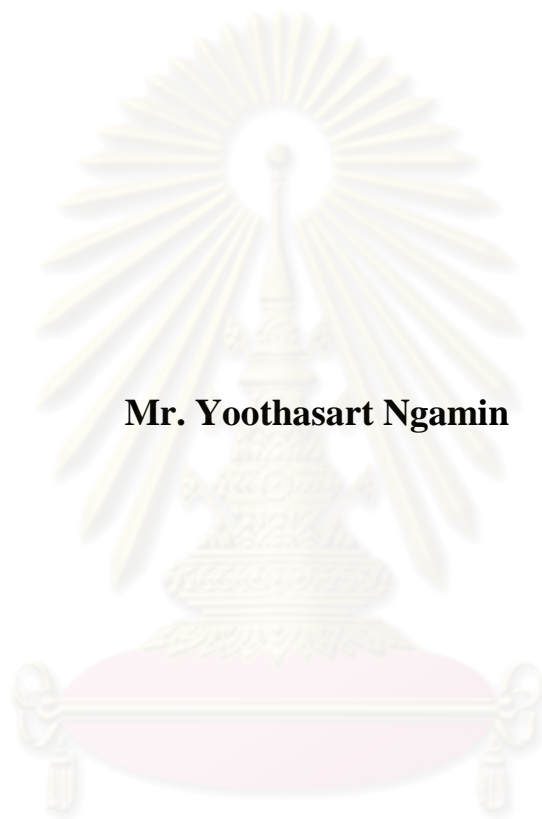


WORLD POLITICS AND STATE BUILDING OF CAMBODIA

BY KING NORODOM SIHANOUK IN 1953-1970



Mr. Yoothasart Ngamin

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Southeast Asian Studies
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การเมืองโลกกับการสร้างรัฐของกัมพูชาโดยกษัตริย์นโรดม สีหนุ
ในช่วงปี ค.ศ.1953-1970



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ศูนย์วิทยพัทยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)

บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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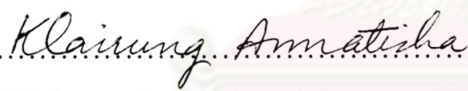
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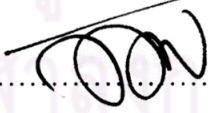
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..... Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Pornpote Piumsomboon, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE


..... Chairman
(Klairung Amratisha, Ph.D.)


..... Thesis Advisor
(Assistant Professor Theera Nuchpam, Ph.D.)


..... External Examiner
(Professor Ang Choulean, Ph.D.)

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การศึกษาการเมืองโลกกับการสร้างรัฐของกัมพูชาโดย กษัตริย์นโรดม สีหนุ ในช่วง ปี ค.ศ. 1953 - 1970 อธิบายรูปแบบใหม่ของการเมืองโลกหลังสงครามโลกครั้งที่สองในรูปแบบ สงครามเย็น และอิทธิพลของสงครามเย็นในการสร้างรัฐกัมพูชา ในสงครามเย็นมีการแข่งขัน ระหว่างสองขั้วอำนาจทางการเมือง ซึ่งฝ่ายอิสระ นำโดย สหรัฐอเมริกา ส่วนฝ่ายคอมมิวนิสต์ นำโดย สหภาพโซเวียตและสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน

หลังจากกัมพูชาได้รับเอกราชจากการปกครองของฝรั่งเศส กษัตริย์นโรดม สีหนุ ต้อง สร้างรัฐโดยใช้ลักษณะทางการเมืองของตนจัดการการเมืองภายในประเทศกัมพูชาและ การเมืองโลก การพัฒนาด้านการเมืองและเศรษฐกิจมีความสำคัญต่อการสร้างรัฐ กษัตริย์สีหนุ พัฒนาการเมืองกัมพูชาโดยใช้นโยบายความเป็นกลางในการเมืองโลก ซึ่งการศึกษาพบว่า

- สงครามเย็นนำภัยคอมมิวนิสต์มาสู่กัมพูชาซึ่งทำให้กัมพูชากลายเป็นรัฐกั้นชน ระหว่างกลุ่มอิสระกับกลุ่มคอมมิวนิสต์
- ความเป็นกลางของกัมพูชาเปิดโอกาสแก่การคุกคามจากต่างชาติในรูปกองทุน ช่วยเหลือ กองทุนช่วยเหลือจากต่างชาติส่งผลกระทบต่อการเมืองภายในของ กัมพูชา
- ลักษณะทางการเมืองของกษัตริย์สีหนุมีรูปแบบผสมระหว่างเผด็จการชาตินิยม และประชาธิปไตย นอกจากนั้นท่านพยายามถ่วงดุลอำนาจระหว่างกลุ่มอิสระกับ กลุ่มคอมมิวนิสต์
- เนื่องจากกลุ่มชาติมหาอำนาจในการเมือง โลกมีอิทธิพลต่อเหตุการณ์ภายใน กัมพูชา ส่งผลให้รัฐบาลของสีหนุถูกล้ม โดยการทำรัฐประหารในปี ค.ศ.1970 เมื่อ รัฐบาลในฐานะสถาบันทางการเมืองถูกล้ม การสร้างรัฐของกัมพูชาจึงล้มเหลว

สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา ลายมือชื่อนิสิต

ปีการศึกษา 2552

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....

ยุทธศาสตร์ งามอินทร์

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YOOTHASART NGAMIN: WORLD POLITICS AND STATE BUILDING OF
CAMBODIA BY KING NORODOM SIHANOUK IN 1953-1970.

THESIS ADVISOR: ASST. PROF.THEERA NUCHPIAM, Ph.D.108 pp.

This study of world politics and state-building of Cambodia by King Norodom Sihanouk from 1953-1970 explains a new form of world politics after World War II which was followed by the Cold War and its influence on state-building of Cambodia. The Cold War brought a competition of two political spheres – namely, the free world led by the United States of America and the communist camp led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People’s Republic of China.

After Cambodia gained independence from France, King Norodom Sihanouk had to build his state by using his political style to deal with both Cambodia’s domestic politics and world politics. Both political and economic developments are important to state-building. Sihanouk attempted at state-building of Cambodia by adopting a neutrality policy in world politics. The following are main findings of this study:

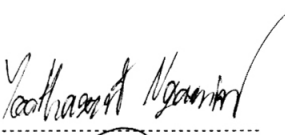

- When the Cold War came to Southeast Asia, Cambodia became a buffer between the Free World and the communist camp.
- Sihanouk hoped that the adoption of neutrality would prevent Cambodia from foreign intervention, which usually came in the form of foreign aid, among others.
- Sihanouk had a flexible political style which was a combination of an authoritarian and a democrat. In addition, he attempted to balance the power of the Free World and the communism.
- The influence of world politics on Cambodia’s domestic affairs made its decisive impact when Sihanouk was toppled by the coup in 1970 which transformed the country from a constitutional monarchy into a republic. The end of Sihanouk’s rule marked the failure of his effort at state-building in Cambodia.

Field of Study : Southeast Asian Studies

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Student’s Signature

Advisor’s Signature

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จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CONTENTS

Abstract (Thai).....	iv
Abstract (English).....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Contents.....	vii
Lists of Tables.....	ix
Lists of Figures.....	x
Chapter I Introduction.....	1
1.1 Rationale.....	1
1.2 Research Questions.....	6
1.3 Objectives.....	6
1.4 Hypothesis/Arguments.....	7
1.5 Methodology.....	7
1.6 Conceptual Framework of state-building analysis.....	8
Chapter II “State-building”- The Theory and its application to Cambodia.....	14
2.1 The origin of the concept of “State-building”.....	14
2.2 Post Colonial politics and the Third World	22
2.3 The impact of the Cold War on the concept of state-building.....	26
Chapter III The emergence of the Cold War in Indochina and Cambodia	35
3.1 Pre-colonialism: State-building in Cambodian history	35
3.2 French Protectorate.....	39
3.3 Nationalism took root in Cambodia	40
3.4 The Emergence of Cold War in Indochina and Cambodia.....	44
Chapter IV State-building of Cambodia by King Norodom Sihanouk in 1953-1970.....	46
4.1 The Royal Crusade for Independence	47
4.2 The Cambodian Independence and the Geneva Conference	54
4.3 The Abdication of King Sihanouk and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum.....	58

4.4 The Cambodian Non-alignment in World Politics.....	61
4.5 The Chief of State	64
4.6 The Decline of the Chief of State	65
4.7 The Overthrown	68
Chapter V Findings and analysis: The challenge of state-building of Cambodia.....	72
5.1 Economic and Military Aids to Cambodia.....	72
5.2 Political Struggle for Cambodia.....	77
5.3 Neutrality as a chance of intervention.....	77
5.4 Cambodia's State-building: a challenge of history in Contemporary period.....	80
5.5 Peripheral state's externally dependent state-building enterprise.....	81
5.6 Political style of Sihanouk.....	82
5.7 The Sangkum Reastr Niyum: the Golden State-building period	86
5.8 The National Congress: A parallel Congress	92
5.9 The unofficial relationship between World politics and Cambodian domestic politics.....	93
Chapter VI Conclusion.....	100
6.1 Conclusion.....	100
Reference.....	103
Biography.....	108

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

LISTS OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: The Capacity Comparison in the case of Cambodia.....	75
Table 2: Foreign Aid (Economic and Military) to Cambodia 1955-1964.....	76
Table 3: National Education.....	88
Table 4: Cooperative.....	88
Table 5: Industry.....	89
Table 6: Water Policy.....	89
Table 7: Agriculture.....	90
Table 8: Public Health.....	90
Table 9: Sport.....	91



 ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
 จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

LISTS OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Cambodia between many Conflicts.....	12
Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of Relationship between World Politics and Cambodia Domestic Politics through Norodom Sihanouk.....	13



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“A new kind of politics had overtaken and replaced the less robust constitution variety that had endured by fits and starts since 1947. Politics in Cambodia after 1955 were characterized for many years by Sihanouk’s monopoly of political power and the emergence of Cambodia onto the international stage. Sihanouk’s style was widely popular, and the kingdom prospered. ”

(Chandler, 2003: 189)

1.1 Rationale

Colonialism brought the French to Asia, especially Southeast Asia. The French established their colonial regime in the area called Indo-China of which Cambodia formed a part. Cambodia was under French rule for nearly a century – from 1863 to 1953. Important changes took place in Cambodia with the emergence of nationalist movements, especially those led by Son Ngoc Thanh, an important political figure, and King Norodom Sihanouk, who embarked on his Royal Crusade for Independence.

The French had been weakened after World War II; Cambodia thus had a chance to gain independence. The Royal Crusade for Independence led by King Sihanouk significantly contributed to this struggle for independence. After gaining independence from France in 1953, Cambodia was in a transition period from a colonized state to a potentially stable one. When the Cold War came to Asia, King Norodom Sihanouk, in his effort to build Cambodia as a stable modern state, sought to steer his country away from its influence.

However, given the predominance of world politics during that time, Cambodia fell into the whirlwind of the Cold War conflicts. Not only did she have to cope with great-power influence, but she also faced the threats from her neighbors -- Thailand and South Vietnam.

Su-Hoon Lee (1988) advanced a theory of state-building in a Third World country by proposing the idea that factors relevant to building the state are those relating to its internal capacities. However, the interaction of the Third World states with external powers leads to the issue of relationship between domestic and world politics. Like all other states, a Third World state must not only manage its internal affairs but also pursue its interests abroad, thus interacting with other states. This means, in essence, a dynamic interaction between its domestic politics and external influences.

In accordance with Lee, Chai-Anan Samudavanija (2002) also focuses on the internal factors. In his view legitimacy is a very important factor in state-building for Third World states. He has noted that the encompassing legitimacy formula forces rulers of Third World states to express concern for two other dimensions of the political systems -- development and participation -- which are significant in the twentieth century. These two dimensions significantly determine whether or not the ruler succeeds in achieving political legitimacy. If the ruler is successful, the situation of the country will be better. So it is appropriate that the ruler keep following their commitment to their people. In particular, a substantial part of the ruler's political power of comes from the support of the people. To increase the support of people is to open the way for citizens to fully participate in the country's political life which includes participation in its economic development efforts. Indeed, to bring success to the country, the ruler has to achieve its stable economic status, and its security will follow as a consequence.

In the Third World, development and participation are assumed to provide a crucial foundation for the state and state-building. State-building in the Third World is a complicated process, as compared with the power of an absolutist ruler in Europe in consolidating his kingdom. Without interference from the escalating demands for political participation and economic redistribution, the European rulers could single-mindedly pursue their goal of state building. The national wealth was one of the goals for European rulers, which became the strategy for the centralization of their rule. The European rulers used their centralized rule to impose control over economic resources for state-building. The quick economic growth of Europe created a social-welfare

state system that served to provide legitimacy for political rule. Economic and political development in Europe later provided a model for state-building in the Third World, where three issues are specifically relevant, namely, security, development, and participation. Chai-Anan Samudavanija has used SPD to stand for these three issues: S for security, P for participation, and D for development (Chai-Ana Samudavannija, 2002: 11).

While state-building was Cambodia's most important concern after independence, inside the country there were conflicting nationalist movements and disagreements among politicians. There were several groups and movements in Cambodia, each with its own idea of how the country should be governed. Moreover, each group of movement was also affiliated with the two power camps in world politics -- the free world and communism.

In early days of Cambodian independence, the politics of the country was under a transitional period. The struggle for independence led by Norodom Sihanouk was focused on soliciting support from other states. However, in the aftermath of World War II, the advent of the Cold War complicated his post-independence effort to build Cambodia as a modern state. The Cold War was characterized by the polarization of the world into two ideological camps each of which was led a super-power. The United State of America led the "Free World", while the Soviet Union was the leader of the communist camp. In this external context, Cambodia was considered as a newly independent state of the world in which development was one of the most important issues. After independence from France, Cambodia thus found itself in the middle of these two opposing political camps. Geographically, Cambodia shared borders with Thailand and South Vietnam that were both in the Free World, while, on the other side, it was flanked by North Vietnam and China that were part of the communist world. Moreover, Cambodia maintained close relationship with France, under which it had been a protectorate for a long time. In this external environment, it was difficult for the Cambodian leader to lead his country along a stable path towards state-building.

In order to maintain the independence of the country, Norodom Sihanouk as the King of Cambodia at that time adopted non-alignment in world politics. Nophadol

Chartprasert (Nophadol Chartprasert, 1997) suggested that Cambodian non-alignment was the way of preserving autonomy in foreign affairs by not aligning the country with any political camp. However, the escalation of the Vietnam War eventually brought an end to Cambodian non-alignment.

Basically, Cambodian politics was based on the voice of peasantry whose support Sihanouk enjoyed. As Osborne (Osborne, 1973) has noted in his study of Cambodian politics in the 1950s-1960s, Sihanouk enjoyed huge popularity among the peasants. When some of Cambodia's elites disagreed with and acted against him, there was apparently some peasants' passive reaction on Sihanouk's behalf. In addition, the military was under the influence of the elite groups – that eventually toppled Sihanouk in a coup. Apart from the complicated Cambodian politics, Osborne also mentioned the coming of the Cold War to this region – which further complicated his political rule and relations with the outside world.

King Norodom Sihanouk, in particular, had to deal with both domestic conflict and conflict in world politics, seeking the way to manage the influence of external politics on domestic politics with a view to building Cambodia as a potentially stable state. King Norodom Sihanouk had an important role not only when he was the king but also when he was just the prince who later became a politician serving as the chief of the state.

Sihanouk had, in other words, to mediate between influences on both the external and internal fronts. This situation had a crucial impact on his state-building task. In trying to build a modern state out of a colonized state, he faced the influence from the outside as well as inside Cambodia. The end of the Sihanouk period eventually led to a civil war.

This study is focusing on the state-building of Cambodia in the period of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The domestic politics of Cambodia at that time was unstable because of its internal conflict, while the Vietnam War made it increasingly difficult for him to maintain political stability at home and to steer a stable course of foreign policy. The idea proposed by this study is that while accepting political difficulties at home, it was the pressure from outside the country that most

significantly destabilized his rule. Even the coup that brought an end to it in March 1970 was influenced by external factors.

This study will be divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, the main idea is to provide fundamental knowledge about state-building through the examples of certain Third World countries. Cambodia at that time was considered one of the Third World countries (Pipes, 2001). Upon gaining independence in the midst of the Cold War, Cambodia adopted the non-alignment policy which is also explained in this chapter in the light of the coming of the Cold War to this region.

The second chapter gives an account of the transition period of Cambodia. The history of Cambodia before gaining independence from France will be elucidated, especially in the light of the nationalist movements, which were led by both Cambodian scholars and King Norodom Sihanouk himself. The king led a “Royal Crusade for Independence” to its eventual success.

The third chapter focuses on the argument about the linkage between world politics and Cambodian politics. This chapter also examines the change that took place after independence, together with the policies, domestic and foreign, that were adopted. There were some studies of Cambodian politics that argue that Norodom Sihanouk was the person who brought the downturn to Cambodian politics that ended with the *coup d'état* (Osbourne, 1973). The argument of this study, however, is that Norodom Sihanouk was the person who had to deal with the influence from world politics on Cambodian domestic politics. With the relationship and support from external powers, domestic politics of Cambodia was driven to the end because Sihanouk could no longer maintain its stability by his power management.

The fourth and final chapter argues how Cambodia represents a newly independent state that failed in its state-building effort because of the influence of world politics. The analysis of the study will be summed up in this chapter. Significantly, it will be argued that the conflict in world politics significantly complicates, or even obstructs, the transformation of a developing country into a stable state.

In short, in focusing on the state-building of Cambodia in the period of King Norodom Sihanouk, this study seeks to demonstrate that while the king had to cope with unstable domestic politics resulting from the country's internal conflict, the Vietnam War made it increasingly difficult for him to maintain political stability at home and to steer a stable course of foreign policy. However, as has been indicated, the idea proposed by this study is that while accepting political difficulties at home, it was the pressure from outside the country that most significantly destabilized his rule. Even the *coup* that brought an end to it in March 1970 was influenced by external factors.

1.2 Research Questions

What did King Norodom Sihanouk do in his attempt to build Cambodia after gaining independence from France in 1953 until 1970?

How was Cambodia's internal politics influenced by world politics during that time period?

How did King Norodom Sihanouk manage the influence of world politics on Cambodia's internal politics?

To what extent were world politics a factor explaining the failure of state building in Cambodia during King Norodom Sihanouk's period?

1.3 Objectives

The main objectives of this thesis are:

- To study the influence of World Politics on Cambodian domestic politics in the King Norodom Sihanouk period, that is after gaining independence from France in 1953 until 1970.
- To study the political acting style of King Norodom Sihanouk as the actor in dealing with world politics and internal political conflicts.
- To evaluate the ways in which international politics led to the failure of state building in Cambodia during the period of King Norodom Sihanouk.

1.4 Hypothesis/Arguments

After gaining independence from France in 1953, Cambodia was in the process of transformation from dependency to a potentially stable state. During this period Cambodia was caught in the midst of the Cold War that undermined political stability in Cambodia. King Norodom Sihanouk, the leader at the time, tried to build the nation by dealing with both world politics and Cambodian domestic politics. King Sihanouk attempted to use the legitimacy he received from the Geneva Agreement 1954 to rule his country with a democratic government of his own model. The way he managed the country was complicated as a result of his switching position from that of a king to that of a politician. The position of King Norodom Sihanouk was not clear, and the situation in Cambodia was not stable. The coming of the Cold War to this region created difficulty in Cambodia as the country was in the middle of two different political spheres. Later on King Norodom Sihanouk leaned more heavily towards the communist side. In the end of his period as leader of his country, he failed to bring the stability to Cambodia due to the influence from world politics. Finally Cambodia fell to the Pol Pot Regime.

1.5 Methodology

The research methodology for this study is based on qualitative analysis. With its focus on past events, historical approach is relied on for data analysis. The main technique is documentary research. Various published sources in English, Thai and Khmer, such as books, articles, magazines and news papers, are relied upon. Moreover, the CDs, VCDs, DVDs and information from reliable Internet websites are also used as sources of data.

The scope of this study covers the period from 1953 to 1970, that is, from the time when King Norodom Sihanouk brought independence to Cambodia to the fall of his rule in 1970. This period was followed by a civil war and the coming to the power of the Khmer Rouge.

With independence from France in 1953, Cambodia was in a transition period from a colonized state to potentially stable state until the political system changed and its political institutions were wiped out by the new regime of Pol Pot, which started in 1975.

1.6 Conceptual Framework of state-building analysis

1.6.1 State-building

Since Cambodia during the Sihanouk period was in a phase of transformation, the theory of state-building should be used as basis for understanding Cambodian. Consequently, this research will be shaped by the term of State-building in Su-Hoon Lee's studies and they will be applied to this research analysis (Lee, 1988). Lee has advanced a theory of State-Building in which two issues need to be clarified: (a) the issue of power of the state defined internally versus externally, and (b) the issue of what is meant by state capacities. In terms of world politics, the state's effort to regulate its relations with external world has been a persistent theme of the state.

In order to be a powerful state, a state needs to have a large share of the world market, great military, solid alliance network, and other assets that would allow it to exert influence in the international arena in general, and on other individual states in particular. However, in general the distribution of global power and influence is unequal. Generally, the core countries have strong state power vis-à-vis other countries, particularly those on the periphery of the world system. Though there are semi-peripheral countries, in this regard those belonging to an intermediate category, it is the Third World states in Lee's study that are fundamentally weak.

Lee found that the peripheral states have strengthened their relative power vis-à-vis their society primarily through their structural relation to the outside world. The status of the state as the gatekeeper regulating relations with the external world has provided it with a locus of power precisely in that role, and state-building is in a sense necessitated by this need to deal with the international pressures of world politics. For a peripheral state, the key to state-building lies in this internal-external nexus: it is its weakness vis-à-vis the external world that complicates its state-building effort.

This is certainly not to deny the significance of internal factors – particularly the role of political elites in the country. In Cambodia, the political power of the state has been in the hands of a small group of people. Apart from King Sihanouk himself, the military elites could contribute to the strengthening the power of the state and help

in state building (Lee, 1988). Since state-building as the process of development is directly concerned with political development, so the process of establishing the state depends on the political aspects that are used. Politically, the style of conflict management that the leader of the country adopts depends on their political challenges. Robert A. Dahl (Dahl, 1984) has advanced four categories of these political aspects which always be used by the leader of the country;

1. A democracy is a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is widely shared among all adult citizens.
2. A dictatorship is a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is restricted to a few.
3. Capitalism is an economic system in which most major economics activities are performed by privately owned and controlled firms.
4. Socialism is an economic system which most major activities are performed by agencies owned by the government or society.

Analyzing the system is difficult. Dahl noted that system is an abstract way of looking at concrete things. In accordance with Dahl's structure, a system is an aspect of things in some degree abstracted from reality for the purposes of analysis. In order to evaluate the political system in state-building by Norodom Sihanouk in 1953-1970 one must consider his purpose in proposing each policy or effort to deal with each situation which occurred in that period. Sihanouk as the leader was the person who ruled Cambodia and responded to the effects of World Politics on his state.

This study will analyze the style of Sihanouk as an important political figure who had power and who was the leader of Cambodia for both domestic politics and Cambodia's role in World Politics. The reason that Sihanouk himself and his period were important is because of the intervention of the super-powers in Cambodia driven by the Cold War. Interestingly, the Cold War as an evolution of World Politics expanded influence into the regional and domestic politics of each particular state, especially Cambodia.

