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CONTENTS

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*** S P E C I A L ***

PRINCE Sihanouk's Letter to Heads of Nonaligned States

(PART II)

PRINCE SIHANOUK ADDRESSES HEADS OF NONALIGNED STATES

PART II

(Peking NCNA Domestic Service in English)

Sirs,

Messrs. Presidents,

Mmes. and Messrs. Prime Ministers

I beg you to forgive me for the length of my letter, but I venture to hope that Your Majesties and Your Excellencies will surely give it your high attention because of the certain sympathy you yourselves have given to the Khmer people, A loyal member of the great family of non-aligned nations.

With your permission, I now deal with the question of the argument which certain governments in favour of Mr. Lon Nol's regime in Phnom Penh have formulated to prevent Your Majesties and Your Excellencies from giving official recognition of your respective governments to the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia.

The argument of the foreign governments hostile to mine is as follows

-- First, my government is a government "in exile" with no foundation in the country while that of Lon Nol is established in the capital of the country with 'apparent acceptance of its power by the people'

-- Secondly, my government has only few followers in the country; the Army of the N. U. F. K. is even a 'myth' and its successes on the battlefield in Cambodia are those of the 'Communist Vietnamese troops'; I myself have already been 'abandoned and forgotten' by the Khmer people.

-- Thirdly, U Thant, Secretary-General of the U. N. O., has refused to recognize my government and accepted the credentials of Lon Nol's Ambassador in his capacity of 'Representative' of Cambodia.

In face of this argument, I beg Your Majesties and Your Excellencies to allow me to present you the following facts:

-- First, three Ministers (the principal members) of my government are in Cambodia and have their headquarters in a liberated zone in the country. They are the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Information. They live among the people. They are fighting

the enemies of the motherland side by side with the people. They preside at congresses of the people in the liberated zone. They speak to the nation regularly over the radio of the N.U.F.K. set up in the same zone.

The propaganda of the Lon Nol 'Government' asserts that these three ministers, Messrs. Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim, " have been murdered by Sihanouk a few years ago" and are 'only phantoms' today!

If this were so, the 'Pracheachon (the People) Party with the three ministers as its leaders would never have agreed to rally round the N.U.F.K. of which I am the Chairman, and it joined the N.U.F.K. officially the day following the coup of Lon Nol (in March 1970).

Besides, all the intellectuals residing in France (Union of Khmer Students), the U.S.S.R. (Union of Cambodian Students) and the Democratic Republic of Germany, etc... who support the Party of the People have spontaneously joined the N.U.F.K. and have rallied round me, telling me that they know that Messrs. Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim are perfectly alive. Messrs. Chau Seng and Thiounn Mumm (now Ministers of the Royal Government) and Sien An (now Ambassador of Cambodia to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, in Hanoi), intimate friends of the three ministers allegedly 'murdered by me' are at the disposal of Your Majesties and Your Excellencies to testify before you, when you desire so, to the perfectly real presence of Messrs. Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim in the midst of the people in Cambodia at the present moment.

My government therefore has its 'roots' among the people and possesses all the attributes of legal government. It has been appointed by the legal Head of State after having been elected by the General Congress of the adherents of the N.U.F.K. and after having presented its political programme, which was approved unanimously by the General Congress.

It has established its administration in the greater part of Cambodia (you will be furnished with proofs in the following pages). It is leading a genuine Army composed of the best sons of the Khmer people and supported by the masses of the Khmer people, as will be proved in the following pages by excerpts from the articles of French and American journalists, 'observers on the spot.'

In the first part of my letter, I had the honour to demonstrate to you that the Lon Nol regime is absolutely illegal.

The argument of certain foreign governments in favour of this regime is based on the fact that it occupies the capital.

In my humble opinion, it would be dangerous for the states of the 'Third World', whose sovereignty is more or less menaced by U.S. imperialism, to give credit, for the sake of 'jurisprudence', to that argument, according to which only a Government (even if it owes its existence to a foreign 'protector' and is being fought by its own people) located in the capital of the country should automatically be considered as the legal government of the country.

