



Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report on

**The Historical Development of the
Cambodia-France Bilateral Relationship**

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International Program

Bachelor's Degree of International Relations

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ABSTRACT

In this century, bilateral relationship between different states is very important in order to learn about each other cultures, religious, economics, and diplomatic relations. Every states needs to play important roles in order to get to know each other better. However, many cases have happened regarding to France and Cambodia relationship since the ancient years. The main problem is that Cambodia used to have a bilateral relations with the France until nowadays that we adopted their cultures, religious, law, and diplomatic work together which is **“The historical development of the Cambodia bilateral relationship”** that Cambodia was under pressure and help Cambodia a lot since the 1863 until the 21st century we still adopted their rules. It has become a very serious thing for Cambodia that has problem with the neighboring countries such as Thailand and Vietnam that is why King Udong went and ask France to protectorate over Cambodia while Vietnam was under the French colonial. There were many cases going on between Cambodia and France, which include the neighboring countries that we had to lost few provinces to Thailand. Therefore, there were problem going on during the Sisowath families leading because, they do not involve much in the business and political events they only cares about their wives. Which leads to Norodom and his grandchild is **“Norodom Sihanouk”** take place as King. Later on, Norodom Sihanouk has worked nonstop in order to fight for independence he also travelled to France and to many big countries such as China, the United States and Yugoslavia in order to receive peace and impendence from the France protectorate. Moreover, he also travelled to Thailand which he does not receive the welcome yet, he still travelled to France back and forth in order to receive the independence. At the end of 1953, Cambodia has received the independence from France and Norodom Sihanouk was name as a national hero. Therefore, we still have good relations with the

France until now. We adopted their cultures, language, religious, law and most importantly is we adopted most of the government system work from France. Currently, France do have good relations with us by helping us in the development in the society such as constitution, education field, government system, law in the country, and help to rebuild the country.

LIST OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREIVIATION	iv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1. Statement of Problem.....	2
2. Research Questions	3
3. Research Objective	3
4. Research Methodology.....	4
5. Scope of Limitation of Research.....	5
6. Literature Review	5
CHAPTER 2: FRENCH DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT IN INDOCHINA	6
2.1.Cambodia Discovery	6
2.2.The France Protectorate.....	7
a. Relation with France.....	8
b. The reign of King Norodom (1860-1904)	10
c. The reign of King Sisowath (1904-1927).....	10
d. The reign of Sisowath Monivong (1927-1941)	11
e. The reign of Norodom Sihanouk ((1941-1953).....	12
2.3.The French Colonial Period,1887-1953.....	14
2.3.1. The Colonial Economic.....	14
2.3.2.The Emergence of Nationalism.....	15
2.3.3. The Struggle For Independence	21
CHAPTER 3: CAMBODIA UNDER SIHANOUK, 1954-1970	26
3.1.The Geneva Conference	26
3.2.Domestic Developments	27

3.3. Nonaligned Foreign Policy	29
3.4. The Coup d' Etat of 1970	32
CHAPTER 4: DEVELOPMENTS AFTER INDEPENDENCE	34
4.1. Economic setting.....	34
4.1.1. Sihanouk's Peacetime Economy, 1953-1979.....	35
4.1.2. The Wartime Economy, 1970-1975.....	37
4.1.3. Economic Under Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979	39
4.2. The Government and Politic	40
4.2.1. Political Developments, 1977-1981.....	40
4.2.2. Coalition of Democratic of Kampuchea	42
4.3. People Republic of Kampuchea.....	44
4.3.1. The Constitution	45
4.3.2. Foreign Affaires.....	46
CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CAMBODIAN LEGAL SYSTEMS	47
5.1. Cambodian Legal and Judicial System	47
5.2. The Making and Development of the Constitution.....	49
5.2.1. The Paris Agreements.....	50
5.2.2. Constitution Making.....	51
5.2.3. Constitutional Amendments	53
CHAPTER 6: CURRENT RELATIONS WITH FRANCE	55
6.1. Diplomatic relations.....	55
6.2. Economic relations	56
6.2.1. Cambodia Economic Structure.....	56
6.2.2. Economic Relations with France.....	56

6.3.Academic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation	57
CONCLUSION.....	59
RECOMMENDATION	61
BIBLIOGRAGHY	

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AEFE:	Agency for French Education Abroad
AFD:	French Development Agency
ASEAN:	Association of South East Asian Nation
BLDP:	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party
CPP:	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council Cooperative Cambodia
KPRP:	Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party
CGDK:	The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
EBA:	Everything except for Arms
FARK:	Forces Armes Royales Khmer
FUNCINPEC:	The National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and KPRP:
GNP:	Gross National Product
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
ICP:	Indochinese Communist Party
KPNLF:	Khmer People's National Liberation Front
KNUFNS:	Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation
LDC:	Least Developed Countries

MAAG: Military Assistance Advisory Group

PRK: People republic of Kampuchea

SME: Small Medium Enterprise

SEATO: Southeast Asian Treaty Organization

SONEXIM: Société nationale d'exportation et d'importation

US: United States

UN: United Nation

UNTAC: United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

According to this study France and Cambodia used to and currently have good relations with each other since King Ang Doung years of royalty, head of state, and head of government. France and Cambodia do have much bilateral and historical relationship. After, Ang Doung years Norodom his son has taken over the heirs but, Norodom does not have good relations with the neighboring countries such as “Thailand and Vietnam”¹. The treaty between France and Cambodia started on 11, August 1863. The treaty was about “Friendship, Protect and Business”².

In order, to protect Cambodia from the neighboring countries Cambodia did lose some interest after signing the treaty. France get to involve many fields within our country but during that time France was a protectorate Vietnam as well. France get to do lots of business in Cambodia based on the treaty.

However, during the Sisowath leading the country it failed many times because, Sisowath years did not involve much in the big business events. Later on, King Norodom Sihanouk which he is a grandson to the King Norodom get to crown as King in Cambodia and King Norodom Sihanouk has been working so hard nonstop in order to gain the independence From France. There were many rejections from France that is why King Norodom Sihanouk went to Canada, China, and the United State for an interview. Yet, he said he flew to France to check up his health instead he wrote and suggested to the France to give the fully independence since, he is the New King. There were many cases and many events going on before and after the protectorate years, since it is the case Cambodia still adapt and relying on France until nowadays.

¹ , *David Chandler*, The Early Stage of the French Protectorate, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “A history of Cambodia, p. 141”.

² ព្រះសង្ឃប្រជុំ, ប្រវត្តសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១០១

Moreover, France had given the fully independence at the end of 1953. Therefore, we adopted a lot of their culture, language, law, and businesses until nowadays. France has been always helping us even during the protectorate year, but also had teach us all many lessons. As in result, France do still have good relations with us by helping to develop in many field in Cambodia.

1. Statement of Problems

The historical development of the Cambodia-France bilateral relationship is the relation between both countries since 1854 the year of King Ang Doung leading. The relations had fail with the France move on to the Norodom year it started to sign a treaty with Thailand that was force to sign a treaty on the 1st of December 1963, which Cambodia loses some provinces such as Battambang, Siem Reap, Mongkolborey, Sisophon, Kampong Svay, and Posat³. Moreover, King Norodom had send a letter to the President of France Napoleon III to make an agreement to protectorate over Cambodia instead of Thailand protectorate. Afterwards, the President Napoleon III send back the letter to the King Norodom to sign a treaty on 3 June 1864, so the treaty that signed with Thailand before was call void. There were many businesses going on between Cambodia and France. Before, deciding on the government work Cambodia had to always ask France for the permissions. On the other hand, during the protectorate years there were Norodom leading year (1860-1904)⁴, Sisowath (1904-1927)⁵, Sisowath Monivong (1927-1941)⁶, and finally yet importantly is Norodom Sihanouk years of leading (1941-1953)⁷.

³ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ឆ្នាំ ១០៣១: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១០៣

⁴ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ឆ្នាំ ១១១១: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១១១

⁵ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ឆ្នាំ ១១៣១: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១១៣

⁶ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ឆ្នាំ ១១៥១: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១១៥

⁷ ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ឆ្នាំ ១១៧១: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១១៧

This report will explain the historical and bilateral relationship between Cambodia and France before the protectorate years until the independence and yet will continue to explain the years of Norodom Sihanouk leading after gaining independence. Of course, this report will explain more about the relations between Cambodia and France until nowadays that had reach to what levels.

2. Research Questions

Main Research Questions:

- What is the impact of French involvement in Cambodia?

Sub Research Question:

- What are the reasons that made French protectorate over Cambodia?
- During the protectorate years what did French help Cambodia developments?
- What is the development of the Cambodian legal systems?
- What impact does France still have today on Cambodia's social, political, and legal systems?

3. Research Objective

The main purpose of this research aims to examine the historical and bilateral relations between Cambodia and France. By doing so, there were many impacts over Cambodia there is good and bad side that has happened back in the late years. In order to make a reasonable implementation on this events, there were many occasions going on in the years of many leading Kings of Cambodia that led to many years of discussions not just in the national stage but it turns out to be in the international stage too. It needs to hear of how French have had many impacts over Cambodia until nowadays.

4. Research Methodology

There are various sources to prove this thesis topic and become more qualified. This topic will show many years of relations between Cambodia-France and it has many impacts with good and bad results of French protectorate. The research was evidence by many useful methods, and we believe that these sources will provide the best quality for this thesis. Literally, this research paper intends to clarify on the leading years of different Kings before and during the protectorate years.

Moreover. The whole quality and quantity of this research based on the information from scholar journals, books, online website with clear histories, and from France embassy website. Beside this, the researchers collected effective information from the Institut Francais Cambodge library. That had many clear information that specifically mentioned about the topic thesis with clear explanation.

The researchers provided the quality and quantity to readers with accurate and trustful information. The researchers wrote this paper with passion of analyzing with reasonable and appreciable in order to provide a clear understanding on the topic of **the historical development of the Cambodia-France bilateral relationship**. The researchers desired to guide the perfect consequence of this topic. The researchers provided the best analyzing with enough references and evidences to make this research paper became effective and efficient.

5. Scope and Limitation of Research

The scope of this research is to examine of how Cambodia and France develop on historical and bilateral relationship in one generation to another generation of different royal family's leadings. It will also focus on international relations between neighboring countries and with big

powerful countries. Moreover, there will be many cases and example of true events going on between Cambodia and France. That include lots of big countries involvement with the references on exact dates that approach into many international websites and French embassy website.

6. Literature Review

The topic **Cambodia and France develop on historical and bilateral relationship** is famous back in the old times, there were documents, books, articles, and news wrote about this topic. On the other hand, this topic has had a great impact on Cambodia society back in the past until nowadays. For some cases that has happened there were different cases depend on which King reigns. For this report we have indicate many authors like David Chandler, Pov Sareun, and Henry Miller.

According to the Author David Chandler has written a lot about the early stage of the French protectorate and he mentioned some cases that has happened during that time. He also wrote about the gaining independence and the struggle of it. For the author Pov Sareun he wrote since the start of the French protectorate and he clearly mentioned on each King reigns duties and cases that has happened back then not just that he specifically mentioned about each part like political, economic, social affairs, and internal or international affairs clearly. For Henry Miller he wrote that he has discovered Cambodia by visiting Angkor for his very first time also he included that there were Spanish missionaries left a written articles about Cambodia and he mentioned about some Japanese find its own ways of settlement in Cambodia.

As for this report paper all the authors that has mentioned above is not that different from each other. This report aims to analyze clearly about Cambodia and France relations back in ancient time until the current year. This report paper tries to examine the difficulties relations with the

Europe, Thailand, and Vietnam mostly is the France, we have gone through many hardship obstacles for years and there were many King reign tries their best to lead the Cambodian country and its people to find peace and independence.

CHAPTER 2: FRENCH DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT IN INDOCHINA

2.1. Cambodia Discovery

The French naturalist Henri Mouhot⁸ has visited Angkor Wat in 1860 with his own publication of his travel notes in 1863. Mouhot was credit with the discovery of the lost “lost city in Angkor”. Moreover, he was not the first European explorer of visiting Angkor Wat nor to write about it. The earliest and most details of written the discovery of Angkor Wat was a Portuguese Diego de Couto during the mid-16th century which he described about the Cambodian King hunted the elephants. Therefore, during the 15th and 16th centuries Spanish missionaries also traveled the area and left written the reports about their visits in Angkor Wat land. Although, in 1603 the Spaniard Gabriel Quiroga wrote “In 1507 a city bought to light that had never been seen or heard of by the natives”. In the 17th century, which brings the Japanese settlements at the Angkor Wat, land. Later on Japanese calligraphic characters has found a pillar in the second floor of Angkor Wat it was back in 1632 with a good proof. Afterwards, a Japanese man, Kenryo Shimano the oldest author known as the Angkor Wat plan. Beside, while he was travelling around between the year of 1632 and 1636 he drew a very detailed map of the temple.