1.6.2 Cambodia's domestic and foreign policy on the world stage

The study of Cambodian foreign policy in the period of Sihanouk is very important for this research, because as the ruler of Cambodia during that time he had almost total control over this policy. Indeed, Sihanouk played a crucial role not only in domestic politics but also in world politics. The policy he pursued was non-alignment in the Cold War. The study of Nophadol Chartprasert gave a significant view on how Sihanouk dealt with world politics that was dominated at that time by the Cold War.

Nophadol Chartprasert has made a distinction between (a) Neutrality in international Laws and (b) Neutrality in World Politics (Nophadol Chartprasert, 1997: 12). Neutrality in terms of International Law means the status of the third country that is not formally allied with any party in a war. The neutral status of the third country must have been accepted or guaranteed from the belligerents. With such declared neutrality, the third country deserves rights and duties associated with it as a non-party to the war.

On the other hand, the meaning of neutrality in International Laws has another meaning, which is the Neutralization. In this respect, neutralization means neutralism which is a result of international agreement, such as in the case of Austria, which was neutralized by the State Treaty of May 1955. Under this treaty, the Austria was forbidden from being unified with Germany or restoring the Habsburgs; the treaty also provided safeguards for Austria's Croat and Slovene minorities. Austrian neutrality and a ban on foreign military bases in Austria were later incorporated into the Austrian constitution by the Law of October 26, 1955. The 40,000 Soviet troops in Austria were withdrawn by late September. The small number of Western troops that remained was withdrawn by late October. In a timeline fashion neutralism was imposed on Laos through the Geneva Conference in 1954. Laos as a part of Indochina would be a neutral country and no country was supposed to use Laos as the base for attacking other countries (Nophadol Chartprasert, 1997).

According to Nophadol, neutrality in World Politics was defined in the Cold War period by the Third World group which comprised of countries in Asia and

Africa. In this interpretation, these countries adopted a non-alignment policy to avoid being formally aligned with any political sphere. However, the Policy of Non-alignment that the Third World countries adopted was not recognized by International Laws, so they could change or reinterpret it at anytime. Even though, they adopted a non-alignment policy, they could use their diplomatic policy to cooperate with each of world superpowers.

The type of relationship between the peripheral countries and superpowers was noted in three different categories;

- Intense system, in which the conflict between peripheral countries and the superpower is caused by the focal issue of the region. For example, the superpower takes benefits from the small countries and also has strong influence on them. Meanwhile, the small countries could not have any way to seek help from an outsider.
- Moderate system, in which the relationship was caused by the Cold War conflict. The peripheral countries in this system tried to convince the superpower of the desirability of coming into relationship with them in order to gain benefits. For example, Thailand agreed to come into alliance with the United States of America with a view to preventing the expansion of Communism. In this system, the peripheral countries had more autonomy in pursuing their foreign policy than those in the previous system.
- Partial linkages, whereby the peripheral countries and the superpower did not have any conflict or any relationship in Cold War but they shared common characteristics – historical, racial, religious, etc., for example, the relationship between Great Britain and her colonies, or India and Sri Lanka.

In the challenges of two political spheres of the Cold War, Cambodia was under the pressure in which she had to seek a way to survive from intervention of either sphere. In this respect, Cambodia adopted the Non-Aligned Movement at Bandung Conference which later affected Cambodia foreign policy. Since Cambodia was in the area in which two political spheres exercised their power, Cambodia became a frontier state. Michael Partem (Partem, 1983) called this status “a buffer

state” in his article of *the Buffer System in International Relations*. In this study, the buffer system is used to further analyze Cambodia foreign policy and also the political style of Norodom Sihanouk in World Politics.

Partem defined the “buffer state” as a small independent state lying between two larger, usually rival, states or blocs of states (Partem, 1983: 4). Even though the definition was not concerned with the influence from outside, still geography was considered as a defining fact. In accordance with the geopolitics, Cambodia was a buffer state lying between the two political spheres. Politically, we could consider a buffer state as an independent state located between the expansive influences of international political powers. In the case of Cambodia, the expansion of power from her neighbors that made her a frontier state was a controversial issue. When the Cold War was introduced to the kingdom, unfortunately Cambodia remained a frontier for the clash of World Politics. Partem drew the diagram of Cambodia as a buffer state in the Cold War which sheds light on the multiple influences. This diagram is used in this study as a conceptual framework of analysis.

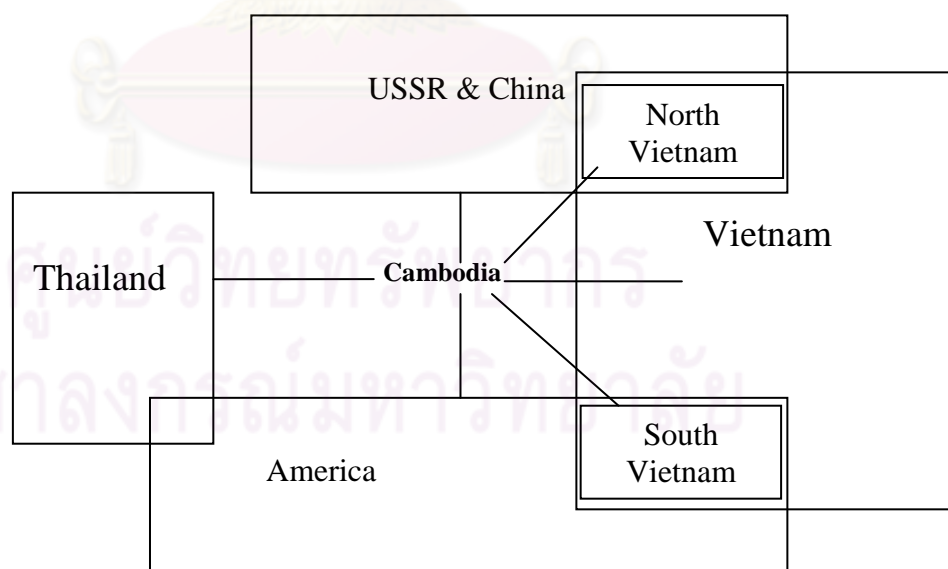


Figure 1: Cambodia between many conflicts (Partem, 1983: 6)

In accordance with this conceptual framework provided by Partem, Cambodia was under pressure from World Politics by both her neighbors and the super-powers. This framework gives significant overview of how Cambodia was confronted with two political spheres. In addition to fill in details about the role of Sihanouk as the person who dealt with Cambodian domestic politics and World politics, the framework has been adapted as follows:

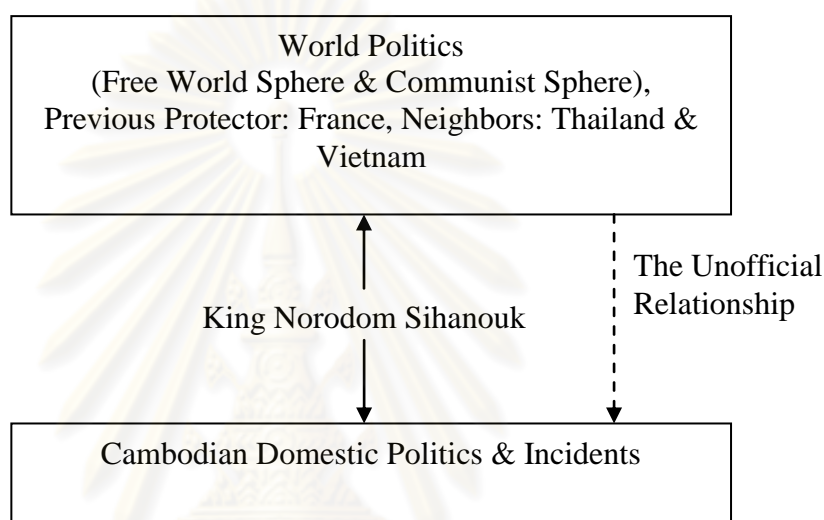


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework of Relationship between World Politics and Cambodia Domestic Politics through Norodom Sihanouk

The conceptual framework of figure to shows that King Norodom Sihanouk was the main political figure who officially dealt with Cambodia's domestic politics and World Politics. Because of the king was the leader of the government who also had reaction to World Politics, so this framework put him as an official links. On the other hand, the unofficial linkage has only one way of as the arrow shown, because the influence from outside assert into Cambodia without the reaction back into World Politics.

The combination of two figures helps explaining the way in which World Politics influenced the state-building of Cambodia in the period of King Norodom Sihanouk after gaining independence in 1953 until his government was overthrown by the coup in 1970. Consequently, the frameworks will also help illustrating about how King Sihanouk, as Cambodian state-building leader, became the victims of the external force from World Politics.

CHAPTER II

“STATE-BUILDING” – THE THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION TO CAMBODIA

2.1 The origin of the concept of “State-building”

2.1.1 State

State-building became an important area of knowledge when the national states emerged in Europe. The national states in Europe have been the central issue of state formation studies. The development of the national states in Europe shed light on state-building as the theory of state development. The best way to understand the development of the modern states in Europe is to understand the basis of state-building.

After the end of the World War II, many newly born countries remained under the influence of their prior colonial master. When decolonization came, state-building became an important issue for state formation among the newly independent states. In particular, some new states in Asia and Africa which were considered Third World needed state-building. Su-Hoon Lee (Lee, 1988) studied *State-building in Contemporary Third World* by focusing on 1960-1980 which was the transformation period for the third World states after gaining independence from colonialist powers. Lee argued that state-building takes place when the state has to cope with various kinds of societal environmental changes due to industrial development and structural complexity. Lee's dissertation focused more on the details of transnational linkages in peripheral societies which take place as a function of those societies' structural relations with the capitalist world economy and with the intrastate system.

Later, the Cold War was introduced to world society. The states which were powerful such as the United States, Soviet Union, or China, competed to be super-power states. The super-power states tried to make a bond with other independent states by grouping them in to their political spheres. The two main political spheres were; the free world and communists. While the influence of the super-power states spread over the world, the need for state-building was important for newly born states.

David Chandler (Chandler, 2007) advanced that the frameworks of “good governance”, overseen and regulated by international bodies, may create a framework which will take precedence over the domestic political process of government. He argued that this privileging of governance over government is based on the assumption that the political process is a product of state policy rather than constitutive of them. In his study, prior to the end of the Cold War, the political process was generally understood as key to the creation of stable and viable states. There were links between political institutions, political parties and individuals that were considered key to strengthening the state, both institutionally and in terms of its popular legitimacy. State-building is always accompanied by political development because to build the state is to strengthen the power of legitimacy, sovereignty and the political institution of the state.

In state transformation, the basis of state legitimization is related to the systematic institutional design. Samuel Huntington argued in *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Huntington, 1968) that the governance of countries could be separated from the basis of legitimization by taking the Soviet Union and the United States as examples. The political developments in both states were highly evolved, though one was communist dictatorship and the other a liberal democracy. Francis Fukuyama, in contrast, advanced that it is not clear whether state capacity can be separated from legitimacy. Apparently, at the end of 1980s, the Soviet Union began collapsing and losing substantial amounts of state capacity because its dictatorial character delegitimized the regime in the eyes of its citizens (Fukuyama, 2004: 35). According to Samuel Finer, legitimacy is one of the important elements of a state (Finer, 1975). If any states lose its legitimacy, it means that the state lost their sovereignty as a state.

From the past until the present day, state-building is still needed. State-building is an important issue for the World. Colonialism was one of the dynamics in World Politics that caused changes in the nature of state-building. Decolonization resulted in the issue of legitimacy of the newly independent states which were formed by various international legal authorities. The Cold War influenced the political administration of some new states especially in the Third World.

From 1863 to 1953, Cambodia was under the French protectorate. Decolonization brought the need for state-building to Cambodia. Cambodia, as a

Third World state, was subject to intervention during the Cold War. The legitimacy of the state, which Cambodia previously lost to the French, was necessary to maintain her sovereignty. Cambodia's domestic politics were in transformation after gaining independence in 1953. In addition, after 1953 the Cold War affected state-building efforts in Cambodia in many ways.

The strength of a state includes the role and function of state institutions, government departments and agencies or political and social convention. These are the important criteria to analyze the basis of institutional disorder which Kingsbury proposed that:

“An institutional analysis considers the role of dominant state actors or forms of capacities, such as electoral processes, the behavioral of governments, the efficacy of departments, and the role of custodian of state violence.”
(Kingsbury, 2007: 143)

Political parties are the most important and necessary institution in the early post-colonial period of newly states. During the early of post-colonial periods, a disjuncture between political mobilization and political organization can lead to state disorder (Kingsbury, 2007: 144). The institutional operation of the state is a means by which the state exercises power. The efficiency of the institutions shows that the state is functional. The existence of the institutions is also necessary to assure that the political system is operating. If the institutions are not functional or operational, the state will struggle and a malfunction could lead to the failure of state-building.

Kingsbury noted that:

“State failure is a relatively recent idea, reflecting global acceptance of a standardized norm for the definitive characteristics of states. Regime failure relates to state failure in that regime failure can lead to state failure, and state failure implies that an existing regime is also no longer capable of fulfilling its principle function” (Kingsbury, 2007: 169)

The malfunction of institutions is present in regime change, military disorder, or state fragmentation. It also leads to the struggle of political development before reaching the point of failure.

In this study, the theories of power and state provided by Martin J. Smith (Smith, 2009) will be used. The power of the state is manifest the operation of state institutions. Because the state government is one of the critical institutions through

which state power is expressed, government's behavior is considered as a criterion for state-building.

Political Participation resulted in feedback on the policy and politics of government. In response to that, the government must enforce particular forms of behavior. One of the forms of government behavior is to institute policies in order to control or rule over the population. In addition, the government can use nationalism as an instrument to gain support from its population. Smith noted nationalism as the instrument of government that:

“Nationalism is the resources that states can use to legitimize their actions and increases the ability to achieve particular goals. So power is not structural but resources are distributed by structures and those resources are used in the exercise of power. States are in vulnerable positions because control of their societies is difficult – and often ends in failure. Therefore, states depend on building relationship with society – the state/society dichotomy is not a clear divide – and using a range of mechanisms to attempt to affect social outcomes.” (Smith, 2009: 88)

2.1.2 The elements of “State”

The political unit, which is the element of the state, of Anon Aphaphirom in *the Introduction to Political Science* consists of (a) group of people with common purpose, (b) territory, (c) independence, (d) a common supreme authority (Anon Aphaphirom, 2002: 13). The common supreme authority of the state advanced by Roland Axtmann is the "State sovereignty". State sovereignty means the final authority within the political community. This authority lies with the state, who commands both legally and rightfully, without being command by others. Thus, “absolute sovereignty” is not accountable to anyone but itself (Axtmann, 2004: 260). In according with *An Introduction to Political Science* by Khan and McNiven (Khan and McNiven, 1990), there are four elements of the state which are population, territory, government, and sovereignty.

- Population is significant as a measure to which the society is able to work for its accumulative interests. The size of population is not as important as the accumulative interests. In World society, we have the tremendously

large population of the state of China and the small population like Luxembourg of Lichtenstein.

- Territory is indispensable to the existence of a state. It is very important when people form a group to organize themselves as a state because they need to have a permanent area to which they can hold perpetual claim. The example that Khan and McNiven used is the case of Jewish people in Palestine. When Palestine was first established, the Jewish people claimed that it was a permanent abode for Jews, and then they created the state of Israel. Today, the dispossessed Palestinians find themselves to be a people without a state.
- The government is the agent that acts in the name of the state to promote and safeguard the interests of its population and maintain its territorial boundaries. Therefore, the government is essential for the state but it is not as permanent as the state since it can be changed. In particular, government is important as it associates the identity, authority, and actions with the state. In comparison, the state is more important than government because international law recognizes states rather than governments as international person having rights and obligations. In addition, in the United Nations, membership is given to a state, not to any particular government, nor to any individual person.
- The last and most important element of the state is sovereignty. Sovereignty gives the government the right to make policy for internal and external affairs. Consequently, sovereignty of the state is confronted by political forces within the country and simultaneously must deal with external factors such as world public opinion, attitudes of allies and friends, international obligations, and the fear of reprisals from other states.

2.1.3 The Difference of “State” and “Nation”

State-building is the term that has been widely used since the 1930s, when the activities of the state in the economic and political life of the world increased because of industrial development (Lee, 1988). Mark T. Berger (Berger, 2004) noted that the

nation-state system developed worldwide in the 1940s to 1970s. In that period, the theory of nation-state was controversially debated because of significant changes in world politics. After the end of World War II, the Cold War dominated World Politics.

The Understanding of state is necessary in order to clarify what state-building is. Therefore, “state” is the key to this study. However, there has been a major question about the difference of the terms “state” and “nation”.

Anon Aphaphirom (Anon Aphaphirom, 2002) noted that “state” is a political unity which the entire population is under the same political system that has sovereignty as an autonomous state. Moreover, Finer explained that the “state” as a human associations which successfully claim the monopoly of legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. In addition, to give a clearer understanding of the state, he also gave five acquired characteristics of the state (Finer, 1975: 85);

1. A population within a defined territory which recognized a common supreme government structure.
2. This supreme government structure is subserved by specialized personnel; the civil service, to carry out decisions, the military service to back these decisions by force where necessary and to protect the territory from other outside interference.
3. This state is recognized by other similarly constituted states as independent in its action upon its population in its territory. This recognition constitutes its international “sovereignty”.
4. The population of a state forms a community which is based on self-consciousness of a common nationality.
5. The population forms a community in the sense that its members mutually distribute and share duties and benefits.

To a considerable extent, the process of transformation in Europe could be distinguished between the first three characteristics and the last two characteristic. Finer advanced that the first three are characteristics of state-building, whereas the last two are associated with nation-building. (Finer, 1975: 86). There are scholars who advance theories about the state by illustrating the political institutions. For example, Lawson defined “state” as:

“A state is a structure that has the legal right to make rules that are binding over a given population within a given territory. As such, it has geographic as well as political characteristics. It is a political institution, but it differs from other political institutions in that it has sovereignty which means it has the power to make decision that cannot be overruled by any other body.” (Lawson, 1989: 35)

On the other hand, Tilly believed that the “state” has been developed into “stateness” by taking the example of the national states in Europe. The transformation of “state” into “stateness” of the national states in Europe consisted of: consolidation of territorial control, differentiation of governments from other organizations, acquisition of autonomy by some governments, centralization and coordination (Tilly, 1975: 70).

Within the characteristics defined by Finer and Tilly, the territory and legitimacy are essential for state-building. In addition, Martin Shaw defined a “state” as a compulsory political organization with continuous operations. Moreover, its administrative staff successfully upholds the claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order (Shaw, 1997: 499; Lee, 1988: 12). Because the legitimacy of the state depends on autonomous political power following Finer and Shaw, the state also has its power over their territory. Consequently, the territory becomes part of state’s political power.

However, questions remain concerning the source of state power. Kay Lawson (Lawson, 1989) noted that political power comes from the group of voters who can make threats that affect policy changes, revolutions or terrorism. To a considerable extent, there are lots of factors which contribute to policy changes one of which is people who are authorized to make political decisions. Authority is the right to exercise the power and influence of a particular position that comes from having been placed in that position according to a regular, known, and widely accepted procedure. When someone is placed in a particular role, that person has to follow the conditions of the role of the given position. By doing so, the person achieves legitimacy according to Lawson (Lawson, 1989: 41). Therefore, “legitimacy” is the condition of being considered to be correctly placed in a particular role and to be carrying out the functions of that role correctly. To a considerable extent, “political legitimacy” should

be seen as the approval for the way that a person in a particular position exercises political power according to his authority.

Nation is the term that has been commonly use with “state” as appearing in many academic studies such as “nation-state “and “nation-building”. “Nation” traditionally has tended to reflect ethnic unity, particularly through the medium of language in relation to some specific and usually continuous and demarcated territory (Kingsbury, 2007: 37). The “nation” means that most of the population have the same race, language, religious and culture which includes a shared history. So, the meaning of “nation” can explain the formation of the nation or “nation” gives the importance to “cultural unit” (Anon Aphaphirom, 2002). Nation has become the identification of a group’s concern with ethnicity. Meanwhile, national identity is the basis for the assertion of nationalist claims.

Cambodia was a state before the coming of colonialism, in particulars before she lost her autonomous power to the French in 1863. The Khmer kingdom at that time was one of the most powerful in the mainland Southeast Asia. It was seen as a strong and developing state, in part by the warfare with her neighboring countries, particularly with the Siam and the Cham. In accordance with the definition of the “nation”, Cambodia has been a nation even though she fell under the French protectorate.

The term “Nation” is very close to “state”, but there are some points of difference. Even though Finer gave the five characteristics of the “state”, the last two are part of “Nation”. Nationality becomes an additional element of making the nation as well as common membership in the community. Both nationality and community membership contribute to make “nation” differ from “state” (Emerson, 1946). In addition, Tilly noted that the “nation-building” is the development of national consciousness, participation and commitment (Tilly, 1975: 70).

Nation-building principally involves building national identity, national anthem, language or a flag, while state-building is related to the development of political institutions and sovereignty over territory. So the national identity as embodied in national flag, national language etc. must be created to identify itself as a nation.

In accordance with Su-Hoon Lee (Lee, 1988), state-building referred to the strengthening of relative power of the state vis-à-vis the society or the expansion of

organizational capacities of the state vis-à-vis society. He noted that there were two issues which need to be clarified; first, the issue of power of the state defined internally versus externally and second, the issue of what is meant by state capacity. In addition, Fukuyama held that *strength* is the same as *capacity* and that state capacity is the strength of state power or the ability of the state to plan, execute policies, and to enforce law cleanly and transparently (Fukuyama, 2004: 9). Hence, the capacities of state as the political organizations need to be able to support the bureaucracy, maintain armed force, implement and enforce political regulations.

To implement and enforce the political regulations, the state must have a strong capacity in states-building activities. Huntington gave meaning of state-building activities as the expansion of the state bureaucracy, the growth of public sector institutions, the increasing of the capacity in extracting resources from the populations, and the progressive intrusion of the state into the management of the economy (Weiner and Huntington, 1987: 57).

Cambodia was an independent country before the coming of colonialism. So Cambodians did not rebuild the nation as they already have their own identity such as their own language, flag, and it was recognized by her neighboring countries. What Cambodia had to deal with, after winning independence from France in 1953 was state-building which involved developing her political institutions, state legitimacy, and strengthening her sovereignty. This study deals with “State-building” in Cambodia.

2.2 Post Colonial politics and the Third World

In accordance with the dynamic of the world society that still keeps changing each day; state-building has become the important basis for state development. Political and economic developments are necessary to the growth of the state. The Third World is the group of states which encompasses the area outside Europe and North America; Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Fawcett and Sayigh, 1999: 18). The Third World was concerned with the process of colonization and decolonization. The challenge of decolonization was an unfinished process which provided opportunities for exploitation by the super-powers as well as regional-powers.

Mick Moore (Moore, 2004) recognized that there are two relevant reasons why the Third World was disproportionately affected by the world's economic and political development. First, the emergence of a broadly bipolar world, in which the population of one group of countries is much richer than the population of the others and second, the development of the transport and communication technologies which make it possible to talk sensibly of "globalism". Globalization is a situation in which most populations, economies, and states are directly and deeply affected by the dynamics of the world. Economically, the Third World is influenced by international trade, investment, and financial exchanges. Politically, the Third World was subjected to intervention by national military power and political influence on the part of some leading states (Moore, 2004).

