

✓ TWO VERSIONS OF PRINCE SIHANOUK'S THIRD MESSAGE

Peking Cambodian Text

Peking International Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 21 Apr 1970 D

[Recorded address to the Cambodian nation by Prince Sihanouk--for Peking NCNA
English version see page H 1 of 23 April DAILY REPORT]

[Text] My respects to Her Majesty the Queen, mother of the nation. My respects to the two supreme patriarchs of the two religious orders and Samdech Preah Thormavongsa Thipdei. My respects to all bronze chiefs in the provinces and bonzes of the two religious orders. My respects to all my fellow countrymen.

The reactionary Lon Nol and Sirik Matak have accused me of being responsible for the catastrophe engulfing our country. Apart from those who have agreed to follow the new persons in power, the bonzes and the entire nation have not forgotten that from 1955 to the beginning of March 1970, Cambodia had an excellent reputation internationally. It was called the "oasis of peace" in wartorn Indochina and troubled South-East Asia. But in the middle of March 1970, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang decided deliberately to turn "the oasis of peace" into a land of trouble, then of war. This gang began by sending its hatchetmen to ransack the two embassies of friendly Vietnam, after having organized very violent demonstrations in our provinces against socialist Vietnam.

This unfortunate news reached me in France, where I had been for two months for reasons of health. I immediately sent a message to the nation demanding that everyone stop this particularly dangerous course of events which would lead our country to the greatest misfortune. The reactionaries of Phnom Penh showed this message to the young people and the army as the "proof" of my "high treason." I became a "traitor" to the nation because I wanted to avoid catastrophe.

True, armed members of the NFL did enter on our territory on occasion due to the war. But they never attacked us. But the ground and air forces of U.S. imperialism frequently committed aggression against us: they bombed our country, killed our soldiers, provincial guards, militiamen, peasants, women and children, and destroyed our military posts, schools and other national property. The martyrs of Chantrea and Dak Dam are still in everyone's memory. But the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang refrained from recalling the catastrophes that the U.S. aggressors brought to us every week.

Having usurped constitutional power and used its armored units to murder hundreds of people opposing it in Kampong Cham and Takeo provinces, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, which impudently calls itself the "Government of National Salvation," officially sent our young people to the front of the war. It is bent on waging war against socialist Vietnam, thus deciding to make our young people die in place of the Yankee soldiers. When this "war" desired and provoked unilaterally by them became a catastrophe for the country and the Khmer people, Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and company condemned me as a person who invited foreigners to destroy his own country. This is very strange. The whole world knows very well that it is the Lon Nol government itself that is doing this. The country had security, and the Vietnamese reds were keeping quiet, then it [the Lon Nol government] lit the fire of war. The truth and these criminal acts committed by the Lon Nol clique are well known to several foreign witnesses.

I only wish to cite as evidence two testimonies from the "free" world:

1. Excerpts from a cable by Michel Garin of AFP, dated 9 April: "The peaceful coexistence in force between the Viet Cong and the representatives of the government of Phnom Penh under Norodom Sihanouk is going to disappear."

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

Yes, the truth is that in the space of one month, the diabolical reactionaries have succeeded in destroying 15 years of peace, freedom, happy life, progress and international prestige. Our Cambodia is today the synonym for anarchy, war, misery and death. It now has the worst reputation in the world. In the face of this diabolical "government," those responsible for this radical and tragic change, the only alternative for our people is to take up arms to strike it down like a vicious beast from the jungle.

Yet this "government" dares to proclaim that it is not interested in power, that only Sihanouk aspired to power. The venerables and the people know very well that I have entrusted the people and the progressive and socialist youth with this struggle. This means that when our Khmer people's armed forces have defeated the reactionaries, the servants of the U.S. imperialists, our people and our pure socialist youth will assume power. These people's forces are winning brilliant victories and opening a wide front in our fatherland, and are not a means for returning Sihanouk to power.

A people's struggle aimed at restoring power to a prince, even if he is called "Sihanouk," would be meaningless. Thus, what the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang is increasingly afraid of is the dynamic people's resistance and the fighting strength of the young army of the National United Front of Kampuchea. The people and the youth who adhere to this front are inspired by the noblest ideals of democracy, social justice, and social equality. This is why the National United Front of Kampuchea's gaining increasing support of the monks, the youth, and the people in the countryside and the cities.