⁸ Henry Miller, <https://www.aboutasiatravel.com/cambodia/guide/angkor-temple/angkor-wat/angkor-wat-temple.htm>

2.2. The French Protectorate

There are many ways of looking at the years of French hegemony over Cambodia. One is to break them into stages and trace the delay extension and to decline of the French control. Secondly, is to check the time and its theory and process with political, economic, and educational with the French perspective. Third, is to treat the time as part of Cambodian history which it connects before and after French control. The very first phase last from the founding of the protectorate in 1863 to disrupt of a national of the revolution in 1884⁹. The second phase would extend from the elimination of the rebellion in 1886 to King Norodom's dead in 1904, which a more concerted monarch, Norodom's half-brother, Sisowath, came to the throne. The third phase, which lasted until Norodom Sihanouk, is crowning in 1941 and interval the reigns of Sisowath (1904-1927) and his eldest son, Monivong (1927-1941). That time it disagree with only systematically colonial one in Cambodian history, for in the rest of the colonial era (1941-1953). The French interest more on holding on than with the arrangement of their control. However, colonial era falls into two times rather than four times of the break appearance at Sisowath's crowing in 1906. However, in the late 1940s¹⁰, it opens to Cambodians would think that the mechanical changes, or the French existence as a whole, of having a hurtful effect on their own lives or on their dependable institutions of livelihood on farming, Buddhism, and kingship. Later on, the political balance that describe most of the colonial stage that can be traced partly to French sponsorship of the king and the king's financing of the sangha, that contribute to keep these two academies coordinate. Politically, with the French integrate; it is because kings, monks, and

⁹ David Chandler, *The Early Stage of the French Protectorate*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "A history of Cambodia" Page 137.

¹⁰ *David Chandler*, *The Early Stage of the French Protectorate*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "A history of Cambodia" Page 138.

officials had no tradition of contemporary and because of the famous forms of questioning their rule, dissent and uprising that had been completely consume by the French since the 1880s.

a. Relations with France

Starting from the year of 1954 there were many failures and obstacles relations with the France due to the Thai King. In the Norodom, years of leading there were many fights going on in the country because Vietnam and Thailand wants to take over control on Cambodia sovereignty. That is why King Norodom decided to sign a treaty with France in 1863 so, that the France will take over control on Cambodia country and to protect from Vietnamese and Thailand aggressive. The treaty was sign on August 11, 1863 in the name of “Friendship, Protect and Business”¹¹. The French emperor has the rights to appoint any French residence to work closely with the Khmer King. Instead, Khmer emperor also has the rights to appoint any Khmer officer to work with the French governor in Cochin China. Every relations with any consulates needs to ask permission from France. For Cambodians if they want to do business in the two lands they just can ask from their own residence but actually in real situation French came over to Cambodia more than Cambodians went to Cochin China. France government did provide the safety to Cambodians on France sovereignty also; Cambodia did provide safety on French people on Cambodia sovereignty as well. If there is any disputes going on between the Europe and France the ones that can do the judges, is the French residence but if France have any dispute with Cambodia the one that can judge is French emperor with a Khmer officer. Big business ship from France can do business without

¹¹ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១០១

paying the taxes except for wine and opium that also include Khmer shipping we do not need to pay taxes as well. In order to pay the French kindness King Norodom offer France a lot of gifts such as coal depot, food depot and barracks also what is more interesting is that the King allowed French to deforestation any time they want. Later, France had offer two big ships to the King as souvenirs¹². To conclude this treaty was a bit defeated by the France but somehow the King can accept it rather than the actions of Vietnamese and Thailand wanting but the France did not take out the rights of the King yet. Since the treaty did not get to ratified yet from the French emperor which is Napoleon III, in that case Thai side had use some tricks over Cambodia by forcing the Khmer King to sign other treaty with the Thai on December 1, 1863. After the treaty was sign, Khmer loses some provinces to Thailand such as Battambang, Siem Reap, Mongkol Borey, Sisophon, Kampong Svay and Posat in a legal way. This had shown us clearly that Thailand really had the greedy ambition over the Cambodia sovereignty. Afterwards, on June 3, 1864 the treaty got ratify from the French emperor Napoleon III so the treaty that was sign with Thailand is void. Overall, the France force Thai to give out the stuffs that was sent to Thailand, the treaty is to protect Cambodia sovereignty and King hierarchy¹³ and to show Thailand that France did have the fully rights over Cambodia to control over it, later France did sign a treaty with Thailand in 1867. The treaty between Thailand was sign on July 15, 1867 that Thailand promised to give rights to France to control over Cambodia, France will not add Cambodia as a protectorate, and France had recognized Battambang and Siem Reap as Thai provinces in conclude of this treaty France and Thai divided Cambodia according to their own interests.

¹² ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១០២

¹³ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ទំព័រ ១០៣

b. The reign of King Norodom (1860-1904)

In terms of Agriculture King Norodom had promised to delay the land renting to be in a bit of longer time there rice exporting but France did the exclusive trading on opium and wine. In the year of 1900, European had many farming land like overall 15 places, which is 235 hectares. The crafts field that time is still at a small pace they only export agricultural products and natural products. In business, field Khmer government had promised to protect missionaries’ scholars and general French people. During that time, they create a council in charge of overseeing law enforcement¹⁴. The transportation part they have the fully rights to do business in Cambodia and there no need to pay any taxes except opium but, Khmer ship can do business on Cochin China land. In finance it create the ministry of finance on January 1, 1892 as a tax institution and later the France did have the fully rights over rice exporting¹⁵.

c. The reign of King Sisowath (1904-1927)

Everybody knows that during King Sisowath reign there were rubber plantation¹⁶ for the first time in the catch area that lead to create big rubber plantation in Kampong Cham and Kratie provinces. Ten years later the land had reach to 25.000 hectares. For the craft is still in a small resource. Business part Ounha Kralahom is the minister of Navy, ministry of business industry and agriculture. The industries field is still in a weak pace and the business of French castes had made the finance had a duty to work the country economics¹⁷. Finance part French government had spent on almost every part of the fields but all the expenses had come from people paying the taxes.

¹⁴ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រខ្មែរព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យចំរើន, ខ.ស្ថានភាពសេដ្ឋកិច្ច, ទំព័រ ១១២

¹⁵ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រខ្មែរព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យចំរើន, ខ.ស្ថានភាពសេដ្ឋកិច្ច, ទំព័រ ១១៣

¹⁶ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រខ្មែរព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យចំរើន, ខ.វេទនាសព្វដុះចាស់ស៊ីសុវត្ថិ, ទំព័រ ១១៣

¹⁷ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រខ្មែរព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យចំរើន, ខ.វេទនាសព្វដុះចាស់ស៊ីសុវត្ថិ, ទំព័រ ១១៤

France had explained everyone about the new expenses at the end the money had gone into the ones who control over the international market and the ones who keeps money at the bank. Starting from 1912 on them planned on few things such as spending the money on Khmer and French administration, public security and public court, finance and public resources, and ambulance and education¹⁸.

d. The reign of King Sisowath Monivong (1927-1941)

Before World War II Indochina has become a place, where they create create farming and raw materials for the French. The world Economic Crisis from the year of 1929-1939 have had an impact over the political, economic and protectorate on Cambodia because of the reducing price on the stocks and crop export had fall down in the economic field had made the people hard to live. In the economic part, there was a convention on June 17, 1884 that was mentioning on the land is no longer belonging to the throne but they can create their own private property. In the agriculture field, the rubber plantation farm has reached to 6000 hectares and have 550.000 of rubber trees it was the biggest farm at that time. Tobacco and corn were also introduce. In his Sisowath Monivong reign he has helped the land that were left out due to the escape from the enemy or the land that goes to Thailand which is Tropang Jorng that is Posat province he made the land into the agriculture center and business. Most of the land was planted rice to make the export to overseas. In the year of 1927, the land for planting rice has made it to 900.000 hectares that compare to the year of 1904 was only 300.000 hectares. Mostly the land that planted rice was in Battambang, Svay Rieng, and Prey Veng¹⁹. For the industry and handicraft field at that time the public work has built the drainage

¹⁸ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ខ.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទស៊ីសុវត្ថិ, ទំព័រ ១១៩

¹⁹ ពៅ សាវៀន ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ៣.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទស៊ីសុវត្ថិ មុនីវង្ស, ទំព័រ ១២៤

system, built private factories like modification factory and natural refinement moreover there were cigarette factory beverages sugar rice mill two silk skirt factories skirt fabric factory. In 1902 there were electricity, phone and, telegraph. In terms of business during the harvest season many salaries workers need to pay the interest starting from 100% to 150% sometimes reach to 200%. Many companies like 20-30 had cooperate with each other in order to create crop farm, vehicle preparation, construction of industrial plants all of these factories were under the Indochina Bank supervision²⁰. In the transportation part, they have built a railroad in 1932, about 275 kilometers, which is from Phnom Penh to Thailand that goes through Battambang province. Other than this there were bridge that were built from especially the bridge that pass by Tonle Bassak that is about 292 meters the name of the bridge is “Bridge Pras Monivong” they do the grand opening on November 18, 1928. For the finance in 1930, the King had ordered to build banks for farmers in Battambang, Preng Veng and Kampong Cham²¹.

e. The reign of King Norodom Sihanouk (1941-1953)

There were a world crisis economic going on in 1929-1939 that had a big impact on the agriculture field then there were stuffs that lower many prices outside and inside the country. This has made the people lives becomes deterioration and that reach to a national liberation movement in Cambodia also in the Indochina that were under the French protectorate. For the agriculture part the capitalism relations has made the protectorate regime oppression over Cambodia mostly on the farmers. The farmers they had create more of the prosper land growing such as corn, rice, and rubber plantations in order to pay taxes to the government even though the farmers has been

²⁰ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ព.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទស៊ីសុវត្ថ មុនីវង្ស ទំព័រ ១២៦

²¹ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ព.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទស៊ីសុវត្ថ មុនីវង្ស ទំព័រ ១២៧

working so hard the result of it only came out as in 1 hectare only give rich from 1 – 1.2 tons. That is why most of the farmers are poor that some become a indebted to brokers or private traders like Chinese, French, Indian, and Vietnamese²² that live in the provinces or in the city. For the ones that own big lands are mostly big Europe companies or private companies that has the fully rights to control over the big lands. Instead for the industry and handicraft field in his reign the King has made a big expand on the land growing for the handicraft that made from hands has encourage and inspire the people who lived in the provinces to work harder in the process of traditional handicrafts. In terms of business there exporting stuffs from Europe it did not touch bad to the inside country handicrafts but there were some handicraft stuffs that fail during that time like fabric skirt, beverages, wine, and salt. But in the equipment production like food, dishes or pots, ivory carvings, gold, silver, and bronze stuffs has work normally like usual there were no problem at all and it did export to outside countries²³. However, later on Cambodia economic has been working so well and we did export like rice and rubbers. French capital has inflows a lot into Cambodia and for exclusive companies get many profits. Nevertheless, finance part the relations in political inside and outside the country has been going on so well like the business relations that required paying goods in currency. That is why French and Cambodia has decided to published many different type of coins and papers money²⁴. In the nation, building French government has been helping and changing the sectors like politics, economic, and social affairs in order to make the country move forward but French had taken some few things like cultural property to make their own use. The French does not want Khmer to know too much about education and development that much

²² ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ៤.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទនរោត្តមសីហនុ, ទំព័រ ១២៨

²³ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ៤.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទនរោត្តមសីហនុ, ទំព័រ ១២៩

²⁴ ពៅ សាវៀន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ៤.រដ្ឋកាលព្រះបាទនរោត្តមសីហនុ, ទំព័រ ១៣០

because they are afraid of the opposition movement against the French. Some rich Khmer governors has depend on the French power and they have closed eyes from the people that started to do corruptions things in the country. At that time, there were hardship about paying the taxes to the rich governors and repayment of interest to the lender. Poor living has become a normal living but for economic has been working a bit slow forward that is why the King, Big scholars, and Khmer patriots has work together to fight for freedom independence for the country especially his royal highness King Norodom Sihanouk has demand the independence for the nation²⁵.

