



I. SIHANOUK APPEALS TO BUDDHIST MONKS  
TO SUPPORT KHMER ROYALTY

[Peking in French to Southeast Asia, 1300 GMT, 19 March 1971]

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, issued on 18 March a special message in Peking to the Buddhist monks of Khmer. Here follows the full text of the message:

Venerable Monks,

You are the spiritual guides of the Khmer people. At present, this nation, along with our wretched country, is plunged into the worst suffering, misfortune, and humiliation in its history because of the national treason of the criminal Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique.

Your duty, Venerable Monks, is to help our people surmount adversity and liberate our fatherland. To this end, it is important that you have a clear view of the Khmer problem.

First, allow me to go back to the sinister date of 18 March 1970. The Lon Nol traitors had planned to illegally depose Head of State Norodom Sihanouk who had been unjustly charged with theft, abasement, and national treason for the benefit of the Vietnamese Communists (sic). You are, Venerable Monks, disciples of Buddha. Buddha, our master, had always taught that injustices must be avoided. Not only have the Lon Nolites deposed me but they have also condemned me to death arbitrarily. According to the democratic constitution of the Kingdom, even the Ministers could not be overthrown by the Parliament without being allowed to answer in public the accusations raised against them.

But Lon Nol's Parliament denied me the right to go home while I was on a state mission in the USSR and in the PRC so that I could not answer my enemy's accusations. Then, the criminal Lon Nol condemned me to death while denying me the right to defend myself or to choose my lawyers. Has one ever seen such a state and such a democracy in the rest of the world?

Moreover, the Lon Nol clique has allowed itself to heap unqualifiable insults on me and to make the most ignominious slanders against me. According to this clique, I would have plundered and sold the country to such an extent that I have become, with huge bank account abroad, the seventh richest man in the world (sic). The truth is that if the PRC, the great and faithful friend of the Khmer people, did not give me its generous hospitality, I would not have survived because I have had no money.

The Lon Nolites have houses, apartments, cars, and big accounts in Foreign banks. When the Khmer people expel them from the country, these traitors will lead a joyous and comfortable life abroad.

The Lon Nolites have accused me of having sold Cambodia to the Vietnamese Communists. Yet, you know that under my supreme leadership, the government, the administration, and the Khmer army controlled the entire Khmer country. In February 1970, one month before their coup d'etat, the Lon Nolites beginning with Prince Sirik Matak, could carry out their inspections throughout the Kingdom even at the borders. At present, with its so-called national salvation, the Lon Nol administration cannot even control entirely the situation of districts in the area to Phnom Penh and be master of the situation in Phnom Penh.

Who sells his country to the Vietnamese? It is the Lon Nol clique, which hands Cambodia to the Vietnamese of the Thieu-Ky clique - the running dog of U.S. imperialism. At the height of injustice, the Lon Nol clique has accused the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, trustworthy friends of the Khmer people and respectful of the independence and neutrality of Cambodia, of invading our country. With regard to this matter, the Lon Nolites went so far as to incite His Eminence the Chief of the (Moanike) Buddhist Sect to accuse the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese of crimes committed against the Khmer people, monks, and pagodas.

The Lon Nolites have thus committed a great fault against our religion which forbids us to lie and to be unjust. If our monks in Phnom Penh intend to know the facts, please go and ask the religious leaders and believers in the liberated provinces or countries and villages. They will certainly tell you that among the South Vietnamese people it is only the Thieu-Ky clique in Saigon which is invading our country, trampling down our sovereignty, violating our territorial integrity, plundering our rural villages and cities, slaughtering our defenseless compatriots--farmers, old people, women, children, and monks--and desecrating our temples and other sacred religious places. That clique is the running dog and mercenary of U.S. imperialism and is the number 2 master of the Lon Nol clique.

These are the Vietnamese that His Eminence the Chief of the Moanike Sect should morally condemn. If Norodom Sihanouk is really considered by the Khmer people as having betrayed the Khmer fatherland for the benefit of the Red Vietnamese, why do the Lon Nolites fear Sihanouk's appearance before this people? The Lon Nolites affirm that seven and even eight million Khmer people are against Sihanouk. In this case, why have they refused to let Sihanouk go home and be judged by

the people through a national referendum? The Lon Nolites carry their contempt for the people to the point of refusing them the right to express their opinion regarding the illegal deposition of the Head of State.

The Lon Nolites, who have proclaimed themselves better Buddhists than Sihanouk, have not hesitated to violate the number one law of Buddhism: Not to kill. They have shamelessly and publicly murdered thousands of unarmed citizens whose single crime was to demand ~~my~~ return to Cambodia.

Being denied the right to return to my country and, I repeat, moneyless, I have so far survived only thanks to the generous hospitality which the great Chinese people, their revered and beloved leader, His Excellency Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and their Premier His Excellency Chou En-lai, have wholeheartedly extended to me.

My presence in China has then become the center of the Lon Nol elements' accusation. The so-called Buddhist Republic in Phnom Penh has officially condemned me for becoming a "Communist atheist!" But the truth is that the PRC and its leaders fully respect my religious beliefs and political and ideological viewpoints. If I like and admire China, Chairman Mao, and Premier Chou En-Lai, if I am most grateful to them, the reason is that they let me be entirely free to remain a Buddhist, a nationalist, a neutralist, and a convinced royalist, I have absolutely no reason to change.

The NUFK has also been condemned by the Lon Nol elements by the words "there are no other religions in its mind, except Communism," (Sic) This is another intolerable slander. The NUFK political program stipulates that Buddhism is the national religion at present and will be so in the future, in addition, the NUFK guarantees people's religious convicibus, particularly Islam and Catholicism.

On the contrary, the Lon Nolites, while discussing the drafting of the Constitution of the Republic, wanted to remove Buddhism from its pedestal as the State religion. The Buddhist people, under the Lon Nol administration, then revolted against his reform. The Lon Nol elements had to give in and explained with abashment that it was only an exchange of views without any real intention to reduce Buddhism to the level of a religion among others in Cambodia.

No one was surprised by this attempt to betray Buddhism by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. After betraying and murdering the national Monarchy in a most cowardly manner and without the people's agreement, the Lon Nolites, naturally come to want to betray and to murder the national religion in turn, it is nothing but logical.

Our venerable monks and our people perfectly know that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak- (? Yem Sambaur) - Koun Wick- (several names indistinct) clique has most scandalously made use of the royal throne to build its fortune and secure its uninterrupted ascent up to the summit of its administrative,

political, and diplomatic career. All their personal faults, all their dishonest acts, and those of their subordinates towards the fatherland and the people, and their corruption, these men have shamelessly imputed the fault and the responsibility to the Monarchy, Sangkum Reastr Niyum, and Sihanouk.

They had, without being compelled by the Throne, sworn an absolute and indefectible fidelity to the Khmer Monarchy to which they have owed all. However, the day after 18 March 1970, they lost no time in dragging through the mud not only Sihanouk but also the august names of the former Khmer sovereigns who have been considered by our people themselves authentic benefactors and national heroes.

They have carried their cowardice and their abjection to the point of savagely ill-threatening and gratuitously humiliating Her Majesty Queen Sisowath Kossamac, revered and worshipped by the Khmer people, a most worthy Queen who had always protected and helped them, and an old and sick Queen, whom they have ignominiously chased from her palace which belongs to her late husband and to her ancestors.

Most barbarously, the Lon Nol deputies that the Queen had always maternally protected in their disputes with Sihanouk, Head of State, humiliated Her Majesty to the utmost by ordering the police to search her house to check, according to them, whether or not the Queen had taken away with her treasures of the Throne which belong to the people (sic). In the annals of the other nations, one cannot see any act, even from regicides, of such cowardice and savagery,

The Lon Nolites have solemnly declared they would always follow Buddha's teachings. Yet, Buddha taught compassion. The lonnolites have felt no compassion for the Queen. It is traditional in other countries to allow the former ruling family live in exile abroad when the monarchy is replaced by the republic. But the Lon Nolites have denied to Her Majesty and the royal family the right to leave the country.

Forced by the Lon Nolites to stay in the country, some Princes and Princesses of the blood have been accused by the traitors of betraying the Republic, and have been consequently imprisoned. According to all foreigner observers, it is obvious that these traitors want to shorten the Queen's life by causing her the worst sorrows. In this connection, I regret that (? Samdech), the chiefs of sects, and the high religious dignitaries of our Buddhist clergy did not do anything for the Queen who had done so much for them and for our religion.

I do not ask them to disapprove of Lon Nol's Republic or to dabble in politics but only to show humanitarianism to obtain from the Lon Nolites permission for Her Majesty and her grandchildren to leave the country in accordance with international traditions and with the Dharma of Buddha, chapter on compassion--(mesa karuna).

In Tam, President of the National Assembly, being loved when Sihanouk was in Phnom Penh, had cried that for the nation and the people there was only one sure protector: The Royal Throne. Today, this same, In Tam cries: Down with the Monarchy. The Kings and the Princes were and are all tyrants and fools. (sic).

Given the Lon Nolites' immoral inconstancy, can our Buddhist clergy believe them when they affirm to it their faithfulness and Buddhism? One day they proclaimed that the Vietnamese were the Khmers' worst enemies and that consequently one should chase them from Cambodia to the last man while massacring those who refuse to clear out. The Lon Nolite soldiers and youth then had to massacre tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese civilians, most of whom were women, old people, children, and even babies.

Another day they proclaimed that the Vietnamese of the Thieu-Ky clique are the Khmer people's best friends and beloved brothers, that Cambodia should invite the largest number possible of these Vietnamese to come and occupy and defend it, and that the Khmer nation must be eternally grateful to these Vietnamese, who, however, did nothing--and this, our monks should know--but steal, plunder, violate, and massacre our poor compatriots in the provinces and towns invaded by the soldiers of the Thieu-Ky clique.

Venerable Monks, before 18 March 1970, you had the habit of declaring in your sermons that the Royal Throne was the irreplaceable protector of Buddhism and that Buddha himself had entrusted his religion to the Kings' protection-(prajat maharajah). But you were compelled to let the Lon Nolites, formerly still ultramonarchist, destroy the Monarchy. Do you not fear that one day, not too far away, these diabolical individuals might destroy in turn Buddhism, which is inseparable from (words indistinct) the Monarchy?

The diabolical Sim Var, all his friends know well, has always dreamed, and this since his boyhood, about destroying Buddhism in Cambodia by demolishing the Khmer Buddhist clergy. To my uncle (name indistinct), his boyhood friend, Sim Var loved to expound the following idea: "We have too many bonzes and monks in our country. The bonzes are parasites (sic) who suck the blood of the national economy and ruin the believers. On the other hand, the young bonzes virtually betray national defense because they escape military service. My conclusion is that we must knock down Buddhism by reducing the clergy to nothing. To arrive at this end we must incite the bonzes to indulge in politics, and the faithful will certainly not want to feed the political monks who teach (Vinaya), Buddha's rule of discipline. No longer being fed by their faithful, the bonzes will be forced to leave their frocks, the yellow robes of Buddhist monks. Thus, the problems will be solved."

Such is the project of the sinister Sim Var, presently Lon Nol's Ambassador to Tokyo. (As heard) There is no reason why the Lon Nolites, among whom Sim Var is one of the great priests, will not make this diabolical project their order of the day. The proof of this is the invitation made last 9 October by these Lon Nolites to our Buddhist monks, beginning with the highest religious dignitaries, to participate in the military parade inaugurating their Republic and to officially bless this illegal Republic once before the Royal Palace and at another time before the (words indistinct) where they burnt, on the same occasion, my effigy.

Earlier, these same monks and dignitaries had to attend at the Olympic Stadium an open-air play depicting the flight of Sihanouk, the traitor, and of his masters, the Viet-Cong and the North Vietnamese, and you, Venerable Monks, also had to attend the odious ceremony of replacing the national flag of the glorious Kampuchea of the Angkor period, of independent, neutral, anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, and anti-colonialist Kampuchea, with the filthy flag of the false Republic of Lon Nol.

On this last flag, we see that the drawing of Angkor Wat is shrunk to the smallest size. While it was prominently displayed in the middle of the national flag of independent Kampuchea, the shrunk drawing of Angkor Wat is pushed to a small corner of the flag of the Lon Nolite traitors, slaves of Nixon. Everyone has remarked with disgust about the appearance on this new flag of misfortune of three white stars on a blue background, stars which in all respects look like the stars on the same blue background of the flag of U.S. imperialism.

The meaning of these incongruous stars could only be as follows:

The Republic of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Sim Var, Son Ngoc Thanh, Cheng Heng and In Tam has three masters. One, the United States -- Nixon; two, the regime of Saigon - Thieu-Ky; three, that of Bangkok-Kittikachorn-Charusathian. Flag of misfortune, yes. Since it was hoisted in the sky of Lon Nol's Cambodia, the worst misfortune, suffering, catastrophe, and humiliation have weighed down on the people and areas administered by these traitors and their mercenary army.

All this has happened, Venerable Monks, despite the fact that Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, and In Tam forced you to solemnly bless this flag. It is certain that even 1,000 blessings on this flag will not help our country and our people get out of the present misfortune, suffering, catastrophe, and humiliation, so long as the Republic of the Lon Nolites continues to let the U.S. imperialists and their mercenaries commit aggression against our nation for the purpose of neocolonizing it.

The monks and people of our country might still not forget the warnings and predictions I made while I still lived among them. I told them: If we give up the policy of independence and nonalignment in order to be a satellite of the United States and pursuer of U.S. dollars, peace in our country will be destroyed. I told our soldiers that U.S. military aid would give them beautiful equipment, many luxuries, and sophisticated arms and weapons, but all these things will bring them bad luck, because the U.S. imperialists do not give nothing for nothing and they will not fail to make our armed forces pay very dearly for the so-called friendly aid. Today, all my predictions have been proved true. Our Cambodia, formerly an oasis of peace and a harbor of happiness, has become worse than a second Viet-Nam or a second Laos. Despite this terrible misfortune that our poor country is enduring, the Lon Nolites do not seem to be affected by it, and, in their odious propaganda, they propagated an absurd lie saying that Buddha had predicted that misfortune and calamity will befall Cambodia. This is sheer charlatanism! Indeed, everybody knows that Buddha had never been to Cambodia which, it must be added, did not even exist as a country or a state at the time when Buddha still lived in India over 2,000 years ago. Buddha had never encouraged the people to believe in the predictions of misfortune and bad luck. On the contrary, Buddha pointed out that each human being or group of human beings must assume full responsibility for their actions. And our master the Buddha also specified that we should not hold heaven responsible for the misfortunes resulting from the ill deeds of mankind. (Karma Law).

The misfortunes of Cambodia and of the Khmer people are created by the antipeople and antinational Republic of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, In Tam, Cheng Heng, Son Ngoc Thanh, their U.S. master and their Saigon number 2 masters Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky. This Republic has committed the unforgivable crime of becoming master of the Khmer people and of not deigning to consult them when it wanted to put an end to the Khmer age-old traditional Monarchic Regime. The 115 and 116 clauses of our Constitution stated however: The dispositions concerning the Monarchic form of the State cannot form the subject of any proposal of revision. (Clause 115). No revision can take effect which restricts the rights reserved for the Monarchy by the present Constitution. (Clause 116).