I only wait for the day of complete victory of our people to tender them my resignation as the legal head of state and transfer to them the legitimate power of the state given to me by the people in 1960. Moreover, I shall be able very soon to entrust all the responsibility of state affairs to the qualified representatives of our progressive people and youth who make up the new government of national union. This government entirely independent of me will be assisted by a consultative assembly. Local people's administrations will be a part of this government. Such local people's administration have already been set up in a number of villages and districts. And no doubt many other will be added as areas are liberated by the people's army of the National United Front of Kampuchea in the weeks and months to come.

It is true that in the administration buildings of the liberated areas and on the uniforms of the people's army, people can notice the portrait or a likeness of Sihanouk. But this does not signify that power will return to me. It belongs to and will belong to the people and their government alone. Our resistance fighters wear my picture merely as a sign of gratitude and filial affection.

The people's liberation movement and the progressive and socialist youth are struggling to exterminate the corrupt and reactionary high personages, including the warmongers and the despicable and corrupt warlords; to create for the first time in the history of Cambodia a people's socialist regime for the liberation of small farmers, specialists, and workers in general, who will assume power. This struggle will exterminate the warmongers and corrupt military chiefs like Lon Nol; the dishonest big capitalists led by Sirik Matak who is supported by Songsakd Kitchpanich, a shady banker and a notorious CIA agent; and the big landlords and plantation owners, advocates of exploitation of man by man, led by Cheng Heng, who is the owner of a coconut plantation and who collects huge benefits by employing little people as his coolies. There are other capitalists who use money stolen from the workers to buy votes to make themselves members of the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom.

It is these three associated cliques which thirst for power and which, in order to maintain their power, do not hesitate to kindle the flames of war in our country and precipitate the worst disasters and sow death to provide a pretext to exercise an iron dictatorship over the nation for indefinite period.

This gang claims to be "devoted to independence and neutrality." In this respect, however, it has unmasked itself quickly:

The Saigon "government" and the U.S. military authorities in South Vietnam have admitted to the international press that since the 18 March coup d'etat, there has been close cooperation among the three reactionary and antipopular forces on plans of operation aimed at putting down the resistance and the struggle for liberation of the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples.

The Lon Nol "government" has authorized U.S. planes and helicopters to bomb and make aggressive incursions into Cambodia. The U.S. and Thieu-Ky ground forces are also authorized, and even invited, to make murderous incursions into Cambodia.

The Washington government finally admitted that Lon Nol had officially and insistently asked for military and other aid in very large quantities. Sirik Matak, on his part, has admitted to an American reporter that he was considering having American forces stationed in Cambodia in the near future.

Some Western papers have revealed that the United States, wishing to avoid revealing to the world its patronage to the Lon Nol regime, will render aid to its lackey through the medium of certain accomplice governments, such as those of Saigon, Djakarta, and Bangkok.

The CIA has also recently hidden itself behind the 18 March coup d'etat. It has ordered its special agents Son Ngoc Thanh and Songsakd to get ready to occupy certain Cambodia provinces which the governments of Saigon and Bangkok want to occupy under the pretext of reducing the charge of the Lon Nol's armed forces.

All these convincing facts have been carefully concealed from our monks and people by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang. But outside Cambodia, the Western press itself has brought them to the attention of the whole world.

Our Buddhist monks, people, and youth can now pass adequate judgment on the reactionary regime of Phnom Penh, having recognized its true nature. If this regime were sincerely devoted to the people and the country, it should have resigned to spare them a future more disastrous than the present. With its resignation, our country and our nation would have no difficulty in acquiring peace on the basis of independence, territorial integrity, and neutrality.

But it is inconceivable that this regime would agree to step down, for evidently it is fond of power to the point of lightheartedly plunging the whole nation into the worst miseries and sufferings and of sending to death the young people. It has filled with racist feelings. Our soldiers, the youths enrolled by Lon Nol in his army, policemen, provincial guards, and militiamen should think again of the extreme misfortune befalling their compatriots, who they are sacrificing on the altar of the oppressors. They should be aware that they themselves and their like are heading toward certain death if they continue to maintain with their weapons the power of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. They should not hope that the people's resistance forces will capitulate before them and their masters. They should observe the heroic and unflinching struggle the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples are waging against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, traitors to their people.