2.3. The French Colonial Period, 1887-1953

2.3.1. The Colonial Economy

In terms of economic revolutions, the compelling developments that appeared in the technology of rice farming bear to be limited to the northwestern part of the kingdom, where huge rice plantations had come into being. Therefore²⁶, the French in their own writings tended to idealize and favor the Cambodians at the charge of the Vietnamese. At that time their terms was so little that would mock the Cambodians as “lazy” or “obedient.” An inconclusive and not very considerate romanticism cover many French-language sources comprise on the colonial era, mostly in the twentieth century, when the motto about the people were pass along the antique from one official (or one issue of newspaper) to the next. “Economics” means account, taxes, and fund in the other way the economics of bureaucratic control. On the rare incident when French authors looked at Cambodia’s economy, they describe it to the rest of Indochina, especially in terms of transport crops and colonial actions, such as public works, better than to Cambodian needs and

²⁵ ពៅ សារ៉ុន, ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, ជំពូក ៤: ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យទំនើប, ៤.វេជ្ជការព្រះបាទនរោត្តមសីហនុ, ទំព័រ ១៤១

²⁶ *David Chandler*, The Early Stage of the French Protectorate, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “A history of Cambodia” Page 139.

capacities. By the 1920s, in the eyes of French officials, Cambodia known as the rice-making machine, producing credit as in exchange for “advice”. Which means the basis of government rajakar, or royal work continue what it had always been, the eradication of credit from laborers.

2.3.2. The Emergence of Nationalism

There were no Khmer language newspapers or journals back in 1927²⁷, Cambodian literature was print at all, it also subsist the entire Buddhist texts and during the nineteenth-century verse were legend. The first fiction in Khmer, *Tonle Sap*, was publish in 1938; it was two years after the display of the first Khmer newspaper, *Nagara Vatta*. In Cambodian education it is not a surprisingly in the view of French stagnation, in a comparison it designed the quantity of printed component which produce the elements of Indochina. The Angkorean time has been associate within the study and proclamation of religious texts, which include the colonial generation, it also almost in the hands of Buddhist monkhood. Since 1936, the Khmer language journal, “Kambuja Surya” had produce a monthly basis under the sign of the French-funded Institute Bouddhique. Due to the situation in the year of 1930s, it appears the image of an unbalanced one. According to the French novels reading the reports, newspapers it allows to reconstruct Cambodian history with the left out population. In the year of 1927-1941 was the King Sisowath Monivong year was not really handful enough to involve in the 1932 coup d’état in Siam, but the Italo-Ethiopian war and the French handover to Germany in 1940. From 1900²⁸ to 1930, paved and graveled roads has been built throughout the kingdom about 9,000 kilometers (5,400 miles), but between the years of 1928 and 1932, the 500 kilometer (300 mile) the railroad was built from Phnom Penh to Battambang

²⁷ David Chandler, *Cambodia’s Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “A history of Cambodia” Page 159.

²⁸ David Chandler, *Cambodia’s Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “A history of Cambodia” Page 160.

moreover it extend until the Thai border. In terms of commercial development, the rice exports and rubber plantations has given out a lot of benefited to the French and Chinese entrepreneurs, which they are the export trade. Although, the Vietnamese immigrants came to Cambodia they worked in the rubber plantations that is urban employment, cities in Cambodia that is often in the colonial Southeast Asia were enclaves commanded by foreign bureaucrats and entrepreneurs. The first stretch track on the railroad went into service, the first Cambodian students, which include two princes and four men destined to be ministers in 1940s, and 1950s that graduated from Lycée in Saigon. The greatest beneficiaries²⁹ in Cambodia is the rice export and rubber plantations near Kompong Cham. For the rubber plantations is staffed by the Vietnamese that had a little economic impact on the Cambodian countryside which the rice production meet the international demands that the new funds operated by the widening tax that is base into the public works. Which include the beautification of Phnom Penh, the electrification of provincial towns, the road building and the construction of seaside resorts and mountain hotels that benefits the French and the tourist industry. The time was mark by several uprisings against the French in the Vietnamese segment of Indochina, but Cambodia always remained silent; in the description French residents commendation the Cambodian farmers for the “stoicism” that they continued to act against the highest and most variegated tax burden in Indochina. For the tax, delinquency has reached 45 percent in 1931 and more than 60 percent from the following year, that was grant by the resident supérieur. In the year of 1931, Phnom Penh population has reached to 96,000 and in year of 1936, it reached to 100,000 according to the subsistence farming. The increasing tax in the year of 1931 has encouraged King Monivong to tour the *sruk*, which the audiences are local officials on the

²⁹ David Chandler, Cambodia's Response to France, 1916-1945, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 161.

virtues frugality and hard work. The King continue to live also with his grandson Norodom Sihanouk later so called that Monivong³⁰ did not spend much time on official business, which he preferred the numerous wives and concubines. By the year of 1932, he entertained the French minister of colonies, Paul Reynaud, who had visited Indochina in order to investigate the aftermath of Vietnamese uprisings of the previous year. During the mid-1930s, the economy of Indochina has recovered slowly based on the rice exports, mostly in Battambang that reached 100,000 metric tons a year and new crops that has grown in large quantities for export. Particularly in the *sruk*, that it all became officials of independent Cambodia that include Nhek Tioulong, Lon Nol, and Sisowath Sirik Matak were starting their own careers. However, in political terms, the French was not happy to notice the troubles in Cochin China that came up with conflicts with the Trotskyite and Communist supporters of the Popular Front government in France; incite no reflect in Cambodia, that well “awakening” was the subject of prejudicial French advertisement published on the incident of a governor-general’s visit in 1935. The French confidential description along the decade registered “none” under the compulsory rubric “revolutionary activities,” and Cambodian historians, that was looking for the foundation of the Cambodian Communist movement, which cannot find them in this time, apparently the heyday of the Communist party of Indochina. This cooperation was the first of its kind in Cambodia which the voluntary federation along professional lines had always been quite to move on and had been discouraged by the French. For many years the French had regret the Cambodian hostility to agreement while deny the Cambodian seek by World War I, for example by enthusiast of the Cao Dai to form associations³¹. The fear of consensus

³⁰ David Chandler, *Cambodia’s Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 162.

³¹ David Chandler, *Cambodia’s Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 163.

in real has risen to control the French reaction to the Bardez affair, of what we have seen. Although, for the French administrative purposes it rather deal with a society that at least arrange better than diagonally. By the year of 1930s, the three main point's channels for Cambodian self-awareness were the Lycée Sisowath, the Institut Bouddhique, and Pach Chhoeun and Sim Var. found the newspaper Nagara Vatta, in 1936. A young Cambodian judge that was born in Vietnam afterwards joined both men in during their year of thirties, and finished the study in France; his name was Son Ngoc Thanh. The *Nagara Vatta*, editorial was a pro-Cambodian during that time was the anti-French. It matter to Vietnamese sovereignty of the Cambodian civil service, even the Chinese dictatorship of commerce, and the shortfall of suitable employment for educated Khmer. The article also denounce the usury of Chinese influence merchants, which the French postpone the educational system, the shortage of attention for Cambodian peasants, and low pay of Cambodian civil servants. Nevertheless, the historical background the most important on the *Nagara Vatta* that it was the first time ever sin 1863 of a conversation that has open up with the French and their purportedly "dormant" which is among the Cambodian exclusive³². The paper's currency in the early of 1937 has risen more than five thousand copies per issue, and readership was assuredly far higher. In his time journal, Bunchhan Muul, was a high official in the Khmer Republic, state the paper in his mission of the risen Cambodian people with a picture that continue until World War II during that time Son Ngoc Thanh has come back from exile and was found a new nationalist paper designate *Khmer Krok* [Cambodian Awake]. For the *Nagara Vatta* was important to thousands of Cambodians that gave them all a chance to read about the situation that happened around the world and which translate in their own language. By the year of 1939, many bacheliers

³² David Chandler, Cambodia's Response to France, 1916-1945, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "A history of Cambodia" Page164.

graduated from Lycée Sisowath, it was half a dozen and maybe a dozen Cambodians that train in the institutions abroad. The division between political awareness and technical efficiency that persevered into the postcolonial time, it can be criticized on French apathy in the field of domestic education, itself attributable to French objection in order to pay the bills. There were no actions in Cambodia for example, add to the electorate, to announce the representative government rather than the consultative basis or to teach Cambodians to replace Frenchmen in the administration. The anticipation of irony French officials was not really established; in 1939, elaborate events were all given in Phnom Penh to honor the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the French revolution, and for the site was the Place de la République. In 1943, the resident French Georges Gautier released his purpose to replace Cambodia's forty-seven-letter alphabet, received from medieval Indian models, with the Roman one. George Coedes worked out the explanation; usable samples show that the system maintains the phonetics of spoken Khmer quite well. Gautier and his team saw the reform as a step toward "modernization," seen uncertainly as a good thing. In a brochure assigned to explaining the renovation, Gautier assaulted the "Cambodian attitude language to the world" as "out of date" and contrasted to Cambodian language to a "badly tailored suit." The extension of a "rational" French vocabulary to Romanized Khmer, Gautier thought, would develop Cambodian thought alter³³. Many Cambodians, mostly the *sangha*, have seen the reform as an attack on historic learning and on large status appreciated by historic educators in Cambodian society. Cambodians in civil life were less affronted by the reform, however Sihanouk has claimed that he was on the point of stepping down over the problem. Despite these challenges, the French pushed the reform eagerly in 1944-1945, most importantly in government officials' publications and in schools; the

³³ David Chandler, *Cambodia's Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "A history of Cambodia" Page 169.

Romanization decree did not apply to religious texts. When the French were pushed aside by the Japanese, one of the first actions of the newly independent Cambodian government was to rescind Romanization; over then no undertaking has been made by any Cambodian government to Romanize the language. On March 9, 1945, Romanization became as a dead letter when the Japanese throughout Indochina deactivated French forces and took out French officials from their posts. On March 13, in response to an academic Japanese request, King Sihanouk confirmed that Cambodia was independent and changed its name in French from “Cambodge” to “Kampuchea,” the Khmer pronunciation of the word. Later on two weeks after the declaration Vietnamese houses of the city rioted against the French, on the support of a rumor that the French wanted to kill or at least put in jail to all the Vietnamese residents in France³⁴. In early April, speaking of the newly reinforced Cambodian militia, Sihanouk censured French forces, which had been unwilling to help Japan fight Cambodia against an unlimited “enemy” he proposed Cambodians to “awaken” also. At the same time during the summer of 1945 Cambodians rallied to arbitrate themselves between the monarchy and the colonial or neocolonial power. On July 20, Sihanouk governed over the rally commemorating the monks’ demonstration of 1942; he was joined on this situation by Pach Chhoeun, that was just released from the jail, and Son Ngoc Thanh, who had returned to Cambodia from Tokyo in April. Another filament of postwar Cambodian nationalism subsisted of officially sponsored animosity to the Vietnamese, and clashes in the stirring, disorganized summer, between Khmer and Vietnamese occupant of southern Vietnam. It is likely the ambiguous antiroyalist coup of August 9-10, 1945, that was sponsored by some hotheaded members of Cambodian youth groups, expanded the king’s hostility towards the figures as Pach Chhoeun and Son Ngoc Thanh. At the end of August, after the Japanese

³⁴ David Chandler, *Cambodia’s Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 170.

surrender, Sihanouk's narrative reports that a nationalist demonstration captivate thirty thousand people, including armed members of the militia and members of various youth group. Later on after the four days election engineered by Son Ngoc Thanh supposedly drew 541,470 votes in favor of independence, with only two disagreement. Some preferred the return of the French to Thanh is continuing in power³⁵. For this kind of reason, the French officials arrested Thanh on October 12, 1945 in Phnom Penh no one oppose against it. When Thanh was, remove from the scene (he spent most of his six years in comparatively comfortable exile in Poitiers), King Sihanouk opened negotiations with the French that came out to be ready to reimpose their control, as in 1940-1941. One of the Indochinese Federation seems to have a little bit more than "Indochina" with the reinforce indigenous participation at the top. For the French union was a vaguer brotherhood of peoples who had been colonized by France, which is based on the shared experience of French civilization. The agreement promised Cambodia a constitution and the right to form political parties, but French control remained in such fields as finance, defense, and foreign affairs. In other words, the French of early 1946 had replaced the Japanese during the summer of 1945. They had not, reconstituted the previous status quo³⁶

2.3.3. The Struggle for Independence

During the year of 1952, the Democrats in the National Assembly continued their best to oppose Sihanouk's policies; Son Ngoc Thanh continue a threat, even in distance. To Sihanouk, and to his traditional advisers, the time had come in a dramatic series of actions to gain the country's

³⁵ David Chandler, *Cambodia's Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 171.

