints for Border Trade*. The *International Checkpoint* has a purpose of allowing local people, tourists, goods, and vehicles to travel across by the reasons of trading and tourism. This type of border-crossing point must be designated by the governmental agreement between the two countries. In Thailand, the Minister of Interior will sign the declaration to open the *International Checkpoint* by the approval of the Cabinet, and then will be declared in the gazette. The *Checkpoint for Border Trade* allows only necessary products such as daily products, foods, and medicines to be traded, and no restriction for tourism. In Thailand, the authority to open the *Checkpoint for Border Trade* is under the consideration of the Provincial Governor and shall be legitimized by the Ministry of Interior. *Figure 3.3* shows the selected land-based crossing points, which are *International Checkpoint*, *Checkpoint for Border Trade*, or an example of *Tourist Destinations*.

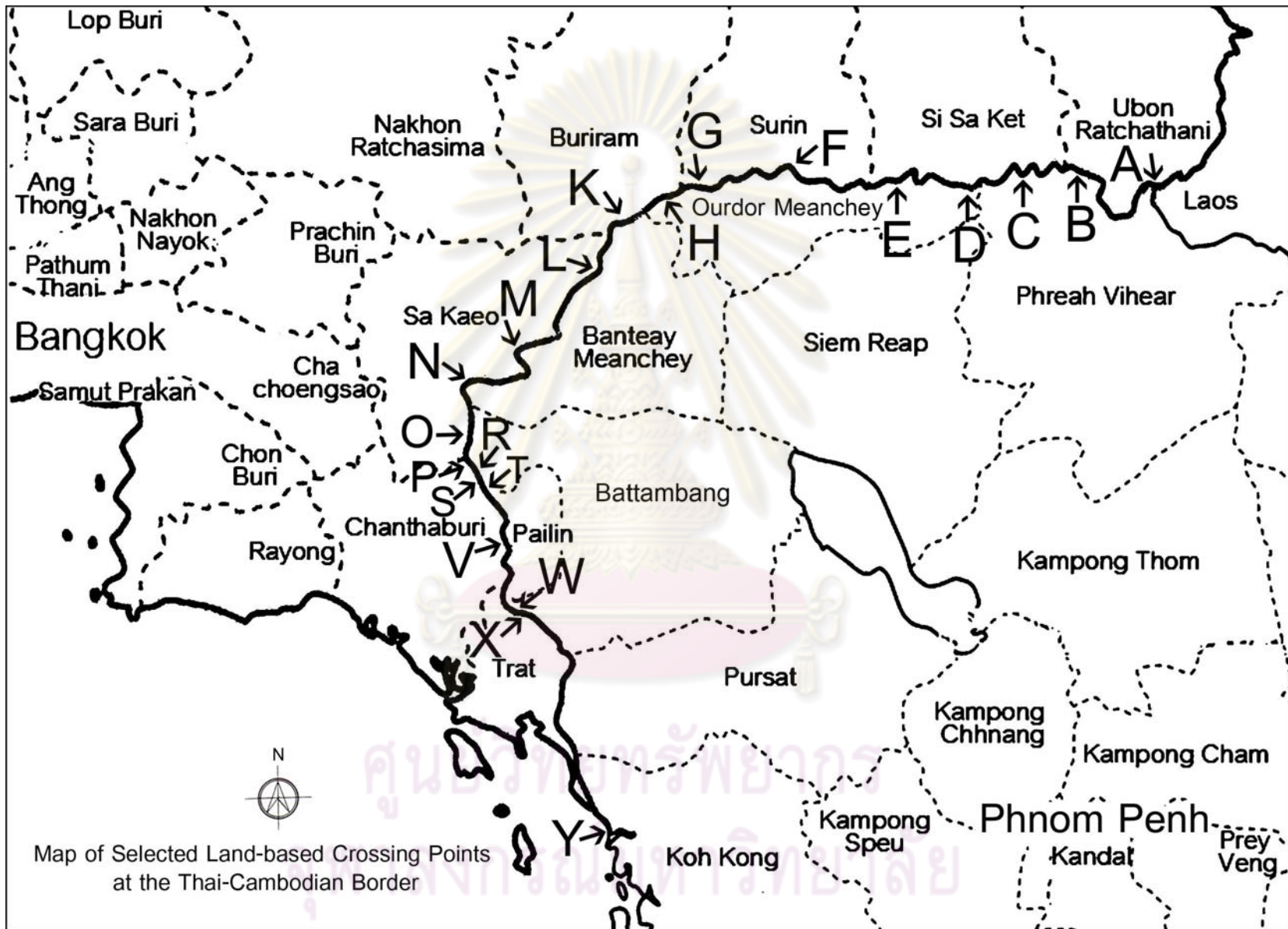


Figure 3.4 Map of Selected Land-based Crossing Points at the Thai-Cambodian Border

### 3.3.1 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint

The Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint has the purpose to allow local people, tourists, and vehicles to traveling across the border by the reasons of trade, tourism and others. The Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint must be recognized by the governmental agreement between the two countries. In Thailand, the Minister of Interior will sign the declaration to officially open the Permanent Crossing Point or the International Checkpoint by the approval of the Cabinet. It will be legitimately resulted when it is declared in the government gazette. Along the Thai-Cambodian border starting from Ubon Ratchathani province to Trat province appears to have six of Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint. This kind of checkpoint provides a visa on arrival for tourist whose purpose is to visit other tourist attractions inside Cambodian countryside. These checkpoints usually have border markets on both sides of the border as well as gambling places and prostitution brothels are also provided for visitors. It allows people to cross the border everyday from 07.00 to 20.00 o'clock.

**1. Chong Sa-Ngam [E]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Phrai Phatthana Subdistrict, Phu Sing District of Si Sa Ket Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Choam, Anlong Veang District of Ourdor Meanchey Province. It has been officially designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 11 November 2003.

**2. Chong Chom [F]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Dan Subdistrict, Kab Choeng District in Surin Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Ou Smach, Samraong District of Ourdor Meanchey Province on the Cambodian side. It has been

officially designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 1 September 2002.

**3. Ban Khlong Luk [M] or Aranyaprathet**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Tha Kham Subdistrict, Aranyaprathet District in Sa Kaeo Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Paoy Paet (Poipet), Ou Chrov District in Banteay Meanchey Province. It has been officially designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 20 September 1997.

**4. Ban Laem [S]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Thep Nimit Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District in Chanthaburi Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Doung, Kamrieng District in Battambang Province. It has been officially designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 11 November 2003.

**5. Ban Pakkad [V]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Khlong Yai Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District in Chanthaburi Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Phsar Prom of Krong Pailin (Special Municipality of Pailin). It has been officially designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 11 November 2003.

**6. Ban Had Lek [Y]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Had Lek Subdistrict, Khlong Yai District in Trat Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Cham Yeam, Mondol Seima District on Koh Kong Province. It has been designated as the Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint since 11 November 2003.



### 3.3.2 Checkpoint for Border Trade

The Checkpoint for Border Trade has the purpose to promote good relationships between local people of the two countries. It is to allow local people for trading goods and products, which are necessary for daily living such as foods and medicines, within the permitted area. In Thailand, the authority to open the Checkpoint for Border Trade is under the consideration of Provincial Governor and thereafter must be recognized by the Ministry of Interior. This kind of checkpoint does not allow people from other provinces crossing the border; visitors can only travel to the adjacent area of the border not into the country side of the border. It is because there is no immigration office situated at this checkpoint. Along the Thai-Cambodian border appears to have ten locations of the Checkpoint for Border Trade.

**1. Chong Ann Mah [B]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Song Subdistrict and Si Wichian Subdistrict, Nam Yuen District in Ubon Ratchathani Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Choam Khsant District of Preah Vihear Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 11 May 1999. It allows people to visit the border market every Tuesday and Thursday from 08.00 to 15.00 o'clock only.

**2. Chong Sai Taku [H]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Sai Taku Subdistrict, Ban Kruat District in Buriram Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Chub Korki Khanglich, Banteay Ampil District in Ourdor Meanchey Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since December 2003, but it is now contemporary closed due to the illegal trafficking of drugs. Normally, it allows people to visit the border market every 3 days from 07.00 to 11.00 o'clock only.

**3. Ban Ta Phraya [L]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Ta Phraya Subdistrict, Ta Phraya District in Sa Kaeo Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Boeng Ta Kwan, Thma Puok in Banteay Meanchey Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 24 December 1998. It allows people to visit the border market every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday from 09.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**4. Ban Nong Prue [N]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Phan Suek Subdistrict, Aranyaprathet District in Sa Kaeo Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Malai District in Banteay Meanchey Province. 24 December 1998. It allows people to visit the border market every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday from 09.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**5. Ban Khao Din [O]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Khlong Hat Subdistrict, Khlong Hat District in Sa Kaeo Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Kilou Dabbei, Santepheap, Sampov Lun District in Battambang Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 15 June 1998. It allows people to visit the border market everyday from 09.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**6. Ban Sab Ta Ree [P]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Thung Khanan Subdistrict, Soi Dao District in Chanthaburi Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Ou Rumduol, Phnum Proek District in Battambang Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 17 April 1997. It allows people to visit the border market everyday from 07.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**7. Ban Suan Som [R]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Saton Subdistrict, Soi Dao District in Chanthaburi Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Phnum Proek District in Battambang Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 2 May 1997. It allows people to visit the border market everyday from 07.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**8. Ban Bueng Cha-nang Lang [T]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Thep Nimit Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District in Chanthaburi Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Svay Veang, Kamrieng District in Battambang Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since 28 May 1997. It allows people to visit the border market everyday from 07.00 to 16.00 o'clock.