Every day many soldiers and officers of these imperialists and their lackeys are annihilated. In the future, the losses of these lackeys will be still heavier because the U.S. forces will be gradually withdrawn [from Vietnam], and will be totally withdrawn in 1971. When that happens the troops that fought for them will certainly be destroyed by the people's resistance forces of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Do the mercenaries in Lon Nol's service really wish to meet a similar fate? It is time for them to stop being fooled by the Lon Nol regime.

As regards the question of defending our territorial integrity allegedly menaced by socialist Vietnam, how could the latter, when it has formally and solemnly recognized our territorial integrity as well as our present borders, undermine our territorial integrity? In the next few weeks, they will solemnly put their signature once again on a Khmer-Vietnamese-Laotian joint communique, that means that the Vietnamese socialists--both in the south and in the north--and the Laotian socialists have agreed to formally recognize Cambodia's territorial integrity within its present frontiers. The entire nation must carefully consider who are our true friends and who are our enemy.

Concerning the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, which is inciting the nation to hate the Vietnamese, the people must be fully aware of the close cooperation between this clique with the Vietnamese of the Thieu-Ky clique, which is another U.S. lackey just like the Lon Nol clique.

President Thieu has told correspondents of the free world that the Lon Nol authorities have secretly asked the Vietnamese armed forces of Saigon to come to their aid in Cambodia. The Vietnamese of Saigon, the Thais of Bangkok, and the Laotians of Vientiane have not agreed to recognize Cambodia's present frontiers. This will permit them in the future to lay claim in the international court to certain parts of Cambodian territory if they want to. But the Vietnamese and Laotian socialists will have no right to claim Cambodian territory or islands, even if they become powerful in the future.

This is the truth. It should rouse our compatriots, young and old, military and civilian, to get rid as soon as possible of these traitors who have odiously deceived them and brought colossal misfortune to our motherland. Their duty as Khmers, if they are patriots, is to fully support the National United Front of Kampuchea, which is the organization of the progressive, socialist and upright people, and youth.

I do not ask you, dear compatriots, to support Sihanouk, but to support your people and their army. And I remind you once again that if you want to regain peace on the basis of independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity, you must immediately abandon and isolate the clique of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries. Turn your guns on these traitors; if you are afraid of being killed, you should go to the jungle. From there and from our villages and the countryside, we shall attack these traitors at their city lair.

Finally, I call the attention of our Buddhist monks and nation to the fact that international opinion has unanimously condemned the racist policy of Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and their official incitement to murder perfectly peaceable and law-abiding Khmer and Vietnamese civilians. What the propaganda service of the Lon Nol "government" conceals painstakingly from the nation is the aversion which all the people of the world today have to the unjustifiable, barbarous, savage, base and unpardonable genocide perpetrated by Lon Nol's mercenary army against several hundred peaceable Vietnamese civilians, including old people, women, and children. This genocide has brought dishonor to our country and our race before the world and history, and that is the fault of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang of archcriminals.

That it is condemned by all the countries in the world without exception can be illustrated by this editorial in the New York TIMES, released by UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL on 17 April: "The mounting evidence of government-inspired mass murder of Vietnamese living in Cambodia should provoke a second thought in Washington about the stability and the morality of the regime that recently displaced Prince Sihanouk in Phnom Penh. Evidence of appeals to the ancient prejudice of the Khmers against neighboring people is a sign of desperation on the part of a government trying to shore up a shaky political base. Slaughter of unarmed, captive civilians is a reflection of military weakness in a regime that came to power pledged to eject Vietnamese communist troops. The indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese, not all of whom can be regarded as communist sympathizers, certainly will cool enthusiasm for the Phnom Penh regime. If the United States should make the mistake of acceding to a Cambodian appeal for military aid, it could find itself more dangerously embroiled than ever in a struggle that has little relationship to the purpose for which this country entered Southeast Asia.