Therefore, the tension advanced by Moore created the international system of the peripheral states and the core states. The core states are the states in which capitalism takes root and which form in the same way as the European State (Moore, 2004: 305). In comparison, peripheral states are poorer and their development is exacerbated by the intervention of the core states. Meanwhile, the peripheral states should be recognized as actors which can have a life of its own, with its own organizational dynamic, interests and power (Lee, 1988). Because one of the elements of the state is territory, states should emphasize their legitimacy over their boundaries. Most of the Third World states were once colonial states. The lingering systemic efforts of colonization remained in most post-colonial states and became an ongoing issue. However the previously colonized states were now recognized as independent. Despite independence, the influence of the rulers remained. There were some organizations such as the Organization of African Unity and ASEAN (The Association of Southeast Asian Nations), established to help support stability and self administration of the states in their region. The regional organizations could help contribute to build the strength of states. With the help from regional organizations, states should be protected from the previous colonial rulers and, even more, should be protected from the influence of the super-powers in World Politics.

However, both ethnicity and religion have been the sources for political development for the Third World. People in the Third World who were not in the middle class of society often did not have an opportunity for any advanced education. For poor people, studying seems to be impossible and unnecessary for them.

However, as the world has developed, education is very important to develop the population of the state. An educated population is a critical resource for a country to be able to develop. Religious institutions as the place providing moral teachings became an education center for people, especially young people who obtain limited education. Consequently, education from religious institutions provided opportunities for people, many of whom continue study in urban areas. When there was the flow of people, there was also the knowledge transferring between them. Meanwhile, they entered the urban areas with the knowledge they got from religious institutions, then they received new knowledge when they apply for the jobs. When these sources of knowledge were mixed with the basic essential need for surviving, it crystallized in one's mind as a form of political participations. Religious institutions were an important factor contributing to what is called "traditionalism" by Myron Weiner (Weiner and Huntington, 1987: 48). Traditionalism refers to the attachment to one's past which became their new political ideology. It signified that religion is basic in one's life and can latter inspire political participation. Religion played a part in the political motivations for young people who want to participate in the political arena.

In the case of Cambodia, it was apparent that the nationalism fundamentally emerged from the religious institution. In 1930 the French founded the Buddhist Institute in Phnom Penh with the patronage of the Cambodian and the Laotian kings in order to counter the Thai Buddhist influence. The Buddhist Institute was the place that Son Ngoc Thanh, who was employed as a librarian at the institute in 1933, began his nationalist movement by associated with Pach Chhoeun and Sim Var. His main purpose was to against the French educational program which limited the traditionally important role of the monastery schools and the extent to which a small but growing number of his compatriots felt aggrieved at being subjected to French rule (Osborne, 1994: 29).

However, politics of the Third World fundamentally depend on the relationship with the super-powers. Relations between those super-powers and the Third World were structured as a form of peripheral states. Lee called this structure "transnational linkages". Transnational linkage is the capitalist system, which was developed on the basis of economics that expands from one state to another. By those means, the developed countries expand their political influence through economic development through which the forms of peripheral states have become a new system.

Instead of relying on their abilities, most of the Third World states tie themselves to the aid provided by the developed states or the super-powers. Lee argued that the impacts of transnational linkages on state-building of world economy were believed to be much more susceptible to external influences for both politics and economics (Lee, 1988: 38). Since state-building became an international issue after the end of World War II, the impulses of the aid come to be seen as political interference especially in the Third World states (Weiner and Huntington, 1987: 319). Political interference in both politics and economics from outsiders caused struggles of state-building for the Third World. It is very interesting to see the link of politics and economics as a strong tie by which Lee called the political economic system. Lee advanced the source of power for the Third World that it comes from state-building which includes state's politics and economic (Lee, 1988: 41). In particular, the aid provided by the super-powers represents the move of world economic into domestic economic which directly intervene states' politics in both domestic and international spheres. This contributed to the struggle of the Third World states which became a critical problem for their efficiency, so they had to maintain their peripheral system with the super-powers.

The educational enrolment for the Third World was increasing while the political class struggle appeared in their domestic politics, according to finding of Lee (Lee, 1988). Education is one of the criteria advanced by Lee that is important to the Third World because the educational enrolment of the population resulted in human resources development. Since the economic system of the Third World depended on the aid from outsiders, the support of the military and educational systems was uncertain. In the case of Cambodia, education developed all along with political development as it had some schools and colleges opening under the French protectorate. Education played an important role in supporting the young generation in political participation which grounds the class struggle for Cambodian politics. In state-building of the Third World, the power of the states is so important because it is the fact which cause struggle for states development as Lee advanced in his conclusion part that;

“The expansion of the state has serious implications for politics in the Third World. One serious consequence of the widespread expansion of the

state in the Third World is concentration of power in the hands of a small group of state managers.” (Lee, 1988: 164)

However, in some instances in which super-power cooperation produced political settlements, subsequent events suggest that their impact was less than intended. Niel Macfarlane noted in *the Third World beyond the Cold War* that;

“Angola settlement fell apart after an election the results of which UNITA did not like. The Cambodia settlement excluded the Khmer Rouge and this produced a continuation of war at a lower level. The Withdrawal of the USSR from Afghanistan appears to have produced intensification, rather than a diminution of the level of conflict there as the victor fought over the spoiled and was then challenged by the Taleban. Where results appear more durable, as in Central America, those involved in peace process grew increasingly worried that the winding up of the UN involvement in the region, coupled with the pressure of economic adjustment, might produce a renewal of violence, as those left out before by and large remain left out.” (Fawcett and Sayigh, 1999: 27)

For the Third World states, it is apparent that political development played an important role in state-building. Moreover, the political struggle of the Third World had results in every dimension of development including economics, educations, military and rivals. Since the origin of state-building from the context of the Third World is political development in both the domestic and World Politics stage, this study will focus on the evolution of Cambodian politics in the transformation period of King Norodom Sihanouk when there was a gap between colonization and the massacre led by Pol Pot.

2.3 The impact of the Cold War on the concept of state-building

2.3.1 Political development in the context of the Cold War

International political transformation plays an important role by spreading its influence in the domestic politics of newly born states. For example, the case of Iraq

shows that the “outsider”, in this case the United Nations and the United States, is the motivator for Iraqi state-building. This implies that domestic state-building can become international states-building. To understand the concept of transforming domestic state-building to international states-building require knowing the basic steps of political development of the state.

In accordance with Huntington, politics and economics contribute to the development of the state. The observations of various conflict theorists are noted by Huntington in his study.

“More specifically, conflict theorists could make two arguments. First, the creation of democratic political system in a country at a fairly low level of social mobilization, and hence with political participation effectively limited to a fairly small middle class, was likely to promote less economic equality. Second, while at higher levels of social mobilization democratic political systems might promote greeter income equality, democratic political systems at any level of development were generally unable to bring about significant redistribution of economic assets.” (Weiner and Huntington, 1987: 16)

According to conflict theory discussed by Huntington, political development results in the economic development of the state. In order to develop economically, the state has to develop its politics.

The term “political development” was advanced by Damien Kingsbury as the term used internationally in the 1960s. He mentioned that the political development concept arises in the decolonization process. Political Development is the process of what might be called “political modernization”. Kingsbury noted that “political modernization” is the process which allows the economic development and the political participation of these newly born states to be part of the international community. The west attempted to ensure that development occurred along politically acceptable lines. The acceptable line in this respect is that the newly born states, which are free from colonization, will not turn to be communist states (Kingsbury, 2007: 10).

Recognition by other states is also necessary for a state to maintain its independence. Recognition by other states allows one state to claim its sovereignty over its territory. This recognition in the international stage was advanced by Krasner as follows;

“Conventional sovereignty assumes a world of autonomous, internationally recognized, and well-governed states. Although frequently violated in practice, the fundamental rules of conventional sovereignty – recognition of juridical independent territorial entities and non-intervention in the international affairs of other states – have rarely been challenged in principle.” (Krasner, 2009: 232)

Intervention of the super-power states caused political struggle in Cambodia. The Sihanouk period from 1953 until 1970 was the time that Cambodia faced the expansion of super-power political intervention. The purpose of the competition among the super-powers was to ensure that Cambodia became part of their political spheres. Even though the process was not openly aimed at putting Cambodia under the control of any particular state, at the very least each super-power state intended to influence and inspires various Cambodian politicians to act in its interests.

2.3.2 Two political spheres in the Cold War

2.3.2.1 The emergence of the Cold War

With the emergence of the Cold War, it is necessary to consider the early post-World War II period. The opening of the three super-powers established the two strong relationships which became very important in creating the tension which later became the phenomenon called the “Cold War”. Two tensions were made by the British leader, the Anglo-American and the Anglo-Soviet. In which World War II, the Anglo-Soviet was developed by a distinct community of interests in which the United States did not take part. Sir Winston Churchill, the British leader, was the main player who plays an important role in creating the pre-conditions for the Cold War. The three countries were called the “Big Three”, which consisted of the British leader, Sir Winston Churchill, the American leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin (Harbutt, 1986). In early post World War II, Churchill tried to balance the power of both the United States and the Soviets. This was in contrast to later when the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union gained more attention from world society than the leader of Great Britain. Controversially, the issues of warfare concerned the big three, but the British were involved with the Russians more than the United States was. The Churchill diplomacy with the Russians was more concerned

with concrete political, European-oriented issues. Those issues included territorial disputes, client regimes, and spheres of influence that were of real interest to the Soviet Government. Harbutt argued that Roosevelt's policy tended to concentrate on issues inspired by the exigencies of domestic American politics such as the degree of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, effort to secure a Soviet signature to an attractive declaration or a membership to a universalistic post war organization (Harbutt, 1986: 40). At that time, the United States and the Soviet Union did not compete for any concrete state interest as involved in diplomacy. Harbutt advanced that Roosevelt and Stalin politico-diplomatic traditions were thoroughly dissimilar which reflects the fact that the Americans were tied to domestic public opinion in a degree unmatched elsewhere, while the Soviets were presided over by a purportedly omnipotent figure assisted by tiny elites. The big three collaboration, since the Atlantic Charter in 1941 until the Declaration on Liberated Europe in 1945, was quite loose. Because of the loose cooperation the United States was allowed to challenge the Soviet Union on the realities of political participation of its populations.

It is interesting that the big three held two major conferences in the same year. Both of the conferences were held in order to solve the historical conflicts of those three big states before the Cold War started. Even though they tended to build close friendships, still critical incidents occurred which contributed to the potential for the emergence of the Cold War. The tension of the Anglo-Soviet relationship changed the evolution of political cooperation toward the end of the Potsdam conference in 1945 by which time relations had deteriorated to the point where the European Cold War was shaped.

The three notable events which contributed as factors of change leading to the Cold War in World Politics are the Yalta Conference, the Potsdam meeting, and Truman's succession to Roosevelt (Harbutt, 1986: 81). There was only a week before the Potsdam conference began when France, led by Charles De Gaulle, stirred the Western Europe bloc with bitterness at the treatment of Western Europe by the United States under Roosevelt. The cause of France's bitterness came from her purposes of re-establish her power over Levant (Harbutt, 1986: 110). In addition, Colbert advanced that (Colbert, 1977) the re-establishment of French Indochina, including Cambodia, was seen in France's intention to take back her prewar position as a

protectorate. America was the leader of anti-colonial sentiment at that time. As a result, the re-establishment of the French prewar position was not achieved.

2.3.2.2 The Free World Sphere

To understand the purpose of the free world, we must begin with the original concept of liberalism as the basis for understanding what the free world exposed. The concept of liberalism noted by Lawson is that all human beings are capable of reason and rational action, but they are often caught in difficult situations in real life. Because all people have the capacity to live satisfactory and productive lives if given the chance, government must ensure that everyone has the opportunity to live the best possible life and to fulfill their individual potential (Lawson, 1989: 62). In accordance with Lawson, the liberals view human nature as including the possibility of improving life which requires concern for political improvement because all chances and possibilities are guaranteed by government. In contrast, he argued that liberalism is an inadequate creed because it suggests government intervene to “help”, but never to “curb freedom”.

The evolution of World Politics came to a changing point around 1949-1954, after the changing of the United States' leader. It was the transition period of President Truman and Eisenhower. The Truman administration adored the ideology of unity, but without adequate recognition of the new totalitarian menace. In the period of 1949-1954, the United States was working from its industrial superiority, which was combined with a monopoly atomic weapon development. The atomic weapon monopoly was a challenge to the Truman administration on effort to develop post war equilibrium.

In the study of Fraser J. Harbutt (Harbutt, 2002) on *The Cold War Era*, he proposed that there are two profound developments which created obstacles for Truman's administration. First, the expansion of the Cold War was far beyond the European theater. China, in 1949, turned to communism. Harbutt believed that this was the real origin of the emergence of the Cold War. The incidents in China were exacerbated by the United States defending South Korea from the communist attacking of the North. Internationally, the degree of expanding power of the United States in World Politics increased under Eisenhower in 1953 when the U.S. interest enlarged to cover Iran, Latin America, and Indochina. Second, the atomic weapon test

of the Soviet Union in 1949 sent a shiver through the American domestic political establishment and encouraged participation in the struggle against communism especially against nuclear weapons. This contributed to the expansion of the Cold War (Harbutt, 2002: 63). The free world sphere was led by the United State of America in anti-communism.

The United States expanded its influence to Western Europe by ratifying the NATO treaty which combined the United States, Canada, and its Western Europe allies. Truman's inauguration in 1949 addressed the attitude of American to promise scientific aid and industrial expertise to the newly born states (Harbutt, 2002: 65). It was apparent that the leader of the United States promoted America as a competitor with others as it provided help for the Third World. This also influenced the Third World where aid was critical to development.

The United States operated their assistance in the Cold War by acting as the leader in the free world sphere. As the main actor, the United States was the example of dominating the shared sovereignty about which Krasner explained that;

“There are several late nineteenth-century shared sovereignty agreements in which external actors assumed control over part of the revenue-generating stream of a state that had defaulted on its debt. The state wanted renewed access to international capital markets. The lenders wanted assurance that they would be repaid. Direct control over the collection of specific taxes provided greater confidence than other available measures.” (Krasner, 2009: 248)

Although the aid to Cambodia was provided by the United States without the intention to intervene directly in domestic affairs, the aid program might be seen as an effort to gain influence over Cambodia's domestic affairs.

2.3.2.3 Communist sphere

In the mist of the Cold War and the expansion of many political concepts, stood the two main communist camps. The major communist camps were led by two states, the Soviet Union and China.

Marxist communism thought that the economic questions were primary, and the capitalist consciousness was history's end. Marx and Friedrich Engels developed the complex and elaborate version of socialist ideology. Lawson explained that

complexity by giving five stages of economic organization in Marxism (Lawson, 1989: 71);

- First, *communalism* in which all men and women were organized in a simple and primitive form of communism.
- Second, *slavery* was the step in which labor division was created and the people acquired control over the means of production. Within the evolution of the slavery stage, the labor of other people in other societies is included.
- Third, *feudalism* was the step in which a few people amass large landholdings and need many labors.
- Fourth, *capitalism* was enveloped during the Industrial Revolution. Capitalism's emergence allowed industry to take advantage of the machine. In Marx's opinion, the capitalism can be replaced by the last step that he thought the best.
- Fifth, *communism* was the climactic stage of evolution in which all the productive advantages would be retained but control over the means of production would be restored to the workers who did the producing.

Soviet communism was created under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin (1878-1924) and his few colleagues, who participated in the Russian Revolution in October, 1917. Lenin adapted the ideology of Marxism to apply in Russia. His ideology of communism was that the communist revolution can exist in a state which has only partially industrialized. The revolutionaries claimed that they would eventually develop a socialist system, but the apparatus of the state was still necessary in the near future (Lawson, 1989: 72). With the linkage of the five stages of development advanced by Marx, capitalism that develops all over the world would work to the communist benefit. Soviet communism developed into autocratic rule by government in which Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) ruled with the concept of socialism in one nation. Stalin increased his power which Lawson called a ruthless dictatorship. Subsequently, Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) developed a form of leadership which gave absolute power to the government to rule the lives of their people – workers, peasants and intelligentsia (Lawson, 1989: 73).

While communism emerged in the Soviet Union and intensely increased the degree of dictatorship by Khrushchev, the People's Republic of China was establishing its own experiment with communism guided by Mao Zedong (1893-1976). Early in the Mao regime, he recognized that there were many crucial differences between the two nations that would lead to equally crucial differences in their interpretations of the legacy of Marx and Lenin (Lawson, 1989: 73). At that time, the industrial revolution was not well developed in China. There were not many big and developed cities, so China was still a country with a vast majority of peasants. This required the formation of communism in rural area instead of the cities unlike the case of Soviet Union. In the 1950s, China moved further away from Soviet to be more dependent on their own feet and abilities (Yahuda, 1996: 43). In addition, China also exercised more of her power over the region and especially in Southeast Asia where politics was still unsettle from decolonization.

2.3.3 Non-alignment policy as a third way in World Politics

The emergence of the Cold War brought tentative decision-making to many newly born states. The new-born states, especially the Third World, suffered from their previous colonial rulers who conquered and took advantage of their protectorate. There were many colonized or semi-colonized states in which their economics were not well develop. Most of the Third World and newly born states who are in Africa and Asia, attended the Colombo Conference in 1954 and later the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955 to emphasize a distinctive international identity (Yahuda, 1996: 44).

Before attending the Bandung Conference, Prince Sihanouk made a visit to India where he met the Indian leader, Nehru. Nehru inspired Prince Sihanouk on the virtues of neutrality in international affairs. Nehru praised Prince Sihanouk of a self-righteous conviction for Prince Sihanouk's abdication as the act of glory (Osborne, 1994: 94). Attending the Bandung, Prince Sihanouk was reinforced his belief in his own importance. Further, his neutrality position brought him into the middle of the intent confrontation of the free world sphere and the communist sphere.

However, the Bandung conference laid the foundation for the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). At Bandung, communist and non-communist states sought their

international political identity in which the bipolar World Political Spheres were available in addition to the Non-Aligned Movement. The purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement was to be a home for independent states without relying on either side of the Cold War. To define the Non-Aligned status, the Egyptian President Nasser said that “our voice in international forums is not counted as an automatic one, attached to a particular bloc” (Brown, 1966: 517). The core of non-aligned policy is not to join any political blocs in World Politics.

While the Non-Aligned movement gained the attention of the Third World as alternative choice, the resistance of the non-aligned countries to be taken back into the shadow of their previous ruler was misunderstood. Non-Align movement was argued by John Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State. He denounced on 9 June 1956 that neutralism was the fallacy that “a nation can buy safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others” (Brown, 1966: 519). In accordance with Dulles announcement, the United States tended to bring back imperialism in the form of new assistance as a super-power in the Cold War. This suggested to the Third World, including Cambodia, what the true purpose of assistance from the United State was.

Since the meeting at Bandung, the Non-Aligned Movement emerged as the alternative foreign policy for those newly born states and the states which were just free from colonialism like Cambodia. In light of the interference which had usually occurred in the past, Cambodia led by King Norodom Sihanouk adopted a neutral policy for her foreign affairs. In 1958, Prince Sihanouk as a chief of states responded to the comments of the Americans that he would serve the national needs by operating Cambodian foreign affairs as neutral. Prince Sihanouk declared his state’s neutrality that;

“First and foremost we are Cambodians, and lackeys of foreign Powers have no hope of success here. Since we achieved independence, our policy has always been suited to our national needs. In our foreign relations we have favored neutrality, which in the United States is all too often confused with “neutralism,” although it is fundamentally different. We are neutral in the same way Switzerland and Sweden are neutral -- not neutralist like Egypt or Indonesia. Let anyone examine our votes in the United Nations; they are not often “aligned” with those of the bloc of “neutralist” nations.” (Sihanouk, 1958: 582-583)

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE OF THE COLD WAR

IN INDOCHINA AND CAMBODIA

3.1 Pre-colonialism: State-building in Cambodian history

French colonialism in Southeast Asia began with French encroachments on Vietnam in 1858-1862 before expanding to the surrounding areas. To understand why Cambodia accepted French power, we have to look back to the period before the coming of King Ang Duang. John Tully called the painful years in Cambodian history between the 1780s and the coronation of King Ang Doung in 1848. This was the “Cambodian Dark Age” (Tully, 2006: 71). Cambodia in the Dark Age suffered from the competition for domination over it between her more powerful neighbors, Siam and Vietnam.

According to Tully, the Dark Age began in 1778 when the Siamese invaded Cambodia. After the Siamese left Cambodia, a civil war took place with the rival bureaucratic factions and court intriguers fighting each other. The civil war in Cambodia at that time had Vietnamese agents conspiring in the shadows. While the disturbances were occurring in Cambodia, the situation was exacerbated when King Ang Non was killed in 1783. Prince Eng, at that time only nine years old, sought asylum at the Siamese court during the reign of King Rama I. Because of this turmoil in Cambodia, the Siamese had a chance to regain their glory after their power centre at Ayutthaya had been sacked by the Burmese in 1767 by re-establishing her suzerainty over this kingdom. Even when Prince Eng came of age, his coronation took place in Bangkok instead of Cambodia. He abruptly died in 1797 and left his six years old son, Prince Chan, and his country in the hands of the regent. When Prince Chan was 16 years old, he was allowed to ascend the Cambodian throne by King Rama I of Siam. Though Ang Chan came back to rule Cambodia, his power did not cover all the domain of the ancient Cambodian kingdom. Battambang, in particular, was under an *Oknya* named Ben, a Cambodian official who governed this province with the support of the Siamese court that bestowed upon him the title of Chao Phraya Apaiphubet. Later, Ben set himself up as a kind of viceroy at the royal capital of Udong. Problems

arose when Ben died and the Siamese court appointed his nephew to succeed him. Since then, the province became semi-independent under the influence of Siam. This caused Ang Chan to be angry with Siam. Consequently, he turned to the Vietnamese for help regarding the intervention of Siam. The Vietnamese court sent ships and troops up the Mekong River to guard the Cambodian palace. The result of the security assistance from Vietnamese resulted in fourteen years that nearly resulted in the two countries sharing their influence over Cambodia.

Siam had planned to support Ang Chan's brother to access the throne; she thus invaded Cambodia. Since Ang Chan had established ties with the Vietnamese, he took refuge from Siamese invasion in Saigon. Siam had been weakened by the war with the Burmese so they withdrew from Udong by taking Im and Doung with them. Ang Chan had a chance to return to his country and introduced change with the support of the Vietnamese: he moved the capital city south to Phnom Penh. Later when Ang Chan died in 1835 at the age of 44, the Vietnamese imposed a "Vietnamization" policy on Cambodia. According to Emperor Minh Mang's writing in 1834, the reason for the Vietnamese king to use this policy towards Cambodia was because they thought that Khmers were "barbarians" and therefore needed to be "civilized". The emperor wrote that Cambodia was barbarian because her people did not know how to properly grow food. They used mattocks, hoes, but not oxen. They knew how to grow rice for daily consumption but did not how to store rice for emergency use. Their plantations depended on the pond but not the canal which was a character of the Angkorian civilization (Chandler, 2003: 101). This "civilizing" policy forced Cambodians to wear Vietnamese hairstyle, dress, and even included forcing Khmer peasants to dig a canal from the Gulf of Siam to Mekong delta (Tully, 2006: 73). Khmer people revolted against Vietnamese brutality but the rebellion was put down with torture, public executions, and the burning down of their houses. Later, the Vietnamese experienced the same brutality from French colonialism. The Vietnamese put, Mei, Ang Chan's daughter, on the throne after his death. As a queen, she was only the puppet of the Vietnamese. While Cambodia was under Vietnamese control, King Rama III of Siam had Prince Duang give an oath of loyalty to Siam; then the king permitted Prince Duang to leave for Battambang.

