

Cambodia: The Tragedies (Part 1)

By

Hann So

April 17, 2013

Cambodia Reports Red Smuggle Arms

PNOMPENH, Indo-China, (AP) —Official French sources reported Sunday that Communist troops of Ho Chi-minh have infiltrated the southern Indo-China state of Cambodia and opened a corridor to Thailand (Siam) to obtain smuggled arms.

Cambodia, of which Pnompenh is the capital, is one of three Indo-China states which obtained internal autonomy within the French union last year and have been recognized by a number of the Western powers.

The others are Viet Nam and Laos. Viet Nam has 21,000,000 population, compared with 3,500,000 in Cambodia and about 1,000,000 in Laos.

French military quarters estimate that about 3,000 of Ho's Communists have trickled over the north border of Cambodia and occupied a broad zone. They are said to have opened overland routes to Thailand through the coastal region fronting on the Gulf of Siam.

The Miami News - Jun 25, 1953

King Demands Free Cambodia

Associated Press

Bangkok, June 25—King Norodom Shihanouk of Cambodia has threatened to pull his troops from French Union forces in Indochina unless his kingdom is granted independence, a spokesman said today.

Kreng-Nill, who speaks for the Cambodian government, told newsmen here that King Norodom wrote President Auriol of France that he would accept only independence comparable to that enjoyed by India in the British Commonwealth.

Cambodia is one of three associated states of Indochina. The others are Laos and Viet Nam.

Kreng-Nill said Norodom wrote Auriol before the King fled to Bangkok June 14, but his letter was kept secret. The king returned to Phnopenh Saturday and took command of his army. A spokesman said at the time that "Cambodians are ready to die for independence."

Kreng-Nill said today the French are incorrect in saying Cambodia already has independence except in military matters.

He said Cambodia has no judicial or economic independence, that the French take all foreign exchange from Cambodian exports, and that while Cambodia accounts for 60 per cent of Indochina's exports it gets only 22 per cent of the budget.

Kreng-Nill said King Norodom stressed in his letter to Auriol that he regards Communism as an enemy and pointed out that Cambodians were fighting Communists before French troops arrived on the scene.

BANGKOK — Thailand's cabinet yesterday decided to permit King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia to remain as a political refugee but forbade him to form an exile government.

The cabinet's decision was to ban any activities which would injure Thailand's relations with France.

The King quit his kingdom in French Indo-China and slipped into neighboring Thailand last week-end, vowing to stay there until Cambodia was granted com-

plete independence from French rule.

The Thai government fears French reaction. The cabinet action resisted pressure from some circles within the government who want Thailand to take a bold stand for Cambodia's independence.

The King, meanwhile, kept to his room, No. 9, at Ratanakosind Hotel, refusing to meet diplomats, politicians, newsmen and even officials of the French legation.

2—St. Petersburg Times

Saturday, Sept. 12, 1953

June 17, 1953

HEADLINES

Cambodia Offers Deal If Red Army Will Leave

From AP, UP and INS

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — King Norodom Sihanouk's premier broadcast a live-and-let live appeal to the Vietminh yesterday. He hinted Cambodia will take a neutral role in the Indo-China war if the Communist-led rebel troops now in the kingdom withdraw.

In a radio speech that startled French and American authorities, Premier Pen Nouth told the 10,000 or so of Ho Chi Minh's fighting men on Cambodian soil:

"To you who operate in the kingdom on the pretext of helping our country reach independence, I say that we have obtained independence by our own means.

"While we are not Communists, we have no quarrel with communism as long as it doesn't impose itself by force on our people. It is not up to us to contest your right to busy yourself in Viet Nam (the neighboring state that has borne the brunt of the seven-year-old war). We ask you simply to let us live our life and leave our soil."

The declaration came amid ominous enemy movements in Viet Nam, bracing to meet a Fall offensive from the rebels.

The French high command in Hanoi, 650 miles north of Phnom Penh, announced Ho Chi Minh's 320th division—rated as his best—has moved into hill positions just outside the Red River delta, the key bastion of all French defenses in Indo-China.

The Indian Express - Jun 22, 1953

Cambodian King Returns Home

KING Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia returned to his country yesterday to stop Cambodians rising against the French, a member of the King's staff said here today.

The 31-year old King exiled himself in Thailand a week ago in protest against French "domination."

He left Bangkok for his capital as suddenly as he had come—and without one word of explanation.

King Norodom returned to prevent an uprising by impatient subjects demanding independence from France, the official said.

King Norodom crossed the border into Cambodia at 6 a.m. (I.S.T.) today.

No official explanation or statement was immediately available here on the King's departure. The move surprised observers here because only yesterday a tape-recorded address to his people had been flown to the Cambodian capital.

Western observers here believe the King's departure may be due to the Thailand Government's unwillingness to allow him to use the capital as the stage for a world propaganda campaign.

The Thailand Cabinet, while offering hospitality to the King in a non-political capacity, barred him from talking with Western diplomats and foreign correspondents.

Another suggestion which gained support, was that King Norodom's advisers feared a possible French move to depose the King in his absence.

The King's Demands

Throughout the week since his arrival here the King remained secluded in his hotel suite cut off from public contact. He left Cambodia in the middle of a country-wide tour when he was sounding his people's views on continued French control of Cambodian affairs. In a message to his people he said he wanted independence for Cambodia within the French Union "similar to India's status within the British Commonwealth."

The 31-year-old King said before leaving his country that Cambodia would seek independence through the U. N. The next day, the Cambodian Government called on France to grant Cambodia immediate and complete independence.

King Norodom Sihanouk had been perturbed in case his people launched Guerilla attacks against French troops, the official stated.

He added the king was confident Cambodia could obtain independence within the French Union without resorting to bloodshed.

King Norodom Sihanouk paid homage to Bangkok's famous emerald Buddha before he left on the 500-mile car journey to his capital.

The Deseret News - Jul 2, 1953

Cambodia to Mobilize Force Against French

SAIGON, INDO-CHINA (UP) —King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia told his people Thursday he will mobilize the fighting forces of his country against the French immediately.

Norodom said he plans to increase the estimated 20,000 troops now at his disposal to 100,000 in the near future and eventually to 200,000.

He said the mobilization is intended to end the "military weakness" which France has cited as its principal reason for refusing to grant Cambodia immediate independence.

The King said that he wants only "to give the kingdom its independence and so render a service to France and the free world."

"The granting of independence to Cambodia is certain to bring the Cambodian nation closer to the French union and galvanize the nation's will and energies against communism," Norodom said.

He appealed to the Cambodians to accept ungrudgingly the sacrifices connected with the proposed military expansion.

He said he intended to press his demands for independence on "the big nations which sponsor the anti-Communist enterprise."

The King promised, however, that once his country had achieved independence Cambodia would do everything in its power "to aid the great democratic nations, including France"—an apparent pledge to continue the fight against communism in Indo-China.

Cambodia is one of the three Indo-Chinese kingdoms which have been officially labeled "associated states" rather than colonies of France.

PUTTING THE TOUCH ON UNCLE

The vice president of the most powerful nation in the world last week went to the doorstep of the king of one of the tiniest countries, the Indochinese kingdom of **Cambodia**.

Richard Nixon visited the monarch as one of the good will interviews on his world tour. It was a nice gesture of deference, but it elicited the old response. The king is reported to have asked Nixon if the United States could increase its military and economic aid and give it directly to the Cambodians instead of channeling it through France.

Sounds familiar, doesn't it? Americans can not escape the fear that the good will tour may be viewed by many of the countries visited as an ideal opportunity to put the old touch on rich uncle, to get allowances for those who are not now receiving them and increases for those who are.

Spokane Daily Chronicle -
Nov 9, 1953

Young King Returns to **Cambodia** Capital

PHNOM PENH, **Cambodia**, Nov. 9. (P) — King Norodom Sihanouk took up his royal duties in this picturesque capital again today after a voluntary exile of five months, during which Cambodia won important concessions toward independence from France.

Cheering throngs and booming cannons provided a clamorous welcome for the young monarch on his return yesterday from Siem Reap, a small Cambodian border town.

He went to Bangkok, in neighboring Thailand, last June 15, vowing he would stay away from Phnom Penh until the French granted the little Indochinese kingdom complete independence. A week later he crossed back into Cambodia but settled in Siem Reap while difficult French-Cambodian negotiations were carried on in Paris.

St. Petersburg Times - May 9, 1954
Indochinese Peace Talks Hit First Snag

By K. C. THALER

GENEVA, (UP) — France offered a peace plan for Indochina yesterday, proposing an immediate cease-fire to end the seven-year war, but a Vietminh official barred immediate consideration of the plan.

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault laid the French plan before the opening session of the nine-nation Indochina peace conference.

His cease-fire proposal included a demand the Communist Vietminh withdraw their forces from key areas of Indochina, Cambodia, and Laos, and that Russia and Red China join the West in guaranteeing the armistice.

Communist Vietminh Vice President Pham Von Dong spoke after Bidault and sidetracked any discussion of the French plan by proposing that the conference be widened to include Communist rebel regimes in Laos and Cambodia.

BACKED BY RUSSIA

Russia and Red China backed the Vietminh proposal which paralyzed the opening session of the nine-nation peace conference.