It is well known throughout the world that but for the armed intervention and protection of the U.S.A., the Lon Nol Government in Phnom Penh would have collapsed long ago.

It is also well known that at present Lon Nol has lost control over the country and is 'governing' no more than the city of Phnom Penh.

In this respect, I beg Your Majesties and Your Excellencies to allow me to present you some testimony by the Americans.

Senator William Fulbright declared in Washington on last May 28: 'The Nixon Administration intended to wage a full scale war by proxy in Cambodia to prop up the Lon Nol Government. It is equally clear than the purpose of this proxy military campaign is not to eliminate Communist border sanctuaries, but to sustain the feeble Lon Nol military regime in Phnom Penh'.

The following day, May 29, 1970, the American reporter Don Shannon, cabled from Phnom Penh to his news agency this dispatch: 'Premier Lon Nol is called 'Mayor of Phnom Penh' by the diplomatic corps... Lon Nol now has publicly confessed that he has no control over his country outside the capital, one of the ambassadors remaining here commented, shaking his head'.

Today, Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary of Defense Laird of the U.S. Government are doing everything possible to make the world believe that the Lon Nol regime is in 'a situation extremely favourable politically and militarily'.

But the big American press is far from sharing this optimism. The magazine "U.S. News and World Report", for example, in its issue of July 13, 1970, appraises the situation of the Lon Nol regime after four months in 'power' as follows:

" The outlook for Cambodia's (that is to say, the Lon Nol Government's) survival is considered bleak -- and some say close to hopeless.

" Western experts here at the scene give the government of Premier Lon Nol a 30 percent chance of enduring ... besieged on all sides by superior enemy troops... the Government in Phnom Penh,

imperfect at best, is breaking down. A weak economy is becoming even more fragile. Taxes are uncollectable. Commercial life is sliding to a standstill. The untrained Army is grasping for life.

" To those who have watched events here since mid-March... the situation is disheartening... half of Cambodia-- possibly more-- is either under Communist (that is to say, the N.U.F.K., because to U.S. imperialism everything anti-U.S. imperialist is 'Communist') domination being fought over, or seriously threatened. No city, town or village is safe. Guerrilla commanders apparently can attack wherever and whenever they please.

itself

'Phnom Penh, /is hemmed in and practically isolated, The Government has conceded the four northeastern provinces to the Reds (that is to say, the N.U.F.K.). The food rich region around Tonle Sap Lake in the northwest is endangered. Communist units (that is to say, our National Liberation Army) are spread throughout the east and south.

" The nation's sole north-south railroad is out of commission. Some major highways are in Communist (that is to say, the N.U.F.K.) hands, and all have been cut at least once. Supplies move intermittently from the only deep water port at Kompong Som, formerly Sihanouk. Commercial freights no longer run up the Mekong River.

" Financially, Cambodia (that is to say, the Lon Nol 'government') is in deep trouble... (the 'Newsweek' magazine, also of July 13, says precisely on this subject: Foreign reserves are dwindling rapidly; and the government is printing new currency at the rate of 10 million U.S. dollars a month)... the export goal for 1970 already has been halved and could drop to zero, major rubber plantations have been overrun. Many rice fields are untended, warehouses vulnerable to attack and transport difficult.

"Despite brave talk in Phnom Penh, morale is low and sinking lower...

"Independent observers in Phnom Penh repeat time and again that direct American aid-- at the level now contemplated-- is not enough to save Cambodia (that is to say, the Lon Nol regime which the Americans too willingly confuse with Cambodia), either militarily or economically. Some of them even suggest that Washington already has written off Cambodia as an unavoidable casualty of the Indo-China war".

Your Majesties and Your Excellencies can see, in the light of such strongly pessimistic but correct testimony of American observers themselves, that the Lon Nol regime is moribund and even its American protectors do not put their stakes on it.