There were negotiations between Siam and Vietnam to allow Cambodia to be a neutral state between them. The main reason for Cambodia to assume this status was

the coming of westerners to this region. Siam in the reign of King Rama III had a chance to witness the influence of colonialism when he had to consent to making the Burney treaty with Britain in 1826. By that time the British had won the First Anglo-Burmese War and begun to expand their power on the Malay Peninsula (Bunnag, 1977: 50). This contributed to the end of Cambodian Dark Age when Ang Duang was crowned in 1848.

Cambodia as an absolute monarchy under the rule of Ang Duang started to balance the relationship of Cambodia with Siam and Vietnam. Even though Ang Duang had royal Cambodian blood, his thinking was not the same as the previous kings. He introduced reform the kingdom of Cambodia by replacing certain grades of officials with centrally appointed ones, changing the generic name of official from *chau muong* to *chauvai srok*, and amalgamated some of the smaller provinces into larger units (Tully, 2006: 76). The way Ang Duang developed the legitimacy of his rule was the use of royal regalia. Even though Ang Duang strengthened his power over Cambodia, the influence of his neighbors remained strong in his country.

As long as the administrative reform of the kingdom remained unsettled, many societal and economic factors led the king to seek assistance from others. Since Cambodia had been under the Dark Age for a long period of time, she was powerless in comparison with Siam and Vietnam. The critical factor which caused her to be powerless was that the head of state always fell under the power of another state. Moreover, the wars Cambodia had gone through hindered her development. Cambodia's development, compared to other states in the region, was poor, as David Chandler has noted in *A History of Cambodia* that (Chandler, 2003: 100):

“By the standards of other states in Southeast Asia, Cambodia was poor. Unlike Burma and Laos, its soils contained few gems or precious metals. Unlike Siam, its manufacturing, trade, and commerce were underdeveloped, and finished goods, like brassware, porcelain, and firearms, came from abroad. Unlike Vietnam, its communications were poor and its internal markets undeveloped. Agricultural surpluses were rare, savings were low, and money was used only at the palace and by minority group. Cambodia had subsistence economy; most of its people spent most of their time growing rice. Landholdings tended to be small (even high official seldom had access to more than a few

hectares), yields were low, and irrigation works, which might have increased production, were rare.”

Facing social, economic as well as political problems, Cambodia, King Duang attempted to overcome them by seeking helps. Cambodia was free to some extent free from the interference of Siam and Vietnam in the reign of King Duang. The king did his best to maintain this state of affairs. Ang Duang, however, sent letters to Siamese kings, both Rama III and Rama IV, pledging his allegiance to the Siamese court. In addition, he did not make any attempt to improve his relationship with Vietnam.

The nature of Ang Duang’s diplomacy was seen in his presentation of gifts to French Emperor, Napoleon III in 1853: he sought French protection well before the treaty to that effect was signed in 1863. To critically answer why King Duang cultivated this relationship with the French, David Chandler (Chandler, 2003) has argued that a French protectorate could help protect Cambodia against the Vietnamese rather than the Siamese. While Cambodia was seeking a protectorate status with France, Siam fell increasingly under the influence of the British.

A challenge to King Ang Duang’s state building effort late in his reign was the rebellion of Chams and Malays in the southeastern area of his kingdom in 1858. The crisis was exacerbated by the French invasion of Cochinchina. Unfortunately, the king could not complete his mission of protecting his country from rebellion and Vietnamese immigration because of his death in 1860. The death of King Duang presented another opportunity for the Siamese, as had been the case several times in the past, to interfere and assert its will in Cambodia (Osborne, 1973).

State-building may be said to have occurred in Cambodian history any time when the country attempted to re-establish its autonomy and independence. King Duang, in particular, was able to establish his legitimacy all over the kingdom during his reign. This legitimacy was derived not only his strengthened power but also from the reform he initiated. In particular, state-building in Cambodia in pre-colonialism was proceeding along with nationalism. Even though many Cambodian kings and royal families were taken to Bangkok, national consciousness was still in their mind. When the opportunity came, the Cambodian kings were never hesitant to fight for the independence of his kingdom. Cambodia was thus unlike many ethnic minorities in the world today, like the Shan State in the Union of Myanmar, that, despite their national consciousness, do not enjoy the kind of state legitimacy the Cambodians had

opportunities to cherish even during the times when her independence often eclipsed, especially after France imposed a protectorate status on their country. Indeed, even though it is called the Shan state, it is not a real state or country.

3.2 French Protectorate

Cambodia sought help from France by sending gifts to her Emperor in 1853. After they had established their colonial rule in Cochinchina in 1862, the French succeeded in gaining a protectorate over Cambodia the following year. The Siamese, who in history had invaded Cambodia several times and maintained some influence in this country, had to stay away from the expansion of French power. The French established the protectorate over Cambodia when the treaty of 1863 was signed (Tully, 2006). Not long after the conclusion of the protectorate treaty, however, the Cambodian king realized that the interests of the French differed from those of their Siamese predecessor. The French ceded the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap (where Angkor was located) to the Siamese in 1867 – the provinces had been occupied by Siam for quite some time. Finally, it was French who succeeded in taking back the two provinces from Siam in 1907. The French also expanded Vietnam's borders to the north and the west, which caused bitterness among Cambodians. The expansion of Vietnam's borders expansion during this time was perhaps a factor contributing to war between Vietnam and Cambodia in the aftermath of the Vietnam War in the late 1970s.

French seemed to be more concerned about Cambodia being a buffer state between Siam and Vietnam than developing this kingdom. Moreover, while French was expanding their power in Indochina, British reached the upper Mekong so that they were now in a position to connect southern China with the Indian Ocean. This posed a serious concern for the French, who then started to explore the Mekong with a view to reaching southern China through this waterway. This power competition with the British had actually been a major impetus to French expansion in Indochina in the first place.

Cambodia as a French protectorate faced a series of revolts outside the capital after King Norodom had been forced to sign convention relinquishing all powers to the French Resident and in actual fact transforming his kingdom into a French colony

in 1884 (Shawcross, 1991). This was actually a tragedy of falling under the power of an alien nation; hence, many revolts broke out especially in the countryside to the north and the east of the kingdom. People supported officials and feudal chiefs to fight in the name of the king. The king had been the live icon for Khmer for long time. This ideal is still remain nowadays, even more this concept strongly appear in her neighboring country like Thailand. In Thailand, Siam in the old day, the revolts are claimed that they do it in the name of the king or to protect the royal institute. Finally, French had to compromise and withdrew their disgracing demands. King Norodom called for an end of revolts. French was sophisticate on planning to discredit the power of King Norodom. They establish strong relationship with the other branch of royal family, Sisowath, whom they could control. The degree of disintegration of royal family was topped up when King Norodom died in 1904 by French appointing Prince Sisowath to succeed Norodom.

3.3 Nationalism took root in Cambodia

The French did very little to develop the country. On the contrary, the Cambodian people were burdened with high taxes, and violence spread all over the country. It was during the 1930s that national sentiment – the growing awareness of the need for Cambodia to regain her independence – gradually took shape. This was evident especially in the persons of early nationalists like Son Ngoc Thanh, who cooperated with his colleague at the Buddhist Institute Pach Chhoeun in establishing the first Cambodian-language newspaper – *Nagara Vatta* – in 1937 (*Angkor Wat*) (Osborne, 1973).

It is of course very difficult to understand how nationalism in a particular country arose. Many factors may have been involved in the formation of nationalistic consciousness. In Europe, nationalism was most apparent after the great revolution in France in 1789. The mainstream of nationalism spread throughout Europe after that event. Moreover, it is also difficult to define nationalism, and because of the lack of a precise definition of “nationalism”, we also find it difficult to determine if an event or person is part of a country’s nationalist movement.

Rupert Emerson (Emerson, 1946) focused on the loyalties of a man to his nation, together with his ability to control its material and social resources, as a basis for calling him a nationalist. He pointed out that a nationalist is a person who aims to

restore his nation's culture, language, symbols and political institutions after it has regained its independence. In Europe and Asia, most of the nationalist leaders were men who came from among those Emerson called "downtrodden masses" – that is, those representing a characteristic product of Industrial Revolution. Among the Asian nationalists mentioned in his work were Gandhi, who was educated in Britain and South Africa; Nehru, a British-educated lawyer; Sun Yat-sen, a product of medical education in Hong Kong; Quezon and Osmena, American-trained lawyers; Soekarno, a Dutch-trained engineer; Nguyen Ai Quoc, a Paris student; and Luang Pradit (Dr. Pridi Banomyong), a French-trained lawyer. Many of them rose from the lower strata of society and struggled with economic pressures, the power of the aristocracy especially under colonial rule where foreigners monopolized both power and wealth (Emerson, 1946: 211).

Cambodian nationalism actually grew after the French had tried to control the king who was the iconic hero of the people. Besides that, the coming of communism contributed to the upsurge of nationalistic awareness. As has been indicated, one of the early nationalists was Son Ngoc Thanh. When he worked as secretary of the Buddhist Institute, he distributed anti-French, anti-colonialist and republican ideas (Shawcross, 1991). The French, meanwhile, decided that their best protection against nationalism was to opt for a king who would not be politically ambitious. Hence, when King Monivong (who had been angered by the French cession of Siem Reap and Battambang to Bangkok) died in 1941, the French dropped the Sisowath line and reverted to a Norodom descendant, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was selected to succeed King Monivong when he was only nineteen years old. He was formally crowned on May 3rd, 1941.

Apart from the Khmer Issarak (Free Khmer) movement, whose left-leaning faction was to form a communist-lead Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) in the early 1950s, by this time there had been two main political figures in Cambodia, Son Ngoc Thanh and King Norodom Sihanouk. An ethnic Khmer in southern Vietnam, Khmer Krom, Thanh maintained a relationship with the Japanese, who occupied the whole of Southeast Asia during the Second World War. Towards the end of the reign of Sihanouk's predecessor, the Japanese had mediated in the Franco-Siamese conflict of 1940-1941 that resulted in the cessation of Siem Reap and

Battambang to Siam. However, when they seized power from the French in 1945, they did not dislodge Sihanouk from the throne.

At the time, the Thai had a chance to support the anti-French Cambodian guerilla movement known as the Khmer Issarak. In 1942, when the French police arrested two Cambodian monks who were distributing pamphlets critical of the French, Pach Chhoeun organized demonstrations asking for the release of the monks. The demonstrations ended in failure, and Pach Chhoeun was imprisoned on the Poulo Condore Island lying off Vietnam's southern coast, while Thanh sought help from the Japanese Embassy in Bangkok (Osborne, 1973: 34). Given the further decline of the royal court of Cambodia as well as the French during the Japanese occupation, the Japanese supported Thanh by provided him with a chance to stay in Tokyo, so that King Sihanouk could take no action against him in Phnom Penh (Shawcross, 1991).

When the Japanese came to Southeast Asia, they brought with them a concept of pan-Asian solidarity – Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere – with a view to winning over the nationalist leaders in this region. The Japanese seized power from the French, declaring the colonial era in Indochina over, and encouraged Emperor Bao Dai of Vietnam, the King of Laos; and King Sihanouk of Cambodia to declared independence from France. The Vietnamese communist movement led by Ho Chi Minh did not accept the declaration of independence by Bao Dai, because they were already planning an uprising for this purpose – the August Revolution of 1945.

In Cambodia, King Sihanouk appointed Thanh as Foreign Minister and later he became Prime Minister of Cambodia. Thanh's rise to power was the result of the support by the Japanese; so he now had power to construct a republican rule which was clearly in conflict with the role of King Sihanouk as the upholder of Cambodian monarchy. Son Ngoc Thanh tried to declare independence from France, but he was arrested by the French after the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

After his arrest, Thanh was exiled to France. It was after about fifteen years before he could restart his mission of fighting for his republicanism again. He did this with the support of Thailand and South Vietnam. Together with his Khmer Issarak guerillas and colleagues, Thanh gained support for his anti-Sihanouk mission. Thanh fought to bring the end to the monarchy which he believed would truly liberate Cambodia. This idea was shared by the Viet-Minh with which he joined forces later.

Following the U.S. intervention in Indochina, Thanh also sought help from the United States for this mission.

While Cambodia was experiencing political instability at home, in world politics the Cold War was looming large over Southeast Asia. American post-war policy planners contemplated support for the rights of colonial peoples to ensure progress toward full self-government and independence. In the view of the United States, the age of imperialism had already gone with the declaration of the Atlantic Charter in 1941 (Young, 1991: 1). This stress on the end of imperialism was evident in the speech of Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles on Memorial Day in 1942: “The imperialism is ended...the principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the whole world as a whole—in all oceans and in all continents.”

This concern with the colonial problem was associated with the view of Roosevelt, who considered that all colonies and mandates should not belong to any one nation. To be granted independence, colonies had to be under the international committee and granted them time to reach a satisfactory level on the standard of independence. The standard of development in colonies was the standard given by such an international body.

Supporting independence for colonies, the United States of America faced with the problem of how to deal with the Allies that included colonial powers. Even though Roosevelt supported the freedom of colonies, he did not overtly encourage decolonization. He tried to maintain a stable friendship with all countries he had to deal with, especially France whose empires included Indochina. The United States recognized the sovereign jurisdiction of France on the French possessions overseas. Hence, following the end of the Pacific War, the United States had to accommodate France’s demand for a restoration of its power in Indochina. Moreover, when the Cold War came to Southeast Asia following the communist victory in mainland China in October 1949, the United States opted to support the French in their conflict with the Vietnamese communists who were struggling for Vietnam’s independence. By this time, the communist-led war of liberation in this former French possession had become a struggle between communism and the “Free World”, and this struggle, as we shall see, came to have a profound impact on post-independence Cambodia’s effort to build stable and modern political rule.

3.4 The Emergence of Cold War in Indochina and Cambodia

In Indochina, nationalists were encouraged to fight for independence by their resentment of European exploitation. Liberal and socialist philosophies emerged in the Indochinese middle classes. Even though the coming of the Japanese in 1941-1942 brought a defeated status to the West in many Asian's view, the West, especially those two major powers, still remained strong.

Originally, the communist movement appeared in Indochina which was influenced by the Comintern. Later the Indochinese Comintern established an Indochinese Communist Party in 1929. In early of the establishment of Indochinese Communist Party, the French imperialism covered Indochina, so the reaction of the communist was in struggle. Nguyen Ai Qouc, was a Comintern communist leader in Indochina who spread his ideology into Cambodia. Later Qouc adopted pseudonym in order to cover his Comintern track as Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh founded the Viet-Minh movement to fight for independence of North Vietnam. With the influence of the communist mainstream driven by the Cold War, Ho Chi Minh and the Viet-Minh movement appeared to be on the communist side. Ho visited France in 1946 in order to discuss the independence of Vietnam, unfortunately he found the French determined to restore their power in not only Vietnam, but also over all Indochina (Young, 1991: 84). It resulted in the increasing of the Viet-Minh movement not only in North Vietnam, but also spreading into other Indochina states.

Along with the Viet-Minh, the noncommunist Khmer Issarak forces were developed by the support from Siamese, the Thai in present day. In 1947, the Committee of Liberation of People of Southeast Cambodia was created in order to develop a revolutionary movement among Khmer people. Later this committee was influenced by the Viet-Minh's undertaking the group of rubber plantation workers on the eastern Cambodia. On the other hand, Khmer Issarak Liberation Committee was established in 1948 in order to undertake politico-military action among the Khmer. It appeared that Cambodia became a frontier of the Khmer Issarak and the Viet-Minh. However, the confrontation between the Khmer Issarak and the Viet-Minh went better when the meeting of the leaders from the two groups occurred in April 1950. It resulted in the establishment of a Provisional Central Committee of Liberation of Cambodian People under the control of Son Ngoc Minh and the members of the Indochinese Communist Party (Morris, 1999: 34).

While the anti-French movement was merging with the communist, the French was confident with controlling Cambodia since they put King Sihanouk on the throne in 1941. With King Sihanouk's dedication on royal crusade for independence, Cambodia gained independence by the international recognition of the royal government of King Sihanouk in November 1953. Osborne mention that the Soviet Union was reluctant to back the Vietnamese communists so did China who did not support the right of Cambodia's leftists (Osborne, 1994: 87). It was argued by Morris that though the Vietnamese communist forces were forced by the Geneva court in order to withdraw from Cambodia territory, there was a group who were called by noncommunist as "Khmer Viet-Minh" left in Cambodia. He advanced that "Khmer Viet-Minh" were communist cadres, soldiers, and their families, who were waiting for the repetition of history (Morris, 1999: 36).

After the end of the World War II, World Politics became unstable with the competition of each political sphere. The transformation of World Politics from real war into the Cold War spread its influence into Indochina, including Cambodia, and made this region into the buffer of political spheres' confrontation. The emergence of the Cold War in Indochina and Cambodia occurred as a result of anti-colonialism which later was merged with the communist presence in this area.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER IV

STATE-BUILDING OF CAMBODIA BY KING NORODOM SIHANOUK IN 1953-1970

Post-World War II was the period in which world politics was transformed into a political and ideological conflict with the specter of a nuclear disaster deterring the two superpowers – the United and the Soviet Union – from engaging in a total war between them. This was the essence of the Cold War that at any rate made its impact felt in all parts of the world. Even though colonialism drastically declined after the end of World War II, the Cold War introduced new forms of imperialism, and a Third World state like Cambodia had to suffer its adverse impacts. Though the French colonial yoke had gone, King Norodom Sihanouk had to lead his state through very tough times. The influence of the French still remained in Cambodia, of course, but it was the effect of the domino theory – the belief entertained especially by the United States about a possible fall of states in Southeast Asia to communism – that created a obstacle to Sihanouk’s effort at state-building.

This chapter looks into the political style of Sihanouk, as both a king and later a chief of state, used in dealing with Cambodian domestic politics and world politics. Since the Cold War expanded into Asia after the victory of the communists in China and the Korean War, Cambodia had to face power competition between two political and ideological camps – the “Free World” and the communist camp. As leader of a newly independent state, Sihanouk had to manage Cambodia’s domestic politics and protect it from external intervention that might have an effect on his state-building. Given the predominance of the Cold War rivalry of big powers, this chapter argues that world politics was the major factor weakening Sihanouk’s power that led to his fall from power in 1970. As a result of the fall of Sihanouk, the state-building of Cambodia came to an end – as evident in the ensuing turmoil that eventually resulted in a civil war. It may be argued that the civil war was a result of the Cold War. The most tragic episode of all was the new attempt at state-building by the Khmer Rouge led by Saloth Sar or “Pol Pot” ended in the death of more than two million Cambodians.

4.1 The Royal Crusade for Independence

When King Norodom Sihanouk ascended the throne in 1941, Cambodia was still a protectorate in the French Indochina. Even though the Royal court was still in place, the real power was not in its hand. Actually, each major policy had to be approved by the French before it could be implemented over the kingdom.

The selection of Prince Sihanouk rather than Prince Sisowath Monireth as the successor to King Monivong was indeed a political one. The French Government-General of Indochina at that time, Admiral Decoux, argued that the selection of Sihanouk, which was taken essentially by the French, was aimed to end the rivalry between the two principal branches of the Cambodian royal family (Osborne, 1973: 33). It was the goal of French to balance the power conflict which had arisen when the French appointed the Sisowath side after the death of King Norodom, who was Sisowath's elder brother. Moreover, Prince Sihanouk was only nineteen years old when he was chosen to be on the throne. He was just a high school student in Saigon. Indeed, when the French chose Prince Sihanouk, they did not think that he would be a big political challenge for them as his personality was still developing at his young age. His father, Prince Suramarit, had co-operated with French administration and his mother, Princess Kossamak, was a very strong-will person who did not have any conflict with the French (Osborne, 1973).

Another nationalist challenge was posed by Son Ngoc Thanh. He was a civilian who started a campaign against French colonial rule. This was, however, also a challenge for the monarchy that had been most affected by the loss of Cambodian independence. Suffering for a long time from outsiders, the Cambodia royal court had to seek its own power in its own state. Since becoming a French protectorate in 1863 and being incorporated into the French Indochina in 1887, the monarchy lost its legitimacy that had been the foundation of Cambodia's political power. Therefore to strengthen the state's power, Cambodia had to bring her legitimacy back.

As a French protectorate, Cambodia still remained a nation but not a state. Hence, while Thanh, a civilian, fought against the French, Sihanouk as the leader of the nation could not stay idle. Sihanouk's political movement actually began in 1945, after the Japanese had seized power from the French. Sihanouk began taking advice from Japanese on the independence of his country. He proclaimed his kingdom's independence on March 12, 1945. Fortunately, King Sihanouk's advisors who were

close to him, such as Prince Monireth, the king's uncle, and Penn Nouth, did not oppose his eventual crusade for independence. They saw that the Japanese were in control of Cambodian affairs after March 1945, but were at the same time ready to contemplate a future situation involving a return to power of the French. Osborne has pointed out that there actually existed a continuing conflict in Cambodian politics between those who had been ready to wait and those who sought immediate independence from France (Osborne, 1973: 39).

Since the king appointed Song Ngoc Thanh as prime minister, administrative power in Cambodia was delegated to Thanh. The young king could not gain fame as much as Thanh did. Even though the king and Thanh differed on how to fight for independence for Cambodia, Thanh still had support from the king. The independence that had been declared with the support of the Japanese came to an end when the Southeast Asian Commission on the Pacific War arrived at Indochina and Thanh was arrested in October 16, 1945.

Between August and October 1945 when politics was getting worse for the Cambodian court, King Sihanouk considered abdicating in order to retreat from the political arena. Considering the problems he was facing, King Sihanouk had a very tough time to make a great decision when he was only in his twenties. This showed the significant fact that the king's decision depended upon the power of the royal family whose members later appeared to be the main consultants for King Sihanouk on his state-building after independence.

Sihanouk's progress in his struggle for independence was slow because it still remained unclear whether or not the king intended to rule over the kingdom himself or go back into the shade of French power. The French gave a chance to the Cambodian court to negotiate on how Cambodia should be governed. One option was that Cambodia became an autonomous state within a French Union. Surely, being under the French Union was the extension of the status of French protectorate for Cambodia, according to Prince Monireth. The argument of Prince Monireth was opposed by a group of Cambodian elites who had studied in France during the World War II period. One of them is was Prince Sisowath Yuthevong, the member of Sisowath branch of the royal family (Osborne, 1973).

In 1946, while the French still maintained Cambodia's protectorate status, Thailand, one of Cambodia's neighbors, was under a civilian self-rule. The example

of the Thai political system gave an important impetus to the growth of the Cambodian royal court's awareness of that kind of self-rule. The Thai civilian regime had been financing anti-Japanese and subsequently anti-French guerillas along the Cambodia border since the fall of Phibul government in 1944. This group of Cambodian nationalists formed the Khmer Issarak (Free Khmer). Later, this group took control over *Sruk*, the community, which the Thai had taken in 1941 (Chandler, 2003: 174).

While Thailand developed a relationship with the Free Khmer, the communist group of northern Vietnam was expanding the power into the south where the French administration was established. This situation made Cambodia fall into the frontier between Thailand and Vietnam again as it always happened in the past. Though Cambodian politics suffered risks with the interference from her neighbors, the constitutional monarchy emerged.

