



แนวคิดปรัชญาการเมืองของสมเด็จพระนโรดมสีหนุ

**THE CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY
OF KING NORODOM SIHANOUK**

Samphose Prak

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Philosophy)

Graduate School
Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University
C.E. 2023



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ดุขฎฐินิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษา
ตามหลักสูตรปริญญาพุทธศาสตรดุขฎฐิบัณฑิต
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พุทธศักราช ๒๕๖๖

(ลิขสิทธิ์เป็นของมหาวิทยาลัยมหาจุฬาลงกรณราชวิทยาลัย)



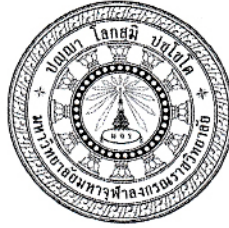
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The Graduate School Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University has approved this dissertation entitled “The Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk” in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Philosophy

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บทคัดย่อ

แนวคิดปรัชญาการเมืองของสมเด็จพระนโรดมสีหนุเป็นคุณิพนธ์นี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ ๑) เพื่อศึกษาแนวคิดปรัชญาการเมือง ๒) เพื่อศึกษาแนวคิดปรัชญาการเมืองของพระบาทสมเด็จพระนโรดม สีหนุ ๓) เพื่อวิเคราะห์แนวคิดปรัชญาการเมืองของสมเด็จพระนโรดมสีหนุ เป็นการวิจัยเชิงเอกสาร ศึกษาข้อมูลปฐมภูมิ ทุติยภูมิ จากเอกสารวิชาการ และงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้อง วิเคราะห์ข้อมูลเชิงพรรณนาตามหลักอุปนัยวิธี

ผลการวิจัยพบว่า

๑. แนวคิดของปรัชญาการเมืองเป็นสิ่งที่ถูกนำมาใช้เป็นวิธีการบริหารและปกครองรัฐที่ได้รับอิทธิพลมาจากโสกราตีส เพลโต และอริสโตเติล เป็นต้น ซึ่งแสดงให้เห็นถึงสัมพันธภาพของปัจเจกบุคคลกับอำนาจรัฐ ในด้าน เสรีภาพ เสมอภาค และยุติธรรม ที่มีจุดมุ่งหมายของการปกครองคือ ความสงบสุขของพลเมือง

๒. แนวคิดทางการเมืองที่แสดงให้เห็นถึงความเป็นผู้นำที่ดีของรัฐด้วยการนำหลักคำสอนทางพุทธศาสนามาใช้ คือ ทศพิธราชธรรม พรหมวิหาร และแนวคิดของศาสนาพราหมณ์ที่สอดคล้องกับวิถีวัฒนธรรม และระบบความเชื่อของกัมพูชา มาประยุกต์ใช้ในการปกครองประเทศ การนำแนวคิดดังกล่าวมาประยุกต์ใช้ในการปกครอง ทำให้พระองค์เป็นกษัตริย์ผู้เป็นที่รักของประชาชนและได้รับยกย่องว่า “พระมหากษัตริย์ผู้ทรงธรรม”

๓. พระองค์ได้รับยกย่องเป็น “พระมหากษัตริย์ผู้ทรงธรรม” ด้วยการนำแนวคิดดังกล่าวมาเป็นวิธีบริหารการเมืองในด้าน ๑) การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ พระองค์เป็นพลังสำคัญในการเรียกร้องอิสรภาพจากฝรั่งเศสจนสำเร็จในปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๙๖ ทำให้พระองค์ถูกเรียกว่า “กษัตริย์แอคติวิสต์” ๒) ความเป็นเอกราช เมื่อกัมพูชาได้รับอิสรภาพและถือว่าเป็นยุคทองของกัมพูชา ๓) ความสามัคคี ด้วยการสร้างความปรองดองในชาติเป็นชาติเดียวโดยยึดแนวคิดผลประโยชน์ของประเทศชาติเป็นสำคัญ ๔) การศึกษา การพัฒนาชาติให้เจริญจะต้องพัฒนาพลเมืองให้มีการศึกษาที่สามารถ

แข่งขันกับต่างประเทศได้ ๕) เศรษฐกิจ พระองค์ทรงใช้แผนเศรษฐกิจแบบเสรีนิยมด้วยการส่งออกข้าวจึงมีคำขวัญว่า “กัมพูชาเป็นยุ้งข้าวของโลก” จึงทำให้ระบบเศรษฐกิจเจริญรุ่งเรือง

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Abstract

The research on “The Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk” aims to 1) to study the concepts of political philosophy, 2) to explore the political philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk, and 3) to analyze King Norodom Sihanouk's political philosophy. The research is document research and applied Philosophy abased, utilizing primary and secondary academic documents and related research works, with analysis conducted through inductive reasoning.

The research results were as follows:

1) The concept of political philosophy, influenced by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, showcases the relationship between individuals and state power in terms of freedom, equality, and justice, aiming for the citizens' peace and happiness.

2) King Norodom Sihanouk's political concepts, integrating Buddhist teachings, the Dasa Raja Dhamma (Ten Royal Virtues), *Brahmavihāra*, and Brahmanism principles aligned with Cambodian culture and beliefs, were applied in governance. This adaptation in governance made him a beloved monarch and was acclaimed as a "Righteous King."

3) King Norodom Sihanouk was hailed as a "Righteous King" for his application of these concepts in the political administration, focusing on 1) international politics, where his crucial role in advocating for Cambodia's independence from France in 1953 earned him the title "Activist King", 2) sovereignty, marking Cambodia's golden age upon gaining independence, 3) unity, fostering national harmony by prioritizing national interests, 4) education, emphasizing the need for educational development to compete internationally, and 5) economy, adopting a liberal economic plan through rice exports, leading to the slogan "Cambodia, the rice bowl of the world," which contributed to economic prosperity.

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focusing on various royal crusades at both the national and international level, especially during his reign and his second kingdom.

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Honestly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the ancestors of all generations who are the leaders of the nation, religion and political affairs for the sake of the whole nation of Cambodia, in particularly, dedicated to the late great King Norodom Sihanouk, King Father, who led the nation of Cambodia is full of wisdom and national prosperity. On the other hand, may the wholesome actions resulting from this research effort be for the benefit of my all beloved Cambodian patriots, May all have you be happy and prosperous forever.

Last but not least, I am forever grateful for the unconditional support and love from my family-my parents, parents-in-law, all my brothers, and sister-who had always encouraged me from afar. A special appreciation goes to my dear wife, Hach Nimol, for her love, care, encouragement, and faith in me in good and bad times, and to my two daughters and one son, PrakChin Kanchna (Elder daughter), Prak Chinratanak (son), Prak Chinmorokot (Youngest daughter), who are the source of my endless energy and motivation.

All Be Free from Suffering!

Samphose Prak

May 8, 2024

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Key of Abbreviation

This dissertation is used the abbreviations following:

B.E.	Buddhist Era
C.E.	Common Era
ed.	edited by
etc.	et cetera
Ibid.	ibidem/ in the same book
i.e.	that is to say
KB	Khmer Book
no. (s)	number (s)
Op	Opposite
Op.cit	opera citato/ as referred
p.	page(s)
rev.by.	Revised by
vol.	volume (s)

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem

The late King Norodom Sihanouk was the great King of Cambodia he has greatly done for the sake of the Kingdom of Cambodia, especially his wise royal patronage leading to the country more prosperous, including economic growth, international relations, and cultural perspective of unity during his reign. Julio A. Jeldres sees the King as a smart strategist to resolve the national issue, so he asserted that the former Cambodian monarch and head of state, a strategist of weak-state diplomacy unequaled in contemporary international politics, had astutely managed Cambodia's relations with China and Communist North Vietnam in the 1960s, keeping his country in peace, while the war-ravaged in neighboring Vietnam and parts of Laos.¹

But other scholars found differently, academician Ros Chantrabot, in his dissertation in French wrote in chapter 5 that the feature of Cambodian political life, especially the King Father always uses the word "compromise" should be kept in mind, there is not on political stance but it is facilitation manner, and not on consensus, an economic, social, educational, agricultural or health sectors.

In contrast, the word "compromise" in the Cambodian political context refers to the balance of power divisions between the various political factions that are

¹ Julio A. Jeldres, **the Eminent Role of King Father Norodom Sihanouk in the Peace Process for Cambodia 1979-1991**: (Academic Paper). Ambassador Julio A. Jeldres, Ph.D., witnessed as Senior Private Secretary to King Father Norodom Sihanouk, most of the meetings leading to the Paris Peace Agreement of October 1991.

involved in government. King Norodom Sihanouk has a very high art of coordinating, organizing, and defining in detail the composition of the members who have to serve in the government, but those members of the government have never had the same political aspirations and ideals. Such a political perspective could give the impression that Cambodia is a Democrat because the leaders of each current are present at the peak of their power. All politicians are also involved in indebted Sihanouk. For example, in arranging the match, “Lon Nol's National Salvation Government” on August 14, 1969, both Sihanouk and his servants, as well as Sisowath Sirikmatak's group, were noticed.

Having no one dared to protest against King Sihanouk's actions, the implementation of the compromise principle did not make much sense. Activities have become a habit that was practiced and quietly accepted.²

To an awareness of the eminent role of the late King Norodom Sihanouk, in his leadership and his main concept of political philosophy, this research paper will show how the late King Norodom Sihanouk conducted in the past time for national unity and reconciliation which in turn led to further substantive learning from him as well.

Getting back to the problem of research, it has never found the previous time that any scholar researched this topic in terms of King Father Norodom Sihanouk was the most powerful monarch and charismatic leader not only among his own grassroots people but for his foreign friends around the world such as De Gaulle, Nehru, Sukarno, Chou Enlai, Nasser, Mao Tse-Tung, Tito, Haile Selassie, Enver Hodja, Sekou Toure, Nikita Khrushchev, Boumediene, Nicolae Ceausescu.³

² Academician Ros Chantrabot, សាធារណរដ្ឋខ្មែរ in French, but translated in Khmer language (Khmer Republic) 1970-1975, (Cambodia: CamEd Business School Print, 2017), p. 93.

³ By Prince Norodom Sihanouk with Bernard Krisher, **Charisma and Leadership-the Human Side of Great Leaders of the twentieth Century**, (Yohan: Publications, Inc., 1990). p. 1.

The legacy of King Father Norodom Sihanouk remains until nowadays is divided into two parts: 1) Physical legacy refers to infrastructural physical such as old buildings, the senate building along road Norodom Blvd, Chaktomuk Theater Hall in front of the Royal Palace, and so on. 2) Mental legacy refers to common Cambodian people always commemorating their late King Father in terms of King Father Norodom Sihanouk to be great King in this age for all people around the country, and the King Father found the national spirit unique. Moreover, he led the national reconciliation leading to unity, including independence from France in 1953 and other significant achievements that he has well done for his nation. Therefore, people kept him in their hearts forever.