³⁶ David Chandler, *Cambodia's Response to France, 1916-1945*, Chapter 8: Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 172.

independence from France and to maintain themselves in power. In the early June 1952, Sihanouk declared: "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." With the connivance of the French, Sihanouk staged a coup against his own government. Moroccan troops secretly brought up the stories about Saigon for the purpose surrounded the National Assembly, and the king expelled the Democrats from office. No shots were fired. Later on, Sihanouk concluded power as prime minister, assigning his own cabinet and leaving the Democratic-controlled Assembly, to disintegrate on the vine. From that point on he claimed a mandate from his people, promising to deliver complete independence within three years before June 1955. Even though no election was carried out at this time, Sihanouk acted as if his mandate had been allocated and began what he was later to call his demonstration for independence. In a vituperative proclamation issued to the king on July 6, 1952, the students called on him to step down by blaming him for the recent French military attacks, for dissolving the Assembly, and for negotiating with the French instead of fighting them. The remainder of 1952, it seems was trying time for Sihanouk, that the French in effect decided to call his bluff. He was assisted by the Democrats' intransigence. The Assembly refused to accept his government's budget in January 1953. Announcing the nation to be in danger, Sihanouk dissolved the Assembly, declared martial law, and ordered the arrest of several Democratic assembly members, who were now deprived of parliamentary immunity³⁷. Sihanouk showed no hesitation in acting out what was obviously a well-planned scenario and justified it informally by telling a French contributor: "I am the natural ruler of the country and my authority has never been questioned." The King's newly brought in political energy and his

³⁷David Chandler, Chapter 10: Gaining Independence, Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 184.

persistence upon independence shocked many Frenchmen and members of the royal family. Some reporters came to terms with the king's awakening by identify him "insane," because he had been "comical" and "exotic" for so long. In February 1953, Sihanouk announced that he is travelling to France for his health. Instead, he prepared documents listing outstanding matters to be discuss and negotiated with the French. His illness was "political," but the stakes were high. By the time, he arrived in France he wrote immediately to the aged and constitutionally powerless French president, Vincent Auriol, warning him "I have based my future as king and that of my dynasty on the policy of adhesion to the French union and collaboration with France, to which I am and shall be loyal." Sihanouk long letter were alarmist, and Auriol waited two weeks to respond back. When he did, he said only that he studied the letters with care and asked Sihanouk to lunch. At the point officials in the French government worry with Indochina respectfully told the king to return home, inform that he might even replace as king. In the next few months later, he travelled to Canada, the United States, and Japan to give press and interview. However, in 1953, he was gambling not only with the French and potential foreign allies but with opposition at home, with Vietnamese, and with the KPRP. He arrived in Phnom Penh in May and has given the life in exchange for Cambodia's independence. Negotiations in Paris proceeded slowly, that is why in June the king went into voluntary exile, first is in Thailand, where he was not welcomed, later on the sovereign military region of Siem Reap, at his villa near Angkor and refused to communicate with French in Phnom Penh³⁸. Sadly, in Vietnam, the war was going badly for the French, and it had become increasingly unpopular at home. In October 1953, the French caved in and allocated the king authority over Cambodia has armed forces, judiciary, and foreign affairs. In colonial rule, Sihanouk

³⁸ David Chandler, Chapter 10: Gaining Independence, Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 185.

is correct on balance; in describe the French collapse at this point as a personal victory. The communication network in 1916 and again in 1951, had scare off the French authorities, which Sihanouk ordered officials in the *sruk* between Siem Reap and Phnom Penh to organize demonstrations in his favor. On the second anniversary of Son Ngoc Thanh as he drove back to his capital hundreds of thousands of people lined the road, maybe in what the independence would really mean at the point of happy enough to applaud their king and hope it would end the fighting. Moreover, he was officially name a national hero³⁹. In the short term, France's departure had three effects. The first place is Cambodia independence at the low level of asking the kingdom between November 1953 and in the middle of 1954 in the hand of Sihanouk's delegation to the Geneva Conference in the summer of 1954. Nhek Tioulong led the delegation with a stubborn and strong view in the communists. Furthermore, there was no part in deliberations it was froze out by the Vietnamese Communist delegates that they want to get the concessions for Vietnam which include the lesser degree that is for pro-Vietnamese Pathet Lao forces in Laos. Unfortunately, the "Long March" has happened in Hanoi and it would not return to Cambodia until the early of 1970s but the U.S bombing, Lon Nol's army or the Communists war at the instigation of Pol Pot, later on was the leader of the Cambodian Communist party. Afterwards, another effect of Sihanouk's so-called movement was the Democratic Party and Son Ngoc Thanh that was fail to deliver the independence that lost their own appeal. The latest effect was Sihanouk felt that he had to recover a mandate to govern Cambodia, as he saw was fit. The consequent decimation of the KPRP and the eclipse of the Democrats by 1955 that gave him the reaction (encouraged by many foreign correspondents and by his entourage). Nevertheless, it was not successful at the suffusion of Cambodia the state

³⁹ David Chandler, Chapter 10: Gaining Independence, Second edition, updated "A history of Cambodia" Page 186.

by Sihanouk the man was a salutary political development. Another consequence after the year of 1960 Sihanouk felt no obligation to be at peace with his own powerful neighbors, such as Thailand and South Vietnam or to allocate the freedom of action the people that disliked. In 1953, he worked hard, gone alone, and made friendship with the powerful countries such as China, France and Yugoslavia in order to bring the independence for Cambodia. Since the situation, keep on going the forces had been unleashed during the summer of 1945 and it fell into disrepute. That time for Sihanouk and his advisers never partial to social change, correctly saw these forces expose the stability of the country. The inherent stability of Cambodia mostly the subject of illogical romanticism among colonial writers, that rested nearly all Cambodian history on the acceptance of the status quo as describe by those power. The removal of the French meant little to most Cambodians who continued to pay taxes to finance an indifferent government in Phnom Penh (Udong or Angkor) which the royal work removed the contact from its people that made officials for most part like self-centered, worry with status, and ill at ease with anyone else's aspiration. That is why the people in the countryside had never get to play the part in the government in the short-term, which rewards in resisting those in power that at least Cambodians rather than French or Vietnamese. Later on, Cambodia had reach to celebrate its independence at the end of 1953⁴⁰.

⁴⁰David Chandler, Chapter 10: Gaining Independence, Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 187.

CHAPTER 3: CAMBODIA UNDER SIHANOUK, 1954-1970

In this chapter, we will discuss about Sihanouk policies, opposition, rules, and his own decline due to the after independence from France. Many cases and events going on in this chapter that related a lot within the country, with neighboring countries, and with the international stages.

3.1. The Geneva Conference

Even though Cambodia had achieved the independence in the late 1953, its military remained unsettled. The Noncommunist factions of the Khmer Issarak had joined the government, instead communist Viet Minh activities reached at the very time when French Union force were to stretch thin elsewhere. During the April 1954, few Viet Minh battalions crossed the Cambodian border. Royalist forces involved with them but could not force them to complete the withdrawal. The communist's side were attempting to strengthen their bargaining position at the Geneva Conference that had scheduled to start in the late April. The Geneva Conference was attend by representative of Cambodia, North Vietnam, and the Associated State of Vietnam (the predecessor of the Republic of Vietnam, or South Vietnam), Laos, and the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, and the United States. The only one main goal of this conference is to restore peace in the Indochina. The discussions began on May 8, 1954. Later on the North Vietnamese attempted to get representation for the resistance government that had established in the south, but it had fail. Moreover, on July 21, 1954, the conference reached an agreement calling for a cessation of hostilities in Indochina. Due to the respect to Cambodia, the agreement guaranteed that all Viet Minh military forces be withdrawn within ninety days and Cambodian battle forces be demobilized within thirty days. The agreement that had sign by the representative of Cambodia, the French, and the Viet Minh agreed to withdraw all forces from Cambodian soil

by October 1954. In the exchange of the withdrawal of Viet Minh forces, the communist representatives in Geneva wanted full neutrality for Cambodia and for Laos that would prevent the basing of United States military forces in these countries. On the eve of the conference's conclusion, however, the Cambodian representative, Sam Sary, insisted that, if Cambodia were to be fully independent, then it must not be prohibited from seeking whatever military assistance it desired, (Cambodia had earlier appealed to Washington for military aid). The conference accepted a watered-down neutrality, vowing not to join any military alliance "not in conformity with the principles of the Charter of United Nations" or to allow the basing of foreign military forces on its territory "as long as its security is not threatened". The conference agreement established the International Control Commission (officially called the International Commission for Supervision and Control) in all the Indochinese countries. Nevertheless, the made up of representative from Canada, Poland, and India, it supervised the cease-fire, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the release of prisoners of war, and overall compliance with the terms of the agreement. The French and most of the Viet Minh forces were withdrawn on schedule in October 1954⁴¹.

3.2. Domestic Developments

In 1955 the Geneva agreement should be held in Cambodia and the International Control Commission should monitor the fairness. Sihanouk is determined to defeat the Democrats (who, based on their past record that were to expect winning the election). The King attempted unsuccessfully to have the constitution amended. He later announced his own abdication in the favor of his own father, Norodom Suramarit on March 2, 1955. In order to challenge the Democrats, Prince Sihanouk established his own political machine, which was call Sangkum Reastr Niyum

⁴¹ December 1987, <http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/khtoc.html#kh0158>

(Popular Socialist Community) it is mostly refers to the Sangkum. The party name was a bit odd due to the anticommunist. In the early year of 1955 the most right-wing groups that were under the prince's sponsorship. For the election in September, Sihanouk's new party had defeated the Democrats, the Khmer Independence Party of Son Ngoc Thanh, but for the leftist Pracheachon (Citizens') Party, had win over 83 percent of the vote and all of the seats in National Assembly. Moreover, Khmer nationalism is very loyalty to the monarch, which struggle against injustice, corruption, and protection of the Buddhist religion were the major themes in Sangkum ideology. The appeal to religion won the adherence of the country's Buddhist priests that were influential group in rural villages. Later on, when the 1960s began, the political opposition to Sihanouk and the Sangkum had disappeared. Although, the defense of the status quo mostly the rural elites, The Sangkum was not really the right-wing organization. Sihanouk add a number of leftists in his party and government. For Hu Nim and Hou Youn had serve in few ministries between the year of 1958 and 1963, and Khieu Samphan served as a secretary of state for commerce in 1963. Sihanouk often announced himself as revolutionary more than a prince did. Sihanouk distrust the United States but in his own perception of revolutionary China as Cambodia's most valuable ally, in his respect the prominent and capable leftists as Hou Hu, and Khieu, and his vague notions of "royal socialism" all impelled him to attempt with socialist policies. Later on in year of 1963, the prince declared the nationalization of banking, foreign trade, and insurance as the means of reducing foreign control of the economy. The state trading company, the National Export-Import Corporation, was established the foreign commerce in 1964. The declared purposes is to give out Khmer nationals, rather than Chinese or Vietnamese. The result of the policy came out to be the foreign investment quickly had disappeared, and a kind of "crony socialism" which combine to become "crony capitalism" that derive in the Philippines under President Ferdinand Marcos. Move on to the

counter charges of one-man rule, the prince had announced that he would abdicate controlling of the candidates selection and would permit more than one Sangkum candidate for the seat in September 1966 National Assembly election. The vote expense of more moderate and left-wing component, even though Hou hu, and Khieu were to reelected by their constituencies. Afterwards, General Lon Nol became prime minister. Out of the concern the right wing cause an irreparable that split within the Sangkum and might challenge his own domination of the political system, Sihanouk had set up the “counter government” with his most loyal personal followers and with the leading of leftists which hoping to restrain the influence over Lol Nol. The leftist side blame the general for being groomed by Western intelligence agencies on the anticommunist coup d’état which similar to General Soeharto in Indonesia. Lol Nol had resign in April 1967 due to the injured automobile accident. Therefore, Sihanouk replaced him with a trusted centrist, Son Sann. It was the twenty-third successive Sangkum cabinet and government to have been appoint by Sihanouk since the party was form in the year of 1955⁴².