Secondly, as to the National United Front, it is no "myth"; it enjoys the unanimous support of the Khmer people, the peasant masses in particular, and it has an army of very resolute guerrillas as the following evidence will give you by reporters who cannot be suspected to be "leftist" or progressive and still less pro-Communist:

-- From the day after the coup of Lon Nol (March 18, 1970), groups of N.U.F.K. guerrillas were organized by my compatriots in the provinces. The French magazine "Paris-Match", although very pro-American, published in its issue of May 16, 1970, a reportage (written in April) by its special correspondent Jean Durieux. The latter entitles his article "Cambodia-- 24 hours in the hands of guerrillas". And "Paris-Match" gives it the sub-title: "Jean Durieux tells us how he, together with Daniel Camus, was taken prisoner by Sihanouk's soldiers in a war-torn country."

I make excerpts from this article to present to your Majesties and Your Excellencies these lines: "On April 20... we learn of ... the existence of the National Liberation Front of Kampuchea whose local responsible member, a Cambodian, apparently very highly-placed in the hierarchy, explains the immediate objective to us:

-- We want to wipe out Lon Nol, liberate the territory, capture Phnom Penh and restore Sihanouk as Head of Government.

"... We see in the background dozens of fully armed soldiers buttoned up in green uniforms pressed in the morning and wearing caps with portraits of Sihanouk. Some of them are transporting rice on their bicycles and others setting out on operation... Local militamen in black jackets 'ensure our security'."

"We are released 24 hours later... We are put on a jeep ... And suddenly at the turning of the road we see our vehicles appear as mysteriously as they disappeared, at the very place where we left them."

... The most striking evidence in the world concerning the existence of N.U.F.K. in Cambodia and the support given it spontaneously by the Khmer rural masses is that of the American Richard Dudman who wrote, among others, these lines in the "St. Louis Post Dispatch", from June 22, 1970, that is, two months after the evidence of Jean Durieux:

"We saw a well organized movement of Cambodian and Vietnamese guerrillas in a determined war against American tanks and planes. We gradually learned about their hatred of America, their tactics, their relationship with the Cambodian peasants and what kind of people they are, as we travelled with them on foot, bicycle and occasionally by truck from our village to another."

" When we reached a blown-up bridge... we had unwittingly entered the no man's land between allied forces and the guerrillas troops supporting Norodom Sihanouk...

"... A young man who spoke French arrived... he said he was a Cambodian student from Phnom Penh and was working with the Cambodians and Vietnamese revolutionary forces fighting the Americans and South Vietnamese (that is, the mercenaries of the regime of the pro-American generals Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky).

" We were herded into the vehicle with about ten Cambodian soldiers...

"... The danger mounted, at each village an angry-faced crowd of men and women gathered and climbed the tailgate of the truck for a look at the hated Westerners...

"... We felt we were observing the welding together of the local population with the guerrillas. The peasants were turning to the fighters as their best friends. We felt that this held the most serious significance for American policy.

" At each house where we stopped the villagers appeared to offer willing co-operation and friendship to the guerrillas.

" Our guard told us repeatedly of 'the solidarity of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, and of their unified struggle that will continue until all Americans are driven out and all of Indochina is free and independent. They represented Norodom Sihanouk, as a key figure in this partnership.

"... 'As long as there is one of us left, we will fight on'. The toughness and dedication of the guerrillas in Cambodia, as we came to know them in 40 days of captivity there, made that seem a statement of fact rather than a propaganda slogan.

"... Several guerrillas told us, in almost identical words: 'to live without our freedom and independence is as good as being dead. To die for the revolution is nothing.

"... Hai said: 'Sihanouk is well known in Cambodia and has ruled his country in 15 years of peace. Lon Nol, he went on, is little known and has brought war to the Cambodian countryside. He said that Lon Nol had doubled the pay of the Cambodian government's soldiers, but that morale remained poor'

And here is the 'conclusion' of Richard Dudman (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sunday, June 23, 1970):

"What I saw and heard during nearly six weeks as a captive in 'liberated' Cambodia convinced me that President Nixon's policies inadvertently were helping to create conditions for ... a 'people war'... by a determined guerrilla front with strong popular support.