King Father Norodom Sihanouk, the charismatic Cambodian leader whose remarkable skills of political adaptation personified for the world the tiny, troubled kingdom where he was a towering figure for six decades, died early Monday in Beijing. He was 89.

It has also been noticed that King Norodom Sihanouk was born in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, on Oct. 31, 1922. A prince of the Norodom branch of the royal family, he was never considered a serious candidate to gain the throne. Instead, he was seen as a sensitive, if lonely, prince with a serious gift for music and, later, a passion for film.

He received a first-rate French education, initially at a primary school in Phnom Penh and then at the Lycee Chasseloup-Laubat in Saigon, the best in colonial Indochina. He was only 18 years old when King Monivong died in 1941 and the French colonial powers tapped him as the unlikely successor.⁴

Regarding the main idea of King Norodom Sihanouk involving the political concept, Andrew Wickersham has written in his article related to King Sihanouk's political ideology that King Norodom Sihanouk could not be grasped apart from an

⁴ Nytimes, **Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Leader through Shifting Allegiances, Dies at 89**, [Online], Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/world/asia/norodom-sihanouk-cambodian-leader-through-shifting-allegiances-dies-at-89.html> [January 23, 2024].

understanding of Cambodian monarchic history. From its origins during the Classical Angkor Period (AD 802-1431), the Khmer kingship was an office infused with religious symbolism and its occupant was a divine figure.⁵ In 802, C.E. Jayavarman II became the first king of the Khmer Empire. Upon his coronation at the Mountain of Indra, King of the Gods, Jayavarman took the title “The God who is King.”⁶ Fitting with his divine status, the kings of the Khmer Empire constructed enormous public works projects, including palaces and enormous temples, such as the iconic Angkor Wat. These Wats were representations of the Mountain of Indra. In addition, the king was expected to distribute patronage in a pre-modern form of social welfare to the Khmer people, understood by the monarch to be his children.

There was no indication that Sihanouk understood the function and duties of the institution of kingship any differently than his predecessors. Sihanouk, by all accounts, was a workaholic. He attended the opening of numerous hospitals, factories, and irrigation systems in Cambodia. In undertaking these projects, Sihanouk ensured his legitimacy by carrying out one of the primary duties of kingship. There was no indication either that Sihanouk viewed the people any differently than the ancient kings of Angkor. He routinely referred to them in his addresses as "my children." He also showed no reticence in promoting a cult of personality about himself. He hated being isolated from his people, and early in his reign, the peasantry responded with the traditional displays of adoration characteristic of earlier times.

Thus, the researcher sees the essence of the study of the concept of the political philosophy of King Father Norodom Sihanouk. Therefore, the researcher is more interested in the topic “The concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk”.

⁵ Wickersham, A., “An Enigma to Washington: The Political Ideology of Cambodia’s Norodom Sihanouk (1945-1970)”, **Footnotes: A Journal of History**, Vol. 3 (2019): 119-129.

⁶ Michael D. Coe, **Angkor, and the Khmer Civilization**, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), pp. 97-99.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- 1.2.1 To study the concept of political Philosophy.
- 1.2.2 To explore the political philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk.
- 1.2.3 To analyze King Norodom Sihanouk's political philosophy.

1.3 Research Question

- 1.3.1 What is the concept of the Political Philosophy?
- 1.3.2 What is the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk?
- 1.3.3 How to find out and apply the Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk?

1.4 Scope of the Study

This research paper aims to study the concept of the political philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk divided into two scopes of study as follows:

1.4.1 Scope of Text

a) Primary source: Khmer Pāli Tipitaka, commentary, sub-commentaries, Khmer Constitution, Norodom Sihanouk & Zhou Enlai, Reconciliation Process in Cambodia: 1997-2007 before the Khmer Rouge Tribunal.

b) Secondary sources: Related dissertations, thesis, Books, texts, and academic papers as well as websites.

1.4.2 Scope of subject-matter/Contents

- a) The Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk
- b) The Practice of King Norodom Sihanouk's political pragmatism
- c) The Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk

All concepts of the research study are only the study of three main concepts that are mentioned above.

1.5 Definitions of Technical Terms

The Concept refers to the big idea of Norodom Sihanouk and how the way to control the state during his reign, and sometimes refers to the political idea as well.

King Norodom Sihanouk: refers to the great king, and his name Norodom Sihanouk នរោត្តម សីហនុ, (31 October 1922–15 October 2012) was a Cambodian statesman and royal who led Cambodia in various capacities throughout his long career, most often as both King and Prime Minister of Cambodia. In Cambodia, he is better known as Samdech Euv (Khmer: សម្តេច ឪ, meaning "**King Father**"). During his lifetime, Cambodia was variously called the French Protectorate of Cambodia (until 1953), the Kingdom of Cambodia (1953–1970), the Khmer Republic (1970–75), Democratic Kampuchea (1975–79), the People's Republic of Kampuchea (1979–93), and again the Kingdom of Cambodia (from 1993).

Political philosophy: the philosophical study of government, addressing questions about the nature, scope, and legitimacy of public agents and institutions and the relationships between them. Its topics include politics, liberty, justice, property, rights, law, and the enforcement of laws by authority: what they are if they are needed, what makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect, what form it should take, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government if any, and when it may be legitimately overthrown, if ever.⁷

Reconciliation: the action of making one view or belief compatible with another. "the process of making two people or groups of people friendly again after they have argued seriously or fought and kept apart from each other, or a situation in which this happens "⁸ It refers to how the King Father to dealing with the common people of his under patronage, especially when people has any issue, they always to

⁷ Wikipedia, **Political philosophy**, [Online], Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/political philosophy> [March 25,2022].

⁸ Dictionary, **Reconciliation**, [Online], Source: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/Reconciliation> [July 28, 2023].

homage to their king for asking for resolving their problem in daily life. One approach of many approaches that King Norodom Sihanouk used is the compromise to satisfy for all who may concern. But a Cambodian intellectual gave a meaning of national reconciliation covering that “the monarchy can help ensure stability, security and peace in Cambodia, but only if the King remains neutral”.⁹

1.6 Literature Review and Research Works Concerned

1.6.1 The Text/ Books

YOUK CHHANG asserted that two statesmen are namely King father Norodom Sihanouk and a Communist leader of China the unique relationship between two statesmen of opposite backgrounds-one was a King of Cambodia, the other a Communist leader of China which managed to forge a lasting relationship that continues to benefit their respective countries even today. Like all relationships, this unique relationship between sovereigns had its difficulties. However, because their friendship was sincere, the relationship survived even the worst excesses of history, most notably for this period, the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

King Sihanouk will always be remembered as the King Father of the independent state of Cambodia because it was his vision that ended colonial rule, began the process of national development and above all, kept Cambodia from the inferno going on in Vietnam and parts of Laos. While his policies were at times controversial, it should be remembered that he built the foundations of today's Cambodia.

This carefully shaped Monograph adds significantly to our understanding of what happened during those years, and why it happened. It is, of course, only a piece

⁹ Eastasiaforum, **The Cambodian monarchy must step back from politics**, published East Asia Forum on 26 October 2013, [Online], Source: <https://eastasiaforum.org/2013/10/26/the-cambodian-monarchy-must-step-back-from-politics> [July 27, 2023].

of the many events, which made up that period in our history, but it adds to our body of knowledge.¹⁰

Bernard Krisher found that the whole world has come a long way in recognizing, and at a very costly price, that Prince Sihanouk now, as always, is the only Cambodian smart enough to keep his country independent and no regime there could hope to gain legitimacy without his major involvement.

In this regard, Bernard Krisher wants to show that King Norodom Sihanouk is smart to develop his country based on the Buddhist philosophy to cultivate in real society physical development and mental development.¹¹

Nandasena Ratanapala wrote about the best example of applied Buddhist political philosophy that the Asoka was believed to have been born in 304 B.C. and his death took place in 230 B.C. The rock edicts and pillar edicts established by this monarch are found scattered all over India. Most of them are written in the Brahmi script from which almost all Indian scripts and many of those in South Asia subsequently developed. The language used in the eastern part of India is Prakrit which in the western part is close to Sanskrit although one edict in Afghanistan is written in Arabic and Greek.

These edicts and rock edicts furnish us with indisputable evidence as to Asoka's politics. The spirit of Buddhist democracy, although he was a king, permeated his polity. He speaks of two types of moralities. i.e. state morality and individual morality. The political cum social order is based on these two types of moralities. State morality consisted of laying down guidelines for state administration and individual morality comprised injunctions as to how to get the best of individual life and group interaction between individuals such as in families and the community.

¹⁰ Ambassador Julio A. Jeldress, **Norodom Sihanouk & Zhou Enlai**: (Cambodia: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2021), p. 1.

¹¹ Norodom, Sihanouk and Bernard Krisher, **Charisma and Leadership: the human side of Great Leaders of the Twentieth Century**, (Tokyo: Yohan Publications, 1990), pp.150-183.

The state policy objective was to establish the well-being of all. Righteousness was its basis. Individual morality encouraged how institutions such as the family should operate with definite roles to be played by each member, and how members living harmoniously in the community progress with their activities, and Asoka believed that the state should play a decisive role in encouraging such moralities.¹²

Dr. Ly Sok-Kheang shows in his writing that justice raised powerful images of making things right, creating equal opportunity, rectifying the wrong, and restitution to see the perpetrators brought to justice, as well as the restoration of what the perpetrators took away, including property, the rule of law, and reputation. If justice is achieved for victims, they have no rational need to seek revenge and can move on with their lives. History has shown that vengeance is the norm if a country's governing structure is not properly restored at the earliest time possible. Cambodia was no exception.

Scholars have argued that post-conflict societies should develop and incorporate such strategies as prosecution, reconciliation, reparation, and rehabilitation. Trials help guarantee and uphold the rule of law, provide justice for the victims and other survivors, and mobilize public support for the nation-building process. On the other hand, the author argued that to help post-conflict governments build stronger political systems than those of their predecessors. Last, trials help maintain political stability and further the reconciliation process.¹³

Puy Kea shows some points related to the monarchy in the past, according to the research of historians and archaeologists, it is concluded that Cambodia began to have its own culture, civilization, and history from 680,000 BC "but historians have

¹² Nandasēna Ratnapāla, **Buddhist Democratic Political Theory, and Practice:** (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya Vishya Lekha Publication, 1997), pp.115-124.

¹³ Dr.Ly Sok-Kheang, **Reconciliation Process in Cambodia: 1997-2007 before the Khmer Rouge Tribunal**, (Cambodia: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2017), pp. 53-55.

been compiling the history of this country from the beginning of the century. Throughout the history of more than 2,000 years, it has been discovered that Cambodia, although at some point lost its sovereignty under foreign rule, still retains its rule. The country has always been a monarchy, except during the 20 years (1970-1993) when the Kingdom of Cambodia became a country with different regimes (the Khmer Republic, Democratic Kampuchea, People's Republic of Cambodia).