3.3. Nonaligned Foreign Policy

For the Sihanouk’s nonaligned foreign policy, that appeared for the months which follows from the Geneva Conference. The invasion of Cambodia past history that anticipate the war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Later on after the Geneva Conference in 1954, Sihanouk shows some interest in consolidate Cambodia framework of the SEATO, that have Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam within the “treaty area”, which these state’s was a signatory. However, the prince somehow was uneasy on the United States alliance that include Thailand and South Vietnam that are the old enemies. In the late April 1955 Conference in Bandung, Sihanouk

⁴² December 1987, <http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/khtoc.html#kh0158>

held a private meetings with Premier Zhou Enlai of China and Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam. It held the meeting in the purpose of respecting the Cambodia's independence and territorial integrity. His first experience with the French to self-proclaimed as a leader to the "royal crusade for independence," that made the US, France forced to leave Southeast Asia. From his own viewpoint, the western presence in Indochina is temporary. Afterwards in the 1950s and 1960s North Vietnam and China had friendly ties relationships. Moreover, China agreed Sihanouk's proposal and it became valuable in the growing pressure on Vietnamese and Thai pressure over Cambodia. China and Cambodia relations based on mutual interests. The Chinese had view Cambodia as a nonalignment in order to forbid the encirclement of their country by the US and its allies. In 1956, Premier Zhon Enlai had visit Phnom Penh and asked the Chinese minority about 300,000 to involve working in the development instead of involving in the political field also to adopted Cambodian citizenship. Move on to 1960 both countries decided to sign a treaty based on Friendship and Nonaggression. At that time China was not the only large power that can subsidy on security and nation building that Sihanouk is looking for but, the prince accept all the donors if it does not have impingement over Cambodia sovereignty. Later on, Sihanouk negotiated the military aids funds and provide the equipment for the Royal Khmer Armed Forces (FARK). The MAAG was establish in Phnom Penh in order to delivery of the use equipment that has arrive from the United States. The United States officials in Washington had underestimate the prime for the uncertain threat by the Asian communism. The armed forced had a lot of influence on Cambodia. The Prince was worried on the high-ranking, FARK officers that led by Lon Nol it was becoming more powerful and that the US influence in Cambodia deeply rooted. A second development recurrence of the overflights by the United States and South Vietnamese troops in hot pursuit of Viet Cong revolutionary that has crossed into Cambodian territory when the military was

under pressured. A third development was target by the US in Sihanouk belief as for the replacement by a more pro-western leader. The evidence has come out in 1959 when the government found out a plot overthrown Sihanouk. All of these developments was accept suspicions by Sihanouk's in between Phnom Penh's relations with Washington. In November 1963, the prince charged United States for the activities of Khmer Serei in Thailand and in South Vietnam; he declared the aid program to Cambodia. Move on to Cambodia's relations with North Vietnam and South Vietnam has reflect Sihanouk's efforts in the geopolitical realities in Southeast Asia. The following March, Sihanouk announced plans to establish diplomatic relations with North Vietnam and to negotiate a settlement with Hanoi. The plans were not yet enforce early due to the North Vietnamese told the prince that any problem related to Cambodia's border with South Vietnam would need to negotiate with the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. Three months later Sihanouk was the only foreign head of state to join Ho Chi Minh funeral.

In 1960s, China and North Vietnam restore a measure of equilibrium by increasing Cambodia in the West. North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were to keep on reaching the sanctuaries in Cambodia that served Southern terminus of Ho Chi Minh Trail. In between 1955 and 1963, Phnom Penh government started to lose economic and military aid from the US about US\$400 million. In the early 1968, Sihanouk would raise no challenge of hot pursuit of communist forces by South Vietnamese or by United States troops into Cambodia territory. The bomb missions were to empower aroused controversy by the Nixon administration that Sihanouk had to "allowed" and there were disputed critics from the British journalist William Shawcross. Nevertheless, in a diplomatic stage the airstrikes did not cut off the bilateral relations from going forward. Nixon sent a note in April 1969 to the prince assentation that the United States did recognized and respected.

3.4. The Coup d'état of 1970

Although, over the next two months Sisowath Sirik Matak had trouble putting Cambodia house in order. Many casinos and private banks were shutting down then Matak had travel to see Vietnamese troop in Hanoi on how he can remove them from Cambodian soil. Later when he arrived at the Vietnamese bases there were documents shown to him that was legally sign by Sihanouk, then he was in anger to see that document. Sadly, in the early March riots had broken out in Phnom Penh to fight against the North Vietnam embassies and to surrogate in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front. Afterwards, the riots and both buildings were destroy. Sihanouk denounce the violence even the riots appeared with his permission. Although, conditions were ripening for the coup d'état Matak had worried for several months that the timetable was stimulate because of the afraid that Sihanouk might soon return. On March 17 during the nighttime Matak and his three army officers went to Lon Nol house with pistol threatened him to sign a declaration that support the vote against the prince scheduled on the following day in the National Assembly. The vote came out as 86-3 that needs to remove its confidence from the prince and replace him as chief of state instead. Nevertheless, Cheng Heng was so call as the president of the Assembly. Lon Nol remained as prime minister with Matak as his assistant⁴³. The coup were very famous among the educated people and in the army but rural Cambodians were unprepared for it. Sihanouk had broken into several provinces already since many plotters wanted to declare Cambodia as a republic delayed. While travelling back home Sihanouk refuge in France with Zhou Enlai and Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong to ally with the North Vietnam while his army was struggling to destroy only a month before. He later made an appeal to his brothers and sisters but

⁴³ David Chandler, Chapter 11: From Independence to Civil War, Second edition, updated "*A history of Cambodia*" Page 204.

there were no children at that time to arms force against Lol Nol. Pro-Sihanouk had broken into the eastern part of the country and there were fuel by panic, arrogance, and racism. Cambodian army murdered thousands of unarmed Vietnamese civilians near Phnom Penh that allied with the Communists⁴⁴. It was easier to kill and locate than the North Vietnamese armed forces, instead Lol Nol express the regret that the regime had earned overseas. The coup was not that famous like the Vietnamese need to get out of Cambodia. Lol Nol gave forty-eight hours to the Vietnamese that they should leave the country. Later on, many Cambodians were jealous that the Vietnamese ignored Lol Nol announcement. Afterwards, ten thousands joined the armed forces to drive the “invaders” from the country. Moreover, Thousands were killed or wounded over the next few weeks that were picked by the Vietnamese army that been in the combat for twenty years. In May 1970, the U.S.-South Vietnamese invaded the eastern Cambodia drove to the North of Vietnamese it was forces to the west side. The invasion protected the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam that it spelled the Cambodia as a sovereign state⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ David Chandler, Chapter 11: From Independence to Civil War, Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 205.

⁴⁵ David Chandler, Chapter 11: From Independence to Civil War, Second edition, updated “*A history of Cambodia*” Page 206.

Chapter 4: Development after Independence

The predominance of agriculture and the lack--or neglect--of real industrial development have characterized Cambodia's modern economy since independence in 1953. Wet rice cultivation traditionally has played a key role in peasant subsistence, in national self-sufficiency in food production, in trade relations with other states, and in governmental revenues for national development. Conversely, the government has made few attempts to industrialize the nation.

After Cambodia became independent in 1953, the country's economic policies were shaped by the succession of governments that followed. Prince Sihanouk opted for unconditional aid from the East and from the West, and the nation made modest strides. The Lon Nol government would have adhered to a laissez-faire doctrine, but it was overwhelmed by the war around it. The Khmer Rouge adopted a fanatical and doctrinaire self-reliance, and the Cambodian people and nation were ravaged by it. The post-1979 government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), with its Vietnamese mentors, acquiesced to a pragmatic combination of socialism and small-scale capitalism, and the country achieved some limited rehabilitative goals. In the late 1980s, government policies fundamentally relied upon the nation's own sparse resources--chiefly agriculture, a nascent industrial base, and modest foreign aid from Comecon countries and nongovernmental international organizations.⁴⁶

4.1. Economic Setting

Seasonal monsoons and topography have a significant impact on the Cambodian economy. The southwest monsoon brings a rainy season (May to October) that is suitable for growing and

⁴⁶ Hays, J. (2019). *Economic history of Cambodia. Facts and Details*. https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Cambodia/sub5_2d/entry-2923.html.

growing seedlings, and the northeast monsoon will release dry air (November to March), which gives the crop a good harvest. The country's lakes and rivers also affect the economy. They are a rich source of fish, the main source food chain of Cambodian people, and they cultivate irrigated agriculture on which the country depends for its subsistence. The main river, the Mekong River, is an important trade route and a means of communication. From ancient times, the Great Lakes (the Great Lakes), the Tonle Sap and the Mekong River and its tributaries have been centers of economic and political power. Phnom Penh - The location of the Royal Palace, the administrative capital, and in general, the location of power, culture and business are located at the confluence of the Tonle Sap and the Mekong.⁴⁷

4.1.1. Sihanouk's Peacetime Economy, 1953-70

Sihanouk's political lack of bias, which framed the premise of his foreign policy, significantly affected Cambodia's Cambodia economic development. Sihanouk demanded that a neutral economic aspect of neutrality implied total refusal of international aid (executed by Burma under Ne Win) or receiving foreign financial aid from all nations without a relation. Without a doubt, during the primary decade of his rule in the early stage of independent Cambodia (1953-63), he deliberately followed the "purer form of unbiased between the East and the West." In seeking foreign economic assistance for development.

During his tenancy after independent, Sihanouk utilized the nation's badly characterized constitution to screen all administration activities of any outcome and to twist the administration's decision making process for his potential benefit.⁴⁸ Throughout country restructure, political

⁴⁷ The World Bank in Cambodia. (2020, April 17). World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cambodia/overview>.

⁴⁸ Hays, J. (2019). *Economic history of Cambodia. Facts and Details*. https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Cambodia/sub5_2d/entry-2923.html

objects carefully set to be succeed in achieving economic goals. For instance, preceding 1967, the administration allocated higher need to social upgrades, for example, wellbeing and education, than it did to national financial development. The government later gave higher need to the productive sectors of agriculture and industry in economic plan for the 1968-72 periods; however, in light of war, the administration didn't execute these plans.

Nonetheless, somewhere in the between 1952 and 1969, Cambodia's gross national product (GNP) grew in average of 5 percent a year in real terms, with growing higher during the 1950s than during the 1960s. What's more, the service sector had showed a significant role in Sihanouk's mixed economic system as a result in 1968 the service sector accounted for more than 15 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), agriculture represented 36 percent, and industry for 12 percent.⁴⁹

Agriculture has been developed under the level of authoritarianism from Sihanouk, who provided farm equipment to different towns and, consequently, earned respect and love from the laborers. In 1969 around 80 percent of rice farmers possessed the land they developed, and each family possessed more than one hectares on average. The farmer practice basic measurement to utilized their needs and to the light weight of their draft animals. Generally speaking, the farmers were surprisingly self-reliant.

Foreign economic assistance has been play as the main role of generating income source to infrastructure and industrial development. In general, the administration stayed away from ambitious plans and concentrated on small enterprises to address local needs and to diminish imported products. During his system, Cambodia got numerous foreign aids and helps from other states either Democratic or Communist. To maintain a strategic distance from the presence of

⁴⁹ Chhair, S., Ung, L., & United Nations University. World Institute for Development Economics Research. (2013). *Economic history of industrialization in Cambodia*.

excessive reliance upon foreign aid, Cambodia demanded "project sharing," that is, investment of its own in specific enterprises, for example, the French-supported petroleum processing factory and truck gathering plant at Sihanoukville. This specification forced by Phnom Penh likewise had the impact of holding down the size of many aids project and the amounts of loans extended to the Cambodian government.⁵⁰

The administration also utilized on foreign assistance to grow the national's transportation and communication systems. France assisted with creating Sihanoukville, Cambodia's second biggest port, which opened in 1960, and the United States built an expressway connecting the port to Phnom Penh. What's more, the Cambodians, with French and West German help, assembled a rail road from Sihanoukville to the capital. Regardless of Sihanouk's claims of economic progress, Cambodia's industrial production in 1968 added up to just 12 percent of GNP, or only 33% of agricultural production. Rice and rubber were the nation's two main commodity exports and foreign-exchange earners during the Sihanouk era.

4.1.2. Wartime Economy, 1970-75

Follow the coup that overthrew Sihanouk from being head of state in April 1970, the war which started in Indochina has spread out so quickly into Cambodia territory. The war situations had huge impact on country's economic, particularly on export sector. All activities related to production and export fell dramatically as of the chaos spread all over the country side. Overwhelming battle in the country's most populated agriculture territory has left a huge population escaping to urban areas and towns. In 1975, the number of population in Phnom Penh

⁵⁰ Russell R. Ross, ed. (1987). *Cambodia - Sihanouk's peacetime economy, 1953-70*. Country Studies. <https://countrystudies.us/cambodia/59.htm>.

reached to 2 million, up from around 50,000 out in 1955. Moreover, the war has seriously depressed on the economic system. The deficiency of food came as protestors distracted transportation of crop to key market places. Increasing spending, inflation, high inflation, declining exports and a rising balance of payments deficit that have plagued the war-torn economy.