During this time party politics in Cambodia also began with the first election of a consultative assembly in September 1946. There were three parties, the Democrat Party, the Democratic Progressive Party, and the Liberal Party, contested for power (Peou, 2000: 40). According to David Chandler (Chandler, 2003), Prince Sisowath Yuthevong, the leader of the Democratic Party (Krom Pracheatipodei), and Prince Norodom Norindeth, the leader of the Liberal Party, were so different from each other. He explained that Prince Yuthevong (1912-1947), who had returned from France for his higher education, learned a lot of modern politics from the French, and this motivated him towards democracy. The Democrat Party had a program which called for a negotiation of Cambodia's independence as quickly as possible. On the other hand, Prince Norindeth was a conservative who believed that Cambodian politics should involve educating the people and maintaining a dependent relationship with France. Besides that, the third party led by Prince Norodom Montana was also conservative in orientation, but this party disappeared quickly from the scene.

As a party which gained strong support from people who were in favor of the same nationalist proposal driven by Song Ngoc Thanh, the Democrat Party tried to reduce the power of King Sihanouk by imposing a consultation that gave more power to the Democrat-dominated Assembly (Peou, 2000: 41). King Sihanouk was not disturbed by this political development. He responded to the Democrats' demand by consenting to the Constitution and advocating the establishment of a parliamentary

democratic system. He stirred the mainstream of the Democrats by calling for national elections to be held on the basis of universal male suffrage and even favored freedom of the press and association. Real power still remained in the hands of the King as his signature was required before any law came into force. Given this situation, the Democrats struggled to declare the independence of Cambodia. In fact, the real state power was still not in the hands of Cambodians or even the Cambodian king because it was the French were ruling the kingdom. Moreover, the independence of Cambodia had to be granted by the French.

While the burgeoning party politics still hardly made any significant progress towards independence, certain powerful groups in Cambodia did not seem to favor any intensification of struggle for independence. According to Chandler (Chandler, 2003), the Democrats were hindered in their struggle mainly because vested-interest groups such as the royal family, Chinese, and Sino-Cambodians opposed the kind of disorder that a real struggle for independence would entail. In politics, these groups supported the Liberal Party, as did the French. Without economic and financial support by such groups, the Democrats lacked a political base that was strong enough to influence officials, win elections, or finance an armed insurrection. Hence, though the Democrats had seats in the cabinet, they were powerless to put in place political and administrative programs.

The overall political situation in Cambodia remained unstable. So in 1949, the French came along with a treaty which was called by King Sihanouk “50 percent independence.” The treaty allowed Cambodia to operate their foreign affairs as well as an autonomous military zone in Battambang and Siem Reap, while the French took control over finance, defense, customs, and political administration over other part of state. The terms of this treaty even more plainly showed, insofar as characteristics of the state as defined by Finer (Finer, 1975) are concerned, that Cambodia at that time lacked one such crucial characteristic – that is “the organ of government”.

Meanwhile changes in world politics were creeping in. Colbert (Colbert, 1977) noted that the communist victory in China gave an encouragement to the communist-led Viet-Minh in Vietnam. In addition, with the nuclear achievement of the Soviet Union in 1949, the power of communism seemed to be on the rise, especially when the Soviet Union and the People Republic of China signed an alliance treaty in 1950. These events sent a shockwave throughout the world. The United State, as leader of

the Free World, now viewed France, which was engaging in a war with the Viet-Minh, as a stalwart against any further advancement of communism. The French thus immensely benefited from substantial military and financial assistance from the United States in their war effort. Ironically, the United States claimed that they did not help France as the colonialist state, but they helped an ally to fight the communists (Chandler, 2003).

It was against this backdrop of both domestic political turmoil and changes in world politics that King Sihanouk took his own action. After a long period of waiting for his political opportunities, King Sihanouk anticipated a political career in a future democratic Cambodia. He thus decided to launch his own fight for independence of his country. In June 1952 he gave a speech in the Assembly, asserting that “All is in disorder. Hierarchy no longer exists. There is no rational employment of talent... if it is right to be dissident, this means that all the best patriots will seek refuge in the forest.”(Chandler, 2003: 184)

When former Prime Minister Yem Sambaur was arrested by Prime Minister Huy Kanthol, King Sihanouk decided to set a coup against the Democrats. Osbourne (Osborne, 1973) pointed out that one factor that drove King Sihanouk into the independent fighting was the death of his beloved daughter, Princess Kantha Bopha in 1952. The coup was set from Saigon to surround the National Assembly. Consequently, King Sihanouk dismissed the Democrats government.

The King also took over the seat of Prime Minister after he dissolved the Assembly and formed his own cabinet. The King promised to his people in June 15th, 1952, that he would bring independence to Cambodia within three years (Jeldres, 2005). The King assumed that he had a right mandate from the people and acted as if the mandate had been granted. This was the beginning of his “Royal Crusade for Independence”.

However, King Sihanouk soon realized that a problem for his Crusade for Independence was that he did not have a strong political backing at home. Cambodian politicians opposed the king’s idea of independence; they even did not envisage any plan for independence of their country. This might have been an important motive behind King Sihanouk’s attempt to build political solidarity – in his own way, of course – after independence.

In his position as king, Sihanouk was willing to use his kingship in his state politics. In the past, he did not use much of his kingship, so the monarchy seemed to disappear from Cambodia politics. In the name of the king as a symbolic of the state, King Sihanouk pursued his political life and took the benefit of kingship for his political goal. If people opposed him, it did not only mean that they declared themselves against his political position but also against his kingship.

While he was using his kingship to control the situation after eliminating the Assembly dominated by the Democrats, he simultaneously showed the focus on national identity which nobody could claim for the purpose of their political goals – the national identity that was rooted in Cambodian kingship. The benefits taken by the king from the royal tradition gave him a shrewd appreciation of how the interplay of external and internal problems could work to his advantage (Osborne, 1973).

King Sihanouk began exercising his power on internal politics by confronting the rebels in northern Cambodia led by Dap Chhoun, a former Khmer Issarak leader. Because the king ran the troop against the rebels, he gained support from his people. The propaganda the king implemented enhanced his political position and also created a chance for him to generate internal and external bargaining positions. He was wise enough to let his advisors take care of internal affairs and politics. His strong power and his propaganda on Cambodian independence gave him the opportunity to get support from Cambodians. The internal political front was not the obstacle for the young king anymore. His priority was the independence of his kingdom so he involved himself more in international arena.

The crusade for independence provided King Sihanouk with an opportunity to bring Cambodia into world politics. He flew to meet the French President, Vincent Auriol, in France on February 9th, 1953. He established the headquarters for his mission at La Napoule in southern France (Jeldres, 2005). He sent a letter to the French president, but the result came out negatively for Cambodia. As a result, King Sihanouk planned to leave for North America visiting Canada and the United State of America.

He took off from France on April 11th and arrived in Montreal on April 12th. Fortunately, King Sihanouk had a chance to give a speech on Canadian radio in which he mentioned that the only way to draw attention to the call for independence of his country was to argue that unless this was granted, Cambodia and all Indochinese

states, would not defeat the communist challenge (Osborne, 1994). Sihanouk did not stop his crusade. He continued to play an important role in world politics by taking a trip to the United State of America. The United States as the leader of the anti-colonialist camp could be the source of his support. He planned to meet John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State. Consequently, he got a promise from Dulles that once the Communist threat had been completely eradicated, the United State would work to convince France of the need to grant Cambodia with complete independence. One reason why Dulles did not want France to grant Cambodia independence immediately was because the communists could occupy Cambodia. On April 19th, 1953, King Sihanouk gave a long interview to Michael James of the *New York Times*. The news report stimulated world attention:

“Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia, one of the three associated states of Indochina, warned in an interview yesterday, that unless the French give his people more independence in the next few months, there is a real danger that the people of Cambodia would rise against the current regime and form part of the Viet-Minh movement lead by the Communists.”

Though the Crusade run by King Sihanouk received a negative response from the United States, the French became the point of attention from world society. France responded to Cambodia by inviting King Sihanouk’s representatives in Paris. Penn Nouth and Sam Sary went to the meeting on April 23rd, 1953. The result of the meeting led to the signing on May 9th, 1953 which contained several proposals, but not any one of them concerned Cambodian independence. As a result, the king called for Penn Nouth’s exile to Bangkok.

A decision to exile in Thailand for seven days was rather strange since King Sihanouk was fighting the rebels in northwestern Cambodia who were supported by the Thai. Moreover, Thailand had arguments with Cambodia on the issue of taking Battambang and Siem Reap back. Sihanouk decided to go to Siem Reap. Finally, King Sihanouk visited Thailand by crossing the border on June 14th. Two days later he arrived in Bangkok. He did not hesitate to announce the statement on his crusade for independence. On June 16th, 1953, he gave a long statement repeating the demand for independence of Cambodia accompanied by the warning of the dangers to the French. While he was in exile in Bangkok, he was only “the plain political refugee”.

This made Sihanouk disappointed and angry, so he moved back to Siem Reap on June 28th where he called for the mobilization of some 400,000 Cambodians both men and women to be trained in Battambang for military duties.

The strategy used by Cambodian king had the important effect of scaring the French. In addition, though the Franco-Viet-Minh War had not ended yet, the Viet-Minh was confident on their victory which scared the French (Osborne, 1994: 80; Tully, 2006: 120). In July 3rd, 1953, the French, headed by Joseph Laniel, declared that they were ready to grant independence to Cambodia and other Indochinese states (Jeldres, 2005: 49).

After success in the arrangement with France on granting independence for Cambodia, the brave King Sihanouk went back to his kingdom on October 29th. He was cheerfully welcomed. His journey fighting for independence which is one of the necessary elements to be a “state” not only a “nation” gave him a superior position in Cambodia politics.

The formal declaration for Cambodia independence eventually took place on November 9th, 1953. It had been a long time since 1863 when Cambodia lost her sovereignty to France. Though Cambodia as a “nation” still existed under French rule, the country had lost all important characteristics of a “state”. Now that Cambodia was politically free, the legitimacy of her state was given back with the full sovereignty of the state. Because of his great fight for Cambodia, King Sihanouk was honored with a title of “National Hero”. Today, he was respectfully called by his people “*Samdech Aow*” which means the father king¹. After his abdication he was entitled as *Preah Karuna Preah Bat Sâmdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk Preahmâhaviraksat* means Norodom Sihanouk the great lord of sacred compassion.

4.2 The Cambodian Independence and the Geneva Conference

In early 1945, the First Indochina War had not yet started. The French army had been demolished in Europe and the French public opinion swung to withdrawal. However, the United States might step in to replace the French because of the determination of President Dwight Eisenhower to cobble together a “coalition of willing” against the Viet-Minh. However, because he was unable to obtain support

¹ Yoothasart Ngamin, Siem Reap trip on August 8th -10th, 2009.

from the American public or from Congress, Eisenhower's close advisors were hesitant to get involved; Eisenhower thus opted for negotiations at Geneva.

So the Geneva conference opened on May 8th, 1954 with delegations from the United States, France, Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the People's Republic of China (PRC), Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam. The main issue was to negotiate the settlement of the Indochinese and Korean conflicts. In the conference, Cambodia was a tangential issue which was dominated by the superpowers. The issue picked up by Pham Van Dong concerned setting up the resistant government of Cambodian communists supported by the Viet-Minh. It was disputed whether this should be regarded as the undertaking of local elements or it should be viewed as the work of foreign forces (Smith, 1965). At that time Cambodian delegates were Nong Kimny, Sam Sary and Tep Phan, instructed by Sihanouk as well as the United States, France, and Great Britain, were objecting to a proposal from the DRV's Pham van Dong to seat representatives of the communist-dominated "resistance movements" from Laos and Cambodia. It was apparently that Tep Phan, the delegate of Cambodia, agreed with help from the United State when he asserted that;

"The United States wished to conform to its tradition of liberty, to protect my country against foreign assertion. The United States does not wish to create the colonial empire. It wishes to simply to furnish us with the means of preserving our independence and to prevent our country from becoming a colony of communist imperialism." (Smith, 1965: 63)

When it became clear that the issue was a sticking point for Sihanouk's delegates, the PRC's Zhou Enlai and the USSR's Molotov persuaded Pham Van Dong to drop the demand. This showed the victory of the Cambodian delegates in their role in international politics (Tully, 2006: 126-127).

Soon afterward in July 21st, 1954, came the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China reported by Senator Mike Mansfield. Part of its contents showed the significance of Cambodia's sovereignty:

“1. The Conference takes note of the agreements ending hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam and organizing international control and the supervision of the execution of the provisions of these agreements.

2. The Conference expresses satisfaction at the ending of hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam; the Conference expresses its conviction that the execution of the provisions set out in the present declaration and in the agreements on the cessation of hostilities will permit Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam henceforth to play their part, in full independence and sovereignty, in the peaceful community of nations.

3. The Conference takes note of the declarations made by the Governments of Cambodia and of Laos of their intention to adopt measures permitting all citizens to take their place in the national community, in particular by participating in the next general elections, which, in conformity with the constitution of each of these countries, shall take place in the course of the year 1955, by secret ballot and in conditions of respect for fundamental freedoms. ...” (Manfield, 1954: 26-27)

The Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference shows important triumphs for Sihanouk’s delegates in the world political stage. In addition, the Geneva Conference had resulted in a truce between the combatants in Vietnam and had guaranteed Cambodia’s sovereignty. Meanwhile, in 1955, Cambodia had to hold a national election that brought political change to the country and especially to King Sihanouk.

The Cambodian communists had to face the prospect of going underground since Cambodia gained recognition from the world society in the Geneva Accords. The Cambodian communists had to decide what they should do -- align themselves with the Vietnamese communists, or align themselves with the power of King Norodom Sihanouk. Neither choice for the Cambodian communists matched their goal which was the liberation of Cambodia. Chandler mentioned that Soloth Sar was interested in accepting the Viet-Minh to stay in Cambodia underground and led a rear guard to organize a people’s group (Krom Pracheachon) under the protection of the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC) (Chandler, 1991: 74).

The ICSC was a peace keeping mechanism set in place at Geneva to oversee the transfer of power between the French and the successor regimes in Indochina. The purpose of the ICSC in Cambodia included the election which was provided for by the Geneva Conference that would be held in 1955.

The election was a part of the healing process for the non-Communist segments of Indochina. It weakened the Democrats who were away from Cambodian politics for nearly three years. Apparently, the Democrats were still the best organized political party. Therefore, the leaders of the Democrats looked forward to winning the election in 1955. The young Democrats generation opposed the pro-U.S. policy of Sihanouk which the king followed after gaining the recognition from the Geneva Conference. The young Democrats members created the idea of neutrality by making friendship with the Cambodian communist side (Chandler, 2003: 187-188). This was the network of political movements which combined to build the pressure on King Sihanouk in his effort to moderate the tide of oppositions.

In the view of the communists and non-communists alike, post-independence Cambodia fell into the royal crusade stream of Sihanouk. In response to the suspicion that Cambodia fell under Sihanouk, Son Ngoc Thanh tried to rally against the government in September 1954. Unfortunately, Sihanouk refused to receive him. Consequently, Thanh sought protection from Thailand and moved to the Thai-Cambodian border.

World politics came to interfere with the Thanh affair. While he sought protection from the Thai, Vietnamese also provided him with help. In addition, the Southeast Asian Organization (SEATO) formed in 1954 with pro-U.S. countries in the region and beyond, endeavored to make Thanh their instrument. This intrusive United States policy in Cambodia caused distrust even among the pro-western elements in Cambodia. For example, Sihanouk's uncle Prince Monireth who was pro-western did not want to rely on the United States policy (Chandler, 1991: 75). Thailand took a chance to gain power over her neighbor, as it had always done in the past, by supporting Thanh, while the Vietnamese supported the other conspirators during the 1950s. When Thailand helped Thanh, the United States also followed the way that Thailand paved for them. America viewed the incidents in Cambodia as the challenges for their power expansion and it was like the game of cards in which one just took one up and threw the other down.

The pressure caused by the United States, Thailand and Vietnam, reminded that Sihanouk he needed to carefully consider how to manage Cambodia's relations with external powers that tried to intervene in his state. The Democrats who opposed King Norodom Sihanouk still represented an obstacle to his effort to consolidate his power over all of Cambodia. It became an objective of King Sihanouk to eliminate the Democrats from his path, though Thanh's supporters were still agitating for republican lines, taking advantage of the presence with the ICSC in Cambodia.

According to Chandler, the Thai influence appeared in the new concept adopted by Sihanouk's friends who formed a party called *Sahapak* in 1954 – that was the concept of “State, Religion, and Monarchy”. This concept was closely associated with Thai nationalism which has been embodied in the Thai national flag. The purpose of the *Sahapak* was to enable Sihanouk to enhance his popularity over his oppositions. While the *Sahapak* was trying to help Sihanouk, the Democrats still kept opposing him by forming an alliance with those who favored Thanh. In reaction to the United States presence in Cambodia, the new generation of the Democrats responded by adopting neutrality (Chandler, 1991: 76). It was obvious that the Democrats who opposed King Norodom Sihanouk were the first group in Cambodia who announced a neutrality policy in domestic politics.

4.3 The Abdication of King Sihanouk and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum

When Cambodia achieved independence from France in November 1953 King Sihanouk still held emergency power and the legislature was in suspension. While Sihanouk's delegates in Geneva were working to avoid any dismemberment of the country as the Franco-Viet-Minh War was brought to an end, the internal situation was far from reassuring for the King. Since the return of Son Ngoc Thanh, King Sihanouk realized that he should move forward with political improvement. With the possible expansion of the Democrats' influence of, King Sihanouk tried to find the way to get rid of his bitter enemy, Thanh.

The consequence of the Geneva Conference appeared in Sihanouk's role in politics in 1955. That year he played an important role in both Cambodia domestic

politics and world politics: Chandler saw this as a turning point in Cambodia political development and Sihanouk as an important political actor² (Chandler, 2003: 187).

With the victory of the independence movement, Cambodia needed new elections in 1955. At that time, King Sihanouk could capitalize on his popularity by putting forward proposals for major constitutional change. The important change would be to make the king of Cambodia supremely powerful over his ministers and parliament. Robert G. Sutter noted that Sihanouk's failure to amend the constitution in 1955 contributed to the weakening of his power over the National Assembly (Sutter, 1991: 10). He thus abdicated in March 1955 in order for his father, Norodom Suramarit, to ascend to the throne.

Sihanouk then proceeded to found a mass political movement, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum. The Sangkum Reastr Niyum was not only a political party but also a national organization which was flexible enough to accommodate a wide range of political opinions. Above all, Sihanouk made Sangkum a movement of civil servants who were loyal to the state and to him.

Sihanouk's decision to abdicate was an act of pure political ingenuity. By arranging for his father, Prince Norodom Suramarit, to succeed him, he needed to make sure that the throne would not be occupied by another member of the royal family who would use that position for a political end. Following his abdication, Sihanouk was only a prince and had the same status as a normal citizen, which was what he had aspired to. For that time he was called *Samdech Upayuvareach* (the prince who has been king). His abdication was a significant political stroke with many consequent advantages. On the one hand, being succeeded by his father ensured that the throne remained in the Norodom branch of the royal family, while he could assume a political role through his new political movement party, Sangkum. On the other hand, most of Cambodians continued to think of Sihanouk as a king, whatever his title had become (Osborne, 1973: 57).

² David P. Chandler labeled Sihanouk as the political actor in Cambodian politics which helped emphasize such a role of his. Besides that, this study focuses on Sihanouk's political style in dealing with both domestic politics and world politics, so the word "actor" is adopted from the study of Chandler and used in this study.

Through the Sangkum, Prince Sihanouk launched a political campaign lasting from March to September 1955, with the broad lines of a political philosophy that spoke of ‘Socialism’ and ‘Democracy’ (Rose, 1959: 18). He dubbed each of his 100,000 disciples “Sahachivin” (comrade) and he himself assumed the title the “Samdech Sahachivin” (Prince Comrade). He then set everybody to work stirring up the voters (Hanna, 1964: 18).

When the election was held in September 1955, the Sangkum won all seats in the National Assembly, with the Democrats gaining 12 percent and the Pracheachon 4 percent, of the popular votes. It was a great triumph for the Sangkum. Certain irregular measures were used to influence the election results. On the polling day, voters were harassed by Sangkum thugs and police. Moreover, in the week prior to the polling day, a number of opposition newspapers had been closed down and their editors detained without trial. All these were tactics that Sihanouk had used against dissidents during the 1951 coup (Tully, 2006: 130).

With this profound electoral success, the Cambodian government was not centered on the national assembly, but upon the Sangkum National Council and the Sangkum National Conference. The faithful people – male and female, young and old – came to a carnival convened annually in Phnom Penh. Of course, the Sangkum did not operate unopposed, but Prince Sihanouk had achieved a remarkable degree of success in bringing the opposition into the Sangkum itself and in placing opposition leaders in a position where he can handle them.

Even Prince Sihanouk felt threatened by the young intellectuals and also one of the leaders, Son Ngoc Thanh, of the Pracheachon. He thus appointed one of the intellectuals in this party, Hou Youn, his minister of finance and later minister of planning, making him responsible for such important functions so that he could maintain his influence over these people (Hanna, 1964: 19). In 1958 the Sangkum won 99 percent of the votes in the election held in that year. This overwhelming majority cast doubt on its legitimacy and mirrored the state-orchestrated electoral charades of the Stalinist countries, but in the Cambodian case, it can be described as ‘totalitarian democracy’; that is dictatorship under the façade of mass participation in the political system, as Tully described it (Tully, 2006: 132).

Prince Sihanouk was very successful with the Sangkum, while the Democrats and the procommunists like the Pracheachon were soundly defeated.

4.4 The Cambodian Non-alignment in World Politics

With the master role of Prince Sihanouk in Cambodian politics, a question arose as to what foreign policy post-independence Cambodia would pursue. The 1954 Geneva Conference had resulted in a truce between the combatants in Vietnam and had guaranteed Cambodia's sovereignty. Soon after that King Sihanouk announced Cambodia's neutrality in world politics, whereby King Sihanouk promised that no foreign military bases would be set up on Cambodian soil. The announcement displeased the US, which initially threatened to withhold all aid to Cambodia.

Since Geneva, the United States had hoped to put in place a collective defense in Southeast Asian region against communism. As a result, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)³ was created. While Cambodia was not eligible to join the SEATO, the United States was anxious for Cambodia to place itself under treaty's protection. Even though political and military leaders like Sam Sary and Lon Nol adopted a pro-American stance, Sihanouk refused to do this. The United States sent Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to convince King Sihanouk on February 2nd 1955, but Dulles' mission failed. Soon afterward, Sihanouk visited India and Burma. In India he met Nehru, the Indian prime minister, who led Sihanouk to announce a 'Buddhist Neutrality' policy.

In April 1955, at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, Sihanouk stressed the importance of maintaining neutrality in the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective power camps. Sihanouk considered that the United States was unreliable because of its support and arrangement for Thanh's exile in Thailand in 1952. America also backed the new

³ SEATO was created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty or the Manila Pact on September 8, 1954 as part of the Truman Doctrine of creating anti-communist bilateral and collective defense treaties. These treaties and agreements were intended to create alliances that would contain communist power. This policy was considered to have been largely developed by American diplomat and Soviet expert George F. Kennan. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (1953-1959) was the primary force behind the creation of SEATO, which expanded the concept of anti-communist collective defense to Southeast Asia.

government of Ngo Dinh Diem which disturbed Sihanouk. So he made his clear his intention to cultivate his friendship with China. In addition, the Chinese foreign minister Zhou Enlai⁴ and Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong promised non-interference in Cambodia affairs.