However, historians note that in its history of more than 2,000 years ago, the Kingdom of Cambodia held the Absolute Monarchy from the day of its birth until May 6, 1947. King Norodom Sihanouk announced the promulgation of the Constitution, the first constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, to restore the country to a constitutional monarchy. In addition, just two years before that event, from March 18, 1945, Cambodia had a modern regime, the Royal Government led by the Prime Minister. What is remarkable is that during the past 65 years, Cambodia has had 83 governments and 14 regimes.¹⁴

Indhra **Panhno Bikkhu Heng Monychinda** wrote in his book, so-called “Preah Bat Dhammic” in Khmer that based on Buddhism taught that the leaders need to improve their morality and virtues, and at least need to have 3 points Health, Capacity, and Virtue. These are the best quality of good leadership, based on the Buddhist approach as follow.

Health is the physical benefit that leaders need to take care of it.

Capacity, and quality, are related to the memory that leaders need to fill up more and more.

¹⁴ ព្រះបាទ នរោត្តម សីហមុនី (the Government of Cambodia): From 1945-2010, second edition, (Phnom Penh: Reahoo Printing House, 2010), pp. 1-3.

Virtue, on the other hand, is an emotional and behavioral quality that a leader must maintain and respect in his or her life. Compared to explosions, which are human settlements, these three advantages have the following functions.¹⁵

Normally, the house always has a roof to protect it from rain, water, and property in the house. Because if it rains, all the property will be ruined.

In the same way, a leader who does not educate the mind to be on the path of virtue is always subject to lust, lust, and greed, the desire for excess comes to dominate. Anger, persecution, came in order, and then the ignorance, the ignorance of irresponsibility, came to cover the darkness, see nothing, there is only one kind of injustice. Only then will the reputation, honor, and wealth gained by strength, health, and ability be destroyed.

Key Buddhist values,¹⁶ is the ethical activities that King Norodom Sihanouk always practiced more strictly in his leadership to all common people, the King is a crucial role played in the local politic based on the Buddhist approach, especially around his first reign 1960s. At that time, the people of Cambodia were living happily under his patronage both economic growth and political recondition in terms of the five precepts put into daily life activities of Cambodian people.

Moreover, in the first Kingdom of Cambodia during his reign in the 1960s, the King allowed free-thinking and open-minded to opponent rivals so that they can share express own opinions to take part to develop the country. His political platform abides by Buddhist engaged society and is more practical.

Nandasena Ratanapala, his thesis asserted about the political power in the Buddhist analysis in a Jataka story (Tesakuna Jataka 521), found that there are main constitutions of power are listed in the following manner: (1) family or clan power,

¹⁵ ឥន្ទ្របញ្ចោភិក្ខុ ហ.មណីចិន្តា, **ព្រះបាទធម្មិក** (Indra Panhno Bikkhu), **Preah Bat Dhammic**, 5th ed., (Phnom Penh: Lotus Publication, 2017), pp. 59-61.

¹⁶ Peter Harvey, **An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics**, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 60-87.

like the power, inherently arising from being born in a given family or clan. (2) Wealth power, is the power associated with the possession of wealth, like money or gold. (3) Physical power is the power of the army, arms, and ammunition, possessing a weapon. (4) Group power refers to that power arising from having a vast following or supporters. In addition (5) Power of wisdom refers to the way that a leader has used to deal with critical circumstances based on wisdom.¹⁷

Matthew J. Moore wrote in his book on Buddhism and Political Theory related to debate of early Buddhism contains a theory of government, there are three debates from theorists. Firstly, how does Buddhism theory related to political perspectives or not. Secondly, whether any theory of government ostensibly put forward in the early texts supports monarchy or some point of republicanism. Thirdly, it refers to the role of the significance of politics within Buddhism overall.¹⁸

Puy Kea writing on the Government of Cambodia: from 1945-2010 argued that Cambodia was controlled by an Absolute Monarchy and all structural state in the conformation of the absolute king was regarded as God-King. It refers to the King being in all of the state affairs.¹⁹

Francis Fukuyama, in his book, is so-called “The Origins of Political Order”; found that the Western philosophical tradition and discussions of the "state of nature" have been central to the understanding of justice and political order that underlies modern liberal democracy. Classical political philosophy distinguished between nature convention and law; Plato and Aristotle argued that a just city had to exist in conformity with man's permanent nature and not what was ephemeral and changing. In addition, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau developed this distinction and wrote treatises on the question of the state of nature,

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁸ Matthew J. Moore, **Buddhism & Political Theory**, (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 15-16.

¹⁹ ពុយ គា, **រដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា ពីឆ្នាំ១៩៤៥ ដល់ឆ្នាំ២០១០** (ការផ្សាយរបស់សេវា បោះពុម្ពផ្សាយភាសាខ្មែរ) (បោះពុម្ពលើកទី១ ឆ្នាំ, ២០០៦), ទំព័រ១-២.

seeking to ground political rights in it. Describing the state of nature was a means and a metaphor for discussing human nature, an exercise that would establish a hierarchy of human goods that political society was meant to foster.²⁰

JEONG Yeonsik, in his article, says that as the Cambodian myth of national origin tells, the Indian influence was stronger in Khmer territory than any other place in Southeast Asia. The Indian influence was particularly evident in rituals associated with statecraft. One of the rituals that readily attracted Khmer rulers was the Devaraj cult. Literally put, devaraja is god-king and as such, it has often been interpreted as a god incarnated as king.²¹

Channathip Sritbo, Phramaha Wiruth Wirojano, written by co-writer on Leadership According to the Buddhist Concepts, show that leadership individuals must be willing to tolerate problems arising from the performance of their assigned duties to the best of their ability, leading to the promotion of better management and sustainability which must consist of virtues in self-management.²²

1.6.2 The Research /Thesis

Research on political philosophy, there are many scholars have researched related to this topic as follows:

Upinder Singh wrote in her dissertation on Political Violence in Ancient India argued about the foundation of the state politics that in the history of ancient India, the fantasy of a powerful, highly centralized Maurya empire (c.324-187BCE) was replaced many decades ago by the idea that the empire had little effectual control beyond its metropolitan and core area, In the case of the Gupta empire (c.300-600

²⁰ Francis Fukuyama, **the Origins of Political Order**: (the United States of America, 2011), p. 26.

²¹ JEONG Yeonsik, "The Idea of Kingship in Buddhist Cambodia", **Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia, Southeast Asian Studies in Korea**, Issue 11, (March 2011): 4.

²² Channathip Sritbo, Phramaha Wiruth Wirojano, **Leadership According to the Buddhist Concepts**, (N.p., 2021), p. 2430.

CE), the theory of Indian feudalism (since then much critiqued) described this period in terms of political, economic, and social fragmentation.²³

Ros Chantrabot, in his dissertation said the word “compromise” in the Cambodian political context refers to the balance of power divisions between the various factions that are involved in government. King Norodom Sihanouk has a very high art of coordinating, organizing, and defining in detail the composition of the members who have to serve in the government, but those members of the governments have never had the same political aspirations and ideals. Having no one dares to protest against Sihanouk's actions, the implementation of the compromise principle did not make much sense. Activities have become a habit that was practiced and quietly accepted.²⁴

Sok Bunthoeun, in his dissertation shows that in 28 November 1941, King Norodom Sihanouk was in the throne in Cambodia. Therefore, in 12 March 1941, King Norodom Sihanouk released two royal degrees on cancellation all agreements signed with the French. In 14 August 1945 with political support from Japan, Cambodia formed a government and Mr. Son Ghoc Thanh was prime minister.²⁵

Prof. William J. Long, in his thesis says that the most important distinction between “Dharmic” democracy and Western liberal democracy is Buddhism’s emphasis on one’s individual duties to others as much as one’s individual rights, duties that exceed compliance with the law. Whereas liberal democracy has little to say about the moral qualities of what constitutes good governance beyond the values of equality of opportunity and protection of individual choice and instead

²³ Upinder Singh, “Political Violence in Ancient India”, **Research Degree of Ph.D. in History**, (Harvard University Press, 2017).

²⁴ Academician Ros Chantrabot, សាធារណរដ្ឋខ្មែរ in French, but translated in **Khmer language (Khmer Republic) 1970-1975**, (Cambodia: CamEd Business School Print, 2017), p. 93.

²⁵ Sok Bunthoeun, **Khmer Legal System in Cambodian Language**, (Cambodia: Printed in Cambodia, 2014), p. 3.

focuses on the process of good governance not the substance. “Dharmic democracy” delineates a clear duty of care owed to others and to the natural world as well.²⁶

Phra Nicholas Thanissaro, showing in his thesis that charismatic leadership means a person who gains their leading power through their personal charm rather than rules, codes or regulations—the degree to which they are set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional power or qualities—a power to attract followers through a compelling vision and perceptions of extraordinary capabilities—the ability to inspire followers, to amplify followers commitment and motivate followers to comply with the leader’s statements and action (Parson). In the Buddhism, this form of leadership is particularly linked with an authenticity of aspiration since a Buddhist leader would generally be expected to have a higher level of aspiration than the people they lead. The aspiration might be couched in sociological terms (Spiro) or in terms of Mahayana Buddhism’s emphasis on the bodhisattva ideal.²⁷

Clayton Livingston, in his thesis, says that Sihanouk was an extremely dynamic person and was portrayed in the global media as seemingly half-Cambodian “renaissance man” and half George Washington. Thus, he worked to create the image of himself that was portrayed by the world press. Beyond his active involvement in politics and foreign relations, Sihanouk was described as a distinguished film director, scholar, and athlete. Sihanouk appeared to dabble successfully in widely diverse academic, athletic and artistic areas and had many admirers both within Cambodia and abroad.²⁸

²⁶ William J. Long, “Buddha on Politics, Economics, and Statecraft”, **Buddha on Politics, Economics, and Statecraft**, (2021): 35-50.

²⁷ Phra Nicholas Thanissaro, “Beyond Precepts in Conceptualizing Buddhist Leadership”, **Journal of Buddhist Ethics**, Volume 25 (2018): 26.

²⁸ Clayton Livingston, “Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia: Managing his Public Image”, **Thesis presented to the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire History Department** (University of Wisconsin Eau Claire, 2009), p. 9.

In the research paper of **Elizabeth Becker and Seth Mydans**, co-writer on *Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Leader through Shift Allegiances*, and dies at 89, asserted that Norodom Sihanouk, the charismatic Cambodian leader whose remarkable skills of political adaptation personified for the world the tiny, troubled kingdom where he was a towering figure through six decades.²⁹

King Norodom Sihanouk was regarded as an extremely dynamic king to deal with the problem of the nation with wisdom; in particular, he was a wise leader in Cambodia during the 1960s. Looking at the way of leadership, King Norodom Sihanouk used the Dharmic state in the state government at that time, such as how to compromise among grassroots people who asked for help from the King.