Toward the end of 1970, Lon Nol, who succeeded Sihanouk, kept on changing the economic with his purpose to spare the nation from financial disaster. This exertion was a continuation of the arrangement as head of the government of the "National Salvation" in August 1969. Under the administration of Lon Nol, Phnom Penh limited the control and authority of the state-own Import-Export Agency (Société nationale d'exportation et d'importation - SONEXIM), which was set up in 1964 to Managing foreign trade, to denationalized the bank and industry to support foreign private investment and certified more private sector to cooperate in the economy. The new financial strategy of the Khmer Republic slowly moved away from the socialism pattern of state that framed as the principle of Sihanouk's domestic policy.⁵¹

As early as April 20, 1970, Cambodia officially mentioned military and economic aid from Washington to help manage to developing war consumptions and with an expanding budgetary shortfall. As military action in the nation heightened, the United States turned into Cambodia's biggest sponsor and provider. Moscow, in any case, sent clinical equipment and, in October 1971, the Soviets restored a financial agreement with the republican regime. The Economic Support Fund, to which the United Nations (UN), the United States, Britain, Japan, New Zealand, Thailand, and Malaysia swore their commitments, gave US\$21 million in supplementary relief. France reserved its aid for the support of French educational projects and cultural institution. However,

⁵¹ Hays, J. (2019). *Economic history of Cambodia. Facts and Details*. https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Cambodia/sub5_2d/entry-2923.html

4.1.3. Economic under the Khmer rouge 1975-1979

Under the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia experienced a fierce and radical transformation. At the point when the socialist powers came to control in Phnom Penh in April 1975, their prompt objective was to change the social system and revive the national economy. They took control over all businesses and farms. Cash, private property, and private organizations were cleared out. The market is shut. The national bank in Phnom Penh was crushed. The Khmer Rouge's financial improvement procedure was to build up a solid agricultural base, supported by small industries and local handicrafts. Individuals are constrained into country side and organized into working groups and commune with collective ownership, production and distribution⁵²

Cambodia's economic was more radical and ambitious than some other communist country. Cambodia needed to “create something unprecedented in history. There is no template for what we are building. We don't emulate the Chinese or Vietnamese models.” That the state or cooperative possesses all the land. There is no private land like in China or in the Soviet Union, said by former Khmer Rouge pioneer Ieng Sary. The adoption of constitution in December 1975 and publicized in January 1976, made it clear that all production were collective property of the state The Constitution, received in December 1975 and declared in January 1976, clarified that the creation were the aggregate property of the state.

While the Khmer Rouge gave high priority to agriculture, it did not pay much attention to industry. Pol Pot tried to consolidate and perfect the existing factory rather than building a new one. About 100 factories and workshops have been restarted. Most of them (with the exception of

⁵² Hays, J. (2019). *Economic history of Cambodia. Facts and Details*. https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Cambodia/sub5_2d/entry-2923.html

Chinese-built cement factories, gun factories and textile mills in Phnom Penh and Battambang) have revived and hand craft shops repaired to facilitate agricultural development.⁵³

The Cambodian economy system is different in at least two ways. First, the government abolished private land ownership. The Khmer Rouge believed that under the new government, Cambodia should be a classless society of perfect harmony and private ownership is a source of selfish emotion and a result of social injustice. Second, Cambodia is a cashless country. The government seized all Republican-era currencies. The shops were closed and workers received their pay in the form of food because there was no money in circulation.

4.2. Government and politics

1970 was a severe year for the Khmer people and their impact was still felt in the late of the 1980s. The decade started to tumble with the removing of King Norodom Sihanouk, who came to control in 1941 during the Vietnam War. The nation, with its military shortcoming and impartiality, dove into a progression of disturbance, being invaded by foreigner, civil wars and starvations. The Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot (known as Saloth Sorr) and supported by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) in ousting the Pro-Western, Khmer Republic led by President Lon Nol in 1975. At least one million of Cambodians were either executed or starved to death under the Pol Pot system. Notwithstanding, in 1979, Vietnam removed the Khmer Rouge regime and install new government which led by previous Khmer Rouge military officer Heng Samrin.

4.2.1. Political Developments, 1977-1981

⁵³ Russell R. Ross, ed. (1987). Cambodia -. *Economic under the Khmer rouge 1975-1979*. Country Studies. <https://countrystudies.us/cambodia/59.htm>

The socialist takeover of Phnom Penh and Saigon (renamed to Ho Chi Minh City) in April 1975 appears to reflect Ho Chi Minh's for quite some time valued political dream, as expressed in the 1935 goal of ICP-an Indochinese federation containing Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Numerous eyewitnesses accepted that - because of Vietnam's endeavors to sustain the Communist Party of Kampuchea, which was intently attached to Hanoi the rising Indochina Federation would be administered by Hanoi. However, the succeed of the Khmer Rouge in 1975 was won by the group party and by Pol Pot's firm position with its doubt of Vietnam had been demolished all possibilities for what's to come.⁵⁴

On December 25, 1978, Vietnam launched an invasion of Cambodia. Phnom Penh fell after minimal resistance on January 7, 1979, and the following day, the Khmer Rouge opposition announced the formation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council (CPP), headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the new governing body.

On January 10, the KPRC announced that the new official name of Cambodia was the People's Republic of Kampuchea (UN - see Appendix B). Per week White. Fr. A. Informed the UN Security Council that it is the sole legitimate government of the Cambodian people. Vietnam On December 25, 1978, Vietnam propelled an attack of Cambodia. Phnom Penh fell shortly after insignificant resistance on January 7, 1979, and the next day, the Khmer Rouge resistance declared the establishment of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council (CPP), headed by Heng Samrin. On January 10, the KPRC declared that the new official name of Cambodia was the People's Republic of Kampuchea (UN - see Appendix B). Every week White. Fr. A. inform the UN Security Council that it is the only real administration of the Cambodian people. Vietnam was

⁵⁴ Russell R. Ross, ed. (1987). *Cambodia - Major political developments, 1977-81*. Country Studies. <https://countrystudies.us/cambodia/71.htm>.

the first nation to recognize the new system, and Phnom Penh didn't wait any moment to reestablish political relations with Hanoi.⁵⁵

Numerous different nations article to Vietnam's inclusion in Cambodia and would not perceive People's Republic of Kampuchea as legitimate government. Thailand was in highly concern over it security that under threatening by the development in Cambodia, follow by its partners, ASEAN nations and United State too. However, other Communist nations, for example, China and Soviet Union show their completely support to them.

In the late 1980s, The UN Security Council allowed Sihanouk to debate the case for Democratic Kampuchea in early January 1979. Sihanouk, who was distanced from the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge, alleged that Vietnam had acted aggressively against Cambodia, and he asked the council to demand an end to Hanoi's interference in Cambodian affairs. He also urged the council not to recognize the puppet regime in Phnom Penh, and called on all nations to suspend aid to Vietnam.⁵⁶ Security Council S. The 15-member council did not accept a resolution on Cambodia. The seven non-council members submitted a draft resolution approved by the UK, China, France, Norway, Portugal and the United States. However, the draft law calling for a ceasefire in Cambodia and for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country was not approved due to opposition from the Soviet Union and from Czechoslovakia. Later, other of non-communist parties were born to fight for their position in the name of patriotism as the result, it escalated even more chaos within the nation.

4.2.2. Coalition of Democratic of Kampuchea

⁵⁵ Brooke, J. (2014, August 6). *Why did Vietnam overthrow the Khmer Rouge in 1978?* Khmer Times. <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50673/why-did-vietnam-overthrow-the-khmer-rouge-in-1978/>.

⁵⁶ Thion, Serge. "*The Cambodian Idea of Revolution.*" Pages 10-33 in David P. Chandler and Ben Kiernan (eds.), *Revolution and Its Aftermath in Kampuchea: Eight Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1983.

The evolution from the 1983 Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (under the nominal leadership of Sihanouk) with two non-communist Khmer groups – Norodom Sihanouk’s FUNCINPEC party [United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Co-operative Cambodia], and the Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF) organized in 1979 by Son Sann, ex-President of the National Bank of Cambodia, and Prime Minister from 1967 to 1968 – opposed to the Vietnamese-backed central government.⁵⁷ The Party of Democratic Kampuchea (still often referred to as the Khmer Rouge) was the strongest partner in this coalition, which carried on guerrilla warfare until the Paris Peace Accords of 1991. The political stalemate that developed among the four groups competing for power was broken in the late 1980s, when international political pressure, an economic boycott of Cambodia led by the United States, the military stalemate and a reduction in aid from the Soviet Union contributed to Vietnam’s decision to withdraw its forces from Cambodia completed in 1989.⁵⁸

The 8 Point Peace Plan from the Coalition government offered the solution of an inclusive Coalition Government of all four Cambodian parties and a demilitarization of the political parties.

In 1991, France and Indonesia called for a peace conference about the civil war in Cambodia. All four factions inside of Cambodia attended, as well as the UN and many prominent foreign nations (e.g., United States, the Soviet Union, China, and the United Kingdom). The goal of the conference was to establish a united, peaceful, and neutral democracy in Cambodia. In October 1991, all attending parties signed the Paris Peace Agreement. Sihanouk subsequently returned to Phnom Penh on 14 November 1991.

⁵⁷ Coalition government – *Cambodia to Kampuchea*. (2015, August 31). cambodia to kampuchea. <https://cambodiatokampuchea.wordpress.com/tag/coalition-government/>

⁵⁸ Coalition government – *Cambodia to Kampuchea*. (2015, August 31). cambodia to kampuchea. <https://cambodiatokampuchea.wordpress.com/tag/coalition-government/>

The Paris agreement called for UN sanctioned elections in 1993 to determine the future government of Cambodia. During the time span in between the signing of the peace agreement and the election, Cambodia would be watched over by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). The peace agreement stipulated that all four factions must cooperate with UNTAC to slowly disarm their fighting forces. All of the factions did so except for the Party of Democratic Kampuchea.

4.3. People Republic of Kampuchea

The victory of the People's Republic of Cambodia was seen as similar to the victory of the revolution on April 17, 1975. The cause of survival of the Phnom Penh regime was also assessed as protection from Vietnam. The PRK was established in January 1979 in accordance with the comprehensive revolutionary program established by the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation, which was formed on December 2, 1978 in an area liberated from the Khmer Rouge. Among the 14 members of the Central Committee are two top leaders, Heng Samrin, chairman and Chea Sim, vice chairman, known as former KCP officials.⁵⁹ Ros Samai, secretary general of the KNUFNS, is a former KCP staff assistant in the military unit. The government of Democratic Kampuchea declared the KNUFNS a Vietnamese political organization with a Khmer name because many of its key members joined the KCP. The first purpose of the KNUFNS was to mobilize the people under its banner to support the Pol Pot regime, adopt a new constitution for a "democratic state towards socialism", to build mass organizations and to develop a revolutionary army. Foreign policy objectives include seeking non-registration, resolving disputes with neighbors through negotiations, ending the border war with Vietnam waged by the Pol Pot regime,

⁵⁹ Vickery, M. (2000). *Cambodia, 1975-1982*.

and against foreign military bases on Cambodian territory. On December 26, 1978, a day after the Vietnamese invasion, the KNUFNS reaffirmed its opposition to foreign military bases. The Cambodian People's Revolutionary Council was the governing body of the Heng Samrin regime until June 31, 1991, when a new constitution was needed to replace the Council of Ministers, with Pen Sovann becoming the new Prime Minister. He was assisted by three deputy prime ministers, Hun Sen, Chansy and Chea Soth.⁶⁰

4.3.1. The Constitution

The PRK Constitution, promulgated on June 27, 1981, defines Cambodia as a democracy that is gradually moving towards socialism. The transition to socialism took place under the leadership of the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP). The Constitution guarantees a broad range of civil liberties and fundamental rights. Citizens are to be equal before the law and are entitled to enjoy the same rights and duties regardless of sex, religion, or race. They have the right to participate in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country and to be paid according to the amount and quality of work they perform. Men and women are entitled to equal pay for equal work. All individuals--including monks and soldiers--over the age of eighteen may vote, and citizens over twenty-one may run for election. The Constitution also guarantees the inviolability of people and of their homes; privacy of correspondence; freedom from illegal search and arrest; the right to claim reparation for damages caused by illegal actions of the state, social organizations, and their personnel; and freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. The exercise of fundamental rights, however, is subject to certain restrictions. In line with the principle

⁶⁰ Heder, S., & Ledgerwood, J. (1995). *Propaganda, politics and violence in Cambodia: Democratic transition under United Nations peace-keeping*. M.E. Sharpe.

of socialist collectivism, citizens are obligated to carry out "the state's political line and defend collective property."⁶¹

The Constitution also sets out the principles governing culture, education, social welfare and public health. The development of language, literature, art and science and technology is emphasized along with the need for cultural preservation, promotion of tourism and cultural cooperation with foreign countries.⁶²

4.3.2. Foreign Affair

In 1987, the 2 Cambodian regimes continued to compete for respect and legitimacy, and that they continued to proclaim policy supported peaceful coexistence, neutrality, and non-interference. However, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) still plays a vital role in international recognition as a representative of Cambodia, although it doesn't have the very best authority within the territory of Cambodia. National territorial control was indeed within the hands of the CGDK, but since the CGDK originated during the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia, it couldn't gain legitimacy before the UN.⁶³

The United Nations wouldn't allow any to own any arm conflict happen within the country. Recognizing the PRK is opposing to the UN Charter which incorporate the peaceful settlement of all disputes and non-interference within the internal affairs within the sovereign and independent nation. In July 1982, the Pnom Penh regime acknowledged the ineffectiveness of the competition for legitimacy of the CGDK and declared that "In the near future, it'll not seek to say Cambodia's seat at the international organization,"⁶⁴

⁶¹ Slocomb, M. (2003). *The People's Republic of Kampuchea, 1979-1989: The revolution after pol pot.*

⁶² Slocomb, M. (2003). *The People's Republic of Kampuchea, 1979-1989: The revolution after pol pot.*

⁶³ Russell R. Ross, ed. (1987). *Cambodia – Foreign Affair.* Country Studies. <https://countrystudies.us/cambodia/71.htm>.

⁶⁴ Vickery, M. (2000). *Cambodia, 1975-1982.* Frances Printer, London

CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CAMBODIAN LEGAL SYSTEMS

In this chapter, we will discuss about the evolution of the Cambodia legal system. In it we will learn about the influence of the French judicial system which has been dominated in Cambodia since the colonial period together with many stages of the controversial evolution of the ruling regime in this country. With years of warfare passed by, finally we had recovered with a full peace and stability within country, therefore institutions and legal systems had it officially implemented. At the same time, the various stages, together with the milestones that bring about the realization of long lasting peace and unity had been involved with the process of making and develops of Cambodia's judicial system from time to time and given some important key points included The Paris Agreements, Constitution Making and Constitutional Amendments.

5.1. Cambodian Legal and Judicial System

Similar to most nation in the region and the world, the Cambodian legal system has evolved from unwritten customary law to statutory law. Researchers have grouped Cambodian legitimate improvement into two stages, in particular unwritten customary law to statutory law. The previous refers to the unwritten standard customary law from the Funan Period to the Angkor Period, though the later refers to the codification of Cambodian laws from 1336 to the present.

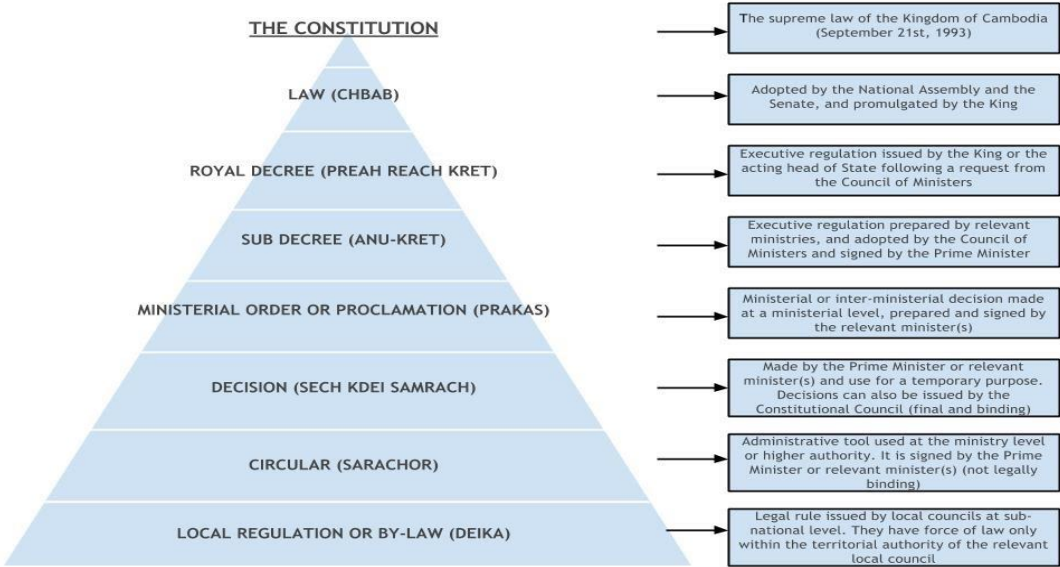
Prior to France colonization (1863), Cambodia was administered by standard principles dependent on agreements from 1863 to 1953, the Cambodian legal and judicial frameworks were put together for the most part with respect to the French system. This framework had a solid effect not simply on the law and legitimate education framework yet additionally on Cambodian legal counselors, examiners, judges and officials until 1975. From April 1975 to December 1978,

the domineering working class system of the Khmer Rouge annihilated the whole legal system, existing laws, the legal executive, and government organizations. Judges, attorneys and other legitimate experts were the objective of execution. Vietnamese soldiers attacked Cambodia and began their occupation on January 7th, 1979. Around then the nation confronted a serious lack of legal counselors and laws. Michael Vickery described this circumstance as a total legitimate vacuum. During the time of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1991 to 1993, various laws – including a criminal law, a judicial law, and a press law – were passed.

The current legal framework is a mixture legitimate framework, which is an incorporation of Cambodian traditions, the French based legal framework (an impact from French colonization), and the customary law framework, which is an impact of emerging from foreign guide supported to legal and judicial change in Cambodia. In any case, there must be a profound examination to understand the whole legitimate structure, to know the components of common law and civil law in the Cambodian legal framework.⁶⁵ In accordance with Cambodian laws and regulations, as well as the current practice, sources of law in Cambodia can be classified as either primary sources, which means all legal instruments of the competent authorities of the State, or secondary sources, which means customs, traditions, conscience and equity, judicial decisions, arbitral awards, and doctrines. In civil cases, when the law is not explicit, or when there is a gap in the law (for example where there are no provisions of law governing the circumstances in the case), the adjudicating court can proceed with the hearing and determine the case based on customs, traditions,

⁶⁵ KONG Phallack, Hok Sophea, Tep Navy, Oeurn Borarorth, *The ASEAN Legal Systems*, Faculty of Law and Economics, Phnom Penh, 1998, p.12

conscience and equity. Cambodian court judgments, other than those by the new hybrid court, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, do not often refer to precedents. However precedents for arbitral awards are well developed by the Arbitration Council, a quasi-judicial body that has jurisdiction over collective labor disputes. Cambodian legal doctrines can often be traced to well-known publications by scholars of Cambodian law.⁶⁶



5.2. The making development of Constitution

Cambodia adopts a constitutional monarchy, which clearly shows that the constitution is the supreme law of the country. This law is also strictly enforced and is not violated by any entities or any position. Cambodia's first constitution was drafted in 1947, after which Sihanouk was enthroned as a King. A Constituent Assembly to advise the king on the Constitution was elected in a general election in 1946, the first democratic election ever held in Cambodia. The Democratic

⁶⁶ KONG Phallack, Hok Sophea, Tep Navy, Oeurn Borarorth, *The ASEAN Legal Systems, Faculty of Law and Economics*, Phnom Penh, 1998, p.13-15.

Party, which won a landslide victory in this election, successfully pushed for strong democratic elements in the constitution. In substance, the original Constitution of 1947, to a large extent modelled on the French constitution of the 4th republic, provided the model of a parliamentary monarchy.⁶⁷ The Cambodian legal system is based largely on the French civil system, and is statute based. The legal system evolved from the unwritten customary tradition of the Angkor period to the statute under the French colony from 1863 to 1953 and until 1975. Under the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979, the entire Cambodian legal system was abolished. After the invasion of Cambodia from Vietnam in 1979, the Cambodian legal framework was influenced by the Vietnamese system. During the presence of the United Nations Interim Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1991 to 1993, several laws were enacted - including criminal law, judicial law, and press law. As a result of foreign legal assistance for legal and judicial reform in the country, the Cambodian system has also absorbed some common law features. The current legal system is thus a hybrid system from all these influences.⁶⁸ This part will conduct explanation into 3 sections of Cambodia constitutional making processes that is start from the Paris peace agreement, then during the making of constitution and the amendment.

5.2.1. The Paris Agreements

The Paris Peace Agreements of 1991 brought the first ever presence of United Nations Security peace keeper force as an interim government that was deployed throughout the country to ensure on national security after follow the outcome of the Cold War in Indochina regions.

⁶⁷ See ground breaking article by *Thomas M. Frank*, *The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance*, 86 AJIL 46,90-91 (1992); comprehensively *Gregory H. Fox/Brad R. Roth* (eds.), *Democratic Governance and International Law*, Cambridge 2000 (Cambridge University Press).

⁶⁸ "Library Guides: Southeast Asian Legal Research Guide: *Introduction to Cambodia & Its Legal System*." Last modified 1150. <https://unimelb.libguides.com/c.php?g=402982&p=4785153>.

The agreement was signed by 19 countries gathered which offered a comprehensive political dispute settlement that aimed to end the “tragic conflict and continuing bloodshed in Cambodia”. The agreement was additionally implied after the end of a war between the Cambodian and Vietnam, as well as requests for the withdrawal of every single foreign troop from A Cambodia soil and the formation of a new democratic law associated to the arrangements on national compromise and to guarantee the activity of the privilege of self-determination of the Cambodian people through free and reasonable decisions. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force is liable for ensuring human rights in Cambodia. The UN goal requiring the withdrawal of unfamiliar powers from Cambodia came not long after the Paris Agreement went into force, such a decision reflects the concerns of countries in the region and in the world about Vietnamese army to present in Cambodia. Subsequently, the goal to the issue in Cambodia must have "two primary concerns": First, to expel every single foreign troop from Cambodia with clear control. Second, Reconciliation of the four parties. In the Iron Agreement that the five great powers has approved in meeting on August 27-28, 1991 to take care of the issues in Cambodia at all cost. This document was prepared under the authority of the five powers of the five permanent member of Security Council of United Nations and was brought to the consideration of the four Cambodian parties marked on 23 October 1991 in Paris of France. ⁶⁹

5.2.2. Constitution Making

Under the election, the Constituent Assembly witnessed the great victory of the FUNCINPEC party of Samdech Preah Norodom Ranariddh and second followed by Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party. After all, the CPP took control of almost every state institution and

⁶⁹ ឡើយសំខាន់, គឺចំណែកអំពី ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រប្រទេសកម្ពុជា: ពីដើមរហូតដល់សម័យកម្ពុជាប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ, ជំពូកទី ៦: អំពីការអនុវត្តកិច្ចព្រមព្រៀងប៉ារីស, ទំព័រ ២៧១, ចោះកម្ពុជាក្រោយអាយ សាតចោះកម្ពុជាក្រោយ រាហុប

announced it would not give up, making it difficult to negotiate a solution. The final version of the constitution was not drafted by the Constituent Assembly.⁷⁰ However, it was designed by a 12-member commission and elected among them. Despite widespread criticism from the media and non-governmental organizations over secrecy, they still remained largely confidential. The committee has no spokesmen, and members are not allowed to speak openly about the process. Even other members of the Constituent Assembly were not informed of the drafting process. There have been restrictions on foreign influence since the committee's inception, and the UN Human Rights Act drafted by UNTAC's Human Rights Division was not released to members of the Constituent Assembly. The two leaders of the two parties traveled to consult with former King Sihanouk in Pyongyang, and finally, a draft of constitution emerged as a constitutional monarchy issued for discussion within 5 days (from 15 - 19 September 1993), the Constitution was adopted 113 votes of approval, 5 against and 2 abstained.