However, Sihanouk's ambivalence in his relation with the United States infuriated leftists in Cambodia. Although he was not ready to put his country under the SEATO protection, he did accept an offer from the United States to establish Military Aid and Assistance Group (MAAG) in Cambodia that would finance and equip his army and accepted large amounts of military support. Being aware of the need for his country to defend itself, together with the fear of right-wingers of North Vietnam and China, Sihanouk signed an agreement providing for continuing US military aid to Cambodia. According to Lertratakarn (1993), this gave Cambodia an opportunity to gain membership of the United Nations in December 1955.

Later in early 1956 a significant change was brought to Cambodia by Prince Sihanouk's announcement during his official visit to the Philippines. The Manila press speculated that Cambodia was about to drop its non-aligned status and seek rapprochement with the Free World. However, Sihanouk reiterated his country's neutrality and announced that he had accepted an official invitation to visit Beijing. There was clear indication, by the visit of Zhou Enlai to Cambodia in April that year, that Sihanouk had changed a direction more to the left (Osborne, 1973: 66).

Cambodian neutrality was formally confirmed when, on September 11th, 1957, the Cambodian National Assembly passed an act declaring neutrality to be the law of the land and required Cambodia to abstain from all military or ideological alliances. It further stated that;

“Cambodia will not commit aggression against other countries, but in the event of foreign military invasion, will reserve the right to (a) defense herself with arms (b) request aid from the United Nations, and (c) appeal to a friendly power.” (Smith, 1965: 108)

⁴ Zhou served as the Chinese foreign minister from 1949 to 1958.

To emphasize Cambodian neutrality, in July 1958, 13 years before the UN and the United States took a similar step, Sihanouk gave *de jure* recognition to the People's Republic of China and two years later signed a treaty of friendship with Beijing. This left anti-communist zealots in Washington, Saigon and Bangkok seething with rage (Tully, 2006: 134).

Toward the end of 1958, Cambodia's relations with its neighbors, especially South Vietnam and Thailand, deteriorated. Cambodia complained of continual border incursions from Thailand by right wing, pro-US Khmer Seri guerrillas linked to Son Ngoc Thanh and there were reports of similar incidents on the Cambodian-southern Vietnamese border. Another continuing sore point was the issue of Preah Vihear, an Angkorean temple on the Thai-Cambodian border that was claimed by both Thailand and was later in 1962 awarded to Cambodia by the World Court at The Hague.

During 1958, both Thailand and South Vietnam encroached on Cambodian territory. The Thai seized Preah Vihear temple then in June the South Vietnamese troops occupied an area of the remote northeastern Cambodian province of Stung Treng. In Sihanouk's view both events even were the work of Field Marshal Sarit in Thailand and President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, and this caused bitterness in his mind.

The friendship between the United States and Cambodia was also further decreased by the case of Sam Sary. Sary lost his status as Sihanouk's favorite man from the 1950s, because of his unacceptable behavior to his female servants, who were beaten by him in 1958. Moreover, the latter's bad manner appeared when he was called by Queen Kossamak after he had come back from London, but he rejected to meet her. Then Sary fled to Thailand. Even though Sary's plan was unclear Sihanouk delivered a dramatic speech in Kampong Cham on January 13th 1959, making clear that he was speaking about Thailand by telling his listeners that he would be overthrown and Cambodia's foreign policy would be changed in order for Cambodia to depend on the United States. After exile, Sam Sary disappeared in 1962, probably put to death.

Another interesting case was that of Dap Chhuon's disappearance. He was a former rebel who had fought under the communist banner in the First Indochina War; then in 1955, he was assigned to administer the election in Siem Reap. Sihanouk did not trust Dap Chhuon, while the latter had become increasingly disenchanted with Sihanouk's leftist leaning which was epitomized by his warm relations with China. Instead of joining Sihanouk, Chhuon developed a clandestine contact with Thanh and later on with the Thais, Vietnamese and Americans. Later Chhuon changed his mind by sending a letter to let Queen Kossamak and Lon Nol know about the plan. Then, on February 22nd 1959 he was shot by Lon Nol while 'attempting to escape'.

Whatever Sihanouk felt toward the United States before the Dap Chhuon affair, after this episode it was certain that Sihanouk was forever to distrust America and to regard the CIA as his implacable enemy.

4.5 The Chief of State

Following the death of his father, King Norodom Suramarit, Prince Sihanouk stated that there could not be a new king and that this lack of a symbolic leader would be exploited by Cambodia's enemies. By referendum, Prince Sihanouk was supported by the nation and was ready to become Chief of State once the parliament had amended the constitution to provide for this new office. The Prince hurriedly met with parliament on June 13th, 1960, and an additional clause was added to the constitution in article number 122, allowing the appointment as Chief of State of an individual 'incontestably and expressly designated by the vote of the nation. In the final paragraph, the amendment stated 'it provided that the president of national assembly could assume the power of the Chief of State if the latter was temporarily absent from Cambodia or unable to exercise his power'. On June 20th, 1960 Sihanouk became chief of state of Cambodia and asked the parliament to approve his mother, Queen Kossamak as 'symbolizing' the throne.

Meanwhile, the communist movement was transformed with young men such as Soloth Sar and his long time friend Ieng Sary forming its new leadership and with its name being changed from the Khmer People Revolutionary Party (KPRP) to

Khmer Workers Party (KWP). Later this group was forced to disperse by Sihanouk and internal dissents. Still their main goal survived.

Even though Sihanouk had a strong support of his people, from 1960 onwards the conflict in Indochina became serious and he aligned himself more closely with the enemies of Saigon and Bangkok. He fell into a difficult situation because of his emphasis on the external threats to his country and himself. Thus, Cambodia entered an unstable period and lost the trust of its own neighbors. Moreover, the United States labeled Prince Sihanouk in as “pro-Communist” in a cloud of the Cold War (Chandler, 2003: 192).

One reason for the United States to call Cambodia pro-communist was its growing friendship with China. Sihanouk sought supported from China. Zhou Enlai declared that the Chinese would stand by Cambodia. The aggressive announcement of Zhou led to the signing of a treaty of friendship and nonaggression between Cambodia and China in December, 1960 (Smith, 1965: 121).

4.6 The Decline of the Chief of State

In 1961 and 1962, Sihanouk felt confident about the situation of Cambodia on both domestic and international fronts. He played an active role in international politics. He promoted an international conference to bring peace to Laos in 1961 and was involved in the efforts to find a solution to the Sino-Indian dispute in 1962. In the same year, he voiced support for the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade. Moreover, he had been particularly buoyed by the ruling of the International Court of Justice on 1962 that Thailand had no right to occupy the Preah Vihear temple. On the other hand, in 1962 Sihanouk was extremely concerned about developments in South Vietnam. His personal antipathy towards President Ngo Dinh Diem was as sharp as ever, but now he began to worry that the fighting in the countryside between the Saigon regime and communist insurgents could pose a long term threat to Cambodia.

Cambodia's foreign relations in 1962 were dictated by the difficulties with her neighboring countries of Thailand and Vietnam. On the Thai-Cambodian border was situated the ancient Preah Vihear temple over which Thailand and Cambodia claimed its ownership. In June 15th, 1959, Cambodia brought this dispute to the International

Court of Justice which later, in 1962, announced that the temple was under Cambodian sovereignty. The court verdict compelled Thailand to withdraw her troops from the area of Preah Vihear temple. Although the situation remained unsettled for Cambodia and Thailand, Prince Sihanouk as the leader of the country, proposed a pilgrimage visit to Preah Vihear temple facing a hostile Thailand (Leifer, 1963: 58-59).

From 1963 onwards, the transitory nature of calmness at the beginning of the decade became apparent. Despite the prince's vigorous espousal of anti-imperialist causes in international politics, his policy toward the domestic left reflected his continuing belief that communism did not offer an answer to Cambodia's problem. The domestic political situation became more complicated by his action during the election in 1962. Representatives from the embattled leftist-front Pracheachon party were harassed by security forces and publicly humiliated by Sihanouk. However, in the atmosphere of violent suppression of the left by Sihanouk, those who continued to espouse leftist ideas such as Kieu Sampan, Hou Nim, Hou Youn and Chau Seng joined the Sangkum and some of them assumed cabinet posts. Moreover, they tried to please Sihanouk and were even rewarded by him while the Pracheachon colleagues did not (Chandler, 2003: 192).

An unexpected riot broke out in Siem Reap in February 1963, while Sihanouk was visiting China. He was told by Lon Nol that the riots were linked to Thanh. Later Sihanouk released the list of people who were involved in the riots that included five leftist members of Sangkum, Khieu Sampan, Chau Seng, Ieng Sary and Soloh Sar (later named Pol Pot). Again, Lon Nol was ordered to harass radical leftist with brutal diligence.

While the political problem was developing, the corruption issues rose to the surface. The corruption within the royal family of Cambodia was well known. It was not easy to campaign against the corruption that occurred on an even larger scale. Sihanouk acknowledged the existence of corruption, but confessed he was powerless to deal with it (Osborne, 1994: 159).

At the same time, Sihanouk concluded that Cambodia's political independence was at risk because all major commercial and industrial enterprises in Cambodia were

in the hands of foreigners such as the French and the Chinese. In November 1963, he announced economic reforms that included the nationalization of the country's export trade and certain other industries and services, including banks and distilleries, as well as the renunciation of all United States aid. Furthermore, in May 1965, the prince severed diplomatic relations with the United States. During 1960-1962, the United State had provided aid amounting to nearly 14 percent of Cambodia's annual revenue. Those most seriously affected by the termination of relations with the United States were the Cambodian armed forces because the United State had provided over 30 percent of the military budget in 1962. Sihanouk's decision indeed placed an essential element of his support within the country, the armed forces, at great disadvantage. The armed forces were hit hard by the decision of the prince.

In 1964 Cambodia had a territorial dispute with Laos, which involved Lao claim of sovereignty over a piece of territory in Stung Treng in the northeast of Cambodia. This resulted in a visit to Phnom Penh by Prince Souvanna Phouma in March 1964. Meanwhile, the communist government in Hanoi indicated that it could not accept the territorial boundary that Cambodia claimed.

Amidst these problems with neighboring countries, Sihanouk made a trip to Paris in June 1964, and de Gaulle supported Sihanouk's proposals for an international conference on the situation in Indochina. But later in October, the prince denounced France as 'the crafty partner of Anglo-Saxon imperialists', stating that he had become suspicious of General de Gaulle's calls for Cambodia to show patience in relation to proposals for a conference on Indochina (Osborne, 1994: 171).

All these episodes created a confusing image of Sihanouk. In an attempt to strengthen his own regime, Sihanouk approved an arrangement allowing China to ship military aid to Vietnamese communist forces in South Vietnam through Cambodia's seaport of Sihanoukville, whereas the Cambodian army suffered a cut of 10 percent of its budget. In supporting the communists in this way, the general understanding was that Sihanouk also supported the Cambodian communists. However, the prince was unaware of the close association of Soloth Sar and the Vietnamese communists. In 1966, many observers still believed that the prince would be able to regulate and manipulate any domestic challenge that might emerge. In his mind, Sihanouk was still

confident that his associates such as General Lon Nol, General Nhiek Tiuolong, Son Sann, and Penn Nouth, would remain loyal to him whatever policies he pursued.

4.7 The Overthrown

In late August 1966, the prince was looking forward to the visit of the president of France, Charles de Gaulle. By the visit of France's president, Sihanouk assumed he might find the answer to the problems afflicting Cambodia. The most important expectation was that de Gaulle might offer Cambodia increased economic aid to make up for the significant loss resulting from the break with the United States. Despite expectations, de Gaulle gave speeches which made it clear that France would support only the financial aid for the building a phosphate factory, the establishment of a second high school, and the supply of new uniforms for Cambodian army.

A general election was held in September of the same year. This election was known as a money vote, because the votes could be bought. There was a dramatic increase in corruption this time. In this election, Khieu Sampan, a leftist in Sangkum, won his seat, as did his leftist friends Hou Youn and Hu Nim. On the other hand, the election result was more conservative in outlook than any that had preceded it. After the election Sihanouk withdrew from politics for medical treatment. When the election was over, Sihanouk approved Lon Nol as prime minister. With power in his hands, Lon Nol formed a cabinet composed of his conservative friends such as Kou Roun, and younger men of right-wing persuasion, such as Douc Rasy. When Lon Nol was a by Prime Minister, there was corruption issue of his officers. It was obvious that his officers were rich. Chandler noted that the rich of Lon Nol's officers came from the advantage of arms shipments through Cambodia, medicine and supplies provided by Vietnamese (Chandler, 2003: 203). Meanwhile, at the end of October, he offered his resignation but it was refused by Sihanouk. The prince confidently decided to leave Phnom Penh for France in January 1967. While Sihanouk was away, Lon Nol, the prime minister, toured the countryside to buy rice from peasants and also found support from them. Finally, Lon Nol reached Battambang where some peasants were discontent with him. Two soldiers were killed by angry peasants. The situation was getting worse.

By the time of Sihanouk's return on March 9th 1967, following the killing of two soldiers in Battambang, the Samlaut rebellion had begun and spread rapidly among the peasants in the countryside. When General Lon Nol returned to Phnom Penh, he was protested by high school and university students calling for his removal and the army's withdrawal from Battambang. This created a dilemma for Sihanouk.

Despite the Samlaut rebellion and the rising tide of armed resistance to Phnom Penh's authority, Sihanouk received little external attention. Then Sihanouk tried to resolve the situation by making it an international issue. The Samlaut rebellion revealed the extent to which the foundation of both domestic and foreign policy assumptions had come under threat.

The reason for the rebellion was given by Pol Pot's history of the CPK:

"In 1967, revolutionary violence reached a high level. It was in this ripening revolutionary situation that an armed uprising broke out in 1967 in Samlaut...this was set off by the people through their own movement. The party central committee had not yet decided on general armed insurrection throughout the country." (Chandler, 1991: 167)

Though finally Sihanouk decided to accept Lon Nol's resignation as prime minister and a new government of national union was formed, led by Son Sann, many events occurred in the late 1960s which significantly undermined Sihanouk's stature and credibility. In 1967, support for the goals of the Chinese Cultural Revolution became increasingly vocal among Sino-Khmer in Cambodia. As the relationship with China continued to deteriorate, Sihanouk began to reassess his foreign policy options, realizing that his country would not be the Oasis of peace anymore (Osborne, 1994: 195). He became suspicious of the role that both North Vietnam and China played side by side without helping him when he faced increasing internal political problems.

Even as Cambodia's foreign policy remained anti-western in tone, in October 1967 Sihanouk began restoring the link with the United States by hosting the visit of Jacqueline Kennedy, the widow of former President John F. Kennedy. The prince who had exulted in the death of John F. Kennedy received his widow wife with honor.

Later on, Son Sann as prime minister announced that Cambodia was ready to resume diplomatic relations with the United States.

Before the coup in Cambodia in 1970, Washington officials were reexamining the American commitment to Laos and debating implications of the presence of 50,000 Viet-Minh troops in that country. It was possible that Souvanna Phouma, as the prime minister and a neutralist, might entreat Washington for troops to suppress a combined Viet-Minh-Pathet Lao offensive and thus embroil America in additional armed ground operations in Southeast Asia (Young, 1970: 219-220). The Pathet Lao, the Laotian communist movement, became stronger with Viet-Minh troops. This further contributed to U.S. suspicions of Lao neutralism. Such suspicions could spread from Laos to Cambodia because both countries were involved with the Vietnam conflict. The suspicions were exacerbated by the possibility that pro-communists and the neutral Souvanna Phouma could cooperate with the Pathet Lao and lead to a coalition government. In this situation the United States was determined to reinforce its power over Indochina and mainland Southeast Asia.

In 1969 politics in Cambodia was proceeding amidst deteriorating security situation. Because of the brutal treatment of the northeastern Cambodians, the communist influence began to spread all over the kingdom. It was unclear whether the Communist Party of Kampuchea or its local leaders were in control of the forces. The Cambodian government was under pressure by tens of thousands of Vietnamese communist troops sheltering inside Cambodia. This fact created questions among politicians about Sihanouk's foreign policy. Besides the presence of Vietnamese communist troops, Cambodia was facing economic problems caused by stagnation and corruption. While country faced economic crises, the Chief of State paid attention to movie producing. This led to the resignation of the government in August 1969.

It was Prince Siri Matak who offered direction to the government for both domestic and international policies. His policy was to address the economic issues and reactivate the civil service that had stagnated under Sihanouk's reign. When Sihanouk called for a national congress at the end of 1969, he found that Matak intended to persist with policies that ran counter his wishes. Many members of parliament agreed with Prince Matak's policies. From July 1969 onward, real power

was in Siri Matak's and Lon Nol's hands. Milton Osborne mentioned in his *Sihanouk; prince of light, prince of darkness* that Sihanouk admitted that his great error was to trust Lon Nol and never believed that he would betray him (Osborne, 1994: 207). Sihanouk as the Chief of State left Cambodia for health treatment in France, while Lon Nol proved ready to lead the army against Sihanouk and Siri Matak was continuing with the policies and plans to take charge over Sihanouk. The situation came to an end in March 1970 with Lon Nol's *coup d'etat* and finally on March 18th 1970 the national assembly voted to remove Sihanouk from office as Chief of State.



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS: THE CHALLENGE OF STATE-BUILDING OF CAMBODIA

This chapter provides an additional analysis. Additional findings are analyzed to reaffirm the conclusion that Cambodia's domestic politics in 1953-1970 was profoundly influenced by world politics. It was this interference of world politics into the country's internal affairs that was a major cause of the failure of Prince Sihanouk to establish a stable political order as a basis for state-building in this ancient kingdom.

5.1 Economic and Military Aids to Cambodia

State-building requires not only political but also economic development, which contributes to the strengthening of the power of the state. State-building of Cambodia was attempted in the Cold War period which complicated it. Cambodia as a newly independent state aspired to develop her economy as well as a democracy. Even though Cambodia had the lowest population growth in 1950-1970⁵, still financial aids were necessary. After a long history of colonial rule, the state of Cambodia was on the path of both economic and political development.

Since development in both sectors could not be separated from each other, this study will show the relevance of the politics of Cambodia in the Cold War period for its economic development. However, in his attempt to solve economic problems that could have an impact on state-building, he could not avoid being involved in world politics.

Since Cambodia gained independence from France in 1953, Sihanouk played an importance role as a political figure leading his kingdom in world politics. He attended the Colombo Conference and later the Bandung Conference in which he declared his neutrality in foreign affairs. This policy led Cambodia to join the Non-

⁵ By 1950 it had increased to between 3,710, 107 and 4,073,967, and in 1962 it had reached 5.7 million. From the 1960s until 1975, the population of Cambodia increased by about 2.2 percent yearly, the lowest increase in Southeast Asia.

Aligned Movement. Meanwhile, the Cambodian economy was also in transition to one of more self-sustaining production rather than export-oriented production. Cambodia was still in need of foreign aid to help develop infrastructure and to subsidize her essential needs.

According to Michael Leifer (Leifer, 1963), Cambodia began receiving aid from outside sources especially China and the United States of America in 1956. China was the first major power to provide aid to Cambodia. The Bandung conference gave significant opportunity for China to provide aid to the Third World countries such as Ceylon, Nepal, and Cambodia in 1956 (Masot, 1969: 189). During 1960-1961, the United States provided \$23,000,000 aid to Cambodia, of which \$18,500,000 went towards financing its import. This aid did not include \$7,000,000 allocated for the repair of the damage of the American built highway of friendship from Phnom Penh to the port of Sihanoukville. At the same time China inaugurated its support to Cambodia for her industrial development and announced that it would provide more of financial support to Cambodia.

China's announcement of its aid to Cambodia showed the reaction to compete with the United States in financial support. This was the expansion of influence from the political to economic realms. The United States, in particular, provided both financial and military support. This caused King Sihanouk concern about the political impacts of the stream of aid flowing into his state.

Besides financial support, the military aid became an important issue in superpower competition over Cambodia. Such competition had appeared since the Geneva Conference in June 8th, 1954 when issue of the Viet-Minh invaded Stung Treng was mentioned. In 1954, the Viet-Minh moved from southern of Laos to Cambodian border and finally reached Stung Treng. With the unexpected invasion, Cambodia was prompted to seek help from the super power. In particular, the United States became helper as it holds on anti-communist campaign (Smith, 1965: 57). Smith mentioned that the Viet-Minh demand that a cease-fire made by contingent upon the acceptance by the conference of its term for a political settlement. Unfortunately, Cambodia refused to accept the Vietnamese's proposal, insisting that while it did not intend to authorize the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory or to use its armed forces for aggressive purpose, it would not countenance any restrictions on its right to act in accordance with the United Nations Charter or to

solicit military aid in the interest of its own defense. Zhou Enlai thus came out with the idea that Cambodia should be permitted to receive military aid up to the level required for defense. With his concern about the possibility of Cambodia being used as part of an encirclement of China, Zhou specified that Cambodia should not become a United States military base (Smith, 1965: 64). On the other hand, Zhou did not mention the Viet-Minh troops in Cambodia that would have to be withdrawn as other foreign forces in this country.

It could be inferred that providing the military aid was one of the tactics for China to gain the image of a good helper to Cambodia. Significantly, with the settlement of the Viet-Minh troops secretly supported by the Chinese communists, Zhou could strengthen China's influence in Cambodia. Moreover, Zhou eventually guaranteed that the Viet-Minh would withdraw from Cambodia as long as there would not be any American military base in Cambodia.

The military aid for defense allowed the neutrality of Cambodia by which Anthony Eden agreed for Cambodia and Laos to be buffer states between Thailand and Viet Nam as well as between North and South Vietnam, which came into being after Geneva. In this respect, Cambodia and Laos would serve as buffer states not only between its neighboring countries, but more importantly between two political spheres – communist and non-communist.

According to Micheal G. Partem, Cambodia in 1970 had a low population, low GNP, and even low military expenditure. As we can see in the table below, given its lower capabilities, Cambodia could easily fall by invasion or intervention of Vietnam and also Thailand. As the buffer states between North and South Vietnam, Cambodia was not only falling into a lower status, but also was weakened in terms of her own security by having the low military expenditure. Besides being a buffer state between both North and South Vietnam, Cambodia was also the frontier of two political spheres as Thailand and South Vietnam represent the United States: the Free World, while North Vietnam and China represent the communists.