"... I saw the early development of what appears to be a Cambodian People's movement -- The Front United Nation Khmer, popularly known as F.U.N.K. It is loyal, not to the shaky government of Premier Lon Nol, but to Norodom Sihanouk...

"... The Cambodian countryside, where most of the population lives, is being radicalized and quickly turned into a massive, dedicated and effective revolutionary base.

"... The geographic result of Mr. Nixon's strategy is one thing. More important is the political result, evident everywhere we have travelled in Cambodia's so-called liberated territory.

"At each plantation or farmer's hut... we have seen evidence of allegiance to Sihanouk and of its counterpoint-extreme hatred of the United States and President Nixon.

"American shells and bombs mean to Cambodians that the U.S. is waging unprovoked, colonialist war against them. They see America as a would-be successor to the French, trying to turn back the clock of history in the face of/swelling spirit of Asia for Asians.

"... Official U.S. descriptions of the guerrilla war there as a simple case of aggression from North Viet-Nam stood in the way of a sensible American approach, if one was possible at all.

"The war was far more than it appeared. It contained important elements of a civil struggle. There was an indigenous movement, although, of course, with close ties to North Viet-Nam.

"... The attitude of the villagers we saw indicated clearly that Sihanouk remains a highly popular leader in Cambodia."

The testimony of the American Richard Dudman is itself too eloquent and complete for me to comment on it. I beg Your Majesties and Your Excellencies to allow me only to present you the latest testimony, dated August 2, 1970, of the French woman Claude Muller of the Paris weekly "Le Nouvel Observateur":

" We are continuing our way when, suddenly, some people appear in the middle of the road, and signal us to stop. There are a handful of them. We stop. The armed group surrounds us. They are distinguished from the peasants we met a few minutes earlier only by their belts and arms. Like the peasants, they are Khmers. Their stature, their bearing and their language all indicate it. It is noon. We are prisoners...

" ... Everywhere around us we see portraits of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We ask some questions, 'Norodom Sihanouk', we are told, 'is the father of us all, He is coming back soon. We are waiting for him.' In the evening the whole village listens over the radio to the Prince speaking from Peking. A loud-speaker, fitted over the village square, re-transmits his speech for those who have no transistors.

" The B-52's are always there. They even come in early morning, I am thrown to the ground by the violence of the explosions... I am told not to be afraid. If the bombing becomes dangerous, they will lead us to the shelters.

" ... A certain agitation reigns around us. Some trucks... pass and repass. They are loaded with fighters. We also see for the first time some armed women. They look very young....

" ... At highfall, we arrive in a village more important than the previous ones. We are put up in a large meeting room, Under a large portrait of Norodom Sihanouk. The whole village is present to dine with us.

" ... People announce to us the visit of the commander of the west region. The village is seething with excitement. Everyone puts on clean and neat garments. Some soldiers form a guard of honour. The commander arrives. He is a Khmer... He wishes that we'll have a pleasant recollection of our stay. It is nearly midnight. A truck arrives. Twelve people are on board.

" ... We are released, but people advise us to wait till daylight... (words indistinct) we get into the car. A Cambodian in plain clothes accompanies us... He soon leaves us and disappears into the forest after pointing the way to us with his hand. We cover several kilometres. At the military post of Suong, the government soldiers did not even turn their heads when we pass. At noon, we are at Phnom Penh. "

Thirdly, as Your Majesties and Your Excellencies have gathered from the testimony of the reporters of the western camp themselves in the preceding pages, that my Government, if it is not yet in Phnom Penh, is at present all over the rest of Cambodia. The population of the rural regions which represents 80 percent of the total population of Cambodia remain faithful to me and firmly support the National Liberation Army of the N. U. F. K. by sending their best sons and daughters to join it.

U Thant himself could not ignore these facts, because the articles of Richard Dudman could not have escaped him as he usually lives in New York.