**9. Ban Muen Dan [W]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Bo Phloi Subdistrict, Borai District in Trat Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Samlout District in Battambang Province. It was officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade in 16 December 1991, but is now terminated its task since 1997. Normally, people can have a visit or sightseeing at the border on the Thai side only everyday from 08.30 to 17.00 o'clock.

**10. Ban Mamuang [X]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Nonsi Subdistrict, Borai District in Trat Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Chhar RoKar, Samlout District in Battam Bang Province. It has been officially designated as the Checkpoint for Border Trade since May 2004. It allows people to visit the border market every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday from 06.00 to 18.00 o'clock.

### 3.3.3 Crossing Points for Tourism and Other Crossing Points

Besides the international check points and checkpoints for border trade, there are other kind crossing points which can be probably divided into the crossing point for tourism, and other geographical crossing points. These crossing points are not perceived as an official border crossing point, but they can be traversed by the tourists and local residents in order to their everyday life practices. As in the case of crossing points for tourism such as Chong Bok, Khao Phra Viharn, and Chong Ta Muen, the famous tourist destinations are located adjacent to the border area. Notwithstanding, these unofficial crossing points will have the police or military outposts nearby the border.

**1. Chong Bok [A]** is the meeting point of the border between three countries of Thailand, Laos PDR, and Cambodian, which some refer to as the “Emerald Triangle”. On the Thai side, it is located within Dom Pradit Subdistrict, Nam Yuen District in Ubon Ratchathani Province, and on the Cambodian side of the border, it is located at Choam Khsant District in Preah Vihear Province; as well as an area in Laos PDR is on Moonlapamok District in Champasak Province. This is the *Geographical Landscape for Tourism* opening daily from 08.00 to 15.00 o’clock. Its unique location attracts tourists to visit and find sometime to traverse the borderline. The most popular tourist activity is to straddle over the three countries at the same time, and having opportunity to take a photo at the special spot where they can claim that they are standing on the meeting point of Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos.

2. **Khao Phra Wihan [B]** is the Thai name of this place located on Sao Thong Chai Subdistrict, Kantharalak District in Si Sa Ket Province, while on the Cambodian side of the border this place is known as **Preah Vihear** from Chong Bandai Hak of Preah Vihear Province. This is the most famous crossing point for tourism along the Thai-Cambodian border. Regular visitors travel to this place for **the temple of Preah Vihear** located on Cambodian side adjoining to the Thai side of the border. It is designated as the World Heritage site by UNESCO in 2008. Tourists can visit to the temple everyday from 07.00 to 17.00 o'clock. The details and discussion of this place as tourist destination will be described in Chapter 4.

3. **Chong Ta Muen [G]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Bakdai Subdistrict, Phanom Dong Rak District in Surin Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Chong Kal, Chong Kal District in Ourdor Meanchey Province. It is the Geographical Crossing Point where the three temples of *The Ta Muen* situated adjoining to border on Thai side. The three Khmer ruins temple are Ta Muen, Ta Muen Toch, and Ta Muen Thom. Tourists can visit to the temple everyday from 08.00 to 17.00 o'clock. This border area is very much similar to Preah Vihear which is that the Khmer ruins become the main focus of tourist activity. Perhaps this crossing point will be the next border dispute due to the uncleared demarcation line. Although, the ordinary maps of Thailand show the Ta Muen Thom situated on the Thai side, the American made maps no.L7018 appearing on the website of the Royal Thai Survey Department under the Supreme Command Headquarters [<http://www.rtsd.mi.th/gps/17018.html>] is showing this temple on the Cambodian side of the border.

**4. Chong Obok [K]**, on the Thai side of the border, is located at Prasart Subdistrict, Ban Kruat District in Buriram Province connecting to the Cambodian side at Thma Puok District in Banteay Meanchey Province. It is the *Geographical Landscape for Tourism* and also *War Relic* opening everyday for tourists from 08.00 to 15.00 o'clock. It is located on one of the cliffs of the Kravanh mountain range, so its geographical characteristic becomes tourist attraction. As for the war relic, Chong Obok was a battlefield between Thailand and her neighbors. In 1979, Vietnamese troop invaded Phnom Penh and fought to the Khmer Rouge retreated to the Thai-Cambodian border at Chong Obok. Then, Vietnamese successfully secured its troop over the land of Chong Obok, but thereafter the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Area of the Royal Thai Army finally defeated the foe. After the Cold War ended, the Army Area Commander has installed the Buddha image at the site since 13 July 1999; currently the area is promoted to be one of Buriram Provincial tourist destination.

**5. Other Crossing Points:** As mentioned earlier, there are approximately about 264 land-based crossing points along the Thai-Cambodian border such as Chong Phra Phalai in Si Sa Ket, Chong Prig in Surin, Chong Samet in Surin, Chong Chan Deang in Buriram, and others. The selected example of this unofficial crossing point is Chong Phra Phalai [D] which is geographical land-based crossing point but not tourist destination. It is located on Bak Dong Subdistrict, Khun Han District in Si Sa Ket Province on the Thai side. On the Cambodian side of the border is in the area of Chey Nivat, Tumnob Dach of Trapeang Prasat District in Ourdor Meanchey Province. Visitors can visit only to the Thai side where the camp of ranger solders is located. One of the main factor that obstructs this crossing point to be traverse is that the uncleared landmines. Thus, if these landmines are successfully eliminated out of the area, it would be opened for common people.

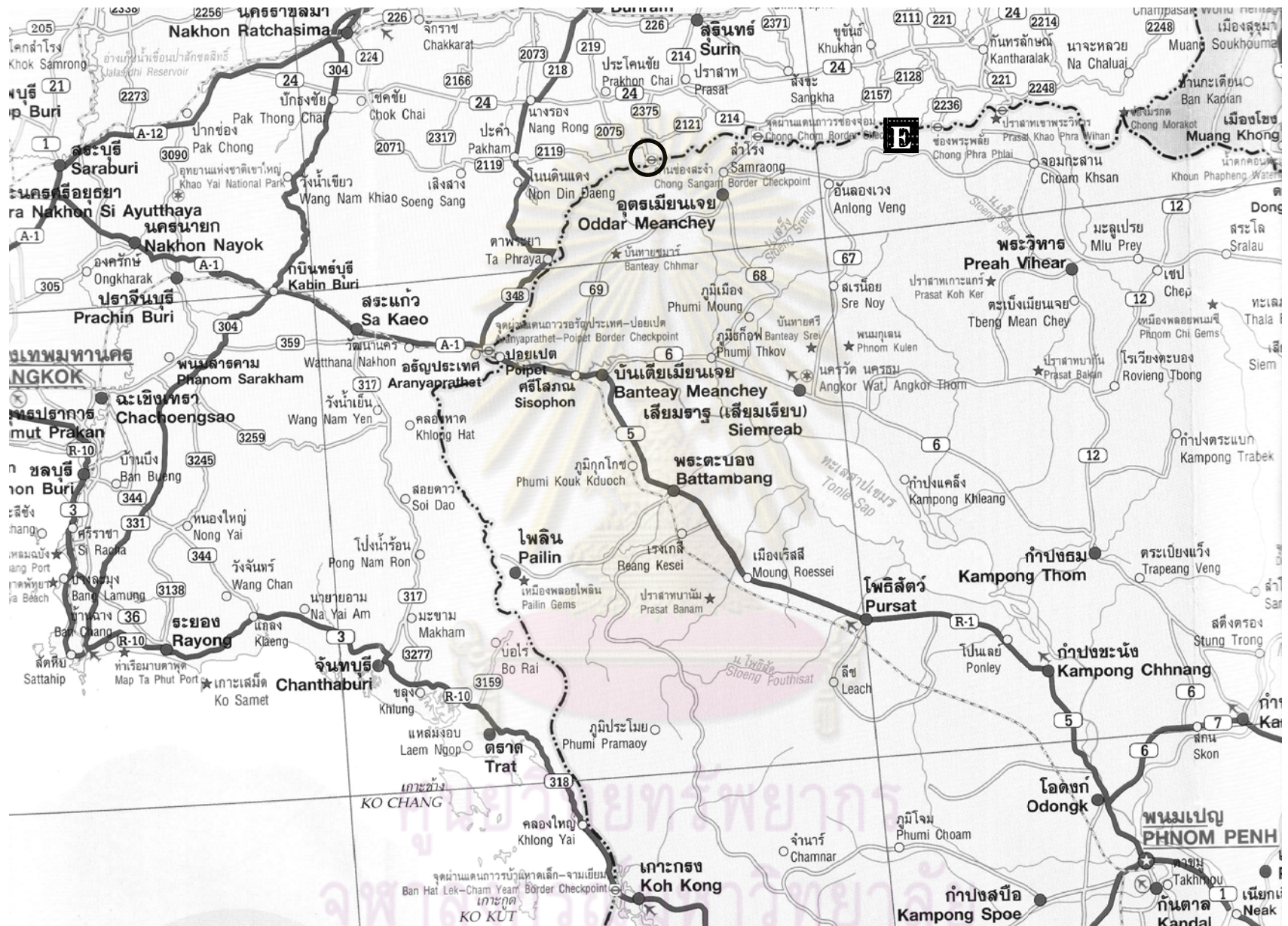
Table 3.3 Name of Points in *Figure 3.4* Map of Selected Land-based Crossing Points at the Thai-Cambodian Border

Point	Area in Thailand	Area in Cambodia	Opening/Status	Time to Visit
A	Chong Bok, Dom Pradit Subdistrict, Nam Yuen District, Ubon Ratchathani Province  *sometimes called the <b><i>Emerald Triangle.</i></b>	Choam Khsant District, Preah Vihear Province  <b>*Area in Laos PDR</b> Moonlapamok District, Champasak Province	n/a <i>Geographical Landscape for Tourism</i>	08.00-15.00 everyday  <i>*Temporary closed for crossing</i>
B	Chong Ann Mah, Song Subdistrict and Si Wichian Subdistrict, Nam Yuen District, Ubon Ratchathani Province	Choam Khsant District, Preah Vihear Province	11 May 1999 Checkpoint for Border Trade	08.00-15.00 Tue./Thu.
C	Khao Phra Wihan, Sao Thong Chai Subdistrict, Kantharalak District, Si Sa Ket Province	Preah Vihear Chong Bandai Hak, Preah Vihear Province	n/a Crossing Point for Tourism the temple of <b><i>Preah Vihear</i></b> adjoining to border on Cambodian side	07.00-17.00 everyday
D	Chong Phra Phalai, Bak Dong Subdistrict, Khun Han District, Si Sa Ket Province	Chey Nivat, Tumnob Dach, Trapeang Prasat District, Ourdor Meanchey Province	n/a Geographical Crossing Point	It is not the Tourist Destination.
E	Chong Sa-Ngam, Phrai Phatthana Subdistrict, Phu Sing District, Si Sa Ket Province	Choam, Anlong Veang District, Ourdor Meanchey Province	11 Nov.2003 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday
F	Chong Chom, Dan Subdistrict, Kab Choeng District, Surin Province	Ou Smach, Samraong District, Ourdor Meanchey Province	1 Sept.2002 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday
G	Chong Ta Muen Bakdai Subdistrict, Phanom Dong Rak District, Surin Province	Chong Kal, Chong Kal District, Ourdor Meanchey Province	n/a Geographical Crossing Point <b><i>The Ta Muen</i></b> adjoining to border on Thai side	08.00-17.00 everyday
H	Chong Sai Taku, Sai Taku Subdistrict, Ban Kruat District, Buriram Province	Chub Korki Khanglich, Banteay Ampil District, Ourdor Meanchey Province	Dec.2003 Checkpoint for Border Trade	07.00-11.00 every 3 days
K	Chong Obok, Prasart Subdistrict, Ban Kruat District, Buriram Province	Thma Puok District, Banteay Meanchey Province	n/a Geographical Landscape for Tourism ( <i>war relic</i> )	08.00-15.00 everyday

Point	Area in Thailand	Area in Cambodia	Opening/Status	Time to Visit
L	Ban Ta Phraya, Ta Phraya Subdistrict, Ta Phraya District, Sa Kaeo Province	Boeng Ta Kwan, Thma Puok, Banteay Meanchey Province	24 Dec.1998 Checkpoint for Border Trade	09.00-16.00 Tue./Wed./ Thu./Fr.
M	Ban Khlong Luk, Tha Kham Subdistrict, Aranyaprathet District, Sa Kaeo Province	Paoy Paet (Poipet), Ou Chrov District, Banteay Meanchey Province	20 Sep.1997 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday
N	Ban Nong Prue, Phan Suek Subdistrict, Aranyaprathet District, Sa Kaeo Province	Malai District, Banteay Meanchey Province	24 Dec.1998 Checkpoint for Border Trade	09.00-16.00 Tue./Wed./ Thu./Fri.
O	Ban Khao Din, Khlong Hat Subdistrict, Khlong Hat District, Sa Kaeo Province	Kilou Dabbei, Santepheap, Sampov Lun District, Battambang Province	15 Jun.1998 Checkpoint for Border Trade	09.00-16.00 everyday
P	Ban Sab Ta Ree, Thung Khanan Subdistrict, Soi Dao District, Chanthaburi Province	Ou Rumduol, Phnum Proek District, Battambang Province	17 Apr.1997 Checkpoint for Border Trade	07.00-16.00 everyday
R	Ban Suan Som, Saton Subdistrict, Soi Dao District, Chanthaburi Province	Phnum Proek District, Battambang Province	2 May 1997 Checkpoint for Border Trade	07.00-16.00 everyday
S	Ban Laem, Thep Nimit Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District, Chanthaburi Province	Doung, Kamrieng District, Battambang Province	11 Nov.2003 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday
T	Ban Bueng Cha-nang Lang, Thep Nimit Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District, Chanthaburi Province	Svay Veang, Kamrieng District, Battambang Province	28 May 1997 Checkpoint for Border Trade	07.00-16.00 everyday
V	Ban Pakkad, Khlong Yai Subdistrict, Pong Nam Ron District, Chanthaburi Province	Phsar Prom, Krong Pailin (Special Municipality of Pailin)	11 Nov.2003 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday
W	Ban Muen Dan, Bo Phloi Subdistrict, Borai District, Trat Province	Samlout District, Battambang Province	16 Dec.1991 <b>(Terminated in 1997)</b> Checkpoint for Border Trade	08.30-17.00 everyday
X	Ban Mamuang, Nonsi Subdistrict, Borai District, Trat Province	Chhar RoKar, Samlout District, Battam Bang Province	May 2004 Checkpoint for Border Trade	06.00 -18.00 Tue./Wed./ Thu.
Y	Ban Had Lek, Had Lek Subdistrict, Khlong Yai District, Trat Province	Cham Yeam, Mondol Seima District, Koh Kong Province	11 Nov.2003 Permanent Crossing Point/International Checkpoint	07.00-20.00 everyday

**Note:** The spelling of Cambodian names come from <http://www.cambodia.gov.kh/unisql/egov/english/organ.admin.html>.





**Figure 3.5 Map of Roads between Thailand and Cambodia:** This map shows the linkage roads at the Thai-Cambodian border crossing points. It is excerpted from the GMS map produced by PN MAP Company in Thailand [contact number: +66 (0)-2411-1285]. However, this map is appearing an error point of Chong Sa-Ngam, the highlighted circle; this point should be Chong Obok. In fact, Chong Sa-Ngam might be probably put at point E.



**Figure 3.6 Chong Sa-Ngam Immigration Office:** Visitors from Thailand are waiting for immigration procedure to cross the border. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.7 Border Gate at Chong Sa-Ngam:** Visitors and venders cross the borderline to the border market on the Cambodian side for traveling and trading. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.8 Chong Sa-Ngam Border Market:** Several border markets located on both sides of the border. Not only ordinary shops sell their products, but gambling places and brothels also provides their service to visitors who know its location. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 3.9 Road to Angkor from Chong Sa-Ngam:** A well constructed road from Chong Sa-Ngam linked to Angkor in Siem Reap [135 kilometers/2 Hours] is an important factor to facilitate tourism industry. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 3.10 Chong Choam – Ou Smach Checkpoint:** Generally, the International Checkpoint allows visitors and vehicles to cross to the Cambodian side of the border. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.11 Road to Border:** A road at Chong Chom was initially constructed during the ‘Cold War’ and reconstructed again in early 2000s. This photo shows hundreds of cars of visitors who came to the border during the New Year. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.12 Transportation Service:** Transpiration services at the border of Chong Chom provide vans for visitors who want to travel between Surin province and the border; as well as the motorcycles queue provides local transportation service. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.13 Tourist Information Service Center:** To facilitate the border tourism, Chong Chom established an information center for tourists. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.14 Chong Chom Border Market:** The gigantic signboard showing the area of Chong Chom is ready for trading. This border market is operated by private sector. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.15 Visitors at the Border Market:** Everyday, visitors and local people came to Chong Chom's border market especially during the weekend. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.16 Direction Signboard to Tourist Attractions:** Visitors could visit the Chong Chom Border Market and other attractions by following several direction signboards like this one. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.17 Direction to Chom Pass Immigration:** Along the road to the Thai-Cambodian border, visitors are guided by this signboard. This is one of the facilities that support touristic tendency along the borderline. (Photo taken on 2 January 2008)



**Figure 3.18 Tourist Attractions Signboard:** As mentioned earlier, this signboard also guides visitors to tourist attractions including border market. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.19 Vendors at Aranyaprathet-Poipet Checkpoint:** Everyday Cambodian vendors cross the border to the Thai side to run their business as well as visitors who cross the border to spend their leisure and money. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)





**Figure 3.20 Aranyaprathet Immigration Office:** About 07.00 o'clock, tourists, both Thais and foreigners, are waiting for the opening of the Aranyaprathet International Checkpoint. (Photo taken on 27 December 2007)



**Figure 3.21 Inside the Aranyaprathet Immigration Office:** This land-based immigration office has the same status as Suvarnabhumi Immigration Office which provides immigration check-out and check-in for tourists. (Photo taken on 27 December 2007)



**Figure 3.22 Border Gate of Cambodia:** This Khmer temple-like border gate was built to welcome tourists to the Kingdom of Cambodia showing the competing meanings between Nationalism and Tourism. (Photo taken on 27 December 2007)



**Figure 3.23 Bridge of the Two Countries:** The inscription on this new bridge said that it was built in 1993 by Thailand, and donated by Britain as ‘a gift to the people of Cambodia’. In fact, benefits almost go ‘as a gift’ to the Thai side. (Photo taken on 27 December 2007)



**Figure 3.24 Tourist's Lane:** At Aranyaprathet checkpoint, the special lane was built for tourists. On the one hand, it manifests the privilege of tourism; on the other hand, it constitutes the travel control of people. (Photo taken on 27 December 2007)



**Figure 3.25 Signboards to Border:** Several signboards point the way going to the border. Thus, it seems to me that Thai government promotes the border as 'a place to visit'. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.26 Ban Laem Border Gate:** On the Thai side of the border, Thailand built the gigantic border gate showing its national prosperity which is better than the opposite side. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.27 Border Market of Helping:** On top of the shops at Ban Laem border market, it wrote that 'following the [Thai] government's policy of helping the neighbor'. This extremely shows Thai's perspective to the opposite side of the border. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.28 Ban Laem Tourist Service Center:** This is an important factor to facilitate tourism industry, but most of information provided here is much concerning to the Thai side of the border not the opposite side. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.29 Inside the Ban Laem Tourist Service Center:** This center was established according to the policy of Thai government of 'promoting border trading and tourism'. (Photo taken on 26 December 2007)



**Figure 3.30 Ranger Camp at Chong Prig, Surin Province:** For national security, the Thai Ranger Force has to build their camp nearby the border area, and the Thai national flag is installed to symbolize this area belonged to Thailand. (Photo taken on 4 January 2008)



**Figure 3.31 Mountain Pass at Chong Prig:** Visitors are not permitted to cross this border pass; only the local people and soldiers use this crossing point as their everyday life practices. (Photo taken on 4 January 2008)

## CHAPTER IV

### IDENTITY AND SPIRIT OF THE THAI-CAMBODIAN BORDER TOURISM

This Chapter deals with identity and spirit of the tourist attractions along the Thai-Cambodian border. It is also a report of my empirical study based on evidence that was collected during an initial 20-day fieldwork<sup>\*</sup> with several follow up visit afterwards along the 800-km Thai-Cambodian borderline between December 2007 and April 2008. The survey was conducted mainly along the Thai side of the border, but several visits were also made to locations on the Cambodian side to gather information from there as well. According to the book called *Maps and Guide to Travel in Thailand* (Thinknet, 2008), numbers of cultural tourist attraction are located along the Thai-Cambodian border. As Charnvit (2003: 115) indicated numbers of the ancient Khmer ruin temple located on the Thai side are about 117 locations. However, selecting only the ancient Khmer ruin temples adjoining to the border, these include; Prasat Khao Noi and Prasat Sdok Gok Thom in Sa Kaeo Province; Prasat Ta Muen in Surin Province; Prasat Don Tuan in Si Sa Ket. On the one hand, the Khmer sanctuaries, National Parks, waterfalls, and other natural resources located adjacent to the border are considered as the prominent tourist attractions in the sense of mainstream tourism literature, but on the other hands, there is other sort of interpretation which denotes that why these places at the Thai-Cambodian border have become the vital tourist destination. Perhaps the border tourism happening in this region is particularly related to the heritage of time; both physically and mentally.

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<sup>\*</sup> The allowance of 40,000 THB during the survey was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation as well as the car, Toyota Fortuner, was sponsored by Mr.Preecha Phothi from Toyota Motor Thailand.

Table 4 List of Selected Tourist Attractions along the Thai Side of the Border

Province	Attractions	Type/Genre	
<b>Ubon Ratchathani</b>	- Chong Bok/Emerald Triangle	- Natural Attraction/War Relics	
	- Phuchong-Nayoi National Park	- Natural Attraction	
	- Huai Luang Waterfall	- Natural Attraction	
	- Kaeng Lamduan Waterfall	- Natural Attraction	
	- Bak Teo Waterfall	- Natural Attraction	
<b>Si Sa Ket</b>	- Prasat Ban Ben	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Reclining Vishnu Base-Relief	- Khmer Art	
	- Khao Phra Viharn National Park	- Natural Attraction	
	- Pha Mo I Daeng Cliff	- Natural Attraction	
	- Hui Chan Waterfall	- Natural Attraction	
	- Sam Rong Kiat Waterfall	- Natural Attraction	
	- Chong Phra Phalai	- Natural Attraction/War Relics	
	- Chong Sa-Ngam Border Market	- Market Place	
	- Prasat Don Tuan	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Tamnak Sai	- Khmer Sanctuary	
- Base-Relief at Pha Mo I Deang Cliff	- Khmer Art		
- Tab Tim Siam Village No.06 and 07	- Community-Based Tourism		
<b>On the Cambodian side of the border</b>			
	- Preah Vihear Temple	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Pol Pot's house and crematory	- War Relic	
	- Choam Pass Border Market	- Market Place	
<b>Surin</b>	- Prasat Tamuen	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Tamuen Toch	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Tamuen Thom	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Phumpon	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Ban Phluang	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Prasat Yai Ngao	- Khmer Sanctuary	
	- Chong Chom Border Market	- Market Place	
	- Tab Tim Siam Village No.04	- Community-Based Tourism	
	<b>On the Cambodian side of the border</b>		
		- Casino (2 locations)	- Recreation Place



Province	Attractions	Type/Genre
<b>Buriram</b>	- Prasat Nong Hong	- Khmer Sanctuary
	- Chong Obok	- Natural Attraction/War Relics
	- Chong Sai Taku Border Market	- Market Place
	- Quarry Sources	- Natural Attraction
	- Raosu Monument	- War Relic
<b>Sa Kaeo</b>	- Prasat Khao Noi	- Khmer Sanctuary
	- Prasat Sdok Gok Thom	- Khmer Sanctuary
	- Aranyaprathet Border Market	- Market Place
	- Ta Phraya National Park	- Natural Attraction/War Relics
	- Tab Tim Siam Village No.03 and 05	- Community-Based Tourism
	<b>On the Cambodian side of the border</b>	
- Casino (7+2 locations)	- Recreation Place	
<b>Chanthaburi</b>	- Ban Laem Border Market	- Market Place
	- Ban Pakkad Border Market	- Market Place
	- Khao Soi Dao National Park	- Natural Attraction
	<b>On the Cambodian side of the border</b>	
	- Casino (7 locations)	- Recreation Place
<b>Trat</b>	- Khlong Kaeo Waterfall National Park	- Natural Attraction
	- Tab Tim Siam Village No.01	- Community-Based Tourism
	- Ratchakarun Red Cross Center	- Sea Resort/War Relic
	- Ban Had Lek Border Market	- Market Place
	- Navy Memorial Park	- War Relic
	<b>On the Cambodian side of the border</b>	
- Casino (1 location)	- Recreation Place	

**Note:** These attractions are selected from various kind of suggested tourist destinations printed in the book *Maps and Guide to Travel in Thailand*.

#### 4.1 The Thai-Cambodian Border as a Permissive Zone

The simplest manifestation of the border as tourist destination is that people want to straddle borderlines, so they can claim to have been in two places at once or at least having been abroad, even only by a few meters. Research and commentary demonstrated that whether a borderline is clearly marked, visitors will have an interest in standing astride it, hopping over it, or leaning against it for photo opportunities (Timothy, 2006a: 10). However, in this case, the land-based crossing points along the Thai-Cambodian border perhaps becomes what Askew and Cohen (2004: 96) defined that, in some cases, for visitors whose behavioral sanctions imposed by legal restrictions as well as social and economic constraints, the opposite side of national border constitutes a permissive zone. Likewise, the visitors to the Thai-Cambodian border also engage various recreational behaviors with a freedom and abandon impossible in their own countries. It often involves typical kinds of activities such as hopping, entertainment, dining, but also gambling and the use of sexual services. For examples, the crossing points at D, F, M, S, V, and Y (see *Table 3.1* in Chapter 3) on the Thai side are places where market goods such as cheap clothing are sold to visiting Cambodians, while cheap commercial sex and gambling are available on the Cambodian side.

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**Table 4.1.1** Border-Crossing *Departures* from Thailand to Cambodia, as measured by International Checkpoint 2002-2007\*

<b>Year</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>
<b>Checkpoint</b>						
Phu Sing, Si Sa Ket	n/a	n/a	n/a	373	2,521	6,640
Kab Choeng, Surin	1,550	8,394	73,459	122,026	238,202	277,718
Aranyaprathet, Sa Kaeo	416,389	659,874	1,097,220	1,149,896	1,316,375	1,474,521
Pong Nam Ron, Chanthaburi	365	10,810	157,914	84,904	238,652	222,817
Khlong Yai, Trat	21,561	39,638	57,266	64,555	76,667	71,901

**Table 4.1.2** Border-Crossing *Arrivals* from Cambodia to Thailand, as measured by International Checkpoint 2002-2007\*

<b>Year</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>
<b>Checkpoint</b>						
Phu Sing, Si Sa Ket	n/a	n/a	n/a	213	2,356	6,193
Kab Choeng, Surin	1,291	7,990	70,806	120,757	238,511	274,238
Aranyaprathet, Sa Kaeo	453,489	649,869	1,106,603	1,107,993	1,320,956	1,482,219
Pong Nam Ron, Chanthaburi	74	10,843	157,733	94,686	240,340	222,351
Khlong Yai, Trat	31,504	47,264	61,671	72,611	80,334	81,352

\*on land only, excludes sea and air travel

**Source:** adapted from the Thai Immigration Bureau 2008 (<http://www.immigration.go.th>)

However, the prominent tourism characteristic of the Thai-Cambodian border is the region of Casinos; it is because Casino is illegal in Thailand. According to Wacharin (2004: 188-192), Casinos on the Cambodian side appear to have about seventeen locations; two from Kab Choeng, seven from Aranyaprathet, seven from Pong Nam Ron, one from Khlong Yai, as well as some gambling places in Phu Sing. In addition, from my survey last year, I found that two more Casinos were built at Aranyaprathet-Poipet. Then, number of tourists who visit to the border can be indicated from the border-crossing departures and arrivals at the International Checkpoint in the *Table 4.1.1* and *Table 4.1.2*. These checkpoints are the locations of the gambling place, and one of the initial

motivations to designate these crossing points to be the International Checkpoint or Permanent Crossing Point is the Casinos on the opposite side. Noticeably, the number of visitors from 2002 to 2003 is immensely increased because three more International Checkpoints were opened due to the ready-to-play Casino; therefore, a number of visitors have been increasing annually since 2003. It does not mean that all the visitors go to Casinos, but it could be probably assumed that these places become tourist destination because of Casinos.

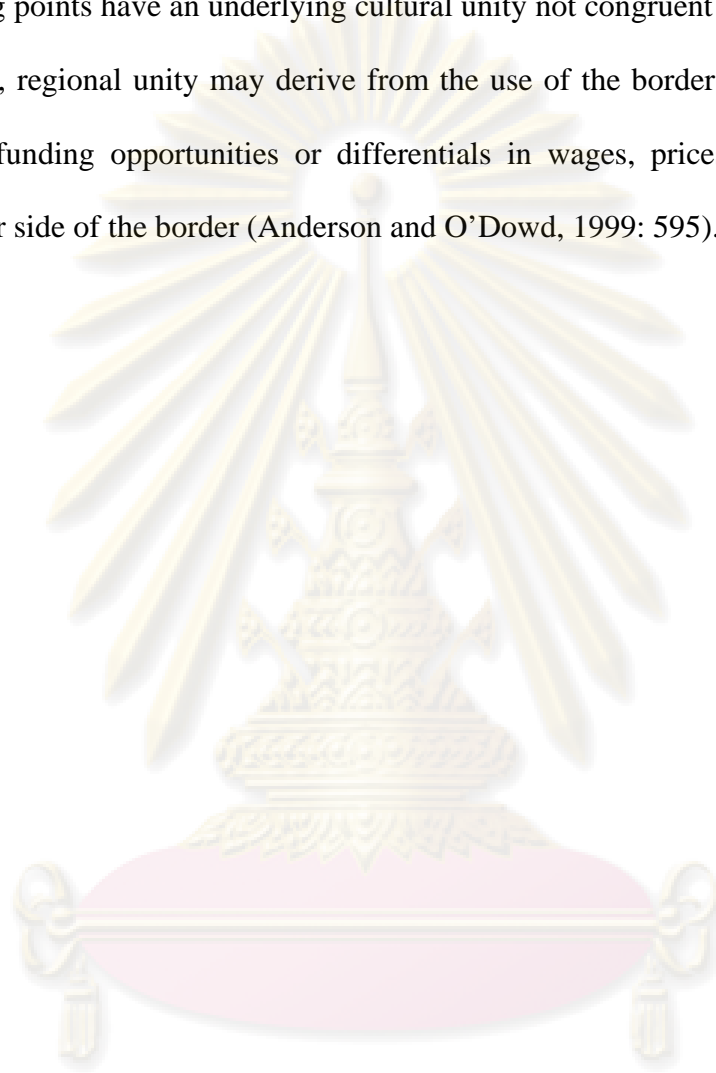
Furthermore, the majority of tourists who come from Thailand will travel around only the adjoining border area because to get into the Cambodian side they need to pay about 20-25 USD for the Cambodian entry visa. So, for the visitors whose purpose is not travel inside to the heart of Cambodia such as Angkor Wat in Siem Reap, they will travel around the border market or sightseeing the proximity area in-between the two countries – the area called the no-man's land. Thus, this no-man's land area is a location of the gambling place. Consequently, these Casinos can be easily accessed by one-day trip, so, during the weekend, the Thai residents living in the provinces nearby the border propend to travel to the border for this initial purpose. Most of the Casinos on the Cambodian side are luxurious and function as five stars hotel; thus, if visitors purchase the offering gift vouchers, the Casino will provide free food and free hotel room. As a result, from this example, the border becomes the permissive zone for those tourists who have full of money and leisure.

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Nevertheless, the permissive zone is not only related to the purpose of tourism, but also becomes daily life practices of regular visitors and local people who live adjacent to the border. Several border-crossing points, especially the unofficial one, become gateway of wildlife products. For instance, Chong Bok [A] in Ubon Ratchathani – where the Thai, Laotian, and Cambodian borders meet and which some refer to as the *Emerald Triangle* – on the Thai side is within the area of the Phuchong-Nayoi National Park; people cross border for the enjoyment of eating wild animals. It is because in Thailand several animals are legally registered to be the National Protected and Preserved Animals, while on the opposite sides people could hunt and sell wildlife as their daily food. Thus, the visitors could easily find several small shacks providing living animals such as barking deer, porcupine, pangolin, wild boar, gibbon, python, or any kind of available wildlife. The shack's owner will receive order and instantly cook for the client after negotiated its price. Unfortunately, recently the office of the Phuchong-Nayoi National Park declared the temporary closing of Chong Bok crossing point due to this unhealthy tourist activity of wildlife consumption. Not only common people enjoyed the permissive zone, but soldiers who operate their task at the border also pleased to cross the border.

At Chong Ta Muen [G], the Ranger Forces 960 operates their task to defense Thailand's territory at the Khmer temples of Ta Muen. On the opposite side, during the weekend, several Cambodian soldiers cross the border to join the Thai soldiers for watching television programs together, especially the boxing live program. Although during the New Year period, the Thai and Cambodian commander agree to arrange the joining party for their soldiers. Moreover, several Thai soldiers, whose wife request to bring home some jungle products, have to cross the border which is few minutes by walk.

Some could say that, language is the one great boundary which for so many of us remains difficult to cross, but, for the people or soldiers living near the border in these cases, their birth-with language is Khmer or Cambodian. As a result, it is quite obvious that these border-crossing points have an underlying cultural unity not congruent with state borders. In other words, regional unity may derive from the use of the border to exploit, legally and illegally, funding opportunities or differentials in wages, prices and institutional norms on either side of the border (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999: 595).



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**Figure 4.1 Casino Hotel in Koh Kong:** Most of the Casinos on the Cambodian side are luxurious as five stars hotel; thus, if visitors purchase the offering gift vouchers, the Casino will provide free food and free hotel room. (Photo taken on 18 April 2008)



**Figure 4.2 Casinos in Poipet:** Visitors have an interest in standing in front of Casino for photo opportunities. These Casinos are located on the no-man's land area; visitors just check-out only at the Thai immigration office. (Photo taken on 17 April 2008)



**Figure 4.3 Soldiers and Everyday Practice at Chong Tamuen:** Several Thai soldiers, whose wife request to bring home some jungle products, have to cross the border which is few minutes by walk. (Photo taken on 6 January 2008)



**Figure 4.4 New Year Party at the Border:** At Chong Ta Muen during the New Year, the Thai and Cambodian commander agree to arrange the joining party for their soldiers. (Photo taken on 6 January 2008)



## 4.2 Collective Memory as a Tourist Attraction

One of distinguished identities of the Thai-Cambodian border tourism is a collective memory. Wartime events is one of this identity, it represents important tourist attractions, drawing visitors to a diversity of locations such as those related to the 'Cold War' period and its aftermath as well as more recent conflicts. The examples of Chong Bok in Ubon Ratchathani, Pol Pot's last settlement at Chong Sa-Ngam in Si Sa Ket, and Chong Obok in Buriram actually illustrate the idea of war as attractions. This section employs a case study of Henderson (2000) which is an exploratory one, but aims to offer an insight into the appeal and meaning of wartime heritage attractions for both residents and visitors, and the responsibilities of providers in achieving integrity with regard to presentation and interpretation. However, there is a potential conflict between the functions of education and entertainment and the problem is compounded when those affected by the circumstances depicted are still alive, leading Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) to comment that 'living memory must expire before the question can be dispassionately weighed (115)'. The central role occupied by attractions in the tourism industry is apparent; Gunn (1994) described them as constituting 'the most powerful component on the supply side of tourism . . . the energizing power unit of the tourism system (57)' with purposes of providing visitor satisfaction, enticement and stimulating interest in travel. Historical resources of various types emerge as of great significance world-wide, and the uses and abuses of history by tourism have generated a literature of their own. According to Hewison (1987), he describes a process of commodification and trivialization, where history has been replaced by a heritage industry that presents a false view of the past. There is more concern with providing opportunities and settings to satisfy contemporary society and commercial interests than accurately portraying the

realities and complexities of historical figures, events and processes. The anthropological discussion studies of warfare and the tourist attractions dating attempts to 'link war and the pleasure periphery' to the mid-1990s and identifying 'warfare-tourism genres' as 'the heroic past', 'remember the fallen', 'lest we forget', 'when we were young' and 'reliving the past' (Smith, 1996: 205). Smith explains how war can stimulate tourism as a consequence of technological advances and demographic change, returning to the argument that 'despite the horrors of death and destruction (and also because of them), the memorabilia of warfare and allied products probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world' (Smith, 1996: 131). For example, the border area of Chong Obok was a battlefield between Thailand and her neighbors. In 1979, the Vietnamese troop invaded Phnom Penh and fought the Khmer Rouge to retreat to the Thai-Cambodian border at Chong Obok. Then, the Vietnamese successfully secured its troop over the land of Chong Obok, but thereafter the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Area of the Royal Thai Army finally defeated the Vietnamese. After the Cold War ended, the Army Area Commander has installed the Buddha image at the site since 13 July 1999; currently the area becomes tourist attraction. The use to the example of the battlefield at Chong Bok in Ubon and Chong Obok in Buriram during the wartime, as well as Chong Sa-Ngam where was the last settlement of the world-famous former Khmer Rouge leader, Pol Pot; after he died in 1998, his place such as home and crematory were officially designated as tourist attractions by Cambodian Ministry of Tourism. Undoubtedly, many wartime heritages along the Thai-Cambodian border region were turned to be tourist attractions as a vehicle for reconstruction and economic development and have identified periods of turmoil and war as possible themes of appeal to visitors. Thus, war as the tourist attraction is one of the distinguished identities of the Thai-Cambodian border tourism which is circumstances in terms of stage of development, and state of the tourism industry.



**Figure 4.5 Pol Pot's Home:** A girl walks passing by the remaining house of Pol Pot where he died on 15 April 1998 at Chong Sa-Ngam. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 4.6 Pol Pot's Home Signboard:** Cambodian Ministry of Tourism put the signboard showing visitors that 'Pol Pot was sentenced here' and 'Please help to preserve this historical site. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 4.7 Pol Pot's Crematory:** Tourists from Thailand pay a visit to the Pol Pot's Crematory site at Chong Sa-Ngam on the Cambodian side of the border. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 4.8 Pol Pot's Crematory Signboard:** Cambodian Ministry of Tourism put the signboard to inform visitors that 'Pol Pot was cremated here'. (Photo taken on 5 May 2007)



**Figure 4.9 Buddha of Peace and Victory:** After the Cold War ended, the Army Area Commander has installed the Buddha image at Chong Obok since 13 July 1999; currently the area becomes tourist attraction. (Photo taken on 6 January 2008)



**Figure 4.10 War Monument at Chong Obok:** This was built to memorize this crossing point when it was the battlefield between Thailand and her neighbors in 1979. (Photo taken on 6 January 2008)

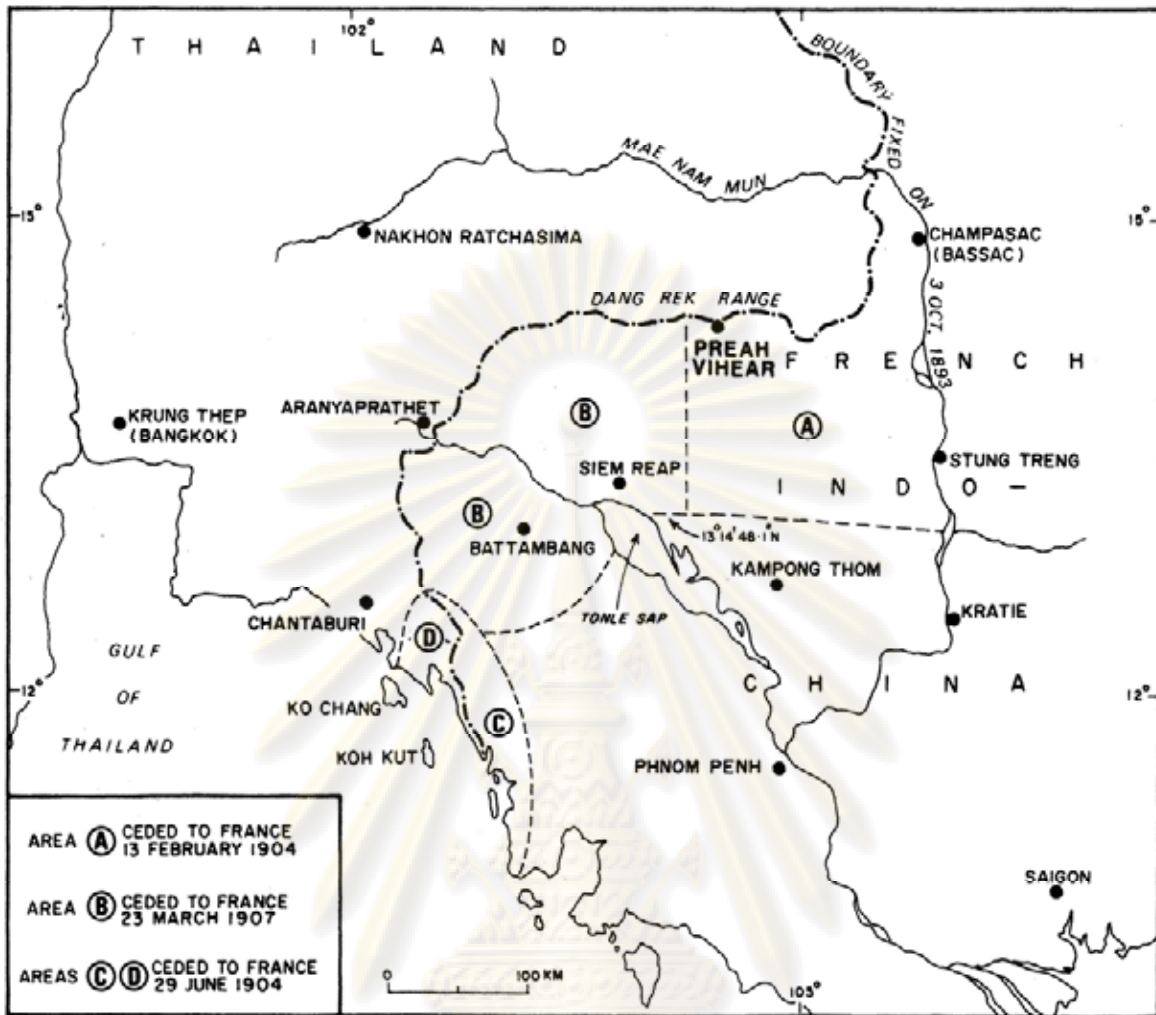
### 4.3 Boundary Dispute and the Rise of Tourism: A Case Study of Preah Vihear

The invention of the Map actually leads to a problem of boundary dispute. Considering to the Thai-Cambodian border, several boundary disputes directly involve important tourism resources and destinations (Timothy, 2001: 24). For example, the temple of Preah Vihear (known as Khao Phra Viharn in Thailand) is located nearly the border of the two countries; the background and location of the temple make it an integral part of any discussion of the contemporary borderland in this troubled area of the world (St John, 1994: 64). According to the previous works about the Thai-Cambodian boundary dispute in the case of Preah Vihear (Leifer, 1961-62: 365-366; Singh 1962; St John 1994; Lee, 1982: 1-32, and Charnvit, 2000:151-157), the temple crowns a triangular promontory in the Dangrek some six hundred meters above sea level. The temple faces north toward the highlands of Thailand, while most Khmer sanctuaries face east. At the top of the sanctuary, a sheer precipice drops off to the plains of Cambodia which stretch south to the distant horizon (St John, 1994: 64). It is one of the best examples of Khmer architecture and one of the most impressive temples in Southeast Asia; thus, this unique characteristic possesses great tourism potential. However, the problem lies in the fact that its location has been strongly contested between the two countries, and each has at some point controlled ownership of it. Several disputes have ensued regarding where the border lies, and the temple has changed hands several times between the Thais and Cambodians.

Historical chronology recited by St John (1994: 64-66) recorded that Cambodia dominated large parts of modern Thailand from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, but Siamese forces repeatedly invaded Cambodia after the fifteenth century. The boundary

dispute actually dates from the period of the French Indo-China. In the Franco-Siamese treaties of 1867 and 1893, King Chulalongkorn of Siam renounced all territorial claims on the left bank of the Mekong River, including the islands located in the river. Through a later series of treaties concluded in 1904-1907, Siam also ceded to France the border provinces of Battambang, Sisophon and Siem Reap including the temple of Preah Vihear. During World War II, Thailand took advantage to regain some of the territory it had earlier lost. The Thai army invaded northwestern Cambodia in 1941, and after fierce fighting, took control of Battambang and Siem Reap provinces with the exception of the French garrisons at Angkor Wat and Siem Reap town. The Thai takeover was legitimized with Japanese backing in a peace treaty signed in Tokyo in March 1941. Through this agreement, France agreed to return to Thailand most of the territory, including Preah Vihear, earlier ceded by the latter in the pacts of 1904 and 1907. But the end of the war in 1945, the Tokyo convention was overturned; and in the 1946 Treaty of Washington, Thailand returned the border provinces it had seized five years earlier.

Then in 1953, the government of Thailand, under the pretext of strengthening its border defenses, established a police post in the Dangrek Mountains just north of Preah Vihear and hoisted the Thai flag over the sanctuary. When protracted negotiations from 1954 to 1958 failed to produce a positive result, the Cambodian government in October 1959 instituted legal proceedings against Thailand before the International Court of Justice. In 1962, the Court, by a majority vote of 9 to 3, upheld Cambodian sovereignty over the temple of Preah Vihear. In explaining this decision, the president of the Court observed that the Thai government, as it had earlier accepted the terms of the 1904 convention, could not now deny that it was ever a consenting party to the pact.



**Figure 4.11** Map of Preah Vihear Location and the Areas Ceded to France and the Current Thai-Cambodian Borderline (from Lee, 1982: 14 adapted from Prescott, 1977:

Finally, after an extended period of occupation by Khmer Rouge forces, the temple of Preah Vihear was finally opened to tourists from the Thai side in early 1992. The arrangement covering visits to the temple of Preah Vihear endured for a little more than a year at which time the Khmer Rouge in July 1993 reoccupied the sanctuary and temporarily halted tourist visits. However, after successful negotiations between the Cambodian and Thai governments, the temple of Preah Vihear was finally opened in early 1998, and became attractive to tourists. So, both countries benefited economically with bright hopes for future growth.



**CHAPTER V**  
**BORDER OF MIND AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE THAI-CAMBODIAN**  
**BORDER TOURISM**

The main focus of this Chapter is to analyze the phenomena of touristic tendency at the Thai-Cambodian border through its competing meanings between nationalism and tourism. The discussion is that the advent of border tourism is one of the pivotal forces which efficiently penetrate through the national territory – traditionally considered as barrier between countries. Thus, border tourism manifests the juxtaposition of the national territory and the daily life practices of both regular visitors and border residents as described in Chapter 4. Moreover, the competing meanings of the Thai-Cambodian borderline were expressed through the spatial relations of Nationalism and Tourism. On the one hand, the border is a symbol of separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘here’ and ‘there’, or ‘inside’ and ‘outside’; on the other hand, it can be argued that opening of the border can weaken people’s antagonisms and prejudices. Because of the limit of time, the case of Preah Vihear is the distinguished case study to elucidate this Thai-Cambodian border touristic tendency.

**5.1 Border of Mind: Nationalism vis-à-vis Tourism**

As in the case of boundary dispute of Preah Vihear, the competing meaning of the Thai-Cambodian borderline would be probably termed as ‘border of mind’. Recently, a piece of news from *Today* newspaper in Singapore on 19 June 2008 page 12 reported that:

“**TEMPLE OF CONFLICT**: About 5,000 people protested yesterday at the **Thai** foreign minister against a deal will allow **Cambodia** to seek United Nations recognition for a Hindu temple on the **border** dividing the two **nations**. The long-disputed Preah Vihear Temple is in Cambodia, but the only way to reach it is through an entrance in **Thailand**. The Thai Cabinet approved a deal laying out the **boundary**, allowing Cambodia to seek recognition for the temple from Uesco. The protesters, who have tallied for more than three weeks, demanded that Foreign Minister Noppadaol Pattama release details of the deal. The protesters with the People’s Alliance for Democracy also said the deal could benefit former Premier Thaksin Shinawatra, whom they accused for seeking to profit from increased **tourism** at the temple.”

This piece of news gives many significant keywords such as *Cambodia*, *border*, *nation*, *boundary*, *Thailand*, and *tourism* which demonstrate a dynamic relationship between border and tourism, the subject matter of this thesis. However, the domestic politics of Thailand are not an issue to be discussed; the discussion rather focuses on the competing meanings between Nationalism and Tourism. The People’s Alliance for Democracy launches its campaign of Preah Vihear which initially expected to demolish its opposition, but the result goes beyond its purpose. It seems to be expanded to become an international problem rather than domestic. There are not only the protesters at the heart of Bangkok gathered around the Royal Thai Government House, but hundreds of people from the center of Si Sa Ket province – around 100 kilometers faraway from the border – also proceed to protest the Cambodian government at the border in front of the temple of Preah Vihear. The Thai mob at the border waves Thai flags and shows several signboards written “Return Preah Vihear to Thailand” or “Preah Vihear is Thai Heritage”. These signboards also arouse Thai people to fight for the loss of territory in

1962 when the temple of Preah Vihear was ruled to belong to Cambodia by the International Court of Justice. Then on the same day, Cambodian government shuts the border of Preah Vihear. After that, a group of Thai shop owners at the entrance of Preah Vihear also come out to protest; in contrast, they oppose the Thai mob that interrupted their incomes – selling foods and souvenirs for tourists. The food sellers throw rocks and pestles into the mob, and some of them fight; the quarrel was finally calmed down by Thai police.

On the other hand, The Straits Times reported that “tension mounts in Phnom Penh and Bangkok; text messages have been flooding the Cambodian capital saying that the temple of Preah Vihear belongs to Cambodia, not to Thailand” (Ghosh, 2008: 7). The Cambodian authorities have to deploy riot police at Thailand’s Embassy in Phnom Penh as tension as rises. They afraid that the tragedy will be repeated the January 2003 incident when Cambodian mobs had attacked the Thai Embassy and Thai-owned businesses in Phnom Penh after a Thai actress allegedly said the fame Angkor Wat belonged to Thailand. The temple of Preah Vihear is a similarly sensitive issue.

In fact, the temple of Preah Vihear is abused to arouse delusion that the temple belongs to Thailand and a desire to revive the claim. One of the false premises for fanning hatred and creating delusion is the perception of lost territories. The idea of loss is a powerful tool used to whip up nationalism, especially in domestic politics (Thongchai, 2008). From a personal email communication, Thongchai Winichakul, who is a Professor at the University of Wisconsin in the United States, has raised an important question asking that Preah Vihear is not merely one case of loss of territory among many; how did it become an “emblem” of Thailand’s “losses of territories”? The temple of

Preah Vihear was not much in anybody's attention during King Chulalongkorn reign. Prince Damrong also visited it, as Charnvit (2000: 168) pointed out in his article. But nobody paid attention to it in regard to the dispute territories. The Cambodian provinces in exchange for Chanthaburi and Trat in 1907 did have effect on Preah Vihear. But at the time, Preah Vihear was not an issue. The Cambodian border became much more the center of controversy in the 1940-41. Only in the context of the 1940s that Preah Vihear was mentioned in particular as an issue, but only in the 1950s-1960s that it became a deadly serious controversy. However, the answers could be explained from various perspectives due to the different academic approaches, but it may be simply to answer that the temple of Preah Vihear can 'benefited economically with bright hopes for future growth'. Another key word should be a World Heritage Site; several countries want to install the label of UNESCO into their tourist attractions. But if analyzing the case of Preah Vihear from this argument, it seems to be shallow.

Going beyond definitions, according to Anderson and O'Dowd (1999: 595-596), borders have both material and symbolic uses. They can have a very obvious physical presence, and even where visually indistinct, they are typically the bearers of a wider symbolism as the material embodiment of history – as time written in space. Consequently, the temple of Preah Vihear may be the most recently encapsulated history of struggle against 'outside' forces, and as marking the failure of the Thai national 'community' or 'society'. The students in Thailand must learn from the compulsory textbooks of history subject which discuss the fourteen losses of Thai territories including the last loss of Preah Vihear. Nevertheless, the loss of territory before Preah Vihear was 1908 when the provinces of Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis were ceded to British Malaya; it may be too long and far from any possibility to claim them back.

But in the case of Preah Vihear, Thai people were completely mastered a so-called 'mental map' by the redundant national history. When the Thai tourists visit to the border of Preah Vihear, it is inevitable that most of the tour guides usually repeat an anecdote while Thailand surrendered its sovereignty over Preah Vihear in 1962, and the Thai flag and flagpole were removed from the temple. This story effectively stimulates the love-of-nation in Thais' heart. Moreover, when a group of the Thai prominent academics and senators petitioned to Thailand's Administrative Court to annul a Cabinet resolution endorsing a World Heritage Site of Preah Vihear, it reveals the product of the past. The time during 1962, students throughout the country, with the government support, protested the verdict of the International Court of Justice and staged a colorful march in which they proclaimed their intent to protect 'Khao Phra Viharn'. At the time, students of Thammasat University in Bangkok demanded that the name of Cambodian Prince Sihanouk be removed from the rolls of the University and insisted that an honorary degree conferred on him be withdrawn (St John 1994: 66).

The people who had experience during 1950s-1960s become the present majority of Thai adult population, especially the bureaucratic authorities. Thus, the recent loss of Preah Vihear is coeval during their life time; it is the utmost concrete national traumatic memory for them. The movements of protestation allow them to show their love-of-nation; therefore, they do agree to this promptly and proudly. Certainly, this problem will not be happened at any other crossing points along the 800-km Thai-Cambodian borderline. In the case of tourism, as long as the other border crossing points still play their role as gateways to the economic benefits; the areas of opportunity and zones of cooperation such as border markets are mostly located within the Thai side. Consequently, it may conclude that the 'border of mind' at the border of Preah Vihear

reveals the competing meaning between nationalism and tourism which is depending on its spatial relationships; it means that border conflicts are typically waged in the name of 'nation'. The problem with contested border is precisely that 'origins' remain a live issue and cannot be 'forgotten' (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999: 596). Thus, to resolve (or partly resolve) the contradictions generally require opening the gateways and reducing the 'barrier' functions of the border; it probably can be proposed that the most effective tool is Tourism.

## **5.2 Prospects to the Thai-Cambodian Border Tourism**

This thesis has attempted to provide an overview of most of the concepts and issues that exist in border regions, and to highlight the primary relationships between border and tourism. As this text demonstrates, the idea of tourism and border is rich in concepts and theories, but there are still some aspects to be examined in future. While the work has focused primarily on the traditional view of border, it is important to remember that other types of frontiers exist that have not been included within the scope of this discussion. For example, cultural and gender boundaries are highly political and dynamic, and thus from a tourism perspective deserve additional research attention. Cultural frontiers within countries and regions may exert just as much of a barrier effect as traditional political boundaries. The linguistic border between Thailand and Cambodia does not necessarily correspond to established political lines, is a serious chasm between many people of the same nationality. Linguistic line and political regime commonly determine the societal values, attitudes, and belief systems ingrained in people's everyday experiences.

Certainly these divisions are important within the realm of tourism, for they affect the host-guest relationship and create images (positive and negative) that have long-lasting consequences. Culture as tourist attraction and the cultural impacts of tourism have recently received considerable attention in the literature. Part of the intrigue associated with visiting cultures that are different from the tourists' must lie within the concept of crossing ethnic boundaries, for most tourists travel in search of the different, the 'other', and the exotic – something beyond their everyday experience. Thus, cultural boundaries form the basis of much tourist activity today. For instance, a visit to the Cambodian side of the border is like stepping into the past, a foreign past, where symbolic frontiers are crossed and where visitors have to keep right driving, spend US dollars or Cambodian Riels, eat Cambodian food, and get along speaking their own version of English. Our understanding of the myriad relationships between tourism and language, and other elements of cultural is in its infancy. There is a great deal of work to be done along this genre of boundaries.