Table 1: The Capacity Comparison in the case of Cambodia

	<i>Demographic</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Military</i>
Cambodia System (Circa 1970)	<i>Populations</i>	<i>GNP</i>	<i>Military Expenditure</i>
South Vietnam	19,801,000	\$3.4 (billion)	\$550 (million)
Cambodia	7,309,000	\$.95	\$210
North Vietnam	19,866,000	\$3.0	\$585

Source: The Buffer System in International Relations (Partem, 1983:8)

The fact of falling into a buffer state status, Cambodia faced the possibility of being intervened by her neighbors; she thus needed to find the point and policy to provide for her survival from the clash which could be caused by the fighting supported by two political spheres. One important guarantee for this safety was for Cambodia to receive economic as well as military aid. This foreign aid for Cambodia has been studied by Roger M. Smith, as shown in table2.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Table 2: Foreign Aid (Economic and Military) to Cambodia 1955-1964 (in millions of U.S. dollars)

Foreign Country	1955-1960	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964	Total
United States						
Economic	179.2	23.1	33.2	20	6.9	262.4
Military	64	3.2	6.5	10.3	10	94
People's Republic of						
China	22.4	25.7				48.1
France	18.8		1.8		32.6	53.2
Soviet Union	28.8	0.5			20	49.3
Japan	4.3		4.1			8.4
Czechoslovakia	1.4	8				9.4
Poland	1.9	0.3				2.2
Yugoslavia					6	6
United Kingdom						
Australia	3					3
New Zealand						
Canada						
United Nations	1	0.4	1.7			3.1

Source: Cambodia's Foreign Policy (Smith, 1965: 123)

In accordance with Smith, the United States gave aid to Cambodia more than other states. This could contribute to a strong influence of America in Cambodia. While the United States as the leader of the Free World was building a strong relationship with Cambodia by providing aid, the communist bloc also tried to compete, as seen in the figure 4 above. Sihanouk was wise to establish a relationship with the communist sphere. It was not only making new friends, but it was also establishing the balance of power between the Free World and the communists that appeared in Cambodia. In 1956 while Prince Sihanouk formally visited to Moscow, he announced that Cambodia would adopt neutrality in her foreign affairs. The

neutrality adopted by Cambodia would be permanently used as long as its present policy was not threatened.

5.2 Political Struggle for Cambodia

Several nationalist movements engaged in the struggle for independence of Cambodia towards the end of France's colonial regime in Indochina. At the end of World War II the French wanted to reestablish their colonial power in this region; it was thus inevitable that they met with strong nationalist resistance. However, the Cold War came to transform the anti-colonial struggle, most notably in Vietnam, into a confrontation between the Free World and communism. Local elites in Southeast Asia reacted to the Cold War in different ways. For example, according to Yahuda,

“If the two superpowers tended to approach Asia-pacific including Cambodia from global perspective of bipolarity, local elites and governments sought external support and even patronage with their own more parochial security interests in mind” (Yahuda, 1996: 44).

However, as Brown has pointed out, “It is the common desire of nearly all the newly independent nations who have felt themselves reborn. The nationalist movement was a drive to be acknowledged as the source of choice and action. It was a protest against existing primarily on behalf of others. It was the demand men made to decide their own fate.” (Brown, 1966: 518) In Cambodia, the nationalist demand to decide the country's own fate was complicated by the conflict among the nationalists themselves. Sihanouk thus had to solve problems of both domestic and international challenges, and this struggle became an obstacle for him in his effort at state-building.

5.3 Neutrality as a chance of intervention

Cambodia's foreign relations also had an impact on her domestic politics. During his royal crusade for independence Sihanouk had a chance to ask for assistance from the United States, but its reaction on the issue of Cambodia's independence was only evident at the Geneva Conference in 1954. The five powers including the United States agreed on granting independence to Cambodia and the other states in French Indochina. The only condition was for them to hold elections to establish government which was necessary an independent state. The state-building of Cambodia began after its independence was formally recognized by the world community – that is, that was

provided by the Geneva Conference. The process of state-building included political development.

However, it was not expected that the Cold War which had already come to Asia would have a crucial impact on Cambodia's state-building effort. Sihanouk, of course, was well aware of the Cold War; he therefore believed that his country required a right policy in foreign affairs to protect her sovereignty. After meetings with many famous state leaders, Sihanouk was determined that Cambodia must stay in the middle line between the Free World and the communists in the Cold War. That was the reason why he declared the neutrality of Cambodia in foreign policy.

His idea of neutrality reflected the influence of Buddhism one of whose central precepts is to follow the middle path. This religious influence on politics was not surprising: it had appeared in Southeast Asia many times in the history of Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia. Especially in the reign of King Jayavarman VII (1811-1218) Mahayana Buddhism became the dominant factor influencing his rule over his great Khmer kingdom (Coedes, 1968: 169). The tradition brought about by Jayavarman VII for politics was that of a Buddha in human form called *Buddharaja* (Hall, 1981: 130). In accordance with the ancient history of Cambodia and also as a consequence of his meeting with Nehru, India's leader at that time, Sihanouk made the decision to lead Cambodia with a Buddhist-influenced neutrality policy in foreign affairs.

Even though Cambodia had adopted the neutrality policy in foreign affairs, the intervention from both her neighboring countries and the impact of world politics remained major issues for this newly independently country. As Yahuda has pointed out,

Even though Cambodia joined the Non-Aligned Movement with her neutrality in world politics, the competition in the Cold War gave the chance of domestic challenges to the superpowers (Yahuda, 1996: 45).

The superpowers saw that Cambodia's neutrality had a domestic implication, in that it affected their relations with some political movements inside the country. They therefore tried to exploit her domestic politics – and this was to have, in turn, very strong implications for her state-building process.

Later, Sihanouk as the Chief of State realized the weakness of neutrality, as he stated in a series of articles on Communism *Réalités Cambodgiennes*.

“We know perfectly well that the “Reds” applaud our neutrality only because it serves their interest. As for the “Blues” who congratulated me for having denounced Communist subversion here, I advised them to temper their enthusiasm... It is not the “friends who wish to well” who saved Cambodia at Geneva from the Viet-Minh and from partition. It isn’t our “unassailable neighbors” who aid us in protecting our frontiers or in stopping clandestine infiltration of Red agents into Cambodia...

In certain red countries the leader told me:

“Continue, your highness, on the road of neutrality and your country will know complete independence.”

At the time, I couldn’t see that our independence wasn’t complete. After reflecting, I understood.

According to “Red” terminology, a member country of SEATO or NATO is not independent, a neutral is semi-independent, those who are Red are the only “real independents.”

I must say that according to the “Blues”, this is just reversed. A member of the Warsaw Pact is a satellite, a neutral is a public danger, and a true “free country” is a member of SEATO or NATO. ” (Smith, 1965: 110-111)

In accordance with the announcement of Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia was in a difficult situation; that is, it was difficult for him to decide what a leader like him should do to get away from external intervention. While Sihanouk was struggling to make decisions, the Chinese became his choice as a source of help. This was evident in a treaty of friendship which was signed in December, 1960. The treaty was the result of Chinese presenting goodwill by establishing a peace area in Indochina. Even though President Liu Shaoqi of China made a formal visit to Cambodia in 1963 to provide assurance that the Chinese were not interested in using Laos as the confrontation site with the west, Sihanouk still feared that China would have influence over his state.

The weakness of Cambodia’s neutrality was reflected in the presence of the United States in Cambodia. America claimed that it was in Cambodia because of its economic and military aid. Together with the support from their allies that were Cambodia’s neighbors – Thailand and South Vietnam, the presence of the Americans

in Cambodia strengthened their influence in this country, even though Sihanouk demanded that America should not establish a military base in his state.

The neutrality policy brought aid and help from the Free World to Cambodia, but the communist movement at the same time gained increasingly widespread influence in Cambodian society by integrating itself with the mainstream nationalism. Since its association with the Viet-Minh, Cambodian nationalism had been influenced by communism (though there existed at the same time non-communist nationalist movements in this country).

Because of the financial aid and mutual friendship, Sihanouk unintentionally created a chance for both political spheres in world politics to establish their presence in Cambodia, and this paved the way for world politics to profoundly influence politics in his country.

5.4 Cambodia's State-building: a challenge of history in contemporary period

When Cambodia was a great Khmer kingdom, the Khmer kings often engaged in war with her neighboring kingdoms. The Khmer kingdom was regularly invaded by her neighbors.

Ang Chan was one of the great kings of Cambodia because he tried diligently to reunite people in his kingdom after he came back from Siam. Ang Chan's period was seen as a state-building period. The reason for the Ang Chan period to be seen as early state-building is that the Khmer kingdom at that time was not united and also was being transformed from an unstable state to be a potentially stable one that had its own sovereignty and legitimacy. The period of Sihanouk was compared with Ang Chan's by Chandler;

“As so often in Cambodia's history, the country soon became a hostage to Vietnamese events. Sihanouk's efforts to play both sides against each other, and to keep Cambodia out of the war, are reminiscent of King Chan's maneuvers in the nineteenth century. Between 1961 and 1970, Sihanouk's policy saved thousands of Cambodian lives. When he was overthrown, however, he broadcast an appeal to his “brothers and sisters” asking them to wage the civil war. Whether the three hundred thousand deaths occurred after that – inflicted by North and South Vietnamese, U.S., and contending

Cambodian forces – could have been avoided had he stepped aside is impossible to say” (Chandler, 2003: 193)

The state-building, which was a challenge throughout Cambodia’s history of conflict and national fragmentation, appeared again in the period of Sihanouk. In addition, the challenge was further complicated by external interference into Cambodia. Indeed, right after the French had decided to grant independence to Cambodia, the world’s attention was directed to this region. In the power competition in the Cold War, Cambodia was a frontier or buffer state not only between Thailand and Vietnam, but also between the two power camps in world politics at that time. For this reason, state-building by King Norodom Sihanouk between 1953 and 1970 was perhaps more interesting than similar efforts in Cambodian history. This time the Cambodian leader had to grapple not only with conflict within Cambodian society itself but also with conflict in the world at large. Though, unlike Korea and Vietnam, in that the country was not divided into two, the situation was not less serious.

The seriousness of the situation can be seen in the fact that following the long period of civil war after the demise of Sihanouk’s rule in 1970, which was interrupted only by the genocidal regime of Pol Pot in 1975-1979, the Cambodian state had to be “rebuilt” in the early 1990s. The reason for state-building during this time was clear: the country had been devastated materially as well as politically. Apart from major material reconstruction, political institutions had to be created anew to provide for legitimate political rule. Cambodia after these long years of civil war was different from Cambodia in the Sihanouk era because the external influence came into the country in the form of aid and help rather than power or ideological competition.

In a bottom line, state-building of Cambodia involved re-establishing political institutions to provide legitimate rule in the country. However, even without negative external interference, state-building in Cambodia is actually an ongoing challenge of healing the wounds of internal conflict that had been going on for a long time.

5.5 Peripheral state’s externally dependent state-building enterprise

In accordance with the study of state-building by Su-Hoon Lee (Lee, 1988), Cambodia in the Sihanouk period could be referred to as one of the peripheral states of the world – one which still needed assistance from other states in the west as well as east. After independence, Cambodia still depended a great deal on French assistance.

This relationship could be considered as a partial linkage, following Nophadol Chartprasert's study (Nophadol Chartprasert, 1997).

Later the state-building of Cambodia depended on its neutrality policy in world politics. By doing so she received economic and military aid from the powers in both East and Western camps. France's influence of course declined after Geneva, while the United States began to increase its interests in Cambodia by giving aids, and soon the U.S. became the number-one aid provider. The aid given by America was the main support for Cambodia's state-building efforts. As a non-aligned country, Cambodia received aid not only from America but also from the Chinese. Since Cambodia depended on external aid, its linkage with world politics was obvious – linkage that made it difficult for a peripheral state like Cambodia to escape from its influence.

That is, it was vulnerable to intervention by external powers and its autonomy was impaired. This, in turn, compromised its state-building enterprise. Moore (Moore, 2004) has noted that the state-building in the Third World is globalized, in that state-building in a country like Cambodia depended upon the help of the super-powers. It is apparent in world politics that Cambodia was also one of the issues which were often picked up by both the Free World and the communist camp as a bone of contention in many international conferences.

Given its peripheral status, Cambodia's neutrality did not help protect it from external intervention. In particular, its dependence on external economic assistance provided opportunities for foreign powers to manipulate not only Cambodia's foreign policy, but also her domestic politics.

5.6 Political style of Sihanouk

King Norodom Sihanouk was a major political actor who was not only famous in his own country, but also gained fame in world politics. He was an important political figure for Cambodian in state-building.

After Prince Norodom Sihanouk ascended the throne in May 1941 his political life was shown to the world as a young king who fought for the independence of his country. Under French rule, he acted respectfully to the French. When France came back to Cambodia in 1946, Sihanouk still remained respectful to his colonial masters. It might be that he respected the Protectorate Treaty of 1863 and the Convention of 1884.

Sihanouk made a visit to the French Republic in April 1946. The purpose of that visit was to negotiate with the French for the independence of Cambodia. With unproductive results from the trip, King Sihanouk realized the risk he had taken of placing Cambodia into the hands of de Gaulle's administration. Franco-Khmer relations developed unsuccessfully as it became apparent that the French were determined to establish her power over Cambodia again.

The reaction of Sihanouk stirred world politics when he announced his Royal Crusade for the Independence of Cambodia on June 15th, 1952. He dissolved the parliament and promised to gain independence for his state within three years. This crusade put Franco-Khmer relations on hold. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that King Sihanouk, to the disappointment from the French, visited the United States after taking off from France.

Washington agreed with the Khmer king that the French should grant independence to Cambodia. John Foster Dulles as Secretary of States at that time assured Sihanouk that the United States would work to induce France to grant Cambodia independence, when the communist threat had been completely eliminated (Jeldres, 2005: 48).

In early of June 1953, King Sihanouk made a short visit to Thailand. Because of the limitation of his power to influence the Thai government, he decided to go back to Cambodia. He stayed in Siem Reap on June 28th, 1953, and called for his supporter to prepare for fighting by training them in Battambang. This activity could be seen as a result of the pressure from outside. He went to the United States and America would help him if the communists were cleared from Cambodia. He might consider exile in Thailand since the Thai government had a strong relationship with the United States. However, this was not possible because the Thai still did not believe in him. Sihanouk had to establish his own power by calling people who support him. The relationship with external power was drowned in the domestic politics of Cambodia.

Before November 9th, 1953, which was the formal declaration by France of Cambodia's independence and sovereignty, King Sihanouk not only fought for independence in internal affairs which required that he fought with various nationalist movements, but also showed his attention to world politics. Even though Cambodia was granted independence, the situation in the neighboring country of Vietnam, dragged Cambodia into the circle. Cambodia's sovereignty was formally recognized

by the Geneva conference in 1954. In the conference, the major countries that were involved influenced King Sihanouk's international neutrality policy.

- The United States, as strong friend with Thailand and being deeply involved with South Vietnam tried to force King Sihanouk to be an anti-communist country.
- The United of Soviet Socialist Russia (USSR), a communist country, supported the North Vietnamese.
- The People's Republic of China (PRC), also a communist country which did not support the Vietnamese at that time.
- France, still playing an important role as former ruler of Cambodia.

The neutrality policy that King Sihanouk declared was not stable because he considered that both communism and democracy were dangerous to his country, especially to his monarchy. To be smart and to keep the monarchy and political power in his hands, King Sihanouk abdicated the throne to be a politician. Sihanouk's decision to abdicate was an act of pure political genius by arranging his father, Prince Norodom Suramarit, to succeed him. This could ensure that the throne would not be occupied by another member of the royal family. After forming a new political party, the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*, Prince Sihanouk still faced the problems of foreign affairs which were mainly related to democracy or communism.

- Prince Sihanouk announced the adoption of the neutrality policy, which would not allow the United States to establish a military presence in Cambodia. This displeased the United States.
- The SEATO was created but Prince Sihanouk did not want to join offering an excuse that Cambodia was not ready. This was seen to indicate that he did not want his country to have friendly relations with the United States.
- Later Prince Sihanouk grew friendlier with China, which was in contrast to what his policy declared.
- By joining with the United States to establish Military Aid and Assistance Group (MAAG), Cambodia gained the chance to be the member of the United Nations in 1955.
- In the late 1950s, Sihanouk suspected the United States of being involved with some dramatic political intrigues in Cambodia, so the prince decided to stay close to China and North Vietnam.

Becoming the Chief of State after his father died, Prince Sihanouk still sought power from the monarchy by the approval of his mother, queen Kossamak, to be on the throne as the symbol of the monarchy. On the other hand, international affairs

were not good at this time as the prince did not exactly stay in the middle between two superpowers, the United States and the People's Republic of China.

In addition, Osborne (Osborne,1973) concluded that Sihanouk's status as Chief of State succeeded only in the short term. If we look in the long term, the failure might not have been predictable in 1960, but the factors which contributed to it were nonetheless present. Osborne also agreed with Sihanouk in his abdication to be a Chief of State of Cambodia in 1955, but he argued that it was only a short term solution to the problem. Political factionalism was not eliminated, only subdued. Son Ngoc Thanh still posed an ill-defined threat from exile. Even more importantly, the years immediately after 1960, were to show that Sihanouk's vision of untrammelled economic and social progress within the country was illusory and that there were, increasingly, men of the left and right who were ready to be critical of what they saw as the mistakes of Sihanouk's rule.

In an effort to divert attention from the domestic situation, in the early 1960s, Prince Sihanouk opened himself up on the world political stage by supporting peace in Laos, and especially won the jurisdiction in the case of conflict with Thailand on the Preah Vihear temple on 1962.

Before the prince was overthrown as the Chief of State, he committed many executions of anti-Sihanouk regime people. His close associates, Lon Nol brought the beginning of people rebellion in 1967 which was considered the first rebellion of their own movement, the Samlaut Rebellion 1967.

The reason why the rebellion was over, was given by Pol Pot's history of the CPK;

"In 1967, revolutionary violence reached a high level. It was in this ripening revolutionary situation that an armed uprising broke out in 1967 in Samlaut...*this was set off by the people through their own movement. The party central committee had not yet decided on general armed insurrection throughout the country. In Battambang...the movement of peasants.... Had reached the boiling point. But the party was there to give leadership to the movement and decided to suspend temporarily the armed struggle in Battambang until the whole country could complete its preparations*" (Chandler, 1991: 167)

Later on Lon Nol, prime minister at that time had to resign.

Though corruption was found among royal family in the economic crisis, as Chief of State, Sihanouk did nothing. He blamed others while gave doubts to politicians that had relied on him. Prince Siri Matak, in collaboration with Lon Nol and the National Assembly, staged a coup on March 18th 1970 to vote Prince Sihanouk out of office as Chief of State while he was away from the country to the Soviet Union. Then came the end of Sihanouk's regime.

Later on, after the Pol Pot Rule ended, Sihanouk announced the leftist policy which was inconsistent with the neutrality policy. Sihanouk had been closer to China and North Vietnam before his own regime ended in 1970. The action was clarified when Zhou Enlai wrote a letter which urged Sihanouk to fight the coup in 1971 and that China would support him to regain his political status.

In the bottom line, the political style of Sihanouk was to a great extent that of a dictator as seen in his domestic rule in which all the power and administration were in his hands. On the other hand, on the international stage he had an appearance of democracy since he announced to the world that he would hold the election in accordance with the condition of the Geneva Accords. He did his best to organize the election. According to Robert Dahl (Dahl, 1984), Sihanouk's political style could be characterized as combining dictatorship and democracy. The role of Sihanouk was so flexible in accordance with the situation he dealt with. With the support from society and close relationship with people, Sihanouk's dictatorship was more into the authoritarian.

5.7 The Sangkum Reastr Niyum: the Golden State-building period

The Sangkum Reastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community) was established by King Norodom Sihanouk in 1955. The Sangkum was the first definitive act of state-building concerning the Khmer populace. Population is one of the elements of state. It is impossible to develop a state without developing its population. Human resources are the basis of every kind of development. Even though the Sangkum Reastr Niyum was established to be an alternative choice in Cambodian domestic politics, it served society with its unique style led by Prince Sihanouk. Sangkum was the political community that gained the support of the vast majority of Cambodians. From the elections of September 1955 through the elections of 1958, 1962, and 1966, no non-Sangkum politician was elected to Cambodian National Assembly (Ayers,

2003: 34). The reason why the Sangkum politicians were elected is because of the ideology of the Sangkum. The political ideology of the Sangkum was a combination of “development” and “nationhood”.

The political ideology Prince Sihanouk adopted for the Sangkum fostered the combination of development and nationhood. It was well known that Cambodia was a member of non-alignment movement in world politics. In contrast, the political ideology of Cambodian domestic politics was not clear. The political ideology of the Sangkum was a combination of the socialism, conservatism, nationalism, and Theravada Buddhism. The “Buddhist Socialist” appealed to the Cambodian people because of their specific cultural and religious background. Under the Sangkum, Cambodian politics was unique. Within Theravada Buddhism, people are equal to each other. The belief in human equality in Buddhist Socialism requires that the ruler should treat people equally with empathy and goodness. With the integration of Buddhism into Cambodian politics, modernization was brought to certain area Cambodian life.

It was the result of the conversation during the Geneva Conference in 1954, Cambodian was required to engage in educational development after the independence of state. The proposal concerning Cambodian education was proposed by the UNESCO. Prince Sihanouk understood that financial aid would be advantageous for educational development. It was a new style of education for Cambodia that Sihanouk adopted. Under the idea of “Cambodianization”, educational development would serve the needs of Cambodia. The curriculum of the educational system was reformed by studying Khmer language, simultaneously with French. Khmer text books were provided. The numbers of teaching hours were increased. With the reformation, the bias of political ideology was not added into the text. The campaign encouraged children to participate in education, because education could lead to better employment opportunities. Education was one of the Cambodianization reform. The national budget was not only used for educational development, but for economic and infrastructure development. Even though the effectiveness of Cambodianization was undermined, educational development served to benefit the task of state-building in Cambodian national consciousness (Ayers, 2003: 41).

The educational development under the Sangkum during 1955-1968 was productive as shown in table below.

Table 3: National Education

National Education	1955	1968
Primary schools	2,731	5,857
Pupils	311,000	1,025,000
Secondary schools and colleges	12	180
Pupils	5,300	117,000
Universities	–	9
Faculties	2	48
Students	347	10,800
Technical schools	5	99
Scholars	334	7,400
Total number of students	317,000	1,161,000

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

The next step in Cambodianization after education was economic reform. One of the reasons Cambodia needed economic reform was Sihanouk's decision not to accept the financial and military aid which had been offered by the Americans in November 19th, 1963. Even though Cambodia suffered from the lack of financial support, the economic reform seemed effective.

Table4: Cooperative

Cooperative	1955	1968
Coop. Credit Khet	–	13
Agricultural multifunctional coop.	–	718
Production coop.	–	9
Scholastic coop.	–	54
Coop. of consumption	–	39
Cooperation union	–	14
OROC enterprise	–	45
OROC seats	–	891
Warehouses	–	434

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

The number of the economic cooperative group increased after the reformation. By comparison, there were no cooperatives in 1955, but there were hundreds of cooperatives in 1968, especially in agriculture.

The increasing number of the cooperatives could be a result of industrial development. Within 13 years under the Sangkum, the number of factories and enterprises drastically increased. In particular, the increase in the number of the private factories and enterprises was remarkable.

Table 5: Industry

Industry	1955	1968
State factories	–	28
Mixed economy factories	–	29
Private factories and enterprises	650	3,700

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

Because of the fertility of rivers and rich soil of Cambodia, agriculture has been a major career for Cambodians. Even though Cambodia has a huge lake as their main water resource, other areas up-country still need water for plantations.

Table 6: Water Policy

Water Policy	1955	1968
Irrigated or protected area	29,000 ha	120,000 ha
Volume of water retained	140m.cu.m.	240m.cu.m.
Dams and dikes erected	–	329km
Main and secondary canals	–	812km
Large dams	–	2
Large reservoirs	10	33

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

With the development of the irrigation system, the water supply was adequate for at least two plantings per year. In addition, the reservoirs were annually replenished so that in dry season water stored in reservoirs would be available for agricultural purposes (Sihanouk, 1991:227). As a result of the irrigation system development, the number of plantations and the number of the agricultural products increased.