And he cannot ignore that if Phnom Penh is still not under the control of the N. U. F. K. it is simply because of President Nixon who, evidently in no way represents the Khmer People (quite on the contrary, Richard Dudman would say), has hired the services of dozens of thousands of mercenaries, mostly from Saigon and a small part from Bangkok, accompanied by a very powerful air-force called "South Vietnamese" and stationed at the Khmer airport of Pochetong (11 kilometers from Phnom Penh), to prevent "at all costs" (sic) the fall of Lon Nol in the face of the assaults of the patriotic Khmer people.

-- During the second World War General De Gaulle led from London the resistance of the French people against the Hitlerite German occupation. This did not prevent the freedom- and justice-loving governments from recognizing de jure his government, in preference to the Laval government which was subservient to Hitler.

Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands sent her government out of the country so as to better struggle against the Nazi occupation. This did not prevent the freedom- and justice-loving governments from continuing to recognize her legitimacy and that of her government in exile.

But, just as I had the honour to show in the following pages, the N. U. F. K. and the R. G. N. U. (The Royal Government of National Union) are not in exile. They are right in Cambodia with their ministers, administrative organs, armed forces and people.

Without boasting, I can assure Your Majesties and Your Excellencies your respective governments and peoples that the N. U. F. K. and the R. G. N. U. under its leadership alone represent the Cambodia of the Khmer people and the Cambodia of Khmer independence.

The Lon Nol regime cannot represent the Khmer people (the American Richard Dudman saw this clearly) and it in no way represents the national independence or even the territorial integrity of the country. The writer-historian Philippe Devillers, also a highly esteemed lecturer in American universities, affirms (in the July 1970 issue of "Le Monde Diplomatique"):

"The class of mandarins, compradores and militarymen of Cambodia, which forms the social basis of the March 18 regime, has degenerated to the point of total dependence on foreign countries and it can no longer hope to preserve its power or even to survive as a class without support. Like in Viet-Nam since 1946, foreign invasion has given rise to national resistance and people's war, and the Cambodian left have already

recalled that during the years of 1885-1887, the Khmer peasantry, obeying the secret directives of King Norodom, launched and won an extensive people's war against the French.

"Applying his policy of 'Asianization' of responsibilities, a policy formulated in Guam one year ago, President Nixon let his Saigon and Bangkok allies act 'according to their national interests', that is to say, to restore in Phnom Penh the common protectorate established in 1945, from which France liberated Cambodia in 1963. This time, it is the United States that has again handed Cambodia to its century-old enemies, just like Prince Sihanouk foresaw in 1957".

-- Any comment seems superfluous to me here.

-- After the coup of Lon Nol, the Cambodia of the Phnom Penh regime has thus become a triple colony of the U.S.A. and the Saigon and Bangkok governments. U Thant utterly wrong to attribute to it, in the name of the U.N.O., the seat of independent Cambodia.

-- Besides, the whole world knows that the Phnom Penh regime is guilty of several mass murders of Khmer citizens and of genocide of thousands of Vietnamese civilians, including old people, women and children. I would spare Your Majesties and Your Excellencies the dreadful details of this genocide of which the press of all the countries of the world has reported and which has aroused the profound indignation of all the people of the world if not all their governments.

This open and flagrant violation of human rights which the U.N.O. and its Charter guarantee should be sufficient to exclude the Lon Nol regime from our organization forever!

But U Thant has, alas, decided otherwise, without even taking the trouble to consult Your Majesties and Your Excellencies.

-- The 'supporters' of Lon Nol, like Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, have arbitrarily declared that "the government of Sihanouk should not be seated at the Summit Conference of non-aligned countries in Lusaka, because it has not been accepted to the U.N.O. and that consequently only the government of Lon Nol, approved by U. Thant, represents validly the Khmer people.

If justice, logic and the national reality of every country were expressed in such remarks, especially those of Mr. Adam Malik, then there should likewise have been the conclusion that it were the 'government' of Chiang Kai-shek which represented the Chinese people and China and not that of Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

Throughout the world, only the government of Washington (and not even the American people) 'believes', or pretends to believe, that the so-called 'government' of Chiang Kai-shek deserves to occupy the seat of China in the U.N.O.

And Your Majesties and Your Excellencies are the first to know that our great organization, so-called 'universal', is disgracing itself rightly to the eyes of history by agreeing to keep or playing 'this comedy of 'Two Chinas' under the political and particularly financial pressure of 'Washington'

To return to Cambodia, I can affirm that the U.N.O. disgraces itself and is not faithful to the spirit of its charter in automatically agreeing without discussion to give the seat of independent Cambodia to the representative of Lon Nol and in recklessly taking this seat away from Mr. Huot Sambath, the representative long accredited by the Royal Government

Sirs,
Messrs. Presidents,
Mmes. and Messrs. Prime Ministers,
Your Majesties and Your Excellencies, please pardon me for
abusing your patience in presenting you such a long text.
Now I come to the last part of my letter.

Why should not I admit it? The aim of this letter is to solicit
recognition from those of your governments which have not yet officially
recognized the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea [Cambodia].

I solemnly solicit this recognition from your Majesties and
your Excellencies not for myself but for the Khmer people, the faithful
friends of your people, who are suffering and fighting with unyielding
spirit to recover for their beloved motherland its lost independence,
territorial integrity and national honor.

Norodom Sihanouk has had the honor to be your humble 'colleague'
since the year 1941 when he ascended the throne of his Angkor ancestors in
Cambodia.

He abdicated in 1955 so as to serve the people directly as President
of their National Union Movement, Sangkum Reastrnium.

In 1955 he had the honor to participate by your side in the historic Con-
ference of Afro-Asian countries in Bandung.

In 1960 at the death of King Suramarit, he became Khmer Head
of State by the will of his people. He had the honor to participate, still
by your side, in the first Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries in
Belgrade.

Next year, 1971, he will have "rendered his 30 years of service".

Contrary to the assertions of his enemies, he is not fighting today
at the head of N.U.F.K. to 'regain power'.

He has promised solemnly to the Khmer people that the day after
the liberation of the motherland he will submit irrevocably his resignation
from his functions of Head of state and will retire from office irrevocably
for the rest of his life.

The motive of his present struggle is triple: First, being victim of the monstrous calumnies and accusations by the Lon Nol regime which has gone so far as to sentence Norodom Sihanouk to death and to drive his poor mother [Queen Kossamak] out of the palace of his ancestors; as a patriot who has never at any moment or in any way betrayed his people and his motherland, he must defend his sullied honor and get after liberation, the justice that should be rendered him; next, he is the only person to hold legitimacy and so long as the Khmer motherland is not liberated he cannot renounce it without depriving the people's resistance, its N.U.F.K. and its Royal Government of National Union of this legitimacy; finally, as a Khmer worthy of this name he cannot but 'choose' and cannot remain 'neutral' between fascism and democracy, between the satellization of his country by U.S. imperialism and its liberation, between dishonor and national honor.

Sirs,
Messrs. Presidents,
Mmes. and Messrs. Prime Ministers,

I ask nothing for myself, but in the name of the ideals of justice, freedom and anti-imperialism which Your Majesties and Your Excellencies have solemnly proclaimed in the name of 'non-alignment' both in Belgrade in 1960 and in Cairo in 1964, I ask you to kindly render justice to the Khmer people, brother of your people, and to side with the Khmer people, with their freedom and their democracy, with the liberation of their motherland and in a word with independent Cambodia.

Lon Nol told you that his regime is 'the defender of neutrality'. How can it be 'neutral' without being independent?

Lon Nol assured you that if he appeals to "Washington" and to 'Saigon', 'Bangkok' and other U.S. satellites for help, it is because "Cambodia is victim of invasion and aggression by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam".

But how can the D.R.V.N. and the N.L.F. of S.V.N. so unwisely attack Cambodia which, before March 12, 1970, fully supported their just cause at a time when they had not yet succeeded in liberating the South of their motherland, that is, South Viet-Nam?

Your Majesties and Your Excellencies, can you believe for a moment that the D.R.V.N. and the N.L.F. could so groundlessly become estranged from the friendship and solidarity of the Khmer people when, more than ever,

they need this friendship and this solidarity to defeat the common enemy, the big aggressor and neo-colonizer of the Indochinese people: American imperialism?