In addition, King Norodom Sihanouk abided by the rule of law, according to the Buddhist approach, for example, he has shown loving-kindness to general people while they need him. On the other hand, King Norodom Sihanouk was conducted to play a key role in the politics of the Kingdom of Cambodia, especially after the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in 1979.

For the sake of Cambodia's nationality, King Norodom Sihanouk played a leading role in negotiating the Paris Peace Accords in 1991. More than this, although he was a symbol of the Kingdom of Cambodia until his death on October 15, 2012.

In his political philosophy, King Norodom Sihanouk has created a constitutional monarch following a Buddhist approach like the compromise, or non-violence manner to cope with the national issue and the way of leadership style, and His practice was based on ten virtues of leadership ideas such as generosity, morality.

²⁹ Elizabeth Becker and Seth Mydans, “Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Leader Through Shifting Allegiances, Dies at 89”, **New York Times, Posted on**, (2012): 1.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The study of the Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk can be set up a conceptual framework as following:



1.8 Method of Research / Methodology

This research is documentary research, which emphasizes documents. Its methodology can be divided into three stages as the following:

1.8.1 Collecting the materials from primary sources, Khmer Tipitaka, Cambodian institution, Khmer Republic, Royal Government of Cambodia, texts/

books, research, thesis, papers, and other sources, in which all the information and data concerned with the main concept of the political philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk in terms of politic philosophy and Khmer Philosophy.

1.8.2 Analyzing the raw materials as well as systematizing them to give a clear scope and descriptive analysis of the topic in the concept of political philosophy.

1.8.3 Giving of conclusions and suggestions for a further research study on political philosophy, which can be beneficial for anyone interested in the academic field.

1.9 Advantages of Research Expected to Gain

1.9.1 To know the concept of the Political Philosophy.

1.9.2 To know the practice of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk.

1.9.3 To understand the Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk.

Chapter II

The General Concept of the Political Philosophy

2.1 Introduction

To get more comprehensive on this matter, first of all, looking at the history of political philosophy provides a comprehensive account of past speculation on human association, organized around distinct political languages like classical republicanism, Roman law, natural law, and utilitarianism. Ancient Greece is the source of the earliest political reflection, with a continuous history in the West. Roman republican practice adapted Greek political vocabulary to create an imperial constitution, while Christianity undermined pagan autonomy but adapted Greek rationalism and political vocabulary. Medieval political philosophy focused on the relationship between pope, king, church, and regnum, while the Reformation led to new conflicts between secular and sacred rule. Early modern Europe explored natural right, leading to the American and French Revolutions.¹

On the other hand, political philosophy focuses on a person's relationship with society and applies ethical concepts to various forms of government and social existence. It provides a standard for analyzing and judging existing institutions and relationships. Political philosophy differs from political science, which primarily deals with existing states of affairs.²

As below, looking into more detail about the general concept of political philosophy.

¹ Rep, **Political philosophy, history of philosophy**, [Online]: Source: <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/political-philosophy-history-of/v-1> [July 12, 2023].

² Iep, **Political philosophy**, [Online]: Source: <https://iep.utm.edu/polphil/> [January 01, 2024].

2.2 General Concept of Political Philosophy

In order to understand well about the concept of political philosophy, it was so-called state concepts that involved the whole meaning of political philosophy. Some scholars have given it to considerable concepts, especially the most philosopher who accept that moral and political propositions have no factual or logical status. However, it is impossible to prescribe what a state should be or define what ought to be in our relationship with them. Providing definitive answers to political problems must be ruled out.

In accordance with this term, “**Politics**” was Athens, which experienced all sorts of governments (States). Political power had originally rested in the hands of a kind of aristocracy, similar to a tribal council, but gradually the citizen body itself acquired more and more power and eventually ruled Athens between 461 and 322 BC. (Groves, 2012)

As for Khmer Dictionary, Buddhist Patriarch, Chuon Nath, given the definition of “Politics” in a different way, that means (**Naya+Upaya=Nayopaya** (Pali term) means a subterfuge in which tricks or masterminds are designed to lead others to this or that direction. Another way, it is an approach leading someone to do something in accordance with the original purpose forward getting accomplishment any time.³

In this regard, other scholars have shown a different meaning of political philosophy or political theory as the philosophical study of government, addressing questions about the nature, scope, and legitimacy of public agents and institutions and the relationships between them, But another scholars showing their view on this term refers to the most noble expression of human life, so reflecting on collective public life. (Young, 1996)

When talking to a government state in a territory, a state, or a nation, it is inevitable to talk about the idea of leadership, because the idea of leading those

³ Choun Nath, **Khmer Dictionary**, (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 1967), p. 496.

institutions to run smoothly and successfully is coming from this political concept. What is the so-called political concept? What is the point of view of previous scholars, talking on this issue, politics, and political thought?

When a country or a nation gets more prosperous economically and culturally, it refers to the political aspect, because political leadership covers the entire state of each state, which requires an idea or point of view. Political affairs must always be involved in order for the functioning of the state to ensure the successful and equitable values of state government, all of which are based on political concepts.

Based on the definition of the Khmer Dictionary of the Buddhist Institute, it is stated that politics is the direction of administration in a particular state, including the territory, the people, and the social order.

In short, Political philosophy or political theory is the philosophical study of government, addressing questions about the nature, scope, and legitimacy of public agents and institutions and the relationships between them.

2.2.1 Political Concept of Plato

In the Western philosophical context, Plato is a significant philosopher in ancient Greek, and he is profoundly regarded as the greatest political philosopher, who generated a theory of political concepts to control the state. Plato was one of Socrates's students in ancient Greek.

He was born (in 427-347 BC) and developed such distinct areas of philosophy as epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics. His deep influence on Western philosophy is asserted in the famous remark of Alfred North Whitehead: "The safest characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato."

The Academy, the school he founded in 385 B.C.E., became the model for other schools of higher learning and later for European universities. The philosophy of Plato is marked by the usage of dialectic, a method of discussion involving ever more profound insights into the nature of reality, and by cognitive optimism, a belief in the capacity of the human mind to attain the truth and to use this truth for the

rational and virtuous ordering of human affairs. Plato believes that conflicting interests of different parts of society can be harmonized.

The best, rational, and righteous, political order, which he proposes, leads to a harmonious unity of society and allows each of its parts to flourish, but not at the expense of others. The theoretical design and practical implementation of such order, he argues, are impossible without virtue. (iep, 2022)

Accordingly, it can be difficult to characterize such a vast and comprehensive canon of thought. However, much of Plato's work revolves around his conception of a realm of ideal forms. The world of experience is illusory, Plato tells us since only that which is unchanging and eternal is real, and an idea he borrowed from Parmenides. There is a realm of eternal unchanging forms that are the blueprints of the ephemeral phenomena we encounter through sense experience.

According to Plato, though there are many individual horses, cats, and dogs, they are all made in the image of the one universal form of 'the horse', 'the cat', 'the dog', and so on. Likewise, just as there are many men, all men are made in the image of the universal 'form of man! The influence of this idea on later Christian thought, in which man is made in the image of God, is only one of many ways in which Plato had a direct influence on Christian theology.

Plato's Theory of Forms, however, was not restricted to material objects. He also thought there were ideal forms of universal or abstract concepts, such as beauty, justice, and truth, and mathematical concepts such as number and class. Indeed, it is in mathematics that Plato's influence is still felt strongly today, with both Frege and Gödel endorsing Platonism in this respect.

The Theory of Forms also underlies Plato's most contentious and best-known work. *The Republic*. In a quest to understand the nature and value of justice, Plato offers a vision of a utopian society led by an elite class of guardians who are trained from birth for the task of ruling. The rest of society is divided into soldiers and the common people. In the republic, the ideal citizen understands how best they can use their talents to the benefit of the whole of society and bends unerringly to that task. There is little thought of personal freedom or individual rights in Plato's

republic, for everything is tightly controlled by the guardians for the good of the state as a whole.

This has led some, notably Bertrand Russell, to accuse Plato of endorsing an elitist and totalitarian regime under the guise of communist or socialist principles. Whether Russell and others who level this criticism are right or not is itself a subject of great debate. But it is important to understand Plato's reasons for organizing a society in this way.

The Republic is an attempt, in line with his theory of forms, to discover the ideal form of society. Plato thinks there must be one ideal way to organize a society in which all actual societies are merely imperfect copies since they do not promote the good of all.

Such a society, Plato believes, would be stronger than its neighbors would and unconquerable by its enemies thought very much in Greek minds given the frequent warring between Athens, Sparta and the other Hellenistic city-states. However, more importantly, such a society would be just to all its citizens, giving to and taking from each their due, with each citizen working for the benefit of the whole. Whether Plato's republic is an ideal or even viable society, has had scholars divided ever since. (Stokes, 2003)

Regarding his profound thoughts related to politics, such as forms are intelligible, unchanging objects, accessible to the mind but not the senses. Which provides the only reliable standards for knowledge and good judgment. The chief of these, on which the others depend both for their being and their know abilities, is the Form of the good. Collectively, Forms constitute the realm of being. In the perceptible world around us, images of the Forms are interrelated and in continual change or flux. This is the realm of Becoming. By looking to the Form of the good, of which he alone has the knowledge,

The philosopher discovers the true blueprint for the best human world. The Republic is the story of what sort of society such a philosopher would produce if he were to acquire political power and become a philosopher-king. Central to that story is an attempt to establish that justice pays we cannot achieve happiness except in a

just city so the best city must be just. Central to that justification, in turn, is a theory about the human soul or mind. Each of us has three primary kinds of desires- appetitive, Spirited, and rational.

These result in a division of us into three different natural classes: appetitive ones, who take happiness to consist in the long-term satisfaction of their appetites; spirited ones, who take it to consist in the satisfaction of desires for honor and approval; and rational ones, who take it to consist in satisfaction of desires for truth and the overall good. In the just city, each of these classes will have a distinct social role: the appetitive will be producers or workers; the spirited will be guardians or soldier-police, and the rational will be rulers. In fact, justice for a city, it is argued, consists precisely in the enforcement of a principle of specialization, which restricts each class to the one social role for which it is naturally best fitted. Political rule or authority depends, therefore, on knowledge, not simply on the power or consent of the governed. To ensure the continued identity of the three classes, the rulers tell a 'noble lie': producers have bronze in them, guardians' silver, and the ruler's gold.