Table7: Agriculture

Agriculture	1954-1955	1967-1968
Rice	1,484,000 tons	3,251,000 tons
Corn	100,000 tons	154,000 tons
Pepper	1,200 tons	2,520 tons
Coffee	–	433 tons
Tea	–	35 ha
Tobacco	5,000 tons	11,300 tons
Sugar cane	22,000 tons	50,000 tons
Palm sugar	28,000 tons	56,000 tons
Copra and palm oil	2,400 tons	6,800 tons
Rubber	25,000 tons	51,000 tons
Cotton	300 tons	2,500 tons
Jute	900 tons	4,000 tons

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

The Sangkum promoted not only education and economics, but also recreation and health care. Health care centers were established all over Cambodia to provide service to people in both urban and rural areas.

Table 8: Public Health

Public Health	1955	1968
Hospital and Health centers	16	59
Infirmaries, dispensaries, clinics, maternity wards	103	533
Number of beds	2,445	6,525
Rural maternity posts	60	768
Pharmacies and dispensaries	24	358
Doctors	77	440
Qualified pharmacists	4	77
Dentists	3	40
Midwives	125	1,105
Nurses	630	2,380
Sanity inspectors	–	442

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

Besides health care, recreation was also important for the development of the population. There were many projects to build sport courts and centers. The biggest project was the national sports complex.

Table 9: Sport

Sport	1955	1968
National sportive complex	–	1
Cite sportive	–	1
Stadiums	1	40
Football Pitches	15	541
Basketball Pitches	20	585
Volleyball Pitches	10	1,236
Badminton courts	–	296
Tennis courts	9	60
Table tennis clubs	12	310
Boxing rings	1	9
Judo rooms	1	13
Shooting grounds	–	2
Nautical clubs	–	1
Swimming Pools	2	5
Handball	–	31

Source: Sangkum Reastr Niyum = Le development general du Cambodge (Annees 1960) (Sihanouk, 1991:7)

The period of Cambodia under the Sangkum Reastr Niyum led by Prince Sihanouk was a successful step in state-building. Although the Sangkum was originally established to serve Cambodian politics in a time of struggle, the program's results demonstrated effective development in other dimensions. To strengthen the power of the state, the important element of developing the population could not be neglected.

State-building under the Sangkum showed the strong and successful determination of Prince Sihanouk to develop a unique policy. It was because of the strength of Buddhism in Cambodian society that the integration of religious belief and politics were easily combined. Prince Sihanouk gave Cambodia a golden period of

state-building with the power of the Sangkum before the political turmoil during 1968-1970 put state-building on hold.

5.8 The National Congress: A parallel Congress

Prince Sihanouk traveled frequently throughout his life. His travels encouraged him to find a way for his people to cooperate in the affairs of the state. Consequently, Sihanouk established the National Congress. The Cambodian Constitution written in 1947 was subsequently amended in 1957 to include the following provision regarding the National Congress as follows:

“Article 92: The National Congress shall give the people the opportunity to become directly acquainted with affairs of national interest. All Cambodians of both sexes may participate in the debates of the Congress.

Article 93: The National Congress shall be held at least twice a year. It shall meet at the convocation of the President of the Council of Ministers. It shall elect its President.

Article 94: The Congress shall pass recommendations for the attention of the Government and resolutions for the attention of the National Assembly. The organization and functioning of the Congress shall be determined by law.

Article 95: The National Assembly may order a referendum on matters regarding which the Congress has passed resolutions.” (Jennar, 1995: 51)

According to the Cambodian Constitution, the National Congress was an organization that works as an intermediary between the government and Cambodians. The National Congress was to deal directly with the population. In contrast, the National Assembly was the place for the people’s representatives to work toward their goals for the people. The Congress was an important vehicle for Prince Sihanouk in his efforts to reach out to solve his people’s problems. Besides that, Osborne (Osborne, 1973) advanced that the work of the National Congress helped to neutralize the Cambodians as seen in the case of undermining the Democrats and the Pracheachon. Although the Congress helped to neutralize Cambodian domestic politics, it did not provide additional political power to Cambodians.

The National Congress was an organization which challenged the National Assembly because the Congress’s purpose was to receive the problems of the people and pass them through to the Assembly. On the other hand, the National Assembly was a place for politicians who were the representatives to solve the problems and also create new legislation. The Assembly has indirect relations with the population, but the Congress worked directly with the population. The Congress was an

instrument to secure the power of Sihanouk because he could not fully control the politicians in the Assembly. Sihanouk did not have to worry about losing control over the Assembly, because he could gain support directly from people through the Congress. The establishment of the Congress showed Prince Sihanouk's political skill by balancing the power of the National Assembly with the power of the National Congress.

5.9 The unofficial relationship between World politics and Cambodian domestic politics

5.9.1 The Communist Relationship

In 1950, there was a significant movement of the Cambodian students in France. The French Communist Party (PCF) affiliated itself with a group as its Khmer Language Section. The members of the group included Ieng Sary, Soloth Sar, Hou Yun, Hou Nim, Thiunn Mumm, Kieu Samphan and Son Sen.

Ieng Sary was originally a Vietnamese who attended the Lycée Sisowath in Cambodia. When he went to Europe, he studied Stalin's approach towards the nationalities. Later, he changed his study from commerce to politics. In Paris, Ieng Sary met Soloth Sar, who later became well known as Pol Pot. Sar had been a technical school student in Phnom Penh who went to Paris in 1949 to study a two-year technical course. Sar spent time with a work brigade in Yugoslavia in 1950. This may have given him a perspective on the mobilization of Yugoslavs to defend their independence. While Sary changed to study politics, Sar had to leave Paris because of his financial problems. For Hou Yun and Khieu Samphan, the doctoral degrees they got from Paris concentrated on Cambodian economics. In particular, their dissertation concerned Khmer peasantry which was suffering from the re-establishment of colonialism which had resulted in a pre-capitalist economy (Nguyen-vo, 1992: 44-45).

A group of Cambodians who favored communism began a public campaign after the Geneva Accord recognized Cambodian independence. The Pracheachon group formed as a party to contest the election in 1955. This group was a front for a newly recognized Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP). Pol Pot joined the KPRP when he came back from Paris in 1953. The fact that the Vietnamese considered Sar and his friends to be members of the group was because they were members of the French Communist Party, according to Pham Van Ba, the Vietnamese

cadre in charge of Soloth Sar's cell (Nguyen-vo, 1992: 48). Even though the style of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) remained focused on military training, the KPRP focused more on urban political movements. As a result, the KPRP had two committees; urban one and rural one. However, the ICP did not expanded major efforts on the issues of the KPRP. Instead the ICP focused more on the Vietnamese communist effort to coordinate with the South and the call for the liberation of the South from the rule of imperialists and feudalists. To work along the Khmer-Vietnamese border, the Vietnamese communist had to coordinate with people from KPRP whom they could trust. This is one reason why the communists were often found along the border.

At this time, Prince Sihanouk was popular among the peasants in rural areas. This led to some resistance from the communist movement. In 1957, Prince Sihanouk continued his intimidation of peasants connected with the KPRP. Some former communists claimed to be the Prince's supporters. Soloth Sar claimed Sihanouk's supporters as a betrayal to the Vietnamese who did not want Cambodian's actions to jeopardize their unification efforts in South Vietnam. The fact that Prince Sihanouk cooperated with Cambodian leftists created a foundation for a closer relationship he developed with the communist states like People's Republic of China.

However, Prince Sihanouk did not aware of some leftist in his government. During 1953 and 1963, Khieu Samphan, Hu Num and Hu Yun, served in the Prince's government. Besides them, there were some leftists served in civil service and teaching. Even though they were in the government, they maintained their secret connection with the communists on an underground level. Even though the power of the young educated leftists of the KPRP was stronger, the rural political efforts succumbed to a policy led by Prince Sihanouk intended to co-opt the rural peasants. As a result, the urban committee adopted their official name as the committee in charge of the country's general affairs and undertook to organize the Second Congress towards the end of 1959. In fact, they were trying to compete with Prince Sihanouk's idea of establishing the National Congress. However, the meeting of the KPRP took place on September 30th, 1960 with a committee meeting at the Phnom Penh railway station. There were three results of this meeting : (1) the name of the party was changed to the Worker's Party of Kamphuchea, (2) Soloth Sar (Pol Pot) was elected

to the third position within the party leadership after Tou Samouth and Non Chea, (3) Pol Pot claimed the party dated back to this date (Nguyen-vo, 1992: 51).

Soon after the disappearance of Tou Samouth, the leader of the KPRP, Pol Pot came to power. He took position previously held by Samouth and posted Ieng Sary in his former position. Consequently, the power of the young French educated Khmer were strongly involved with the communist's movement in Cambodia. The coming of Pol Pot to power led the Vietnamese communists to alter the policy they would adopt. The ideology declared by the Vietnamese was Maoist rather than following the Marxism-Leninism of the ICP. Whatever the nature of the party change, the pressure from Prince Sihanouk's government remained strong as he worked with his communist allies in rural area, mostly peasants. Pol Pot decided to decrease the Prince's supporters by ordering 90 percent of party members out to the countryside. The incident was reaffirmed in May 1963 when Pol Pot and Ieng Sary traveled to the northeastern border. Later, some of the Khmer communist leaders such as Hou Yun and Khieu Samphan, left the government for the countryside. This impaired Prince Sihanouk's ability to call for political supported participation by the French educated Cambodians.

While the reaction of KPRP was unclear, the Vietnamese Communist led by Pham Van Dong acted to assure Cambodian sovereignty over a border dispute. The recognition provided by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1963 in the case of Phu Quoc Island's dispute was critical. The North Vietnamese supported Prince Sihanouk's claim without realizing what the Pol Pot's movement would be.

However, the new position and activities of Pol Pot did not please the dominant communist state, China. In May 1963, President Liu Shaoqi visited Cambodia to endorse the Sino-Khmer friendship at a time when Prince Sihanouk supported China's bid to be a United Nations member. The visit of Liu Shaoqi put pressure on Cambodian communists at same time they gain support from the Burmese communist. This visit showed the strategic intelligence of the Chinese leader, because he gained support from the Cambodian government and simultaneously influenced the KPRP. This visit resulted in Cambodia getting military aid which displeased the KPRP. Later in 1964, the KPRP escalated the movement activities which expanded into civil war in 1967. Pol Pot feared losing support from China and Hanoi because of the relations of Sihanouk with them. In 1965, Pol Pot made a visit to Hanoi. While

the Vietnam War was on going, Pol Pot offered Hanoi a strategically significant alternative choice. He offered the Vietnamese the area under his control for them to take refuge. In exchange, Hanoi gave Pol Pot their office in Tay Ninh, South Vietnam to be the KPRP center. Moreover, the Vietnamese called for Cambodian communists to renounce the revolutionary struggle and wait for them to win their victory, which would also produce victory in Cambodia. After that, Le Duc Tho created the political unit named “P-36” with the objective to foster Vietnamese influence within the Cambodian communist movement.

Domestic incidents led by Cambodian communist movement led in June 1967 to the Samlaut rebellion. It was unclear whether this was a spontaneous act or a communist-ignited incident, but communist forces launched the attacks on army rice-collection units. This incident caused widespread riots in many parts of Cambodia. It contained a mix of rebellion by long suffered peasants and communist influences. The army suppressed Samlaut. This resulted in some peasants escaping into forests to join the communist side. Back in 1966, the name of the party had been changed to be Kampuchean Communist Party (KCP). The objective was more advanced in terms of calling for revolution. The purpose of the KCP combined with peasantry’s Samlaut incident to produce a revolutionary force. On the other hand, the Vietnamese’s reaction was less encouraging. They were continuing their effort to pressure Sihanouk to deny the American on the use of Sihanoukville as a weapon transport route. Because of good relationship with the Veit-Minh, Sihanouk soon granted de jure recognition to the DRV. In addition, the Vietnamese communists also wanted the KCP to safeguard the will of Prince Sihanouk. The KCP leader was reluctant. Nguyen Van Linh, the secretary of the NLF, met with the representatives of the KCP to dissuade them from launching an armed struggle. Later, the Cambodian communists announced that they did not fight with Prince Sihanouk, but Lon Nol (Nguyen-vo, 1992: 59). After that they launched the first attack on January 17th, 1968, which was considered to be the beginning of Cambodian civil war. The armed struggle against the Cambodian government jeopardized the relationship of North Vietnam and Cambodia. In March 1968, Sihanouk recognized that Cambodia was in the struggle between the Communist Viet-Minh and the USA for hegemony over Southeast Asia. At that time Sihanouk called the Cambodian communists the “Khmer Rouge”. The Khmer Rouge was under the pressure of the “state of war” declared by Lon Nol who

was appointed the minister of defense by Sihanouk. The Prince claimed the insurgency could be the work of the Viet-Minh or Viet Cong, who are master of the Khmer Rouge. Because of the intensity of Cambodian civil war during 1968-1970, Pol Pot's forces became poorly armed. Pol Pot's plea for support from Hanoi at the end of 1969 was rejected. This damaged the Khmer Rouge. Fortunately, the coup in March 1970 created the opportunity for the Khmer Rouge to bring the Cambodian Revolutionary Movement as the next stage of Cambodian politics.

5.9.2 The Free World Relationship

There was Son Ngoc Thanh began to stir up Cambodian politics with his nationalist movement while King Norodom Sihanouk was fighting for the Royal Crusade. Thanh dominated the nationalist movement in Cambodia which developed his status on the international stage. Even though Thanh had been in exile since 1952, his close friend Dap Chhoun had remained in contact with him working on plans to bring down Sihanouk. In 1959, when Dap Chhoun was the governor of Siem Reap, there were reports of a plot to bring down Sihanouk which was called "the Bangkok Plot". That plot was exposed by Sihanouk. The plot was exposed as a rally of the Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmer in which the South Vietnamese representative in Phnom Penh, Ngo Trong Hieu succeeded in getting the cooperation of Dap Chhoun. Dap Chhoun as the governor of Siem Reap ruled the city with his personal army which he gained from being a powerful Khmer Issarak activist. He was accused by the Cambodian government of using his stronghold to serve as a base for troops led by Son Ngoc Thanh and supplied by Thailand. There was a communications network that linked Dap Chhoun to the South Vietnam. There was a report of a communication via Ngo Trong Hieu and Victor Matsui, a Central intelligence Agency man attached to the American embassy in Phom Penh (Smith, 1965: 164). This brought a military column to Siem Reap which disarmed private army for the governor. Chhoun was shot to death in this incident. Moreover, Sam Sary was an important political figure in the beginning of 1959. He was once close to Prince Sihanouk, but later he was found to be a director on operating the Bangkok Plot with Dap Chhoun. This contributed to his formation of an opposition party to Sihanouk. His party was intended to be a right-wing party because of Sam Sary's sympathies on pro-American policy (Osborne, 1973: 62). He was accused of planning with the American Intelligence services to

bring Sihanouk down. Because of Sihanouk's plan to arrest Sam Sary, Sam Sary fled to South Vietnam. When South Vietnam offered Sam Sary shelter, Sihanouk interpreted this to demonstrate his neighbors' ambitions to overthrow him. In August 1959, a bomb was sent to the royal palace which was intended to assassinate the King and the Queen, but it did not achieve that goal. Through a remarkable coincidence, there was no doubt that the bomb was sent by Sam Sary with the assistance of the South Vietnamese.

The instigation of the plot to bring down Sihanouk had been simultaneously broadcast from transmitters which appeared to be located on the frontier of Cambodia and Thailand and also on the frontier of Cambodia with South Vietnam. The broadcasts were the Khmer Serei's propaganda activities which coincided with the increase in American military aid to Cambodia during 1961-1962. The purpose of the rebels was to rouse the populace against Prince Sihanouk. The propaganda claimed that Sihanouk had taken over their leader's position and was working against the interest of people. They even criticized the policy of Prince Sihanouk toward Thailand, South Vietnam and the CIA.

There was a significant link between Cambodian-Thai Khmer Serei revealed in a banking corruption scandal in 1963. Songsakd Kitchpanich, a Thai citizen who was a manager of the Bank of Phnom Penh at that time, was found to be offering Cambodia's elites more flexible banking terms than other banks (Osborne, 1994: 167). According to Daniel Roy (Roy, 1970) Songsakd had joined Son Ngac Thanh to establish the Khmer Serei in Bangkok, which was supported by the CIA. He was silent for a long time because the economic reform of Sihanouk in 1963 caused the bankruptcy of Songsakd. Songsakd then escaped from Cambodia back to Thailand. In contrast, Lon Nol proposed in August 1969 to return all enterprises which were previously taken and given to Khmer holders to the private sector. This proposal by Lon Nol revoked a reform program of Sihanouk. Later, Songsakd's name became known again in January 1970, when Prince Sihanouk made a field tour to the northeast of Cambodia. Sihanouk mentioned that he would meet his good friend, who is the banker at Bangkok, Songsakd (Roy, 1970: 357). Songsakd was probably a financial key behind the coup d'état plan which Sihanouk and Lon Nol would do in March 1970. This suggested an unofficial linkage between coup makers and the CIA outside Cambodia.

In 1965, the American bombed a village in the area of “the Parrot’s Beak” which was on the border of Cambodia and South Vietnam. There were about 17 villagers killed (Smith, 1965). The American’s excused the attack as an effort to eliminate the Viet Cong, South Vietnamese communists that had settled in the area. This seriously threatened the American-Khmer relationship, but the Americans sought a way to maintain its influence. The extent of American influence on Cambodian domestic politics was unclear until the coup was launched. A month after the coup in 1970, the US President Richard Nixon announced an apology for the invasion of Cambodia. The content of the announcement mentioned the US war with the Vietnamese communist, including the Viet Cong. The American offered to provide troops to secure Cambodia’s neutrality (Nixon, 1970: 383). In fact, it was just a month after the overthrow of Sihanouk. The Lon Nol-Siri Matak’s coup paved the road for the US to justify its influence over Cambodia which had been challenged for five years by Sihanouk (Scott, 1970).



ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

The way that King Norodom Sihanouk built the state, the kingdom of Cambodia, in 1953 to 1970, was confounded by the fact that Sihanouk could not build the country without influence from outside. The influence from outside which impacted Cambodia in 1953 to 1970 was from the two main sides of political groups in World Politics. The two political spheres competed with each other which is well known as the Cold War. The two political spheres are the right so called the free world led by the United State and the left so called communists led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Even though the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) was the leader of communists, it did not act as major role in Cambodia's stagnation. Instead, Chinese communists exercised her power over Cambodia by formally appear to be a friend who provides help and secretly operating through the Viet-Minh in both North Vietnam and Cambodia.

State-building of Cambodia in 1953-1970 depended on the political acting style of Sihanouk. Especially, when Sihanouk sought help for his state's development, he would not only stay in the region, but placing Cambodia on the international stage. By doing so, the world society became interested in his state and finally the flow of financial aid came in. On the other hand, Cambodia foreign policy was an important factor contributing to the weakness of the state. The neutrality of Cambodia helped protect her from the influence of each political sphere, but it worked for only a short time. As a result of seeking aid, the super-powers and even the United Nations aided Cambodia. Subsequently, political interference emerged under the excuse of aid by the Americans. While the Americans seemed to distrust the Khmer, the communist bloc led by China inserted its influence by making a friendship treaty. In a long term, by adopting neutrality, the foreign policy worked as the open door for external power to take root in Cambodia's domestic politics. As early as the 1950s, King Sihanouk depended on the neutrality policy while the leftists increased all over Cambodia. Later in the late of 1960s, Sihanouk as the Chief of State tended to act close to the left by

which he got support from China and North Vietnam, but at that time he did not announce the left policy. After the Pol Pot Regime ended, then he announced that Cambodia might be appropriate with the left. It's in contrast with the neutrality policy that he declared after gaining the independence from France.

The political development of Cambodia by Sihanouk, the style of political acting of his could be seen as a combination of dictatorship and democracy. In international stage, he played the role of independence fighter which the election in 1955 was a result of his fight culminating in the Geneva Conference. Sihanouk acted as a democratic figure by promising and setting the process of election to show the world society that his state attempted to be a potentially stable state. The election would lead Cambodia to adopt democracy that was the purpose of the free world. In contrast, Cambodia's domestic politics were in Sihanouk's hands, and he led by his high consultant and himself. It was illustrated as a dictatorship when he would like to eliminate the Democrats from parliament.

Besides the political character that has been studied by Dahl, Sihanouk has more interesting characteristics in the way he tried to balance the power of the free world and the communist. He encountered the intervention by both sides, but he made decision to sway Cambodia from falling under the influence of the super-powers. For example, Cambodia got huge amounts of aid from the United States, but she still maintained friendship with China by making a friendship treaty. Finally, the domestic incident took place as hill tribe killings and the Samlaut rebellion a resulted in the people's distrust in Sihanouk. Unfortunately, it was exacerbated with the right-wing politicians who betrayed him

The state-building of Cambodia consisted of two main issues; political development and economic development. This came to an end when Prince Sihanouk was succeeded by Lon Nol in 1970. Even though the politics and economics of Cambodia remain in hands of Lon Nol, politically the unstable institution and coup led to the fall of Sihanouk's government. The government is an important political institution of state advanced by Khan and McNiven (Khan & McNiven, 1990). In accordance with the failure of Sihanouk's government, his state-building was considered as failing.

While politics in Cambodia was dominating, the economics especially foreign aid emerged as a possible factor for intervention. This significantly showed in the

1960s that Cambodia's economic development depended upon financial support from outside. In particular, financial support widened the gap of neutrality policy as seen when America used aid as an excuse to settle troops on Cambodia territory. The economics seemed to be a motivator of competition of the two political spheres. The Cold War competition was not only in the area of politics, but spread over to economics. In the case of Cambodia and most of the Third World, state-building will always be a fundamental basis of development whenever they get independence. In the middle of 1970s, the state-building of Cambodia changed in terms of essential need for revival the state from massacre. Even though the characteristics of state-building of Cambodia in both history and contemporary terms were explained differently depending on the cause and period of time, it shared the same common thread of political development and economic development.

The evolution of state-building of Cambodia by King Norodom Sihanouk in 1953-1970 was developed from political development which was caused by the colonialism. The colonialism represented the old version of World Politics. When World Politics transformed into the Cold War period, Cambodia state-building was further complicated when foreigners intervened.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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BIOGRAPHY

Mister Yoothasart Ngamin was born on January 26th, 1985, to a Khmer ethnic family in Surin, Thailand. In 2008, he graduated with honors from Srinakharinwirot University, Faculty of Social Science, Department of Political Science with International Relations major and minor in Tourist Guide (English Language). In his Bachelors' degree courses, he had learned the history of Southeast Asia. Moreover, during the course of his Bachelors, he worked part-time as a tutor in Thai and Social Study subjects which requires him knowledge in history. Besides that, he participated in Political Science Development Camps in Nan province which later gave him a chance to be a trainee at the District Office of Chiang Klang, where he learned about the history of communist presence in Thailand and Laos. His educational background combines with his Khmer ethnic desired him on pursuing his master degree in Southeast Asian Studies program at Chulalongkorn University in October 2008. His interest in studying is more into Southeast Asian history, especially the history of Cambodia, the country where his ancestors came from. During the course of his masters in 2009, he participated in a study trip of the Union of Myanmar, provided by the Southeast Asian Studies program, where he could appreciate history and cultures. Later, he visited Cambodia on his trip of research for the course of *the Civilization in Southeast Asia*.

ศูนย์วิทยุทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย