PREFACE
Modern Cambodia's struggle for freedom constitutes the subject-matter of this dissertation. Although the main purpose of the thesis is to trace the course of the movement from 1939 onwards, it was felt necessary to understand the main-springs of Cambodian nationalism which lie embedded in the country's historic past. For without such an effort our knowledge of the nature and course of the movement would be incomplete. The need for such an understanding becomes all the more important when it is realized that there is not even a cursory study on this important aspect.

For various reasons the topic chosen for this dissertation has not so far attracted the serious attention of scholars. One possible reason for this is the paucity of material, or lack of information as to where the material is available. The second reason is the need to possess an adequate knowledge of the French and Khmer languages.

The present writer equipped himself with a working knowledge of these two languages before attempting this subject. Even so, in gathering and processing the material required for this study, he had to face a great deal of difficulty. The bulk of the information on this subject is available in the documents and pamphlets issued from time to time by the Royal Cambodian Government and in the newspapers.
(in French and Khmer) published in Cambodia. However, one cannot rely entirely on these sources since they present mostly the royalist point of view. Lack of systematic referencing of the valuable material available in the Bibliothèque National, Phnom Penh, handicapped the writer considerably.

There is an acute paucity of reliable material covering the Khmer Vietminh, the Khmer Issarak movement, and on Son Ngoc Thanh. In view of this, the writer made an attempt to secure additional information on them by interviewing some of the Cambodian nationalist leaders during his field-work in Cambodia in 1958-59. However, lack of corroboration from other sources has restrained him from making an extensive use of the information gathered from these quarters.

In addition to its introductory part, this study is divided into six Chapters. Chapter one deals with the growth of nationalism during the period of Japanese Occupation. It attempts to trace the factors leading to the popular demonstration of 1942 against the French rule. It endeavours to evaluate the positive and negative effects of the Japanese occupation of Cambodia. The rise of Son Ngoc Thanh to power also forms a part of this chapter. Chapter two deals with the course of the movement from the arrest of Son Ngoc Thanh by the returning French power in 1945, the Modus Vivendi of 1946 between the French and the Cambodian governments, the rise of political parties, the emergence of the Democratic Party into power, and the growth of Khmer Issarak movement. In this chapter an attempt is also made to examine the bickerings between
the French colonial authorities and the leaders of the Democratic Party. Chapter three is devoted to the study of the limitations imposed on the autonomy of Cambodia resulting from her membership in the Indochinese Federation, and the limitations inherent in the Modus Vivendi itself. This chapter also traces the gradual orientation of the Khmer Issarak movement towards the Vietminh and the events leading to the Franco-Cambodian treaties of 1949. In Chapter four an attempt is made to trace the factors which led to the assumption of leadership of the nationalist movement by King Sihanouk. This includes an analysis of the 1949 and 1950 agreements, the rise of the Vietminh-oriented Khmer Vietminh movement, the organization and activities of Son Ngoc Thanh's rebel group, and the constitutional crisis leading to the dismissal of party government. King Sihanouk's efforts to secure total freedom for Cambodia constitutes the subject-matter of Chapter five. It includes a description of the events leading to the Geneva Conference on Indochina, the dexterous diplomatic moves of the Cambodian delegation at this Conference for safeguarding the newly won freedom, and finally the work of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia. The general conclusions of this study are given in Chapter six.

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New Delhi.

V. M. REDDI
A POLITICAL MAP OF CAMBODIA

LEGEND

- Area occupied by Thailand
- Area ceded to Thailand in 1941