To ensure an adequate supply of guardians and rulers, a eugenics policy was instituted, in which a rigged lottery ensures that the best will breed more often with the best. To prevent the guardians from competing with the producers, 'private property is outlawed for them. To prevent them from competing with each other, a form of communism' is mandated for them, requiring them to hold their property, spouses, and children in common. To prevent them from being corrupted, strict censorship of art is imposed by the rulers on the entire community. (Kelly, 2003)

In conclusion, the political thought of Plato relates to philosophy in the Theory of Ideas in forming of a city (state) Plato established an Academy in Athens in 387 BC, and the Academy was regarded as the first university in Europe. On the Other hand, Plato's political and legal issues were clarified in the state caste and law.

In order to control the state, Plato divided into 3-social stratifications in the society as Leaders Are Philosophers of a higher class, bodyguards, and soldiers are warriors to protect the city/state and last one is the artisans or farmers are working hard to support all higher levels in the state. (Peou, 2018)

2.2.2 Political Concept of Aristotle

Before knowing about the great philosopher of the world, Aristotle, one should look at his background in the first step and then look more in-depth at his legacy involving the state government in ancient times.

Aristotle was born (384 B.C.E.—322 B.C.E.) In northern Greece (Stagire). Unlike Socrates and Plato, Aristotle was not an Athenian citizen. Aristotle, on the other hand, had many ties to the Macedonian kingdom, with Aristotle his father being a Macedonian court physician during his grandfather's reign.

Aristotle, On the other hand, grew up to be an orphan, with both father and mother dying when Aristotle was young. At the age of 17, Aristotle left his homeland and traveled to Athens to attend the Plato Academy.

Aristotle spent about 20 years at Plato's academy, from student to teacher. At that time, Aristotle was known as an outstanding student who had both respect for Plato as a teacher and at the same time criticized many of Plato's ideas, not just learning and believing in all the teachings. Of the teacher.

In the year 347 BC Plato died. Contrary to many people's expectations, Plato's academy was not transferred to Aristotle, but to Plato's nephew. It is not clear why Plato did not transfer control of the academy to Aristotle, but it is thought that this may be from Aristotle there is philosophy contrary to Plato.

Aristotle also left Athens, perhaps because of frustration with Plato's decision, or perhaps because another reason was the rise of anti-Macedonian movements by the Athenians, and Aristotle's family was close to the Macedonian court.

Since the end of the war, the so-called "Peloponnesian war", Greece, once great power, has fallen. Weak Greek city-states collapsed one by one, falling under the rule of another new power, Macedonia. Athens fell to Macedonia in 338 BC, and two years later Alexander the Great succeeded Macedonia. King Philip II is the father who was assassinated.

One year after the accession of Alexander the Great in 335 BC. Aristotle returned to Athens, setting up a new school to compete with Plato's Academy. The newly established schools of Aristotle have a reputation not inferior to those of Plato, and both are attractive. Many students from all over. Eventually Athens, despite the political and military collapse, still had the reputation of being the center of knowledge as before. Even Macedonia, which became the ruler of Athens but was subject to the influence of Athenian culture, especially the influence of Greek philosophy on Emperor Alexander the Great. Through Aristotle as a teacher. In the period between 336 B.C.-323 B.C., Alexander the Great waged war to expand the territory of the Macedonian Empire from Greece through Persia and Mesopotamia to India.

In the year 323 B.C., Emperor Alexander the Great died, and Macedonia's powers began to shake. In Athens, the anti-Macedonian movement began to re-emerge, and Aristotle, who was originally considered close to Alexander. Shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, Aristotle was indicted by the Athenian authorities for blasphemy, and Aristotle Faced the same fate as Socrates almost 80 years ago. Unlike Socrates, Aristotle escaped unwilling to wait for trial and the death penalty from the Athenian authorities.

As for Socrates, the reason he did not escape is that he adhered to his philosophy that the citizens of a state have Obligations to obey the laws of that state, no matter how unjust that law in. According to this principle, Aristotle's escape was not contrary to Socrates' philosophy, because Aristotle, despite spending Most of his life was spent studying and teaching in Athens, but Aristotle was not an Athenian citizen, and Athenians did not accept Aristotle as Their compatriots, too. Thus, it can be said that Aristotle had no obligation to abide by the laws and decisions of the Athenian parliament like Socrates.

Aristotle claimed that his escape from the trial was "to prevent Athenians from committing repeated crimes." Against philosophy", he was referring to the "sins" they had committed against Socrates in the past. In the year 322 BC About a year after fleeing Athens, Aristotle died of an illness at the age of 62.

Getting back to an outstanding work of Aristotle related to politics, Aristotle left about 200 manuscripts, all of which are housed in the school library. Aristotle's School was considered the largest library in the world at the time. Of these 200 Aristotle works, only about 31 remain to this day, and most of them Excess is a personal record that Aristotle compiled for teaching in school, rather than a book or publication.

Aristotle divided his knowledge into various sections, including moral, political, mathematical, biological, etc. Aristotle's theories cover a wide range of topics, from philosophy, politics, morality, art, and poetry to medicine. Biology, logic, and general science are mathematics and physics. (Sothal, 1971)

In terms of political philosophy, Aristotle's main ideas can be found in the book "Politics" (or *La Politique* in French). Aristotle's quotes from this book are often quoted more often than not. To this day, the French phrase "L'homme est un animal politique" means that human nature is Inextricably linked to politics, and "politics" here refers to politics in a broad sense, meaning life. As a community or state, but other scholar found that "Politics" might best be characterized as the constrained use of social power.⁴

According to Aristotle, man cannot live alone. On the contrary, everyone needs each other and people need to live in a collective or living in community form and the most original form of this community is family. Families unite to form villages, and villages unite to form cities or states. For Aristotle, the gathering of people in the form of a family is as natural as the gathering of people in the form of a city or a state. That is nature. Therefore, in general, the structure of a state with a political system, the rule of law, a government, and a leader is human nature.

Because of human beings are inextricably linked to politics, Aristotle saw political science as the most important knowledge. That all people must learn. In terms of how the state was governed, Aristotle, like Socrates and Plato, all had anti-

⁴ Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, **A New Handbook of Political Science, What is politics?**, First edition, (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 7.

democratic ideas and direct democracy. Athens in those days. All three major philosophers agree that direct democracy in which every citizen has direct power in such a parliament creates anarchy.

Aristotle, like Plato, believed that the best political system was one in which all power was concentrated on one hand and that the leader was the philosophers in Plato's "La République" who were called "kings-philosophers." Simply put, such a regime could be called a monarchy with monarchs. Nevertheless, unlike Plato, Aristotle saw that such a political regime was only on paper or only in imagination. In practice, it is rare to find a "king-philosopher" because the philosopher did not ascend to the throne. Being a king is not a philosophy.

Moreover, Aristotle saw Plato's "king-philosophical" political regime as a high-risk political regime because when power must be concentrated in the hands of one person and that person is not a wise leader, it is easy to turn into a dictatorship. Cruelty that leaders use their power for personal gain and oppress the weak. At that time, the "king-philosopher" political regime, which was the best regime, had to turn into a brutal dictatorship, which was the worst regime. That is why Aristotle understood that between a political regime full of anarchy (direct democracy), and another perfect political regime, but can't be put into practice ("king-philosopher"), they may have a middle option, led by a small group of people by a group of people. This little one has the consent and delegation of authority from the general population, and everything has to be done within the framework of the law. The supremacy sets out both the rights and responsibilities of leaders and the rights and obligations of citizens.

This concept was a starting point, which later evolved into democracy through representation, as was commonly practiced in modern times. At present, the "supreme law" that Aristotle referred to as the "Constitution." In general, Plato and Aristotle were teachers and students, but the two philosophers had very different ideas. This divides their philosophy into two different branches. Plato's philosophy of ideology (Idealist / Utopist) is to aim for things that are perfect but difficult or

impossible to achieve in Practicality. Aristotle's philosophy, Realist, focused on what can be done effectively rather than on goodness. Perfection exists only in imagination.

The philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, despite being in such different trees, were equally influential in political philosophy. Until now. The special feature of Aristotle that makes Aristotle more powerful, longer lasting, and broader than Plato is that Aristotle developed the main concept. Another field is the science or philosophy of nature. (Dina, 2018).

2.2.3 Political Concept of Buddhism

Early Buddhist literature addresses several political, economic, and international issues. While the primary purpose of Buddha's teachings is the liberation of individuals from pervasive suffering, his teachings also acknowledge the interdependence of the individual with society, polity, and economy. Buddha's teachings sought to mediate these relationships constructively. Although largely unknown in the West, Buddha was an original and important social, political, and economic philosopher and a rationalistic, humanistic, and democratic one at that. (Long, 2021)

Buddhism says about politics is roughly like asking what Christianity says about politics- it is an impossibly large and vague task. The existing literature on "Buddhism and politics" breaks down into several main types: descriptive literature about how Buddhists have engaged in politics and/or are doing so today; normative literature about what Buddhism or Buddhists say about whether (and how) Buddhists should engage in politics; historical/ sociological literature on the social and political context within which Buddhism first arose;³ literature on Buddhist ethics, some of which touches on politics; and political advocacy from a Buddhist point of view. (Moore, Buddhism, and Political Theory, 2016)

At the beginning of talking about the political concept of Buddhism, it has shown some materials to get more understanding of what Buddhism is, and what its main core theories are related to political theories. Some scholars are talking about on the most basic level, Buddhism is the religious/philosophical system taught by Siddhattha Gotama (Sanskrit: Siddhartha Gautama) (c. sixth, fifth centuries BCE),

subsequently elaborated by many other teachers, and today practiced in many different forms by several hundred million people, primarily in Asia. The name Buddhism comes from the title adopted by Gotama, Buddha, which means "awakened one." Waking up is a central metaphor in Buddhism, which teaches that humans (and other sentient beings) live in a realm called samsara, characterized by birth, death, and rebirth, in an endless cycle. Like the Vedic religion from which it arises (and which itself later evolved into modern Hinduism), Buddhism teaches that intentional action (kamma; Sanskrit: karma) cultivates certain dispositions of character, which ultimately determine one's next birth (and may shape one's character for incarnations). Many The central goal of Buddhism is to escape samsara and attain Nibbana (Sanskrit: Nirvāṇa), which is an ineffable state beyond suffering, life, and death.

In his first sermon after achieving enlightenment, the Buddha taught five of his former companions the basics of the religion, which remained at the center of his teachings for the rest of the Buddha's life.

The most significant message the Buddha taught related to profound meaning to life philosophy or others are summarized in the Four Noble Truths: (1) that life is dukkha (suffering, or characterized by persistent unsatisfactoriness); (2) that dukkha is caused by clinging (tanha; literally "thirst"), that is, clinging to the way one would like life to be, and thus resisting carry.

Looking at places on Buddhist political theory rests on three underlying ideas that simultaneously are familiar to Western thinkers and represent positions that almost no Western thinkers have been willing to embrace. First, Buddhist political thought is based on the denial of the existence of a self-not merely that there is no immortal soul, but that there is nothing at all that remains continuous over time to be the basis of personality or selfhood.

In addition, this position allows Buddhism to diagnose a belief in the existence of a self as being the main source of interpersonal and social conflict, while also allowing it to avoid argumentative dead ends like the West's interminable debate about how an agency can be possible given the reality of subjectification and socialization by external forces. Second, Buddhism is radically deflationary about the

importance of politics to human life, coming about as close as possible to being overtly anti-political without actually embracing anarchism.

On the Buddhist view, politics is inevitable and is probably even necessary and helpful, but it is also a tremendous waste of time in politics, as well as being a prime temptation to allow ego to run rampant. Buddhist political theory denies that people have a moral duty to engage in politics except to a very minimal degree (pay taxes, obey the laws, maybe vote in the elections), and it actively portrays engagement in politics and the pursuit of enlightenment as being conflicting paths in life. Third, Buddhist political theory rests on a theory of ethics that sees moral claims as being both naturalistic, in the sense that they arise from natural facts about the universe and not from any supernatural source such as a deity, and also realist, in the sense that moral claims do not reflect obligatory normative truths but rather optional (though wise) advice about how to achieve certain goals. If want to achieve enlightenment, act in the following manner. If you prefer to pursue some other goal, you are free (if foolish) to do so, and no normative judgment attaches to your decision. These issues should be familiar to Western-trained political theorists, and yet Buddhism's conclusions are quite different from the positions taken in the mainstream of Western thought, and some places are different even from anything on the fringes.

In this concept as talking above, Buddhist political thought rests on three core premises—that there is no self, that politics is of very limited importance in human life, and that normative beliefs and judgments represent practical advice about how to live a certain way, rather than being obligatory commands about how all persons must act.⁵

On the other hand, some scholars gave what they have sighted that Buddhist philosophy is a vast subject with a large number of ramifications. It is not possible to do full justice to the whole Subject within so short a compass. So, the cleavage between philosophy and religion is pronounced where religion is held to be a

⁵ Matthew. J. Moore, **Buddhism & Political Theory**, (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2-5.

matter of unquestioning faith irrespective of a philosophic sanction. But in India the two were identical. So even the atheists had their religion because philosophy and religion were one. Belief had to submit to the test of logic, and a faith that was not warranted by philosophic conviction was rightly regarded as perverse dogmatism that has no right to the allegiance of a man of sound education and culture.

It is this fact of intellectual honesty and spiritual earnestness that accounts for the intensity and desperate character of this fighting for opinions among ancient philosophers of India. As has been aptly observed by Prof. Dasgupta with his characteristic insight, "The systems of philosophy in India were not stirred up merely by the speculative demands of the human mind, but by a deep craving after the realization of the religious purpose of life." (Mookerjee, 1993)

However, the strengthening of Buddhism is a task that cannot be overlooked because it embodies many valuable philosophies. Human society. In particular, in Cambodia, social orienteers seem to be ignoring Buddhist philosophy or are not yet able to use it for the benefit of society. Much yet. In fact, the mainstreaming of Buddhist philosophy among the youth is still small. That is why young Cambodians are less involved in Buddhist activities. (rfi.fr/km, 2014)

This philosophy of peace and non-violence in Buddhism is very valuable to human society, especially in a fragmented society like Cambodia. However, the problem is that social orienteers have not yet used or recycled those valuables to treat social ills. If everyone knew the merits and demerits and knew the merits and demerits of Buddhism, human society would know peace and full respect for human rights.

In doing so, The Buddhist path combines both philosophical reasoning and meditation. Buddha's political thinking parallels Western liberal-democratic thought with its emphasis on equal rights, protection against tyranny via equality before the law, and participatory and deliberative governance.

The philosophical investigations and systems of inquiry developed among various Buddhist schools in India following the Parinirvana (death) of the Buddha and later spread throughout Asia. The Buddhist path combines both philosophical

reasoning and meditation. The Buddhist traditions present a multitude of Buddhist paths to liberation, and Buddhist thinkers in India and subsequently in East Asia have covered topics as varied as phenomenology, ethics, ontology, epistemology, logic, and philosophy of time in their analysis of these paths.

To sum up that points, Buddhist political thought dominates the daily lives of several Asian societies. The key difference between Buddhist political thought and Hobbesian political thought lies in how each school perceives the notion and the existence of the individual. Because the epistemic and ontological foundation of political thought in both schools is the existence of the individual, it is important that we properly understand how the individual is perceived to be existing in the world and how associational life emerges in both conceptions. (Myint, 2014)

2.2.4 Political Concept of Brahmanism

Now look at the basics of Brahmanism, in the field of political philosophy⁶, Indian thinkers, especially Brahmanic thinkers, did formulate and developed a number of significant political concepts. Also, it is interesting to note that some of the significant fundamental concepts and ideas in the realm of political thought were formulated not by political thinkers, but by metaphysicians and philosophers. In fact, the latter had given these concepts a broad and rich content, and the former incorporated them in their own works, such a process can also be detected in the history of Western political thought, especially with reference to the concepts like virtue, truth, justice, ideal life, rights, and liberties.

Concerning this terminology, Brahmanism (also known as Vedic religion) is the belief system that developed from the Vedas during the Late Vedic Period (c.1100-500BCE) originating means in the Indus Valley Civilization after the Indo-

⁶ Dr. Ruchi Tyagi, **Unit 1 Brhamanic Indira Gandhi National Open University**, (New Delhi, 2022), p. 11.

Aryan Migration c.2000-1500 BCE. It claims the Supreme Being is Brahman, and its tenets influenced the development of Hinduism.⁷

In addition to this point, other scholars have shown that Brahmanism is an ancient Indian religious tradition that dates back to the beginning of the Vedic period, possibly between the beginnings of the first millennium BC.

On the other hand, this Brahmanism always emphasizes the rituals of how to pray in connection with the image of Brahma. According to Brahmanical texts, philosophical content is considered an important part of the Vedic scriptures, while some scholars claim that Hinduism emerged after the first half of the first millennium BCE.⁸

In doing so, Brahmanism, talking about philosophical thought is the unbending rigidity of the rules and ordinances by which every act of a man's social and domestic life is fettered and controlled. Those rules are contained in three principal codes 1) Code of Manu, It was originally a mere local code, embodying rules and precepts perhaps by different authors, some of whom may have lived in the fifth century BC, or even earlier. 2) Code of Yajnavalkya, introduces many additional rules, some of which are probably as late as the first or second century of our era. It is always associated with its commentary, the Mitakshara. 3) Code of Parasara, It enacts special laws adapted to the fourth or most depraved age of the world (called Kali).⁹

Ancient Indian political thought, in fact, is an integral part of Indian philosophy. If talking mainly about the Vedic period, all the rules and laws related to religion and society were contained in the 'Dharmashastra'. (Kerala, 2021-2022) Moreover, the Dharma term refers to one's duty to adopt the path of virtue and truth.

⁷ Worldhistory, **Brahmanism**, [Online], Source: <https://www.worldhistory.org/Brahmanism> [October 12, 2023].

⁸ Britannica, **Brahmanism**, [Online], Source: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Brahmanism> [August 21, 2023].

⁹ Drishtias, **Origins of Brahmanism**, [Online], Source: <https://www.drishtias.com/blog/origins-of-brahmanism> [September 11, 2023].

It is a moral and natural law to control society in a duty-based approach, and it is the most important theory in the political thought of Brahmanism.

The Khmer people have known Brahmanism since the first century through Indian merchants who sailed to trade with the locals. Most of these merchants were well-educated Brahmins. Strongly on Cambodians, especially the high-ranking people in the country.

On the other hand, knowing from history that at the beginning of the first century, Cambodia was ruled by Princess Liu Yi and a King named Hun Tien raised an army to conquer Khmer territory. And then he also married this queen his wife and declared himself King and organized Khmer territory in accordance with the Indian Brahmin style.

2.2.5 Political Concept of Khmer Society

Every aspect of human society has always had its own culture, traditions, and philosophy, which is the way to target the lives of people in that society. Synthesis of Brahmanism combined with Buddhism.

A society that can thrive depends on a specific philosophical concept, brought and executed for daily use. The transformation from this theory itself has become a practical application. When it comes to philosophy, one never forgets the interconnectedness of religions and philosophical ideas. Basically, for the Kingdom of Cambodia, before Brahmanism and Buddhism came from India came to this country, there was already the practice of their religion for tens of thousands of years, that is, respect for spiritualism by understanding what everything comes from this Spiritism. In addition to the Totemic belief of the souls of the Khmer ancestors, there are generations of Cambodian people have always respected and valued the virtues, and the moral capacity of the warlords, the clans, or the elders as leaders in the community.¹⁰

¹⁰ ប៉ាន់ វត្តា, គ្រឹះទស្សនវិជ្ជាខ្មែរ ជានិក្ខេបបទបណ្ឌិតឯកទេសទស្សនវិជ្ជា, (រោងពុម្ពរាជបណ្ឌិត្យ សភាកម្ពុជា, ភ្នំពេញ, ឆ្នាំ២០១៤), ទំព័រ ១១៨-១១៩.

In accordance with the historical background of this aspect, India's strong influence spread easily everywhere, becoming a great constructive force due to the similarities between philosophical, ideological, religious, and psychological similarities between Cambodia and India. (Tranet, 2008) Cambodia is a homogeneous society, with 97.6% of Cambodians identifying as ethnically Khmer. Many Cambodians today consider themselves descendants of the Khmer people from the Khmer Empire. Indeed, the terms 'Cambodian' and 'Khmer' are often used interchangeably, with the term 'Khmer' commonly used to refer to the Cambodian language, people, and culture. This suggests that Khmer is more widely perceived as an ethnic and linguistic identity marker than a political entity.

The religious landscape of Cambodia is similarly homogeneous with 96.9% of the population identifying as Buddhist. Numerous Buddhist principles – such as tolerance, calmness, and taking responsibility for one's actions – are values found throughout Cambodian culture. For more information on Buddhism in Cambodia, see 'Buddhism' in Religion.

In terms of socially engaged Buddhism in this Kingdom, the Buddhist philosophy has enriched applied approaches to social way, which is more popular in society, sometimes, its so-called Cambodian philosophy. Regarding political philosophy in Cambodian society, it can be seen that this society has adopted many Buddhist theories, including tolerance, mutual understanding, compassion, and sincerity.

The Ten Virtues of Buddhism talked about the way of leadership style that the Khmer leaders, especially the King, always practice and set an example in every stage to control the country; this is an argument that could not overlook. In the political aspect, nearly all of the historical scholarly works on Cambodia focus on two subjects: the rise/fall of Angkor Wat and the rise/fall of the Khmer Rouge. Contemporary research likewise focuses almost exclusively on two subjects: democratization and development policy. (Leang, 2020)

To sum up this focal point around the philosophy of Cambodia, mixed with Buddhism, and Brahmanism integrated into the Khmer society by Khmer ancestors.

Cambodian ancestors decided to bring the Buddhist philosophy put into Cambodian lives such as the five precepts, patience, and polite, easy-going communication without racism.

In general, political philosophy, it can be observed that from ancient times up to the present times, the concept of philosophers in the world past to present are still important and can be applied in daily life, especially, in leadership for each national and country institution that requires a clear philosophical thought to orient towards success. Among of the most famous philosophers in the history of humanity can observe the ideas of all the scholars, thinking based on three aspects, including:

- 1) Trying to find materialism to serve the needs of human beings.
- 2) Idealism/Conceptualization
- 3) Show the truth that is between materialism and realism.

For the sake of materialism building, contributes to global economic growth, while pessimism or realism must not overlook, as the technological age is sometimes so flexible that it requires the orientation of pragmatism to take place, especially in human society.

The way of the leadership of the state is not much different from the management of the house, which requires a high level of political philosophy to make progress that can lead to social prosperity.

Regarding state government, Plato divided into 3-social stratification in the society such as leaders are philosophers of a higher class, bodyguards, and soldiers are warriors to protect the city/state and the last one is the artisans or farmers are working hard to support all higher levels in the state.

Generally, Plato and Aristotle were teachers and students, but the two philosophers had very different ideas. This divides their philosophy into two different branches. Plato's philosophy of ideology is to aim for things that are perfect but difficult or impossible to achieve in practicality. Aristotle's philosophy focused on what was done effectively rather than on goodness. Perfection exists only in imagination.

This focal point around the philosophy of Cambodia, mixed with Buddhism, and Brahmanism integrated into the Khmer society by Khmer ancestors. Cambodian ancestors decided to bring the Buddhist philosophy put into Cambodian's lives such as the five precepts, patience, and polite, easy-going communication without racism.

2.3 The Practical way in Buddhist Philosophy

2.3.1 Dharmic States

When one speaks of a Dharmic state in the sense of a state, there is a fundamental practice of the principles throughout the entire state, especially in the state that applies the basic moral laws in its daily life, where the general population lives, and it can sometimes be called a "moral state," which is the implementation of laws based on high legal and professional ethics.

In order for a state to become a Dharmic state, based on the theory of Buddhism, that is, by governing the state with the four sublime states, which are loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity, based on the law and a framework in accordance with the real situation in human society, and getting rid of prejudice to promote the judicial system in society.

In this regard, the Dharmic state refers to a moral leader who at least regularly practices the principles of morality, such as not killing animals, not stealing other people's property, not committing sexual misconduct, and not lying, leading to the loss of other personal interests, including abstinence from alcohol and drugs usage.

Thus, such practices can bring prosperity to families, communities, and nations as a whole. This point is the so-called "state of morality," the "state of loving-kindness," or just the Dharmic state, where both the leader and the people living in the state are together.

2.3.2 Conditions of Welfare

Buddhism talks a lot about the conditions of welfare. The Buddha instructs rich householders on how to preserve and increase their prosperity and how to avoid

loss of wealth. Wealth alone, poorer, does not make a complete man or a harmonious society. Possession of wealth all too often multiplies man's desires, and he is ever in pursuit of amassing more wealth and power. This unrestrained craving, however, leaves him dissatisfied and stifles his inner growth. It creates conflict and disharmony in society through the resentment of the underprivileged, who feel exploited by the effects of unrestrained craving.

On the other hand, the Buddha follows up on his advice on material welfare with four essential conditions for spiritual welfare, such as confidence (in the Master's enlightenment), virtue, liberality, and wisdom. These four will instill in man a sense of higher values. He will then not only pursue his own material concerns but also be aware of his duty toward society. To mention only one of the implications, a wisely and generously employed liberality will reduce tensions and conflicts in society. In doing so, the observation of these conditions of material and spiritual welfare will make for an ideal citizen in an ideal society.

Buddhism demonstrates seven ways to lead society forward to high prosperity in order to achieve prosperity:

- Meet frequently and hold many meetings.
- They meet together in unity, rise in unity, and perform their duties in unity.
- They enact nothing not already enacted, abrogate nothing that has already been enacted, and act in accordance with the already established ancient Vajjian principles;
- Support, respect, venerate, and honor the Vajjian elders, and pay regard to their worthy speech;
- as long as no women or girls of their families are detained by force or abduction;
- Support, respect, venerate, and honor those objects of worship—internal and external—and do not neglect those righteous ceremonies held before.
- The Rightful protection, defense, and support for the Arahants shall be provided by the Vajjians so that Arahants who have not come may enter the realm and

those who have entered the realm may live in peace—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.¹¹

2.3.3 Principle of Leadership

In order to be a good leader of a nation, what are the characteristics of that person?

In society from ancient times to the present, there has always been a need for peace and prosperity in the daily life of each person or in their own country.

With such a need, they must find or choose someone to be their leader to help manage the country or the work according to their needs. The selection of a leader is sometimes made by the King, sometimes by the President, and sometimes by the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, the most important thing is to want someone who is physically and mentally fit.

In the 45th volume of the Sutta Pitaka, or Anguttara Nikaya in Buddhism, in the royal section, it is also stated in relation to the qualities of the king or the leader of the country, stating that he is a person who respects and holds great virtues.

Buddhist scholars have also stated that in the principles of the country's leadership, there are many other important qualities that the people can trust and choose to be their leaders, such as adhering to the truth, being committed to defending the territory, and being the motherland to support the people without discrimination or any favoritism.

In the Raja Sangahavathu, which is the word of advice of the Buddha on the policy of saving the people, it is stated that the country's leaders must have four qualities: economic intelligence, intelligence in managing public administration, intelligence in the division of human strength, and intelligence in solving social problems.

¹¹ Bhikkhu P.A. Payutto, **Dictionary of Buddhism**, (Bangkok, Thailand: Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2543), pp. 246-247.

Respect for morality is another important factor that individual leaders must have, because morality is one of the main roots in helping to organize a good society. Buddhist scholars also point out that today the leaders of some countries in the world seem to overlook this principle of morality, leading to various problems for the people, such as poverty, unemployment, economic decline, increased national violence, wars, floods, etc.

2.3.4 Virtues of a Ruler

It is also stated in relation to the qualities of the country's leaders, such as the ten precepts, such as giving alms to the poor, in Buddhist theory. Respect or observe the five precepts Donate or spend wealth to support the nation; be honest, gentle, and polite. Be able to keep the eight precepts on a regular basis, have a heart that is not angry or angry with others, not harass others, be tolerant, and not violate the Dharma or the law.

In order to get more popularity from the grassroots people, the leaders should have to practice in accordance with Dasavidha-Rājadhamma¹² are consists of Charity (Dāna), Morality (Sīla), Altruism (Pariccāga), Honesty (Ājjava), Gentleness (Maddava), Self-Controlling (Tapa), Non-Anger (Akkodha), Non-Violence (Ahimsa). On the other hand, the righteous ruler should protect his fellow people under the kingdom of Dhamma. He should honor, worship, and practice the ten meritorious deeds mentioned above. He should live under a flag of these ten virtues. If the leaders do not behave or act in accordance with these moral principles, then it is not expected that the people or countries will be able to achieve peace.

Buddhism and politics meet at two levels: theory and practice. Buddhism has no explicit body of social and political theory comparable to its psychology or metaphysics. On the other hand, a Buddhist political theory can be deduced primarily

¹² ព្រះត្រៃបិដក បាលី និងសេចក្តីប្រែជាភាសាខ្មែរ សុត្តន្តបិដក ខុទ្ទកនិកាយ ជាតក ទសមភាគ ៦១, ទសពិធរាជធម៌, នៅក្នុង (ឃ្លាប ២៤០), (រោងពុម្ពពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ), ភ្នំពេញ, បោះពុម្ពនៅក្នុង ព.ស.២៥០៣, ទំព័រ ១២៨.

from basic Buddhism, from the Dharma. Secondly, it can be deduced from the general orientation of scriptures that explicitly refer to a bygone era. However, this can be done only in a limited and qualified way.

Buddhist political theory, like other Buddhist "theories," is just another theory. In print, it exists in the world of the conditioned; it is of Samsara. It is its potential and its spiritual implications that make it different from "secular" theory. When skillfully practiced, it becomes a spiritual practice. As always, Buddhist "theory" is like a label on a bottle describing the contents, which is sometimes mistaken for the contents by zealous label-readers. In that way, we can end up with a lot of politics and very little Buddhism.

This is not to decry the value of a Buddhist social and political theory -- only its misuse. It has only begun to apply Buddhism as a catalyst to the general body of Western social science, and most of the work so far has been in psychology. Such work in allied fields could be extremely helpful to Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike.

Buddhist social and political theory and policy will only be mentioned in passing in this pamphlet, although we have earlier introduced the idea of "social karma" as being of central importance. Concerning problems and questions arising in the practice of social and political work by Buddhists and the nature of that work.

2.4 Evolution of State or Kingship

The transition to the state has led to the exploitation of kinship as an ideology in societies of all types. Early states often represented the state and sovereign through family connections, which are often exploited for power legitimization in modern states. However, in societies with a higher complexity level, kinship is not just an ideology but also the real socio-political background, highlighting the need for careful attention by researchers.¹³

¹³ Researchgate. **The State and Ideology of Kinship**, [Online], Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263278340_The_State_and_Ideology_of_Kinship, [January 20, 2023].

2.4.1 Concept of the King as God

In European Christianity, the divine right of kings, divine right, or God's mandate is a political and religious doctrine of the political legitimacy of a monarchy.

It stems from a specific metaphysical framework in which a monarch is, before birth, pre-ordained to inherit the crown. According to this theory of political legitimacy, the subjects of the crown have actively and not merely passively turned over the metaphysical selection of the king's soul – which will inhabit the body and rule them – to God. In this way, the "divine right" originates as a metaphysical act of humility and/or submission toward God.

The divine right has been a key element of the legitimation of many absolute monarchies. Significantly, the doctrine asserts that a monarch is not accountable to any earthly authority such as a parliament because their right to rule is derived from divine authority. Thus, the monarch is not subject to the will of the people, of the aristocracy, or any other estate of the realm. It follows that only divine authority can judge a monarch and that any attempt to depose, dethrone or restrict their powers runs contrary to God's will and may constitute a sacrilegious act.

It is often expressed in the phrase by the Grace of God, which has historically been attached to the titles of certain reigning monarchs. Note, however, that such accountability only to God does not per se make the monarch a sacred king.

Historically, many notions of rights have been authoritarian and hierarchical, with different people granted different rights and some having more rights than others. For instance, the right of a father to receive respect from his son did not indicate a right for the son to receive a return from that respect. Analogously, the divine right of kings, which permitted absolute power over subjects, provided few rights for the subjects themselves.