One can see that even the American papers themselves no longer rejoice at seeing Lon Nol dragging Cambodia into their imperialist camp, because the hands of the Lon Nol regime are stained with the blood of peaceable, innocent, and defenseless people. I urge our bonzes, our people, and our youth to prevent our soldiers, policemen and militiamen from committing atrocities and massacring the people of other nationalities, which may cause the loss of our nation's honor and prestige. I therefore call on all my compatriots, first, to prevent by every means the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique from continuing the unspeakable policy of genocide; secondly, to save the honor of Cambodia by refusing from now on to serve or obey the fascist, nazi, and sanguinary "government" of Phnom Penh.

I conclude here my third message to the nation, and I extend my most respectful and most affectionate regards to Her Majesty the Queen, to the Buddhist monks and the Khmer people. Long live Cambodia.

Hanoi VNA English Text

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[Text] Hanoi VNA April 25--Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, head of state of Cambodia, on April 21 made public in Peking his third message to the nation.

After denouncing the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup makers, henchmen of the U.S. for their frantic opposition to the patriotic Khmers and the Vietnamese people, the message said:

"Yes, the truth is that in the space of one month, the diabolical reactionaries have succeeded in destroying 15 years of peace, freedom, happy life, progress and international prestige. Our Cambodia is today the synonym of anarchy, war, misery and death, and it won the worst reputation in the world.

"... thus, what the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang is increasingly afraid of is the dynamic people's resistance and the fighting strength of the young army of the National United Front of Kampuchea. The people and the youth who adhere to this front are inspired by the noblest ideals of democracy, social justice and social equality. This is why the National United Front of Kampuchea gains increasing support of the monks, the youth, the people in the countryside and the cities.

"... there is thus a very sharp demarcation between the movement of the working people and of the progressive and socialist youth on the one hand, and the regime composed of the clique of warmongers, the despicable and corrupted 'warlords' (leader: Lon Nol), the clique of dishonest big capitalists (leader: Sirik Matak) who is supported by Songsak Kitchpanich, a shady banker and a notorious C.I.A. agent, and the clique of big landlords and plantation owners, advocates of exploitation of man by man (leader: Cheng Heng) on the other.

"It is these associated cliques which thirst for power and which, in order to maintain their power, do not hesitate to kindle the flames of war in our country, give rise to the worst disasters and sow death, thus acquiring a pretext to exercise in iron dictatorship over the nation for an indefinite period".

Head of State Norodom Sihanouk denounced the overt collusion between the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, the U.S., its Saigon puppets and the Cambodian traitors "Khmer Serei" aimed at opposing the just liberation struggle of the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples.

He pointed out: "This gang claims to be 'devoted to independence and neutrality'. In this respect, however, it has unmasked itself quickly:

"The Saigon 'government' and the U.S. military authorities in South Viet Nam have admitted to the international press that since the March 18 coup d'etat, there has been close cooperation among the three reactionary and anti-popular forces on plans of operation aimed at putting down the resistance and the struggle for liberation of the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples.

"The Lon Nol 'government' has authorized U.S. planes and helicopters to bomb and make aggressive incursions into Cambodia.

"The U.S. and Thieu-Ky ground forces are also authorized and even invited to make murderous incursions into Cambodia.

"The Washington government finally admitted itself that Lon Nol had officially and insistently asked it for military and other aid in very large quantities.

"Sirik Matak, on his part, has admitted to an American reporter that he was considering having American forces stationed in Cambodia in the near future.

"Some Western papers have revealed that the United States, wishing to avoid revealing to the world its lackey through the medium of certain accomplice governments (such as those of Saigon, Djakarta, Bangkok...)

"The C.I.A. has also recently hidden itself behind the March 18 coup d'etat. It has ordered its special agent Sonsak Kitchpanich to prepare for the 'rallying' of 'Khmer Serei' troops to Lon Nol.

"All these convincing facts have been carefully concealed from our monks and people by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang. But outside Cambodia the Western press itself has brought them to the attention of the whole world."

Head of State Norodom Sihanouk emphasized: Our Buddhist monks, people and youth can now pass adequate judgment on the reactionary regime of Phom Penh, having recognized its true nature. If this regime were sincerely devoted to the people and the country, it should have resigned so as to spare them a future more disastrous than the present.

With its resignation, our country and our nation would have no difficulty in requiring peace on the basis of independence, territorial integrity and neutrality. But it is inconceivable that this regime would agree to step down, for evidently it is fond of power to the point of plunging light-heartedly the whole nation into the worst miseries and sufferings and of sending to death the young people among whom it has fanned up racist feelings.

Our soldiers, youths (enrolled by Lon Nol in his army), policemen, provincial guards and militiamen should think with a more acute conscience of the extreme misfortune in all respects of their compatriots whom they sacrifice on the altar of the oppressors. They should be aware that they themselves and their like are heading towards certain death if they continue to maintain with their weapons the power of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. They should not hope that the people's resistance forces will capitulate before them and their masters. They should observe the heroic and unflinching struggle the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples are waging against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, traitors to their people.

Every day a great number of soldiers and officers of these imperialists and their lackeys are annihilated. In the future, the losses of these lackeys will be still heavier because the U.S. forces will withdraw from South Viet Nam and leave the lackeys to die in their place. Do the mercenaries in Lon Nol's service really wish to meet a similar fate? It is time for them not to be fooled any longer by the Lon Nol regime.

"As regards the question of defending our territorial integrity, allegedly menaced by socialist Viet Nam, how could the latter, when it has formally and solemnly recognized our territorial integrity as well as our present borders, undermine our territorial integrity?

"Our compatriots should rather be concerned over the persistent refusal to recognize our country's present borders by the pro-U.S. regimes and avowed 'friends' of Lon Nol who carry out their anti-popular rule in Saigon, Bangkok and Vientiane. It is time for these compatriots to distinguish the true friends from the true enemies of our motherland.

"... Such is the truth. It should rouse our compatriots, young and older, military and civilian, to get rid as soon as possible of these traitors who have odiously deceived them and brought colossal misfortune to our motherland.

"Their duty as Khmers, if they are patriots, is to fully support the National United Front of Kampuchea which is the organization of the progressive, socialist and upright people and youth. And I remind you once again that if you want to regain peace on the basis of independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, you should at once abandon and isolate the clique of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries. You should point your guns at these traitors."

Head of State Norodom Sihanouk strongly denounced the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique of butchers who are repressing Vietnamese residents most savagely. He said: I call the attention of our Buddhist monks and nation to the fact that international opinion has unanimously condemned the racist policy of Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and their official incitement to the murder of perfectly peaceable and law-abiding Khmer and Vietnamese civilians.

What the propaganda service of the Lon Nol "government" conceals painstakingly from the nation is the aversion which all the people of the world today have to the unjustifiable, barbarous, savage, base and unpardonable genocide perpetrated by Lon Nol's mercenary army and against several hundred peaceable Vietnamese civilians, including old people, women and children.

This genocide has brought dishonour to our country and our race before the world and history and that is the fault of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang of arch-criminals. That it is condemned by all the countries in the world without exception can be illustrated by this editorial of the largest paper of the United States, "the New York TIMES" released by the UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL on April 17, 1970: "The mounting evidence of government-inspired mass murder of Vietnamese living in Cambodia should provoke a second thought in Washington about the stability and the morality of the regime that recently displaced Prince Sihanouk in Phnom Penh. Evidence of appeals to the ancient prejudice of the Khmers against neighboring people is a sign of desperation on the part of a government trying to shore up a shaky political base.

"Slaughter of unarmed, captive civilians is a reflection of military weakness in a regime that came to power pledged to eject Vietnamese communist troops...

"If the United States should make the mistake of acceding to a Cambodian appeal for military aid, it could find itself more dangerously embroiled than ever in struggle that has little relationship to the purpose for which this country entered Southeast Asia."

One can see that even the American journals themselves no longer rejoice at seeing Lon Nol dragging Cambodia into their imperialist camp, because the hands of the Lon Nol regime are stained with the blood of peaceable, innocent and defenceless people.

In conclusion, Head of State Norodom Sihanouk made this appeal: "the duty of all the Khmer compatriots, whether they are religious people or laymen, is to wash away the disgrace on the honour of our country, our race and our religion.

"I therefore call on all my compatriots, first, to prevent by every means the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique from continuing the unspeakable policy of genocide, secondly, to save the honour of Cambodia by refusing from now on to serve or obey the fascist, nazi and sanguinary 'government' of Phnom Penh."