Bidault opposed the admission of what he called "phantom" governments and was backed by U.S. Undersecretary of State Walter Bedell Smith.

Smith proposed that the Big Four—the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union—get together as the inviting powers of the Geneva conference and resolve the issue.

"The United States cannot agree to the suggestion which has just been made that the non-existent so-called governments or states, such as the so-called Pathet Lao or free Cambodians can in anyway be considered qualifying for invitations to this conference under the Berlin agreement," Smith said.

British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, chairman of the opening session, supported Smith's argument.

JOINED RUSSIA

Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov said Red China should help resolve the issue. He stated openly that Red China had joined Russia in inviting Ho Chi Minh's Red label regime to Geneva.

He said that the only Laotian and Cambodian representative in Geneva now are those who "are collaborating with the French authorities."

Red China's Chou En-lai declared the conference had a right to discuss its own composition.

Bidault then charged the rebel regimes of Laos and Cambodia were "phantom governments."

Red rebel Vice President Pham mocked the French and recalled his own government, whose forces took Dien Bien Phu Friday, had been called by the same term not too long ago.

There was no agreement on the issue when the session adjourned until tomorrow afternoon at the suggestion of Smith.

Speaking only a few minutes after British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden as the first chairman of the conference, called the session to order, Bidault called on the Eastern and Western nations to adopt "the principle of a general cease-fire supported by indispensable security guarantees."

Chou Pushing Offensive For Laos and Cambodia

GENEVA, June 21—(AP)—Red China's Chou En-lai pushed ahead here Monday with a diplomatic offensive apparently aimed at neutralizing Laos and Cambodia.

These Indochinese states, less heavily populated than wartorn Vietnam on the coast, stand between Thailand and the bulk of the Communist-led Vietminh rebels under Ho Chi Minh.

Chou received Cambodian Foreign Minister Tee Phan at Red Chinese headquarters Sunday. He followed this up Monday with a conference with Laotian Vice Premier-Foreign Minister Phoul Sananikone. The Red Chinese premier-foreign minister also invited Phan and Sananikone to dinner with Vietminh Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong an

additional guest.

FIRST CONTACT

This was the first contact by Laotian and Cambodian leaders with the rebel minister.

With the conference proper in recess for the day, French, Laotian, Cambodian and Vietminh officials worked privately to implement the conference's decision Saturday to set up a pair of two-party military commissions to study the withdrawal of "foreign" troops from Laos and Cambodia.

The Milwaukee Sentinel -
Jun 22, 1954

RECOGNIZE REGIMES?

French sources said Chou's conferences indicated Peking is ready to acknowledge the Laotian and Cambodian regimes as the real governments of those areas.

If true, this would mean the Communists were preparing to drop their support for what they call "resistance governments" in the two states. The Western powers as well as the Laotians and the Cambodians already had written them off as phan-

tom regimes created by the Communists for bargaining purposes.

Presumably Chou wants a pledge by both Laos and Cambodia to decline membership in any future Allied defense organization. The Laotians and Cambodians would also be expected to recognize the Ho regime and thus condone partition of Vietnam.

The Milwaukee Sentinel - Oct 19, 1954

Sovereignty Vowed to Laos, Cambodia

HANOI, Indochina, Oct. 18—(AP)—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India won a promise Monday from Moscow-trained Vietminh Leader Ho Chi Minh to respect the sovereignty of the small Indochinese states of Laos

and Cambodia.

Then Nehru and Ho embraced in front of the Indian leader's hotel here, exchanged a few words, and Nehru took off for Red China and a 10-day visit there.

The Indian prime minister arrived Sunday, only a day after Ho moved into the new capital which his Communist-controlled North Vietnam regime won under the Geneva agreement ending the Indochina war.

Nehru and Ho issued a joint communique which said Ho told Nehru he "believed fully in the five principles which had been agreed upon between the premier of (Red) China (Chou En-lai) and India and wished to apply them in the relations of Vietnam with Laos and Cambodia, as well as with other countries."

Chou and Nehru agreed on these five principles when the Chinese premier visited New Delhi last summer: Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; no interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence.

The statement said Nehru and Ho were interested in the full implementation of the Geneva agreement in relation to Indochina, then added:

"Ho assured the prime minister he is giving and would continue to give full co-operation to the international commission to implement this agreement."

India is chairman of the commission, whose other members are Canada and Communist-governed Poland.

St. Petersburg Times - Mar 3, 1955

Cambodia's Pro-Western King Resigns In Dramatic Protest Against Leftists

PONOM PENH, Cambodia (UP) — Young King Norodom Sihanouk abdicated the throne of Cambodia yesterday in a dramatic protest against moves of leftist opponents to undermine his pro-Western policy and his constitutional reform program.

The sudden move by the 33-year-old monarch created a potential threat to U. S. policy in Southeast Asia. It heightened the possibility Cambodia might follow Burma and other Asian nations into India's "neutralist" camp.

The bachelor king, who loves jazz and plays it on a saxophone, announced his surprise decision in a radio broadcast to the 3,700,000 people of this Indochinese state. He said he wanted "to live a humble life among my people."



Norodom said he was turning over the throne to his father, 61-year-old Prince Suramarit, who never has ruled before.

The colorful monarch, regard-

SURAMARIT — ed as a strong force against communism in Southeast Asia, stepped down just 48 hours after he conferred here with touring U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Norodom told Dulles he was looking toward the United States for aid in building up Cambodia's planned 55,000-man army and informed him of his plans for nationwide election, probably in June.



KING SIHANOUK

Dulles was reported to have been impressed by Norodom's views.

SIMILAR ACTION

Norodom's action yesterday was similar to a gesture he made in 1953 to dramatize his country's struggle for independence from France.

At that time, he went into "exile" in Thailand and announced he would not return until French authorities gave his state full guarantees of liberty.

This time, his action was aimed at political opponents, and chiefly against former Prime Minister and pro-Communist rebel chief Son Ngoc Thanh.

The Glasgow Herald - Sep 13, 1955

Former King Sweeps Cambodian Polls

The former King of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and his party, the Popular Socialist Community, won all 91 seats in the General Election to the Cambodian National Assembly, it was announced yesterday from the capital, Phnom Penh (states Reuter).

This puts the prince in an unchallengeable position to carry out the reforms of the constitution he promised when he abdicated in favour of his father last March to form his own political movement. It will also, according to observers, pave the way to an absolute monarchy.

PRINCE'S PLATFORM

The prince, who denounced politicians of all parties before he abdicated, has promised that his Popular Socialist Community — he refuses to call it a political party — will “confer sovereignty on the little man of Cambodia.”

Yesterday's elections were the first held in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of last year calling for elections in all three nations of Indo-China—Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

Cambodia is the westernmost of the three States. An ancient kingdom on the Gulf of Siam, it has avoided much of the strife that has troubled Vietnam in recent years. Its population is about 4,000,000 and Phnom Penh has been its capital since the fifteenth century.

The only serious violence to mar an otherwise calm election campaign came on Saturday night, when the Home Guard suddenly broke up a Democratic Party meeting in Phnom Penh with gunfire, killing one man and putting the crowd to flight.

The Democrats were the other main party contesting the election.

The assistant secretary-general

of the Democratic Party, M. Van Vang Sek, is reported to have been arrested at his home and three of the four Phnom Penh Democratic candidates have been arrested. The fourth is reported to have gone into hiding.

International Truce Commission control teams patrolled the country during the campaign and reported everything in order. But the Democrats are expected to try to file a complaint with the commission alleging “excessive police surveillance” at polling stations and a lack of Opposition voting papers in some provinces.

Because of the widespread illiteracy in Cambodia voting papers carried the parties' symbols instead of the names of candidates.

The main constitutional reform promised by Prince Sihanouk would replace direct elections to the National Assembly—he thinks these favour corrupt politicians at the expense of the simple peasant—by indirect elections. In these, villagers would elect headmen, who would elect provincial assemblies, which in turn would elect the National Assembly.

Another reform would insist that an Assembly member should be a resident of the district he lives in. This would disqualify many Phnom Penh professional politicians.

CONFLICTING VIEWS

One foreign observer said of the prince's victory:—“This may be a tragedy because it will drive most intellectuals underground. They might be forced to join hands with the Communists. All this means we have not yet seen the end of the country's internal troubles.”

Others feel that the prince's victory will enable him to negotiate on a sound basis with more powerful nations and to maintain his policy of neutral co-existence.

Despite nation-wide campaigning in the last week, culminating in an eve-of-poll speech by Prince Sihanouk accusing his opponents of “dirty slander,” there was little election enthusiasm in the countryside.

St. Petersburg Times - Sep 12, 1967

Cambodian Prince Purges Pro-Chinese

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia (UPI) — Prince Norodom Sihanouk yesterday fired two pro-Peking cabinet ministers in a crackdown on Communist elements in Cambodia, the neutralist nation bordering Vietnam. The chief of state also suspended all privately-operated newspapers, half of them pro-Chinese.

Sihanouk announced a nationwide referendum next January or February to

choose between himself "and a handful of Cambodian renegades who are betraying our country" as Cambodia's leaders.