It then seems that the Parliament of Lon Nol, violator of the Constitution, has made itself an outlaw and that the sovereign Khmer people alone could, by a general and national referendum, change the form of the Khmer State. The reactionary and fascist Siamese--

alias Thai--had dared to force King to abdicate and to assassinate another King in this 20th century, but they have never dared to change the Monarchic form of the State, because, after all, they know how to respect the royalist majority of the Siamese or Thai citizens of both sexes. The Lon Nolites did not have any respect for the people's majority and they did not hesitate to carry out their antinational and antipeople criminal policy. All this shows how the Cambodia of Lon Nol has sunk much lower than the Thailand of Kittikachorn, which is also a satellite and neocolony of the United States.

Thus, if the Lon Nolites were aware of the suffering and terrible misfortune of the country, they must give up power and immediately begin to rehabilitate the august names of the ancient Khmer sovereigns and of Her Majesty the Queen, whose name they have unjustly dragged through the mire, restore the old names to public schools and universities, to streets, to various organizations of the Khmer nation, and also return the Khmer State to its constitutional disposition in force prior to their fascist putsch.

In particular, this criminal clique must without delay restore to the Khmer people all their rights and freedoms formally guaranteed by the 1947 Constitution and which was impudently cancelled by the emergency law proclaiming that the country was in danger, and by the sinister martial law of the Lon Nolites. Finally and chiefly, this vile and despicable clique must return to our Cambodia its independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity which they have, against the will of our people, allowed themselves to sell at a low price to the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys.

In short, so long as the Lon Nol clique refuses to return the crown, the Constitution of the Kingdom, democracy, all rights and freedoms stipulated in the Constitution, and the independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia to the Khmer people, the patriotic people of our country, who are united within the NUFK, will ruthlessly deal telling blows to the completely inhuman Lon Nolites until they all lose their lives or are driven out of our country's territory.

At present, these traitors only miserably survive and prolong their feeble existence thanks to the U.S. dollars which they constantly receive and to the intensified and expanded interventions from the air and the sea carried out by their master as well as to the intervention of the tens of thousands of South Vietnamese troops sent them by Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky.



However, the Cambodian people's heroic national liberation armed forces are daily dealing fatal blows to those interventionist troops. It is out of their fright, which today has transformed itself into panic and desperation, that the Lon Nol elements have resorted to the most ignominious propaganda and despicable slander. They have ranted to the monks and the several million Khmer Buddhists in our country, saying that the monks and Buddhists have the obligation to help them prevail over Sihanouk and the NUFK, and that the victory of Sihanouk and the NUFK will mean the extinction of Buddhism. This is a vicious lie by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak, In Tam, (Trinh Hoang) clique.

The truth is that Khieu Samphan, Hu Nim, Hou Yuon, and all the other leaders of the NUFK and the members of the RGNUC who are in Cambodia fully agree with Samdech Penn Nouth and myself, that is, in maintaining our country's unification forever on the basis of respecting and upholding the 1947 Constitution and the Royal Throne with Her Majesty Queen Sisowath Kossamaic as its symbol. It is for this reason that our government is called "Royal Government." They also fully agree with respecting and maintaining the absolute independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia, and particularly with respecting and maintaining Buddhism, our national religion which is, as far as the patriotic Khmer are concerned, as valuable as the national independence, nonalignment, and territorial integrity of the fatherland.

Buddhist monks of our country must conscientiously consider: who have actually and constantly carried out the betrayal? Undoubtedly, it is not the NUFK, but only the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Sin Var - Son Ngoc Thanh - In Tam clique. They have specialized in betraying the Throne and the Queen, the independence, the national neutrality, the territorial integrity of the fatherland, democracy, the people, the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so forth. They have not even hesitated to sell peace and the lives of their soldiers and citizens of both sexes to the bellicose U.S. imperialists.

Who will ever dare destroy Buddhism if not the Lon Nol-Son Ngoc Thanh, clique in which is precisely Sim Var, the man who has been dreaming of assassinating our religion.