The Americans themselves, with the exception of Mr. Nixon and his Ministers, admit publicly that they do not believe this.

Senator Mike Mansfield, well-known and esteemed in the world for his intellectual integrity, has unequivocally condemned the Lon Nol regime in these terms:

"What was for a decade and a half the only oasis of peace in Indochina has been turned into a bloody battlefield in the space of one month. The conflict already involves the potential of an ugly genocide by government stimulated mob-action against the several hundred thousand Vietnamese civilians, for the most part farmers, fishermen and tradesmen, who come from both North and South Viet-Nam and who have lived for decades in reasonable peace in Cambodia. The pandora's box which was held shut by the leadership and diplomacy of Prince Sihanouk is now wide open. For years Cambodia was in the eye of the Indochinese hurricane. Now it is swept up in the full fury of racial, ideological and militarist storm. We ought to know on the basis of experience that even with a massive infusion of American equipment we are likely to have minimal constructive effect on that upheaval and we will open the door to another destructive impact on our own national interests". [Statement to the Senate on April 16, 1970].

Senator Mike Mansfield has put the Cambodian problem in very clear terms. Foreboding President Nixon's intervention to save--unreasonably--the regime of General Lon Nol from an imminent fall, a fall which would enable me to bring Cambodia out of the present catastrophe, the Senator warned his government that so massive an aid to Lon Nol could only be seriously detrimental to the national interests of the United States of America.

Echoing the clear-sighted warning of Honorable Mike Mansfield, the big newspaper "The New York Times" wrote in its editorial of April 17, 1970: "The mounting evidence of government inspired mass murder of Vietnamese living in Cambodia should provoke a second thought in Washington about the stability and the morality of the regime that recently displaced Prince Sihanouk in Phnom Penh. Evidence of appeals to the ancient prejudice of the Khmers against neighboring people is a sign of desperation on the part of a government trying to shore up a shaky political base. Slaughter of

unarmed, captive civilians is a reflection of military weakness in a regime that came to power pledged to eject Vietnamese Communist troops... The indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese, not all of whom can be regarded as Communist sympathizers, certainly will cool enthusiasm... If the United States should make the mistake of acceding to a Cambodian appeal for military aid, it could find itself more dangerously embroiled than ever in a struggle that has little relationship to the purpose for which this country entered Southeast Asia."

If there are foreigners capable of fully understanding Cambodia and its people, they are the French whose country maintains close relations with my country for more than a century [1863].

In its July 24, 1970 issue, the very serious paper "Le Monde" published this judgment of the liberal French living in Cambodia:

"At the time of the crisis of March 1970, certain statements have given the illusion that their authors represented the general opinion of the French residents in Cambodia. In fact, several French formed an association under the aegis of the Fraternity of Veterans of Indochina, made repeated motions of support in favor of the Lon Nol government-- although they were not the last to pay court to Prince Sihanouk. This association comprises businessmen who are anxious to preserve their huge profits and several co-operators who enjoyed in Cambodia a prolonged colonial status. Finally, among them are those nostalgic of the old Indochina, whose principal motive is anti-Communism.

"The other French, also deeply attached to the Khmer people and their future, witnesses of the drama of the past three months, are keen on distinguishing themselves from these 'French Braves of Cambodia'. They notice that the drastic change of Cambodia's foreign policy in March 1970 consists of treating the Vietnamese Communists as enemies and placing itself under the protection of the American 'great friend', while soliciting direct aid from the Saigon, Taipei, Seoul and Bangkok regimes.

:This complete change has grave consequences: rampage of racism, extension of the war of destruction and beginning of a political and social transformation of the country.

"One can only condemn the racist campaign conducted by the Lon Nol government against the Vietnamese residents, who suffered from massacres, violence, semi-legal pillage and internment, and who have only the prospect of a tragic exodus. The same condemnation is applied to the attitude of the Saigon Army which sacks Cambodian villages, ransacks houses,

violates young girls and humiliates the Khmer peasants. How can one be not indignant before the war of blind destruction waged by the South Vietnamese and American Air Forces which burn, bomb and strafe cities and the countryside in Cambodia while the Khmer youth are thrown without preparation into battle and deliberately sacrificed?