Only a few government-controlled publications will henceforth be free to appear until the referendum, Sihanouk said in a statement.

The dismissed cabinet members were Chau Seng, minister of state in charge of economics and So Nem, minister of health and former chairman of the Cambodia-China Friendship Association.

Sihanouk ousted the two for publishing a telegram from Peking denouncing his Sept. 1 dissolution of the Cambodia-China Association on charges of undermining his regime.

Chau is the editor of a French language daily which published the cable. In it, the Peking sympathizers of the friendship association urged their Cambodian colleagues to disregard the dissolution of the association, and "continue your struggle."



NORODOM SIHANOUK
... fires two aides.

Cambodia's Turn-About on U.S.: Why did Sihanouk Switch?

by
Phil Newsom

Government Shakeup

SAIGON — (UPI) — Even as Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk has continued his virulent attacks against the United States, there has been mounting evidence of his concern over Communist-led activities against Cambodia both inside and outside its borders.

This, then, could be one of the reasons for his apparent about-face on the question of "hot pursuit" by American or South Vietnamese forces against Viet Cong or North Vietnamese Communist regulars taking refuge inside Cambodia.

Another could be that American determination in South Vietnam and chaos within Red China have combined to dampen considerably his previous conviction that the spread of Red China's influence across Southeast Asia is inevitable.

Last April Sihanouk declared in a broadcast to the nation that "Red Khmers" (Cambodians) had gone over "from subversion to acts of direct aggression" in Cambodia's north-western Battambang Province.

He accused five members within his own government of being the Communist masterminds.

In May, he singled out by name North Vietnam, North Korea and the Viet Cong as attempting "to turn Cambodia into a colony or a satellite by using the "Red Khmers" as their Trojan horse.

Subsequently, he came close to breaking relations with Red China, threatening to withdraw his ambassador to Peking if the Chinese did not halt their propagandizing in Cambodia.

At home he dissolved a group of pro-Chinese associations and closed down a pro-Chinese privately owned press.

A little more than a year ago, he clashed sharply

with pro-Communists in Laos.

The Red-led Pathet Lao there had laid claim to Cambodia's northern Strungtreng province in the area of the so-called Sihanouk Trail, the secondary supply route that leads from Cambodia into Laos for a link-up with the Ho Chi Minh Trail into South Vietnam.

Recalling Communist Viet Minh attempts to annex Cambodia territory in 1953-54, a magazine edited by the Prince declared:

"When Cambodia's territorial integrity is at stake, it does not matter whether the annexationists are pro-Imperialist or anti-Imperialist."

U.S. officials believe that up to 20,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong use Cambodian territory as a sanctuary, as well as obtaining up to 100,000 tons of rice and other supplies annually from Cambodia.

Cambodian Reds Cause 'Civil War'

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia (AP) — Prince Norodom Sihanouk said today Cambodian Communists have set off a "real civil war against the national regime" in the Battambang region of northwestern Cambodia.

The prince told a news conference that the Communists had attacked isolated government posts, killed several loyalist inhabitants and seized 50 rifles.

The chief of state said the Communists "are supplied from Thailand, probably in collusion with the Thailand Patriotic Front directed by Peking."

The prince referred to several seized brochures with excerpts from the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, published in Peking in 1965 in Siamese.

Sihanouk said the Cambodian Reds "are today acting jointly with the Thailand Patriotic Front in order not to com-

promise too much the Vietminh and Viet Cong who need me."

The prince indicated this his new trouble with the Communists in Battambang Province, following six months of calm, was due to this recent talks with U.S. Ambassador Chester Bowles on the problem of Viet Cong use of Cambodia as a refuge. The prince said that several nations have recognized the "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers." He said they include West Germany, Britain and Japan.

Sihanouk said that if the United States made such a declaration, diplomatic relations between the two countries could be resumed normally. He said that the Bowles mission, and the joint communique published afterward represented the halfway point toward this goal.

St. Petersburg Times - Jul 22, 1969 Cambodia Reports Viet Cong Promise Pull-Out After War

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia (UPI) — Viet Cong leaders have assured Cambodia that they will withdraw their troops from the country when fighting ends in South Vietnam, the official Khmer Presse reported yesterday.

The news agency said the assurance was contained in a written agreement between Cambodian chief of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and the prime minister of South Vietnam's new provisional revolutionary government, Huynh Tan Phat, who visited here.

Prior to Phat's visit, Sihanouk had complained that Viet Cong forces were violating Cambodia's borders and refusing to give up positions they had established in the neutral kingdom. There have been a number of clashes between the Viet Cong and Cambodian government forces.

The Milwaukee Sentinel

Apr 17, 1969

Cambodia, US Ties Restored

Phnom Penh, Cambodia —UPI— Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's chief of state, said Wednesday that Cambodia was resuming diplomatic relations with the United States in response to a pledge from President Nixon to respect Cambodian sovereignty "within its present frontiers."

Sihanouk severed ties with the United States in May 1965, after accusing American forces in South Vietnam of repeatedly violating Cambodia's borders.

In reversing himself Wednesday, Sihanouk said that diplomatic relations with the United States would be restored initially at the charge d'affaires level. The United States embassy here has been closed since 1965.

Sihanouk spoke after receiving a message from Nixon pledging United States respect for "the sovereignty, independence and neutrality of the kingdom of Cambodia within

its present frontiers." He expressed his thanks to the United States "and above all to President Nixon for this gesture of justice and fairness."

The Cambodian leader indicated that he envisaged talks with the United States on Cambodian charges of United States military incursions into his country and said he would demand a place at the Vietnam peace negotiations in Paris if it appeared that a settlement was at hand.

"We have lost much in the last four years through not having direct contact with the Americans," Sihanouk said. "The significance of relations is they will permit the settlement, in a certain measure, of the (border) incidents."

Questioned on South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu's offer to re-establish "good relations" with Cambodia, Sihanouk said up to now Saigon had always refused to drop territorial claims to coastal islands in dispute between the two countries.

The Milwaukee Journal

- May 2, 1969

Cambodia Firm on Cutting US Ties

Bangkok, Thailand —UPI— Cambodia will not resume diplomatic relations with Washington in the immediate future unless possibly the United States recognizes changes in Cambodian borders, western diplomats said Friday.

The diplomats said there was nothing more the United States could say about the frontier problem directly but that there was one more thing it could do to reassure Prince Norodom Sihanouk about the meaning of its border declaration — change its maps.

Sihanouk has raised issue of United States military maps showing certain Cambodian held islands off the coast to be Vietnamese possessions, and sources cited this as one of the reasons for the diplomatic break.

Cambodian forces shot down two American helicopters Monday in the province of Svayrieng, the Cambodian press agency said Friday.

Prince Sihanouk overthrown

Muscatine March 18, 1970

SAIGON (AP) — Cambodia's Parliament overthrew Prince Norodom Sihanouk today, charging the chief of state provoked the political crisis gripping the nation, Radio Phnom Penh announced.

Asian diplomats in Saigon received reports that Cambodian troops surrounded the Parliament building and had sealed off the airport in the capital.

The news reached the 47-year-old prince, who had dominated his kingdom's politics for more than 20 years, while he was in Moscow en route home from Paris. He left later in the day for Peking.

The cause of the crisis was violent demonstrations last week against the presence of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops in Cambodian border regions. During the demonstrations, Cambodians sacked the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong embassies in Phnom Penh.

The Cambodian radio said the reigns of power as chief of state were turned over to Cheng Eeng, president of the National Assembly. The assembly, the lower house of Parliament, met in joint session with the Royal Cambodian Council, the upper house, and voted no confidence in Sihanouk.

A report received by the government in Saigon said the real power rested with two men—Gen. Lon Nol, premier and chief of the military forces, and Sirik Matak, a top government minister.

The two men are known to share doubts about the mercurial Sihanouk's neutralist policy, and were opposed to the 40,000-60,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops using border sanctuaries for forays into South Vietnam.

Nol, a conservative, was credited by some sources in Saigon with organizing the demonstrations against the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops. Others noted Sihanouk's grip on the country and believed he himself possibly orchestrated them from Paris.

An unofficial translation of the Phnom Penh broadcast, as heard in Saigon, said:

"Following the political crisis provoked by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the past days, the National Assembly and the Royal Council in joint session, conforming to the constitution of the kingdom, unanimously withdrew their confidence in Prince Norodom Sihanouk. From this day, 18 March 1970, at 1300 (1 p.m.) the Prince Norodom Sihanouk ceases to be the chief of state of Cambodia and will be replaced by Cheng Heng, the president of the National Assembly, who will assume the function of the chief of state until election of a new chief of state in accordance with the text of the nation's constitution."

The Cambodian Embassy in Singapore said the Phnom Penh radio said later: "The new head of state said Cambodia will follow the same policies of independence, neutrality, territorial integrity and will respect all international treaties signed by her."

Cambodia Prince Deposed While On Vacation Trip

Saigon (AP) — Prince Norodom Sihanouk's long rule in Cambodia was ended yesterday by a rebellious Parliament. The lawmakers may have acted at the instigation of a general who quarreled with the chief of state over North Vietnamese and Viet Cong occupation of border provinces.

The Radio Phnom Penh announcement of his ouster reached Sihanouk in Moscow, where he had stopped on his way home from a vacation in Paris. Before he left Moscow for Peking, he talked with the staff of the Cambodian Embassy.

An American Broadcasting Co. correspondent in Moscow said he told the staff he would form a government in exile if the Russians and Chinese do not recognize the new regime. But if recognition comes from the two big Communist powers, he added, this would be the end of him.

The broadcast from the Cambodian capital said that Sihanouk had "provoked" the political crisis in Cambodia, where in the past week crowds took to the streets in violent demonstrations against the presence of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops in border regions.

It said the Royal Council, the upper house of Parliament, and the National Assembly, the lower House, "unanimously withdrew their confidence in Prince Norodom Sihanouk."

A report received by the Saigon government said Gen. Lon Nol, premier and chief of the military services, and Sirik Matak, a high government minister, were the real powers in the new regime.

Lon Nol quarreled violently with Sihanouk in 1968 over the presence of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops in Cambodia and on economic issues. Lon Nol resigned as premier, but later was reappointed.

Both Lon Nol and Sirak Matak frowned on Sihanouk's evasive neutrality policy, which sometimes was pro-American, more frequently pro Communist.

The Montreal Gazette - Mar 19, 1970

Cambodian ruler predicted a takeover

By STEPHEN SCOTT

UNITED NATIONS — The rightist coup in Cambodia yesterday was not entirely unpredictable.

The possibility of it was mentioned by the deposed head of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in an interview in Paris last week, when he commented on the riots in Cambodia, evidently orchestrated by his estranged cabinet against the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong.

The fact that the government launched its anti-Viet Cong actions while Sihanouk was in Paris — officially recovering from an illness — indicated that a rift known for some time had become deeper.

But if the coup was at least partly predictable, the consequences of it are not. Early speculation is gloomy because the coup could result in new crises for that unhappy corner of Asia.

The anti-Communists, headed by Premier Lon Nol, kicked out the prince because he could not stop the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong from using Cambodia as a sanctuary in the South Vietnam war. Reports indicate the North Vietnamese are settling down in the border areas to stay, even going so far as to take up farming.

To top this there have been reports of recent growth of Communist insurgency in Cambodia.

The right wingers apparently felt that stronger anti-Communist action was needed. Sihanouk, who could never be anti-Communist and neutralist at the same time, had to go.

TIGHTROPE

But what can the new government do that mercurial, tightrope-walking Sihanouk had not done over the years to keep Cambodia intact and more or less neutral?

The poorly-organized and poorly equipped Cambodian army of 30,000 men is no match for 40,000 battle-hardened North Vietnamese and Viet Cong veterans at the border sanctuaries.

The northern alliance is not going to voluntarily give up

the southern terminus of the Ho Chi Minh Trail that snakes through troubled Laos and Cambodia.

There are two obvious early actions that the new government could take, provided it is assured the support of the people.

The most likely is to permit the right of "hot pursuit" to the South Vietnamese and Americans. Under this right, the South Vietnam allies would be allowed to chase an enemy across the Cambodian border.

And the Cambodians could be even more blind than at present to American bombing and artillery bombardment of Communist sanctuaries.

The other action, not likely at the moment, is to come

here with demands for withdrawal. However, any action proposed here probably would be blocked by the Soviet Union.

Whatever action the new leaders take could lead to broad crises.

For instance, the North Vietnamese may feel that they must protect their interests, particularly in regard to the Ho Chi Minh Trail, by moving farther south in Laos. And the Communists could decide that, with the popular Sihanouk out, the way may be open for a challenge to the Cambodian government.

All this must put the Nixon administration in a quandary.

(Mr. Scott writes for Canadian Press)

Sihanouk Asks Supporters To Rebel Against Regime

Prince Norodom Sihanouk called on his supporters in Cambodia to rise up and wage guerrilla warfare against the regime that overthrew him as chief of state, Radio Peking announced yesterday.

The broadcast said Sihanouk promised his supporters arms and ammunition. This had an ominous ring for Phnom Penh because arms can easily be ferried down the Ho Chi Minh trail of eastern Laos to the hostile Viet Cong and North Vietnamese in Cambodia's border provinces.

Sihanouk's statement urged his supporters in Europe to visit him in Peking or Moscow if they want to join the "war of liberation."

The statement was coupled with his announcement yesterday he was setting up a government in exile in Peking and organizing a "liberation army" to fight his way back to power. He said the army would be supported by "brotherly nations" — presumably the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese.

"In the present circumstances my task has not yet been fulfilled, because I will never allow the treacherous reactionaries, with the backing of the power of U.S. dollars and at bayonet point, to go on wantonly trampling underfoot the ideals, laws and basic principles of the state with impunity," Sihanouk said.

Sihanouk described himself as legal head of state of Cambodia and dissolved the new government and two chambers of parliament which he said "have betrayed their constitutional oaths and the constitution of the kingdom."

Taken from the 3rd floor of our house on 225c Monivong
2nd Day of the Proclamation of the Khmer Republic October 9, 1970

How It Started after March 18, 1970



U.S. Aid: Lavish For Vietnam, Miserly For Cambodia

By ROWLAND EVANS
and ROBERT NOVAK

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — The senseless system of American aid that has evolved for Cambodia's beleaguered army, tending to waste what little help a nervous Congress permits, suggests that the United States has learned all the wrong lessons from the tragedy of Vietnam.

Haunted by the fear of another Vietnam, Congress has imposed crippling restrictions on help for the ill-trained, ill-equipped Cambodian army to cope with four invading North Vietnamese divisions. Americans are prohibited from advising the Cambodians militarily at any level. The \$200-million budget ceiling for a hastily expanded Cambodian army of around 180,000 leaves it badly outgunned by the Communists.

BUT WHAT little aid is made available to the Cambodians has fallen under the dead hand of the U.S. Army. Old Southeast Asia hands see the same pattern of U.S. Army aid so tragically evident in building the virtually worthless Royal Lao army and the frightfully expensive South Vietnamese army (ARVN): the irresistible urge to build an Asian army according to the Pentagon doctrine.

The result is that the Cambodian army, while still rich in fighting morale after a year of warfare, cannot begin to cope with the 40,000 North Vietnamese troops here. Only the 10,000 ARVN soldiers within Cambodia's borders, whose presence here creates severe problems we have reported on previously, and U.S. airpower prevent Cambodia from once

again becoming a Communist sanctuary from which to attack South Vietnam.

Actually, when the Nixon Administration hesitantly began aiding the new anti-Communist Cambodian regime last year, the help — though grossly inadequate — at least reflected the bitter lessons of an American decade in Indochina. Appointed as military counsellor at the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh was a

famous figure in Southeast Asia: Jonathan F. (Fred) Ladd, an ex-Green Beret colonel from Vietnam days, with 16 years' experience in the Orient.

BASED ON that experience, Ladd was seeking to build an Asian-type army, lean and tough, that could meet the formidable North Vietnamese foot soldier on his own terms. From the start, however, Ladd confronted madness in Washington. A Pentagon computer recommended 3,000 trucks for the Cambodian army. U.S. Army bureaucrats proposed multi-million dollar spending pro-

Ladd beat off such diversions of aid, desperately needed for munitions. But once the aid-to-Cambodia program was officially sanctioned by Congress, the U.S. Army took over. Ladd was superseded by a Military Equipment Delivery Team (MEDT) headed by Brig. Gen. Theodore Metaxis, ex-Vietnam adviser who goes by the book.

Metaxis's 100-man team parcels out equipment to the Cambodians in strict conformity with U.S. manuals. What looms is the worst of all possible worlds: a Cambodian army, deficient in firepower but topheavy with staff and headquarters soldiers in the U.S. Army pattern.

AMBASSADOR EMERY Swank has warned Washington that if Metaxis's MEDT grows any larger he will be unable to enforce the congressional injunction against advisers. But, in fact, the Cambodians need Metaxis's clerks far less than they need bona fide high-level advisers to help them run the army. Although battalion-level officers are now

steadily pouring out of South Vietnamese training camps, the need for American advisers at headquarters of the country's four military regions is pressing.

Even more critical is the need for equipment.

The Cambodians are particularly bitter about the lavish hand still used by Washington supplying the ARVN. Officers talk of the ARVN losing more armored personnel carriers at the disastrous battle of Snuol last summer than have been supplied the entire Cambodian army. Because of the propensity of ARVN troopers to sell their weapons on the open market, Cambodian soldiers equipped with M16s often turn out to have purchased them (the going price: \$50).

St. Petersburg Times - Apr 23, 1973

A 'Fatal Innocence' Is Wrecking Cambodia

By **ANTHONY LEWIS**

New York Times Service (c)

LONDON — Cambodia was always regarded by well-traveled westerners as the loveliest of countries, her people gentle and beautiful, her art remarkable, her countryside untouched by war. That was three years ago.

Today Cambodia is a smoldering wreck of that vision. American bombs are falling on the country in nearly the volume that once fell on all of Indochina. In desperate efforts to escape the bombs, nearly half of the population of 7-million have become refugees.

What was Cambodia's sin? How did she earn this fate? The answer is that she got in the way of a juggernaut, the United States. If Americans make an effort to see what happened, we may better understand the difference between the pretensions of our government's foreign policy and the less lofty reality.