Venerable monks, all of you are scholarly men and educated in the Buddhist doctrine. You know how to differentiate right from wrong and good from bad. I am sure that, faithful to their fine traditional of cherishing the people, the monks of our country, including those in Phnom Penh, will stand on the side of the genuine Khmer people under the banner of the NUFK, dare to stand up, pick up arms to wage a fearless struggle against the U.S. imperialist-aggressors, their running dogs, and their second-rate lackeys, the traitorous and fascist Lon Nol clique.

The monks must ask themselves the following questions concerning the U.S. intervention in Indochina in particular and in Southeast Asia in general. Is it because they love the Indochinese people that the Americans interfere in our Southeast Asian regions? But, why does the U.S. Government not first take care of the black Americans and Red Indians, and Puerto Ricans who all are U.S. citizens? These second-grade citizens lack schools, housing facilities, food, clothes, and medicine. Many of them are living in slums where hygiene is totally absent. A large number of them die due to the lack of care and money. Is the U.S. government really capable of loving the Khmer, Laotian, and Vietnamese peoples more than these colored Americans? The monks must know that the Americans do not put billions of dollars in the coffers of the governments of Bangkok, Djakarta, Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Seoul, Saigon, Phnom Penh, and so forth to please Kittikachorn, Sukarto, Marcos, Abdul Razak, Pak Chong-hui, Thieu-Ky, Lon Nol-Sirik Matak. The Americans do not give them nothing for nothing and they do not come to Asia to assist through charity.

Let us take for example the case of the Lon Nol Republic. As I had revealed to you in my previous message to the nation, with U.S. evidence to support it, Nixon gave infinitely more than the three billion dollars which he promised to annually put in the coffers and pockets of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh. Indeed, the purchase of 200,000 soldiers of the Lon Nol clique to be used as cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists allows 100,000 young Americans to escape death. The war budget of the United States on the same occasion effects a saving of 15 billion dollars. And U.S. imperialism has won a new colony: The Cambodia of Lon Nol. Thus, the investment of three billions dollars proves to be particularly fruitful for the Americans. But our country and our people do not benefit anything by this investment. Far from it! If the monks of our country see through the U.S. imperialists' betrayal of the people of various Asian nations in general and of the Khmer people in particular, then they have the responsibility to completely divorce themselves from the notorious Republic of Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Son Ngoc Thanh. They should also avoid maintaining any contact with the U.S. imperialists at all costs. These U.S. imperialists might introduce themselves to them as diplomats or members of the Asia foundation. Finally, they should avoid attacking, though only verbally, certain religious dignitaries in Phnom Penh and the Indochinese people who are fighting against aggression and are suffering the greatest sacrifices to liberate the three Indochinese countries from the oppression and exploitation of the U.S. imperialists, their lackeys and under lackeys and to enable our country to once again obtain new independence, freedom, and democracy.

The present historical and heroic struggle of the Khmer, Vietnamese, and Laotian people constitutes an invaluable contribution to the forthcoming and irreversible victory of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples over imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

Respected monks, you may rest assured that, after the liberation of our fatherland, Samdech Penn Nouth, the RGNUC, the NUFK, and I will do our best to insure Buddhism a maximum of radiance. But the future of our religion also depends on you and on the leaders of our two main religious sects. Allow me then to count on all of you, venerables, and on the leaders of the two religious sects to insure the prestige of Buddhism. To achieve this goal, it is essential that you, and chiefly those of you who are inside Phnom Penh, are not lured into the glaring trap set by Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, and Sim Var. It is essential that you stand together with the heroic Khmer people who are fighting against U.S. imperialism, and with the people's fighters who are heroically willing to sacrifice themselves so as to restore independence, neutrality, territorial integrity, and peace in our Cambodia. If you know and choose the correct path, Buddhism will never die out and its prestige will continue to grow.

Long live Buddhism ! Long live Cambodia!

18 March 1971