"In spite of the upheavals and splits that tear up Cambodia, there are chances for profound transformation. On this occasion, the French, who condemn the extension of the American war, support all the Cambodians who are anxious to have real progress of their country in independence and peace. "

A true friendship exists between the Khmers and the French, a serious and disinterested friendship having nothing to do with nostalgia for the past. "

Sirs,
Messrs. Presidents,
Mmes. and Messrs. Prime Ministers,
That is another unequivocal public condemnation against the Lon Nol regime.

The latter accuses us of being 'subservient to the Vietnamese Communists. '

It is the nature of the regimes, which sell out national independence to Western imperialism or colonialism, that cannot understand, or more exactly, do not permit the solidarity of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people who refuse to bow before the imperialists and neo-colonialists.

The militant solidarity of the Khmer people with the fraternal Vietnamese and Laotian people, notwithstanding the ideological differences, is comparable with that uniting the Arab people, Republics and Kingdoms in face of Zionism behind which is the common enemy of the Arab and Indo-chinese people -- U.S. imperialism.

I understand that certain fraternal non-aligned countries, which are not victims of aggression by U.S. imperialism, do not wish to condemn it.

But to recognize de jure the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is not to be hostile to U.S. imperialism.

In declaring for the resisting Khmer people, Your Majesties and Your Excellencies, as well as your respective governments, are only remaining or will only remain faithful to your ideals of justice and freedom that have been written down in the joint statements of the summit conferences of Belgrade [1960] and Cairo [1964]. The U.S.A., both as a nation and a people, will have no reason to see in your act of equity toward a fraternal people a sign of any hostility toward them.

Moreover, the American people themselves have unequivocally declared for us. American students have even died in the course of demonstrations supporting us.

On our part, we affirm that we cherish no hostility toward the U.S.A.

Our people and our government will be wellprepared to maintain friendly relations with the U.S.A. when it ceases to violate the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and consequently withdraws completely and unconditionally its own and 'allied' armed forces from our Indochina.

As for the relations among our three Khmer, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples, they are and will be certainly based on strict respect for each other's sovereignty.

We have suffered and are suffering too much together, physically and morally, under the colonialism and imperialism from the West to conceive relations of another nature among us.

To dispel any misunderstanding concerning our relations with the socialist Vietnamese, I venture to present Your Majesties and Your Excellencies the following excerpts from the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples [April 25, 1970] and from the Cambodian-Vietnamese Joint Statement of June 7, 1970:

1. Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, April 25:

"The parties affirm their determination to safeguard and develop the fraternal friendship and good-neighborly relations between the three countries so as to give mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy and to cooperate in the future and on a long-term basis in the building of each country following the road which it finds appropriate [underline by me, N.S.]. In the relations between the three countries, the parties are determined to apply the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect

for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression; mutual respect for each other's political regime and non-interference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful co-existence."

2. Solemn Cambodia-D.R.V.N. statement signed jointly by myself and the President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in Hanoi on June 7, 1970: It points out, in particular: "The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam pledge to support wholeheartedly the just struggle of the brotherly Khmer people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkys -- the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique -- till total victory. Once again, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam solemnly declares that it scrupulously respects the independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and political regime of Cambodia, recognizes and commits itself to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her existing borders."

Sirs,
Messrs. Presidents,
Mnes. and Messrs. Prime Ministers,
Here ends my letter to Your Majesties and Your Excellencies.

I beg you to receive it with your usual kindness and give at my request a reply that Your Majesties and Your Excellencies believe to be in conformity with the traditions of justice and solidarity with the oppressed people of your respective nations.

I pray Your Majesties and Your Excellencies to accept, with the expression of my profound gratitude, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Norodom Sihanouk,
Head of State of Cambodia
August, 1970