As schedule, the elections were held from April 23rd to 28th, 1993, in spite of the boycott by the Khmer rouge. The result of the elections, despite irregularities denounced the Cambodian people party (CPP), handed victory of FUNCINPEC, with the CPP coming second, follow by BLDP and MOLINNKA. A political deadlock and crisis set in when the CPP contested the election result and refused to relinquish power. A Coup d'état was reported to have been orchestrated by Prince Norodom Chakrapong, one the son of Prince Sihanouk, and the Cambodian territory faced on an unprecedented the Capital Phnom Penh by FUNCINPEC. In the face of this worsening situation, prince Sihanouk played the role of the mediator, leading to

⁷⁰ *Cambodian constitutional law*. (2016, December 21). Cambodia Office. <https://www.kas.de/en/web/kambodscha/single-title/-/content/kambodschanisches-verfassungsrecht>

a political compromise between the two forces.⁷¹

To draft the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly created a restricted Committee comprising 26 members, and presided over by Son San. The drafting process resulted in two options, the one seemingly republican and the other one monarchic". After consultations with Prince Sihanouk by leaders of the two main parties, CPP and FUNCINPEC, a final draft was determined. The future political regime would be a constitutional monarchy. It was then submitted to the Constituent Assembly for adoption. As determined by the Paris Peace Agreement, a two-third majority was needed for adoption. Within five days of debate, the Constituent Assembly adopted the draft with 113 votes in favor. 5 against and 2 abstentions. Finally, the current Constitution was officially promulgated on September 24th, 1993. The main character of the Constitution is a mixture of at least three influences: the traditional values characterized by the role of Buddhism and the cult of personality around the King and leader; the communist tradition, pursued by the political force in power; and the new tradition of the rule of law, characterized by the subordination of all, including the state, to the laws adopted. The Constitution of 1993 begins with a "preamble". It is deprived of any binding legal value, as it serves only as a reminder of the past glory of Cambodia, and to express hope for a bright common future. This is in stark contrast to the preamble to the French Constitution, which clearly specifies certain values, especially some new fundamental rights, which were recognized by the Constitutional Council as constitutional principles with the same value as the Constitution itself.⁷²

⁷¹*Cambodian constitutional law*. (2016, December 21). Cambodia Office. <https://www.kas.de/en/web/kambodscha/single-title/-/content/kambodschanisches-verfassungsrecht>

⁷²Nem, Sowath,2012. *Civil War Termination and the Source of Total Peace in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Reahoo.

5.2.3. Constitutional Amendments

Since 1993, the constitution has been changed consistently. In 1994, there was a significant revision to facilitate on helping out reducing tension of the issues after the election. Additionally, the Senate was formed. On another amendment in 2001, it has affected some of provisions of the monarchy. In 2004, an "additional law for the constitution" was adopted that allowed amendments to the constitutional rules after elections outside the constitutional amendment procedure to end the deadlock after the election. This law does not amend the text of the Constitution, but did amend it in essence. In 2005, the majority reacted to a boycott of parliament by opposition parties, the quorum for the assembly was dropped and in 2006, an unusually two-thirds majority for the parliamentary confidence vote for the government was abolished in order to support on international standard of "normal absolute" ("fifty plus one") principles. At the end of January 2008, the implementation of the administrative level was slightly revised. This law doesn't alter the content of the Constitution, however amended it fundamentally.⁷³

⁷³ Kim, Samuel 2014. *"The Evolution of Asian System"*. In International Relation of Asia. Edited by Shangbaugh, David and Michael Yahuda. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chapter 6: Current relationship with France

Cambodia and France have had a tight relationship since France interceded in 1863 and colonized the nation, while helping Cambodia to fight off the regional aspirations of Thailand on the East and Vietnam on the West. For France, Cambodia, along with Laos, established an "island of French culture in the Far East". It is not necessarily to say that their relationship has not endured during times of pressure. A previous French ambassador composed shrewdly in his diaries that the connection among France and its previous settlement Cambodia was "an amalgamation of loving sorrow, mutual aggravation, and plunges."

A glance to the connection between the two nations since the mark of the Paris Agreements on Cambodia in October 1991 may clarify the purposes for the high points and low points of this extraordinary affinity.⁷⁴

6.1. Diplomatic relation

France and Cambodia have a special relationship because both countries share a common history, and Cambodia is a French-speaking country, and also because of France's role in the development of Cambodia after the Paris Agreement of 1991. The Cambodian community in France also contributes to this relationship. Currently, the France-Cambodia relationship is in line with Cambodia's regional integration and its development to become a high-middle-income country by 2030.

France also supports Cambodia's efforts to participate in UN peacekeeping operations through the training of Cambodian Blue Helmets. In this regard, a few specialized instructional classes are

⁷⁴ "Historical ties" Underpin French aid. (1993, February 26). Phnom Penh Post | The Phnom Penh Post is the oldest and most comprehensive independent newspaper covering Cambodia. cambodia news, phnom penh news. <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/historical-ties-underpin-french-aid?>

sorted out every year, particularly in the field of mine clearance, the functions of the Marshals, including French training, which empower trainee to complete on their task in French-speaking nations.

6.2. Economic relation

6.2.1. Cambodia economic structure

The Cambodian economy today depends on four main areas: textiles, tourism, agriculture, and construction / real estate. With strong GDP growth, Cambodia has experienced average economic growth of about 7% a year for many years. This makes Cambodia the low-income country in 2016 according to the World Bank rankings. The forecast is still good for 2018 (6.9% by the World Bank), but the International Monetary Fund has forecast a slowdown in growth over the medium term (around 6% by 2022) due to weakness in competition and Lack of structural reform. Economic diversification is probably the biggest challenge for Cambodia. It requires an improvement of the institutional framework, a lot of investment in infrastructure, and a great deal of effort in education and training.⁷⁵

Cambodia profits by critical help from multilateral and bilateral benefactors (over \$ 1 billion in awards and concessional loan every year), just as from exchange advantages (particular access to European and American markets) connected to its status as a LDCs (Least Developed Countries, UNCTAD classification). Following a choice by the European Union, "Everything except for Arms" (EBA) tariff inclinations will be partly suspended from August 2020, prompting a slowdown in exports to the European market, specifically for textile products.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ministère de l'Europe et des affaires étrangères. (n.d.). *Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères*.

<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/cambodge/relations-bilaterales>.

⁷⁶ Direction générale du Trésor. (2020, June 23). *Indicateurs et conjoncture - Cambodge | Direction generale du Trésor*.

6.2.2. Economic relations with France

French companies are more firmly established in Cambodia than those of any other Western country and in 2016 Cambodia rose to the status of a middle-income economy under World Bank criteria. France's economic presence is based both on investments from major companies (Vinci, Total, Accor, BRED, etc.) and many SMEs created by French businesspeople. Trade between France and Cambodia continued to grow in 2017 (up 8.6%) to reach €1 billion. French exports, which mainly comprised agricultural-food products and pharmaceuticals, total €102 million. French imports of €920 million were recorded, with the textile sector making up the largest share.⁷⁷

6.3. Academic, scientific and cultural cooperation

French cooperation is present today in the scientific and university field (with the main objectives of improving the quality of teaching, training, promotion of diplomas, professionalization of sectors, development of research and strengthening of interuniversity partnerships and co-diploma curricula). Student mobility is also an essential objective with around one hundred scholarship holders per year.⁷⁸

In terms of teaching French (in 2010 there were around 400,000 Francophone in Cambodia, i.e. 2.7% of the population, and more than 42,000 French learners in 2018), where our action is focused on developing teaching French through bilingual classes, French-speaking courses in higher education, teacher training and a diversified educational offer. The French Lycée Descartes in Phnom Penh (in 2018-19, 1,100 students, 60% of whom are Cambodian students) belongs to the

<https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Pays/KH/indicateurs-et-conjoncture>

⁷⁷ Ministère de l'Europe et des affaires étrangères. (n.d.). Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères.

<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/cambodge/relations-bilaterales>.

⁷⁸ The Phnom Penh Post. (2013, July 12). *Feeling of brotherhood prevails in French Cambodia relationship*.

<https://www.phnompenhpost.com/post-plus/feeling-brotherhood-prevails-french-cambodia-relationship>.

network of the Agency for French Education Abroad (AEFE) and the French School of Siem Reap is also approved.

France also maintains an important cooperation in the field of heritage, in particular by co-chairing the International Coordinating Committee for the development and safeguarding of the historic site of Angkor, which celebrated its 25th anniversary in December 2018, and by our action in the field of research and monumental restoration. France has indeed made a very significant contribution to the restoration of the major temple of Baphuon from 1995 to 2011 and has continued, since 2012, in collaboration with the APSARA authority, with the restoration project of the temple of Western Mébon.

Present in Cambodia since 1993, the (AFD) supports the socioeconomic development of the country and its regional integration within ASEAN. Since the start of its activities in Cambodia, € 576 million, including 162 in grants, have been committed by AFD in Cambodia in the country's priority sectors, in particular infrastructure and national capacity building.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne - Marc-Olivier Lagadic. (n.d.). *La visite du général de Gaulle à Phnom Penh. Entre mythes et réalités*. Wayback Machine. <https://web.archive.org/web/20141006095830/www.univ-paris1.fr/autres-structures-de-recherche/ipr/les-revues/bulletin/tous-les-bulletins/bulletin-n-12/la-visite-du-general-de-gaulle-a-phnom-penh-entre-mythes-et-realites/>

CONCLUSION

As it has been discussed so far, Cambodia and France do have long-term relationship in history and bilateral relations. Starting from 1854, Cambodia have many failures and obstacles with the neighboring countries, which is Thailand and Vietnam. Due to the problems of violating with signing the treaty with Thailand, Cambodia has lose a lot of interest in the country that is why King Norodom asked French emperor to put Cambodia under the protectorate in order to protect the king hierarchy and Cambodia sovereignty.

Before gaining, the independence Cambodia had to go through four king's leadings such as Norodom, Sisowath, and Sisowath Monivong and finally yet importantly is Norodom Sihanouk. Later on in terms of commercial development like rice exports and rubber plantations have given out a lot of benefits to the French and Chinese entrepreneurs. Moreover, the beautification of Phnom Penh like the electrification of provincial towns, road building and construction of seaside resorts and mountain hotels which benefit the French and the tourist industry.

Nevertheless, France have had many benefits towards Cambodia sovereignty that is why King Norodom Sihanouk travelled to France many times to discussed and negotiated about gaining the fully independence from France. By the end of 1953, Cambodia had gain fully independence from France and the King was named as a national hero. Under Prince Sihanouk regime we have learned the prosperity that he had brought to Cambodia in 1950s and 60s. Almost two decades have let Khmer people experienced a standard of living and peace in mind during that period. However in early 1970s, war have been spread out from inside and outside the nations again which caused a servers casualty and devastated of Economic, culture and even

civilian down to almost zero witnessed with all Cambodian people, the whole nation was chaos which cannot recovered on it own even after the war ended.

Ever since French colonial period, Cambodia has receive so much influence from them begin from culture, language, architecture as well as Legal framework which is based on civil law. Following the system, since 1947, after received fully independent Cambodia has adopted constitutional monarchy which mean constitution is treated as the supreme law of the nation together with The king that hold no power under the system yet continue to developed through out many regime until the Paris agreement was sign which allowed to ended the conflict within the nation that have been delayed for decades and constantly being change by the amendment to ease tension and issue after the election.

Even Cambodia and France have shared many bitterness of historical background, however there still many positives impact that we have observed today. With the bilateral relationship btw the two nations, France continue to help Cambodia with providing many aid and assisted mainly in education training and cultural preservation to Cambodia as well as bring in more and more investment which shown as significant improvement in Cambodia economic growth.

RECOMMENDATION

It now comes to the limitation of this research, the purpose is to show how much the Cambodia and France used to have a long life historical and the bilateral relationship by learning from one year to another year in the history. After we complete this research thesis, we have learn and understand clearly about the presence of France to Cambodia since the beginning as the protectorate, which gave us both positive and negative impacts. Even though, in the present day as a young generation, as we living in cooperate society, we should not follow the same path but to learn from it by start looking to a brand new way to build and strengthen relationship for long lasting relation. Since Cambodia and France have share a very long historical background, we are hopeful to see this relation continue to grow in very generous and healthy way such as:

- French government should involve more in helping the judicial system in Cambodia
- French government should support us in the protection of our arts and cultural
- French government should offer more opportunities for Cambodian to work in France
- French government should support more in the education field like offering more scholarships to Cambodian students
- France investors should come more to invest in our country in order to help Cambodia economics

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