BEFORE 1970, Prince Norodom Sihanouk kept Cambodia afloat among the antagonisms on her borders. He moved toward the west, then away; he tacitly allowed the North Vietnamese to use Cambodian territory, then said no to them. It was all very untidy and irritating, but it happened to spare the Cambodian people their neighbors' horror.

Just what role the United States played in the coup that overthrew Sihanouk is not yet known, but at the least it welcomed the outcome: Cambodia was now on the anti-communist team. Soon afterward, on April 30, 1970, President Nixon announced that he was sending American forces into Cambodia to sweep out the Communists. It was a limited and necessary extension of the Vietnam war, he said, adding:

"I would rather be a one-term president and do what I believe is right than to be a two-term president at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and to see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history."

THE RESULT of the coup and the invasion was to turn Cambodia into a continuing battleground. What had been a minor rebellion turned into a full-scale civil war. Since 1970 the Cambodian rebel forces have grown from 3,000 to

between 35,000 and 45,000. How many North Vietnamese remain is uncertain, but official American sources in Phnom Penh say that there has been no documented evidence of any serving in a combatant role in the last three months.

The rebels now control three-quarters of the country. The inept and isolated government of Lon Nol is preserved in Phnom Penh entirely by American aid, which is running to nearly \$1-million a day — and by the bombing, which is described by those on-the-scene as indiscriminate and exceptionally savage even by recent standards.

It is all as if we had learned nothing from Vietnam. Once again the United States has committed its power and prestige to a country of the most marginal strategic interest to us, and one with a weak and unpopular government. Once again an American president is leading his people down that road without deigning to tell them why.

Why is it all happening? There are evidently two basic reasons. The first is that Nixon and his advisers are concerned about the impact on Saigon if Cambodia falls entirely to communist or communist-leaning forces. And so, to save our surrogates in a contest from which we supposedly have withdrawn, we must make war in another country.

THE SECOND reason may be more important: the face of Richard Nixon. When he invaded Cambodia in 1970, he insisted that the American involvement would be strictly limited. But the highly personalized language he used made clear how much he felt his own reputation at stake. How would it look if the Khmers Rouges won now?

We cannot even say, as the American major said of a Vietnamese village in the 1968 Tet offensive, that we are destroying Cambodia in order to save it. Cambodia hardly comes into the reckoning. When was the last time American policy-makers actually thought about what the people of Cambodia might like?

The new American foreign policy is often described as realistic. Not dogmatically anti-communist, restrained in its use of power. Henry A. Kissinger is very persuasive when he builds those verbal structures. And there obviously has been

a change in this direction in terms of relationships with the great powers, the Soviet Union and China.

BUT THESE American professions mean rather less in relation to the not-so-great. If they get in the way, they just may find themselves ground up by the most destructive power on earth. It is not the Soviet Union that is savaging Cambodia today, or China or North Vietnam; it is the United States.

The peace with honor that Nixon claimed in Indochina promised at least one thing to most Americans: an end to

their destructive role. It is becoming clearer every day that Nixon and Kissinger had no real intention of getting out. They merely intend to enforce the Pax Americana by other means. That is, they hope to arrange it this time so that no Americans are killed, only Indochinese.

The Cambodians are the most poignant example for a reason well expressed by a British correspondent, Gavin Young of the Observer. They are, he said, "The least guilty of all parties in Indochina. They are guilty only of a fatal innocence."

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette - Mar 7, 1975

Ford Pleads Aid to Cambodians To End Horror

WASHINGTON (AP) — Warning that "time is running out," President Ford declared last night that Congress must vote emergency military aid within two weeks if Cambodia is to survive the current Communist offensive.

Ford indicated in a nationally televised and broadcast news conference that he is willing to see Lon Nol step aside as Cambodia's president if that would spur negotiations and end "an unbelievable horror story" in the besieged capital of Phnom Penh.

He stopped short of flatly calling for Lon Nol's resignation, but was blunt in warning that U.S. aid is essential for the Cambodians to avoid falling under Communist control.

"If we don't give the aid, there is no hope," Ford declared. Then he pressed for congressional action on his urgent \$222 million aid request.

"If we do get the necessary legislation from Congress and it comes quickly . . . within the next 10 days or two weeks I believe there is a hope . . ." of Cambodia withstanding the offensive, he said.

The deteriorating situation in Cambodia dominated the news conference,

Ford's 11th since taking office in August, but questions ranged to other foreign and domestic issues.

There were these other highlights:

► Ford left open the possibility that unemployment may top the previously forecast 8.5 per cent, and said he would favor a larger tax cut than he has proposed, rather than increased federal spending, if a bigger stimulant was needed to end the current recession.

► The President again chided Congress for its slowness in acting on tax-cut legislation, declaring "what we need is speed" and that he is "very disturbed" at the congressional pace.

► He deplored as "very ill-advised . . . absolutely unwarranted" the terrorist attack in Tel Aviv and said he hoped it would not destroy the prospects for success of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's Middle East peace mission.

► Asked about any CIA connection with attempted assassinations of foreign leaders, Ford cited current investigations into CIA activities and said further comment from him at this time would be inappropriate.

► Asked about reports that conservative Republicans are unhappy with his

policies and may be considering starting a third party, Ford said he felt his party should be "a broad-based, wide-spectrum party" and could broaden its base without losing the conservative wing of the party.

► Ford declined to comment on whether he would like to have former President Richard M. Nixon take an active role in the Republican party once he recovers from his physical ailments. He said he felt it would be inappropriate for him to comment at this time.

The news conference was 21 minutes old before questioning turned to the economy. Ford said in a response that he would prefer tax reductions to increased spending if it appears a greater stimulant is needed to pull the nation out of a recession.

He again defended his economic program, said, "it is moving in the right direction" but complained that Congress is moving too slowly. "What we need is speed," he declared in again urging faster action on tax-cut legislation.

But again and again the questioning turned to Cambodia and, when asked whether he would ask Lon Nol to resign to help negotiate a settlement, Ford re-

(Cont'd on Page 2, Column 1)

(Continued from Page 1)

plied he did not feel it proper to ask that of the head of another state.

Lon Nol, who overthrew Prince Sihanouk in 1970, has been the major stumbling block to the opening of negotiations since the Communists have refused to go to the table as long as he remains in office.

Lon Nol himself indicated to visiting American Congress members last week-end he might be willing to step aside if that would help negotiations.

Ford said a main aim of giving aid would be to keep the Lon Nol government fighting until the end of the current dry season, sometime about the first of July.

If that happens, he said chances "will be infinitely better" that the Communists would consider negotiations.

He added, however, that Congress must vote the aid "in the next 10 days or two weeks."

Ford opened the news conference with a statement urging quick congressional action on his Cambodian-aid request.

"If we abandon our allies," he said, "we will be saying to all the world that war pays."

The President also declared that the reliability of the United States is at stake in providing aid to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

"If we cease to help our friends in Indochina, we will have violated their trust that we would help them with arms,

food and supplies so long as they remain determined to fight for their own freedom," the President said. "We will have been false to ourselves, to our word, and to our friends."

Ford added: "No one should think for a moment that we can walk away from that without a deep sense of shame."

The President was making the latest in a series of pleas to Congress for fast action on his request for an additional \$222 million in aid for Cambodia and \$300 million for South Vietnam.

On the question of providing food and medical supplies to aid the suffering people in the area, Ford said: "We cannot meet humanitarian needs unless we provide some military assistance."

"Only through a combination of humanitarian endeavors and military aid do we have a chance to stop the fighting in that country (Cambodia) in such a way as to end the bloodshed."

Ford also emphasized that "this is not a question of involvement or re-involvement in Indochina. We have ended our involvement. All American forces have come home. They will not go back."

The writer of the following dispatch has reported from Cambodia for The New York Times the last five years. He decided to remain in Phnom Penh when the American airlift removed embassy and other personnel.

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG
New York Times Service (c)

PHNOM PENH — Premier Long Boret announced Saturday night that the Cambodian parliament had voted unanimously to transfer all powers of government to a "summit committee" dominated by generals, to continue the fight against the Khmer Rouge insurgents.

This announcement, made in a radio broadcast, came several hours after the American embassy had been closed and Ambassador John Gunther Dean, with the remaining staff members, was evacuated by helicopter.

FLEEING THE COUNTRY on the Ambassador's helicopter was Lt. Gen. Sau Kham Khoy, who had been acting president of Cambodia since Marshal Lon Nol went into exile on April 1.

Also evacuated with the remaining 50 or so embassy staff members and some Cambodian employees were a number of other Cambodian military officers and government officials who had been closely identified with the Americans and now feared for their lives.

With the departure of the Americans, Phnom Penh is sealed off. The U.S. airlift of ammunition, fuel and food — the country's lone link with the outside world — ended with the evacuation. The rebels have long since closed off river, road and rail routes.

IN PEKING, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, ousted as Cambodia's chief of state in March 1970, weeks before Phnom Penh joined the Indochina War, said Saturday that he had rejected a U.S. invitation to return to Phnom Penh to form a new government.