Moreover, the concept of the Mekong region has been developed for almost 16 years since the foundation of the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) in the year 1992 with ADB's assistance. The six countries namely Cambodia, the People's Republic of China, Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR), Myanmar, Thailand, and Viet Nam, entered into a program of subregional economic cooperation, designed to enhance economic relations among the countries. The program has contributed to the development of infrastructure to enable the development and sharing of the resource base, and promote the free flow of goods and people in the region. Consequently, tourism has been proclaimed to be one of the economic strategies by the GMS countries. They are also the fastest growing tourism destinations in the world – bringing in much needed foreign

exchange, creating jobs, and contributing substantially to economic growth. Tourism in the GMS has increasingly become multicountry; amid a highly competitive world tourism industry and the GMS therefore develops and promotes the subregion as a single tourist destination. GMS countries have recognized the advantages of cooperating in order to develop new products, improve the policy climate and institutional capacities, strengthen promotion and marketing, and establish partnerships between the public and private sectors. The GMS tourism program as a single destination based on a diversity of good quality and high-yielding subregional products that help distribute the benefits of tourism more widely; add to the tourism development efforts of each GMS country; and contribute to poverty reduction, gender equality and empowerment of women, and sustainable development, while minimizing any adverse impacts.

As for the future of the Thai-Cambodian border tourism will be the trend identified in this thesis, supranationalism, will no doubt becoming discourses on the globalization of tourism. As existing international alliances are strengthened and new ones created, scholars will have to be more cognizant of the effects of this on the industry. Labor migration, environmental management, education, and economic activities such as trade in goods and services, which all have primary functions within the production and consumption of tourism, will be significantly affected as so-called 'borderless' regions become more commonplace. Several international trade organizations have interests in tourism, including ASEAN and GMS. In fact, these two organizations paid special attention to mechanisms to encourage freer trade in services with important implications for tourism. It is likely that tourism will come closer to the forefront of these multilateral negotiations as they continue to develop and as their mandates continue to be implemented, creating a rich subject area for additional inquiry.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

According to Chapter 3 the Thai-Cambodian geographical and historical characteristic were defined. It shows that some of the Thai-Cambodian border tourist attractions lie either directly on, or in close proximity to, the borderline. The Khmer ruins such as Preah Vihear, the three temples of Ta Muen, Sdok Gok Thom, and also several National Parks are prime examples of this. Likewise, certain tourist-oriented activities nearly always develop (e.g. shopping, prostitution, gambling, and drinking) adjacent to political lines when laws and policies pertaining to them are different on opposite sides, and when people are permitted to cross unhindered. On even a more specific level, the borderline itself can be an important tourist attraction because it presents some kind of curiosity in the cultural landscape and connotes differences in political systems, social mores, cultural traditions, and possibly ecosystems. Borderlands therefore hold a grate deal of potential for tourism development, although on a global scale little has been accomplished in this arena. Moreover, there should be little doubt that borders are complex and influence tourism in a variety of dynamic ways; they are barriers to tourism, tourist attractions, and modification of the tourism. The landscapes of tourism were the focus of chapter 3. These landscapes are very often distinct on opposite sides of a border based on differences in tenure systems, planning policies and traditions, settlement patterns, urban structures, and levels of socio-economic development. Often the barrier effect of borders is so great that parallel tourism development occurs where like services, infrastructure, and even attractions exist side by side but on opposite faces of a political divide with little cross-border coordinated efforts to link the two systems. In addition to

borders influencing the tourism landscape, tourism in some cases has been crucial in effecting changes to the border landscape and its functions. This reverse relationship is likely to continue in the future as tourism continues to grow and play a more important role in bringing down political barriers that have existed for centuries. As described in chapter 2, the barrier effects of border are unmistakable, hindering both the flow of tourists and the physical and socio-economic development of tourism in destination regions. While along many of the Thai-Cambodian border crossing points are difficult to travel owing to defensive demarcation methods and strict control measures, even the friendliest of borders can create psychological barriers for many people. These relationships (i.e. barriers, attractions, and landscape modifiers) are dynamic, and the current global economic and political climate has a major role to play in this fluidity.

The focus of chapter 4 was the identity and changes that affect the growth and development of the Thai-Cambodian border tourism. War as tourist attraction is obvious tourist resources as well as the border tourism generate the permissive zone along the Thai-Cambodian border. Improvements in international relations between the two countries and the collapse of communism have increased levels of freedom for millions of common people to enter the country on the opposite side. The creation of supranational alliances (e.g. ASEAN, GMS) and the program of Two Kingdoms, One Destination has led to more cross-border cooperation, more liberal travel and development policies, and more consistent levels of environmental and safety standards globally. Evidence strongly suggests that all of these events and actions profoundly affect the flow of tourists and the development of tourism in destination regions. This is especially clear when considering the abrupt and rapid increase in tourist numbers to Cambodia from Thailand since the opening of the border checkpoints and the

development of tourist communities in places like Aranyaprathet – Poipet [M], Chong Chom – Ou Smach [F], and Ban Had Lek – Cham Yeam [Y] that have long been off limits to mass tourism.

According to Chapter 5, as in the cases of the Thai-Cambodian border-crossing points, I would like to conclude that for regular visitors and border residents, the borderline has lost its significance as a barrier between nation states and instead has taken on characteristics of a tourist gateway representing the convergence of the two countries. The extent to which all borders are social constructs, partly imposed from above and, even more so, evolving from below, is played out through these border scenes. If we really want to know what borders mean to people, then we need to listen to their personal and group narratives (Newman, 2006b: 154). In the case of Preah Vihear, the Thai border shop owners came out to fight the mob that came from faraway; thus, it is explicit that the border means opportunity for the people living nearby, but, at the same time, it also means ‘national fence’ for the national claims. This implies the notions of the ‘competing meaning’ in the real daily lives of people. From this perspective, on the one hand, the border, such as Preah Vihear, is normally perceived as institutional mechanisms for the state aimed, by excluding whatever originates from the opposite side. While, on the other hand, the opening of border, such as other crossing points, is seen as a positive factor, pointing to good neighborliness between territorial and social entities; the historical records have shown just how easily these gateways can be destroyed and the barriers reconstructed. This raises ethical questions concerning the construction and management of boundaries - for whom, by whom and in whose interests are some people excluded, or cut off, from their cultural, ethnic or economic living spaces? Good fences do not automatically create good neighbors. Were there good neighborliness in the first place, it

is possible that fences would not be needed at all. But strong fences and walls do create, for the ruling élites, a manageable situation where the ‘us here’ and the ‘them there’ line of binary separation is easier to control (Newman, 2006b: 150).

Finally, at the time of writing this thesis, UNESCO has already designated the temple of Preah Vihear as a World Heritage Site. Although, the entrance at the temple of Preah Vihear still can not be entered from Thailand, it will not be too long to see the gate reopened again for tourists. However, the problem of Preah Vihear does not affect to other border-crossing points; people still run their business life regularly. I would like to relate this thesis to the remarkable definition of the relationships between Thailand and Cambodia. Charnvit Kasetsiri, one of the prominent historians from Thammasat University, said that the 800-km extended long border between Thailand and Cambodia symbolized the long history of relations between the two countries. Among the neighboring countries of Southeast Asia, none seems more similar to Thailand than Cambodia (perhaps not even excluding Laos and the “Tai” people scattered throughout such countries as Burma, Vietnam, and southern China). Both nations share similar customs, traditions, beliefs, and ways of life. This is especially true of royal customs, language, writing systems, vocabulary, literature, and the dramatic arts. In light of these similarities, it seems surprising, therefore, that relations between Thailand and Cambodia should be characterized by deep-seated “ignorance, misunderstanding, and prejudice.” Indeed, the two countries have what can be termed “a love-hate relationship” (Charnvit, 2003: 1).

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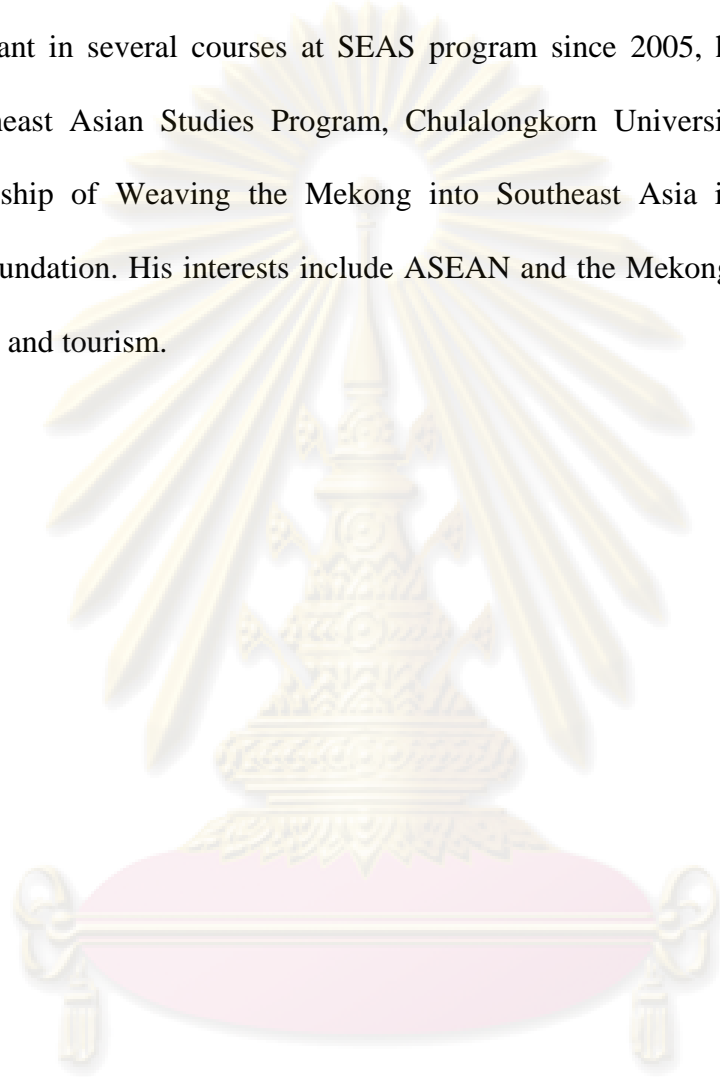
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