The Americans also had asked Sihanouk to arrange a cease-fire with the Communist-led insurgents following his return to the Cambodian capital. In his reply, Sihanouk said he would never betray his allies. **Details, 23-A**

St. Petersburg Times April 12, 1975

In his broadcast, Long Boret said the new governing committee had been given full powers for three months. He appealed to the people "to remain calm and cooperate with the military."

"WE AND THE army are determined to stand by you to obtain peace for our country," the premier added.

Cambodia

From 1-A

IN HIS STATE of the World speech Thursday night, Ford dwelt at length on an appeal for increased military and humanitarian aid to South Vietnam, but made no new appeal for aid to Cambodia.

With Communist-led insurgents encircling this capital, the desperate government is trying to reorganize itself in a form that might be acceptable enough to the insurgents to negotiate an end to this 5-year-old war, even if it be no more than an orderly surrender.

"That's my interpretation," said one official at the gloomy and tense embassy, "and that's the interpretation of a lot of us here."

Ford, in his speech, gave only brief mention to Cambodia — he spoke considerably longer, for example, about Turkey.

THE KEY PARAGRAPH on Cambodia read: "In January, I requested food and ammunition for the brave Cambodians. I regret to say that as of this evening, it may be soon too late."

The Phnom Penh government, in a statement, said it was "profoundly disappointed" with Ford's speech and added, "We have noted that the President of the United States seeks to avoid the responsibility for insisting on the request for aid to our people."

The statement — issued in French, the language of Cambodia's former colonial rulers — continued: "As for us, we are determined to pursue our struggle in search of a negotiated peace. The attitude of President Gerald Ford affects in no way our steadfast position, which consists of seeking a cease-fire as a prelude to cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation."

IT CONCLUDED: In the pursuit of this objective, he will not hesitate in the future to revise our attitude toward the great powers."

The last seemed an empty threat, both because this government seems to have no future and also because the other great powers — the Soviet Union and China — are supporting the insurgent side.

The Americans are still, at this eleventh hour, playing a role in internal Cambodian affairs. It was only after Ambassador John Gunther Dean met Friday morning with Acting

President Saukham Khoy, that Khoy asked a leader of the political opposition to form a new government.

THAT LEADER, Chau Sau, a popular and respected 50-year-old economist who heads the Democratic Party, said he first had to consult with his friends and party associates and hoped to give his decision by today.

Chau Sau is probably as acceptable to the insurgents as anyone on this side — having remained firmly in the opposition since the beginning of the war and having a reputation as a nationalist who had good relations with some of the insurgents leaders before they went underground years ago.

Should Chau Sau take over as premier here and form a new cabinet, it is presumed that the present premier, Long Boret, would leave the country and go into exile — just as president Lon Nol did on April 1.

Both men have been branded by the insurgents as "traitors" with whom they would never negotiate.

Lon Nol was given a quick medical checkup at Tripler Army Medical Center in Honolulu Friday, but delayed plans to enter the hospital for further tests and treatment until Monday, a hospital spokesman said.

SAID CAMBODIA'S ambassador to the U.S.:

"We are the patient and the United States is the doctor. You have found our case is hopeless but we have to cling to life until we die."

Um Sim told the Washington Press Club it is difficult to make the Cambodian people understand that the United States will not be helping them. He said they still are expecting a miraculous deliverance.

ASKED IF there were any U.S. commitments to defend Cambodia, Sim said, "You are much cleverer than we. The fact is there is not a commitment in writing but you induced us into this fighting. The United States has taken advantage of our innocence and lack of experience."

"In the past the United States respected our neutrality," the ambassador added. "From now on I think the Cambodian people would feel satisfied if the United States solemnly swears after the abandonment of Cambodia that the United States will no longer be involved in our region."

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette - Apr 14, 1975

Cambodia Reds Close to Road Near Capital

PHNOM PENH (AP) — Heavy fighting broke out early today as Khmer Rouge rebels drove to within a mile of the highway from Phnom Penh to the airport that is this city's only link with the outside world.

It was feared that an attack on the capital itself was imminent.

The Communist-led insurgents battled their way within a mile of Route 3 near Pochentong airport, four miles east of Phnom Penh.

Field reports said a garrison of 200 government troops with four howitzers was cut off near the airport. Thousands of refugees fled along the highway toward Phnom Penh but many were turned back at gunpoint by military police.

SMALL ARMS FIRE and mortar shell explosions could be heard from the top floor of the Hotel Le Phnom in the center of the city. Government troops holding a thin line on the east bank of the Mekong River were reported to be under strong pressure also.

Cambodia's shaky new government has ordered its troops to hold fast.

Premier Long Boret told a news conference yesterday, "We will never surrender."

He said that U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean had suggested that he invite Prince Norodom Sihanouk, nominal leader of the rebels to return to Cambodia from Peking and negotiate an end to the war. Boret told newsmen he rejected the proposal and his side would "ignore" the rebels and not agree to talks until there is a cease-fire.

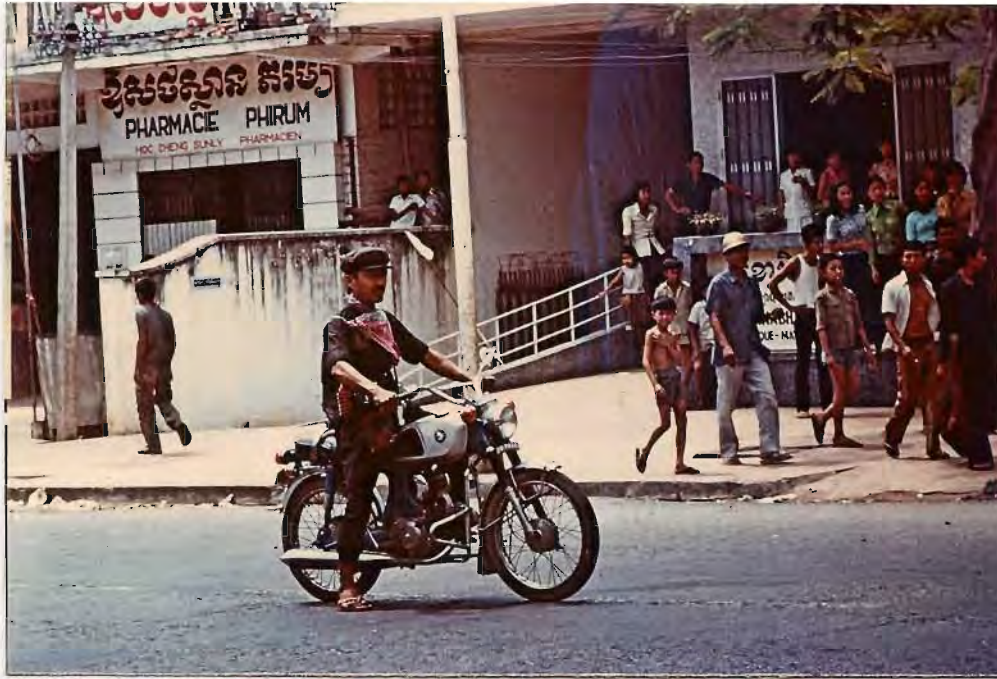
Dean made the suggestion, Boret said, on Friday, the day before U.S. Marine helicopters evacuated the ambassador and 275 other foreigners and Cambodians from Phnom Penh.

DEAN, NOW IN THAILAND, made no immediate comment on Boret's statement.

In Washington, a Pentagon spokesman announced that U.S. cargo planes flying under contract have made several air drops of supplies. The planes had been shuttling into encircled Phnom Penh with rice and ammunition but that was stopped Friday because of heavy shelling of the airport and parachute drops are now being used.

Military reports said two government fighter bombers were blown up at the airport and two persons were killed. An Air Cambodge plane braved heavy fire and landed with only three of its four engines operating.

How It Ended
April 17, 1975







The Results





Pittsburgh Post-Gazette - Apr 18, 1975

Samphan Clears Air on Cambodian Power

• New York Times News Service

NEW YORK—It was characteristic of the early confusion surrounding Prince Norodom Sihanouk's insurgency against Gen. Lon Nol's new Cambodian regime in 1970.

That there were strong doubts about whether or not one of the movement's reported leaders, Khieu Samphan, was alive.

AFTER ALL, Radio Peking had charged Prince Sihanouk of having had the slender socialist politician murdered by burning him with acid, an eyewitness claimed — in 1967.

Yet four years later, with Sihanouk himself in exile after a coup by Lon Nol, Samphan reappeared in print and then in pictures as one of the insurgency's leaders.

Recently, he has emerged as the most prominent and probably the most powerful member of the little-known group of men who directed the Khmer Rouge armies against Phnom Penh.

Samphan holds the titles of commander-in-chief of the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces, and deputy premier and minister of national defense in the exiled government headed—in title only, it appears—by Sihanouk.

Samphan was born on July. 27, 1931, in Svay Rieng, a rice-growing community close to the South Vietnamese border on Route 1 between Phnom Penh and Saigon. His father was a civil servant in the French colonial administration, a position that permitted the young Samphan to receive French training.

As a young man, he was known for his studiousness and his quietness.

"He was serious," his younger brother, Khieu Song Kim, recalled. "He studied a lot and did not run around."

BUT WHILE STILL in high school after the war, as the Vietnamese guerrillas were fighting a war that was eventually to end French rule in Indochina, Samphan was active in anti-French and anti-colonialist movements in Cambodia.

In 1954, he went to the University of Paris and studied law and economics. Samphan served as secretary general of the General Union of Khmer Students in France while working on a doctoral dissertation on the crippling effects of the French colonial economy on his country's development. He earned his doctorate in 1959, and returned to Phnom Penh.

Cambodia Revolution Uproots Millions

The Milwaukee May 9, 1975

By Sydney H. Schanberg

(c) New York Times Service

Bangkok, Thailand — The victorious Cambodian Communists, who marched into Pnompenh on April 17 to end five years of war in Cambodia, are carrying out a peasant revolution that has thrown the entire country into upheaval.

About half of Cambodia's 7 million people, most of them on foot, have been forced out of the cities and sent on a mammoth and grueling exodus into areas at least 65 miles from Pnompenh where, the Communists say, they will have to become peasants and grow rice.

Roads Abandoned

No one has been excluded—even the very old, the very young, the sick and the wounded have been forced to march—and some clearly will not be strong enough to survive.

The old economy of the cities has been abandoned and

for the moment money means nothing and cannot be spent. Barter has replaced it.

All shops either have been looted by Communist soldiers for such things as watches and transistor radios, or their goods have been taken away in an organized manner to be stored as communal property.

Even the roads that radiate out of the capital and that carried the nation's commerce have been virtually abandoned, and the population along the roads and in outlying

cities has been pushed into the interior.

In the Communist-organized countryside, a 28 truck convoy

of foreigners finally freed by the Khmer Rouge traveled over dirt roads built by hand for use as clandestine supply

routes, some of them only a half mile from main highways.

A Human Carpet

The convoy group saw reservoirs, dikes, bridges — all built with hand tools. No machines or earthmoving equipment were in sight.

In Phnompenh, two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence — walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under

sacks of belongings hastily thrown together when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately.

Despite reports on international news broadcasts that the Communists had evacuated the city by telling people the US was about to bomb it, the departing civilians said they had been given no reason except that the city had to be "reorganized."

Everyone was dispirited and frightened by the unknown that awaited them, and many were plainly terrified because they were soft city people and were sure the trip would kill them.

Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went — limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds.

A foreign doctor offered this explanation for the expulsion of the sick and wounded.

"They could not cope with all the patients — they do not have doctors — so they apparently decided to throw them all out and blame any deaths on the old regime. That way they could start from scratch medically."

Some Western observers felt the exodus approached genocide. One of them, watching from his refuge in the French Embassy compound, said:

"They are crazy! This is pure and simple genocide. They will kill more people this way than if there had been hand to hand fighting in the city."

In the weeks after the Communist victory in Cambodia, there was a sense of split vision — whether to look at events through Western eyes or through what we thought might be Cambodian revolutionary eyes.

Was this just cold brutality, a cruel and sadistic imposition of the law of the jungle, in which only the fittest will survive? Or is it possible that, seen through the eyes of the peasant soldiers and revolutionaries, the forced evacuation of the cities is a harsh necessity?

Perhaps they are convinced that there is no way to build a

new society for the ordinary man, hitherto exploited, without literally starting from the beginning.

The new rulers appear to be remaking Cambodian society in the peasant image, casting aside everything that belonged to the old system, which was generally dominated by the cities and towns and by the elite and merchants who lived there.

With the march underway, a once throbbing city became an echo chamber of silent streets lined with abandoned cars and gaping, empty shops. Streetlights burned eerily for a population that was no longer there.

[The Associated Press reported that many of the returnees described Pnompenh as a "dead city," littered with decomposing bodies and abandoned household goods and populated by a few forlorn pets and a few Khmer Rouge soldiers. One Frenchman said he had seen "several dead bodies rotting in the street. Some of them apparently had been shot, but some had their heads crushed and appeared to have been beaten to death."

[A French doctor reported that former Cambodian Premiers Sirik Matak and Long Boret were executed by a firing squad at the Sports Club opposite the Hotel Phnom. He also said Khmer Rouge forces slit the throats of 300 persons and raped French women.

[Dr. Bernard Piquart, chief surgeon at the Calmette Hospital in Pnompenh, arrived in Thailand on Thursday with the second group of refugees from the French Embassy. He did not say how he had learned of the executions.]

Schanberg reported that on the day the capital fell, angry **Khmer Rouge** soldiers seized him and other reporters and held guns to their heads. He said their lives were saved by Dith Pran, a Cambodian employe of *The Times* who convinced the **Khmer Rouge** after a 2½ hour exchange that the reporters were merely covering the victory and were not enemies.

The day before the **Khmer Rouge** took Pnompenh, the Red Cross turned the Phnom Hotel into a protected international zone and draped it with huge Red Cross flags. But the Communists were not interested.

Troops having guns and rockets forced their way into the grounds and ordered the hotel emptied within 30 minutes. The fastest packing job in history ensued.

Several other reporters and myself were the last ones out, running.

Several days before, word was passed to those foreigners who stayed behind when the Americans pulled out **April** 12 that, as a last resort, one could take refuge at the French Embassy. France had recognized the new government, and it was thought that the new Cambodian leaders would respect the embassy compound as a sanctuary.

[Richard Boyle of United Press International reported that sanitary conditions in the embassy were appalling.

"The fact that only three persons died, two children from sickness and an adult from an emergency operation, was something of a miracle.

["The most serious problem in the first few days was a lack of water. The city water supply had stopped working, and we were reduced to collecting the water that dripped out of the air conditioners, which were still working because the embassy had its own generators.

[More than 1,000 persons had to use the embassy garden as a mass latrine, Royle said. After one week there were clouds of flies buzzing in the compound and the smell was sickening]

Official Word

Bangkok, Thailand—UPI—The New Communist leaders in Cambodia instituted a "sound, clean" social system to repair war damage, Radio Phnompenh said Friday.

The new Cambodia will be predominantly agricultural, broadcasts monitored here said.

"During the time of the war of aggression of the US imperialists and their stooges . . . the Lon Nol Clique . . . produced nothing, either in the agricultural or industrial fields," the radio broadcast said.

The broadcast said Cambodians already had begun to plant the rice crop.

Sydney H. Schanberg refused evacuation from Cambodia in the US airlift in mid-April and spent 13 days as a refugee in the French Embassy in Phnompenh after the Communist takeover April 17. Although he arrived in Thailand several days ago, he and other correspondents who were released agreed not to write of their experiences until the **Khmer Rouge** had released all foreigners in the country.

Power Shifts in Cambodia

From Press Dispatches

Bangkok, Thailand - There has been some kind of power realignment in Communist Cambodia, but its character cannot be ascertained here.

Two Khmer Rouge leaders believed to belong to a pro-Hanoi faction have been named vice premiers of the Royal Cambodian Government of National Union (GRUNK), according to a broadcast by Pnompenh radio monitored here Wednesday.

They will work alongside Khmer Rouge strong man Khieu Samphan, who is also a vice premier of GRUNK, the broadcast said. The two new ministers were identified as

Ieng Sary, who will concentrate on foreign affairs, and Son Sen, chief of staff of the Khmer Rouge forces, who will work with Khieu Samphan on defense questions, the broadcast said.

Khieu Samphan is minister of defense, commander in chief of the Khmer Rouge armed forces and acting premier.

There have been reports from refugees arriving in Thailand that he has fallen from power and been placed under house arrest.

The broadcast said the decree nominating the two new vice premiers had been signed by Cambodian Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk and by Penn Nouth, premier of

GRUNK. Prince Sihanouk is in Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, while Penn Nouth was last reported to be in China and in poor health.

But the appointees are well known opponents of Sihanouk, who has not returned to Pnompenh since the Communist victory.

Son Sen, 44, is a former Pnompenh high school teacher. His family came from South Vietnam and belongs to the minority Cambodian community there. Ieng Sary, 45, was born in northern Cambodia of Vietnamese origin and served as a link between the Khmer Rouge and Hanoi and Peking.

Other Indochina developments:

A second evacuation flight from Saigon arrived in Bangkok Thursday with 77 persons, continuing the exodus of thousands of foreigners from South Vietnam.

St. Petersburg Times - Apr 5, 1976

Sihanouk Resigns as Cambodian leader

United Press International

BANGKOK, Thailand — Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia has resigned as chief of state and will be pensioned off at \$8,000 a year, Radio Phnom Penh said Monday.

Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, in a lengthy speech to the nation, said the prince will live forever in Cambodia, and a large statue of Sihanouk will be erected, presumably in Phnom Penh.

Until the broadcast, Sihanouk had been chief of state of the Communist country, living in the former royal palace. Last month, he was host to foreign delegations from Peking.

THE BROADCAST, monitored in Bangkok, apparently marked the end of a long and colorful career for Sihanouk.

Under the Cambodian constitution, the National Assembly will choose an executive committee to replace him.

Rumors that Sihanouk was dissatisfied with the new government made the rounds last spring after he returned to Phnom Penh following the Communist Khmer Rouge victory last April 17.

Sihanouk supporters said the prince was appalled at the suffering of the people under the new government and saddened by the transformation of Cambodia into a totalitarian state.

THE PRINCE himself denied this, and made a world tour before returning to Phnom Penh to live last autumn.

Sihanouk was the leading spokesman for the Communists during his five-year exile in Peking after pro-American leaders deposed him March 18, 1970.

He had been a fiery nationalist trying to keep his nation out of the sphere of influence of any major power, but the March 18, 1970 coup in which he was deposed by Lon Nol left him no choice but to accept exile in Peking.

DESPITE THIS, he was an anti-Communist and sometimes a vocal one, who threatened on more than one occasion to expel members of his own country's Communist Party unless they cooperated with his efforts to build a "democratic, socialist and nationalist" regime.

He had explained his alliance with a Communist power by saying, "I wouldn't bet a dime on the American horse in Southeast Asia."

Envoy: U.S. urged Sihanouk to regain power in Cambodia

By NICHOLAS DANILOFF

United Press International

WASHINGTON — When he ruled Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk denounced the United States for its "imperialistic actions" as he tiptoed a tight rope that kept the shooting war out of his kingdom.

It turns out that the United States quietly encouraged Sihanouk to leave exile in Peking and seek power again in his embattled country during the final months of the Khmer Republic.

SIHANOUK was ousted in a coup in March 1970. There were rumors the CIA was involved, but this was never confirmed.

Last week, the U.S. ambassador who evacuated Phnom Penh on April 12, 1975, as the Communist Khmer Rouge closed in on the capital revealed details of American initiatives that were made partly through George Bush, then the chief American diplomat in Peking, and now CIA director.

"Sihanouk at first was interested, and then he was less interested," Ambassador John Gunther Dean told a House International Relations subcommittee. "Sihanouk at last answered he did not wish to come back under these circumstances" (the advance of the Khmer Rouge).

Previously, the State Department had acknowledged only the United States sought to open a dialogue with Sihanouk in Peking during December 1974, and reached a dead end in February 1975, when Sihanouk failed to reply.

ASKED BY Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-

Ind., what lesson was to be drawn from the collapse of U.S. intervention in Indochina and the failure of Congress to continue supplying Cambodia with arms, Dean replied, "A foreign policy, to be meaningful, must have the support of the people."

The ambassador also disclosed that Prince Siriki Matak, who served as head of government at one point during the war, had rejected his invitation for a place on an evacuation helicopter in a letter that poignantly summed up the feelings of many pro-American Cambodians. The letter read:

"Dear excellency and friend:

"I thank you very sincerely for your letter and for your offer to transport me towards freedom. I cannot, alas, leave in such a cowardly fashion.

"AS FOR YOU, and in particular for your great country, I never believed for a moment that you have this sentiment of abandoning a people which has chosen liberty.

"You have refused us your protection and we can do nothing about it. You leave, and my wish is that you and your country will find happiness under the sky.

"But mark it well that if I shall die here on the spot in my country that I love, that it is too bad because we are all born and must die one day. I have only committed this mistake of believing in you, the Americans . . ."

Matak was last seen by foreigners who sought refuge in the French Embassy. He was being driven away by Khmer Rouge guerrillas. He was executed.

A Sad glimpse of Sihanouk filters through the curtain
St Petersburg Times Friday August 12, 1977

Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, a round little man whose squeaky voice was seldom silent, used to tell visitors during his exile in Peking that when the Cambodian Communists did not need him any longer, "they will simply spit me out."

They did just that, but apparently not all the way out. From neighboring Thailand this week came a report that Sihanouk and his wife Princess Monique, are living under guard at the old royal palace in Phnom Penh and forbidden to leave the country.

The report from the Thai military command was unsourced, but it is consistent with the stories brought out of Cambodia by defectors. The last official word about Sihanouk was in April 1976 when it was announced that he had resigned as head of state and was being pensioned off with the equivalent of \$8,000 a year.

It was an act of patriotism — as well as perhaps of foolishness — when Sihanouk went back to Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge took over in 1975. He clearly foresaw his fate when he talked to us in 1972 in the graceful high-ceilinged drawing room of what once was the French Embassy residence in Peking.

He talked about many things in a torrent as a Cambodian woman glided in and out serving delicacies. It is hard to imagine the schedule, voluble Sihanouk now being cooped up, cut off and silenced.

Even yet, we do not know very much about what is happening behind the curtain around Cambodia. The best estimates are that 250,000 people may have died in the process of transforming the country into the most radical communistic society in the world. There is no lack of horror stories from refugees.

Lately Cambodia has made several brutal attacks on Thai border villages. There are intelligence reports of clashes on its borders with its communists neighbors, Vietnam and Laos, too.

Sihanouk is one of the personal tragedies in the greater tragedy that the United States has reason to feel with heavy heart.

St. Petersburg Times May 1, 1978

Cambodia: a modern-day 'Holocaust'

By JACK ANDERSON
United Feature Syndicate

WASHINGTON — There is another holocaust story, every bit as stark as the recent TV saga, which should be rubbed into the world's conscience.

Holocaust dramatized the ordeal of the Jews who were brutalized and massacred by the Nazis 40 years ago. We have compiled an equally staggering story of the horrors that are going on inside Cambodia today.

The Nazis began the systematic slaughter of all Jews under their control. The Cambodian communists are trying to eradicate not a race but a culture. They are engaged in a deliberate, disciplined campaign to remake the society from the ground up. Intelligence reports tell of "completing the execution of all people who are not from the poor farmer-working class."

SIX-MILLION Jews perished under the Nazi heel; this was more than six per cent of occupied Europe. There has been no body count of how many Cambodians have died from mistreatment and execution. Competent sources have offered estimates ranging from 1.8-million to 2.5-million — about one-third of the 7-million people who formerly inhabited Cambodia.

The Nazis tried to conceal their monstrous crime from the world. They used such euphemisms as "resettlement," "removal" and "special action" to describe the mass executions. The Cambodian comrades also have their special vocabulary. A former communist official, who has participated in the killings, told U.S. intelligence sources:

"The Khmer word for 'kill, assassinate, execute' was never spoken when the annihilation policy was discussed. The Khmer term used was *baoh caol* — literally 'sweep, throw out' or 'sweep, discard'; or *baoh s'aad*, literally 'sweep clean.'"

The Nazis used firing squads and gas chambers to exterminate the Jews. In Cambodia, the communists began with firing squads. But they decided that bullets were too precious to waste on their victims. So hundreds of thousands were simply bludgeoned to death and buried in mass graves.

The favorite weapon of extermination in Cambodia has become the garden hoe. The same grisly report keeps recurring in intelligence dispatches: "Each man was blindfolded, led to the edge of a ditch and beaten to death with a hoe."

THE BRUTALITY began even before the communists swept to victory in Cambodia. Some of the last classified cables from the U.S. embassy reported that communist guerrillas had turned upon the civilian population with a sudden savagery. "The attacks are seen by the refugees as enemy punishment inflicted upon them for rejecting KCP (Khmer Communist Party) offers to come over to the KCP side," alleged one of the final cables.

The communists swarmed over the capital city of Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975. The wholesale slaughter began on the same day. It was not the ravages of undisciplined troops gone wild. Rather, it was the calculated, cold-blooded policy of the communist conquerors to eradicate all vestiges of the existing social order.

"The KCP rationale is to completely rid the society of all elements which are not of the lower social class," according to a former communist official.

The communists were told by their leaders that former government and military personnel were "spoiled rotten" and had to be "swept out." Declared a defector to U.S. authorities: "KCP members have been told that the party views these people as an unreliable and dangerous element that would, if kept within Cambodian society, pose a serious threat to the party and the people at some future time. Party members have been told that this element must be swept out, swept clean."

OFFICERS OF the former army were the first to die. "The KCP simultaneously began executing all wealthy farmers, prostitutes,

high-level monks, teachers, fortune tellers, former enlisted men and civil servants."

Nor were their families spared. An intelligence report states grimly: "Entire families were ordered executed because the surviving spouses and children would harbor resentment toward the government and would only create problems in the future."

The crude bludgeonings continued for more than a year. "Toward the latter part of 1976," the intelligence reports claim, "the search for an execution of old society people slackened off. In April, 1977, however . . . it once again became a primary party activity to search out and eliminate the last vestiges of the old society."

The most recent cable we have seen on this subject was dated Feb. 13, 1978. It declares tersely: "A renewed emphasis was placed on completely eliminating all vestiges of the former government and completing the executions of all people who were not from the poor farmer-working class."

THIS ATTEMPT to establish a new order by mass murder was supposed to be kept out of the history books. The communists tried, with frightening success, to hide their horrors from the world. They have sealed off their country tightly. The borders are mined and patrolled.

Yet a few refugees managed to escape, some after harrowing experiences. Less than two months after the communist takeover, we were able to get enough eyewitness accounts to report on June 4, 1975: "It appears that the Khmer Rouge, as the Cambodian communists call themselves, may be guilty of genocide against their own people."

Now we have compiled intelligence reports and eyewitness accounts two inches thick. The evidence is overwhelming. It is the world's most hideous story about the world's most brutal dictatorship. Every American with a conscience should cry out to the United Nations, to the White House, to Congress, to condemn Communist Cambodia.