In contrast, conceptions of rights developed during the Age of Enlightenment – for example during the American and French Revolutions – often emphasized liberty and equality as being among the most important of rights. Getting back to the Cambodian perspective in the framework of God-King theory, the evolution of government varies according to the leadership of the king, who is

considered and exalted as a god who can decide human destiny. In the system of leadership, it is so-called the Devaraja thought, which in turn refers to a ruler equal to a deity (God).

In terms of the key term “Devaraja”, in short, is simply the name of one of the policies of Jayavarman II, who pursued the practice of Devaraja in the early days of Khmer ancient time. According to historians and the study of Khmer history, people have always believed that the worship of the Devaraja is an evolution of Brahmanism. In the reign of King Jayavarman II, It is understood that in order to proclaim itself as a full-fledged king, to show the great power to the people to fear and respect. Known to prove the strength of Cambodia, Jayavarman II organized a religious ceremony on Mount Kulen.

During the worship of the deity on Mount Kulen in 802 AD, it can be considered as the Khmer Day to liberate the Javanese colony, and it is the time when the Khmer announced the implementation of a new political theory for nation building. In general, this theology is aimed at promoting the ruler as a deity who no one can touch or abuse. In accordance with ancient times, the Devaraja doctrine found that there are three sections in order for power sharing during the conduct of the state government.

1) Powers section: religion represented by the Brahmin caste was only the basis for gathering the people and a source for the rule of law. The king did not make the law. He is reverent and complying with the provisions of the law. The King is under the rule of law. He represented the executive branch. Therefore, in the administration of Khmer society, the leaders or politicians of the Jayavarman II dynasty divided power into two parts: the legislature and the executive.¹⁴

How classified power can be sworn in by the King of Cambodia to abide by it forever in the future. This is the foundation and foundation of the Khmer Kingdom.

¹⁴ មីសែល ត្រាណេ,ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ចក្រភពកម្ពុជទេស ចាប់ពីសតវត្សរ៍ទី៩ ដល់សតវត្សរ៍ទី១៣ នៃគ្រិស្តសករាជ,(ចេញផ្សាយដោយអ្នកនិពន្ធ), ភ្នំពេញ, បោះពុម្ពនៅឆ្នាំ២០០៦។

2) Organizing the national institutions: it refers power bring about the institutional organization. This institution deals with the functioning of the Brahmins, priests and kings. In short, the Brahmins are the guardians of the laws, rules and regulations.

3) National construction: in the theory of Devaraja in the inscription Stok Kak Thom, and Separation of powers organize institutions, puts new political policies in line interaction must be done for the nation building. Those constructions are not carried out without careful consideration. This construction is based on the clearing of new land to become a district farm. New village for cultivating social wealth. So the power of the kingdom rested on agriculture. National construction is based on agricultural construction.

In Khmer history, knowing about the existence of one outstanding Boddhisattva King: Jayavarman VII (1181-1218). Jayavarman VII, regarded himself as the reincarnation of the Boddhisattva Avalokiteshvara who is the Buddhist saint of boundless compassion. This is why Jayavarman VII in order to help his people, gave orders to build a great number of irrigation systems, roads and hospitals which were much more numerous and much better than the respective public works of his successors. Indeed, it seems that the irrigation system built during the reign of Jayavarman VII was far better than the existing irrigation system in present-day Cambodia.¹⁵

2.4.2 The King as Leader of the State

In the past, the king acted as both ruler and master to control any state or any country, in the Khmer language and observed five words related to the ruler, including the king, head, chief, controller, and leader. These words have the same meaning as ruler, which refers to the people under his control.

"Satisfied and satisfied" This is a shout of victory from the people to their leaders who have benefited the followers until the followers or people recognize that the work is accomplished.

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

In Pali, the word "Raja" has two meanings, meaning "satisfied", meaning to be satisfied with something, and to be a person appointed the head "to lead the people". Therefore, the king or, as we often call this Raja or king is any person who manages to lead the people in accordance with the Dharma until his people have a referendum that this leadership is satisfied and right according to the wishes of the people.

We should recognize that governing a country or a society until the people in that country or society shout or answer that they are satisfied is all that is impossible. In an impractical manner, therefore, taking the majority vote is one of the most commonly used measures of satisfaction. In Buddhism, there are three meanings for this scale:

- Autocracy is the measure of one's perception,
- Democracy is a measure of you or the people,
- Rule of Law is taking Dharma, taking law, taking accuracy as a measure,¹⁶

Taking an individual as a measure cannot be accurate and guarantee the security of the nation, but the people must approve of taking the voice of the people and the voice of the law as a measure. As for the concept of Western thought related to the King, it is found that the Philosopher king, the idea to the best form of government is that in which philosophers rule. The ideal of a philosopher king was born in Plato's dialogue

Republic as part of the vision of a just city. It was influential in the Roman Empire and was revived in European political thought in the age of absolutist monarchs. It has also been more loosely influential in modern political movements claiming infallible ruling elite.¹⁷

¹⁶ ហេង មណីចិន្តា ឥន្ទបញ្ញោភិក្ខុ, **ព្រះបាទធម្មិក (Preah Bat Dhammic)**, (បោះពុម្ពផ្សាយដោយរោងពុម្ពផ្តាយភ្នំពេញ, ឆ្នាំ ២០១៧) ទំព័រ ១៧៩។

¹⁷ Britannica, **Philosopher King**, [Online], Source: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosopher-king>, [December 23, 2023].

In Plato's *Republic* the leading character, Socrates, proposes the design of an ideal city as a model for how to order the individual soul. Such a just city will require specialized military "guards," divided subsequently into two groups—rulers who will be "guards" in the sense of guardians, dedicated to what is good for the city rather than for themselves, and soldiers who will be their "auxiliaries." Already at this stage of the *Republic* it is stressed that the guardians must be virtuous and selfless, living simply and communally as do soldiers in their camps, and Socrates proposes that even wives and children should be in common.

At the outset of Book V, Socrates is challenged by his interlocutors to explain this last proposal. In response, Socrates expounds on three controversial claims, which he acknowledges will expose him to ridicule. The first is that the guardians should include qualified women as well as men; thus, the group that will become known as "philosopher kings" will also include "philosopher queens." The second claim is that these ruling men and women should mate and reproduce on the city's orders, raising their children communally to consider all guardians as parents rather than attach themselves to a private family household. Those children, together with those of the artisan class, will be tested, and only the most virtuous and capable will become rulers. Thus, the group to become known as "philosopher kings" will be reproduced by merit rather than simply by birth. Finally, Socrates declares that these rulers must be philosophers:

Socrates predicts that this claim will elicit even more ridicule and contempt from his Athenian contemporaries than will equality for women rulers or commonality of sex and children. Many Athenians saw philosophers as perpetual adolescents, skulking in corners and muttering about the meaning of life, rather than taking an adult part in the battle for power and success in the city. In this view, philosophers are the last people who should or would want to rule. The *Republic* turns this claim upside down, arguing that it is precisely the fact that philosophers are the last people who would want to rule that qualifies them to do so. Only those who do not wish for political power can be trusted with it.

Thus, the key to the notion of the "philosopher king" is that the philosopher is the only person who can be trusted to rule well. And Philosophers are both morally

and intellectually suited to rule: morally because it is in their nature to love truth and learn so much that they are free from the greed and lust that tempts others to abuse power and intellectually because they alone can gain full knowledge of reality, which in Books V through VII of the *Republic* is argued to culminate in knowledge of the forms of Virtue, Beauty, and, above all, the Good.¹⁸

The city can foster such knowledge by putting aspiring philosophers through a demanding education, and the philosophers will use their knowledge of goodness and virtue to help other citizens achieve as these so far as possible.

Thus, the emphasis in the Platonic notion of the philosopher king lies more on the first word than the second. While relying on conventional Greek contrasts between king and tyrant and between the king as individual ruler and the multitudinous rule of aristocracy and democracy, Plato makes little use of the notion of kingship per se. That he had used the word, however, was key to the later career of the notion in imperial Rome and monarchical Europe.

To the Stoic Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180), what mattered was that even kings should be philosophers, rather than that only philosophers should rule. To François Fénelon, the Roman Catholic archbishop charged with the moral education of Louis, Duc de Bourgogne, the grandson of Louis XIV, the crucial issue was that kings should possess self-restraint and selfless devotion to duty, rather than that they should possess knowledge. The enlightened despots of the 18th century, such as Frederick II the Great of Prussia and Catherine II the Great of Russia, would pride themselves on being philosopher kings and queens. However, philosophy by then had left behind Plato's focus on absolute knowledge, signifying instead the free pursuit of knowledge and the implementation of reason.

Meanwhile, in the Islamic world, the medieval philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī had championed the notion of a religiously devout philosopher king. More than

¹⁸ Idph, **The Republic by Plato**, [Online], Source: <http://www.idph.net> [June 6, 2023].

1,000 years later, the notion of such a figure acting as the interpreter of law inspired Ayatollah Khomeini and the revolutionary state that he shaped in Iran. Finally, and more broadly, the notion of the philosopher ruler has come to signify a general claim to domination by an unaccountable, if putatively beneficent, elite, as in certain forms of Marxism and other revolutionary political movements.

2.4.3 The Power of Leader

Leadership power is the influence that leaders have over their followers. It persuades others to support their efforts and do as they ask. Influence is essential to leadership because leaders cannot exist without it. It is also a key component of power and authority.

Power is a privilege that a leader can use and can accomplish any objective on his or her rules toward something. This power can be briefly divided into two parts that are important in the conduct of leadership.

First, solid power refers to the administrative power that comes from being delegated through elections or by appointment from a higher level to be put into practice in any administration, and this power is sometimes hard. If leaders are overused their power, it will become a dictatorship if they do not know how to use power for the benefit of their subordinates.

Second, soft power is a kind of power that comes from good deeds, and moral virtues, which is sometimes called moral power. Higher learning, on the other hand, can also be considered soft power, sometimes referred to as the power of knowledge, the power of which comes from one's efforts, such as from learning and observation. The actual society in which it is living and so on.

What about the West, what kind of power do they like to use, soft power or hard power? Where does this source of power come from? And what does it look like?

When most people think about power, they immediately think about the control that high-level leaders exert from their positions atop the organizational hierarchy. But power extends far beyond the formal authority that comes from a title

(or from having a corner office with a view). Leaders at all levels have access to power, but that power often goes unrecognized or underutilized. Previous research has identified seven bases of power that leaders may leverage.¹⁹

The power of position is the formal authority that derives from a person's title or position in a group or an organization.

1. The power of charisma is the influence that is generated by a leader's style or persona.

2. The power of relationships is the influence that leaders gain through their formal and informal networks both inside and outside of their organizations.

3. The power of information is the control that is generated through the use of evidence deployed to make an argument.

4. The power of expertise is the influence that comes from developing and communicating specialized knowledge (or the perception of knowledge).

5. The power of punishment is the ability to sanction individuals for failure to conform to standards or expectations.

6. The power to reward others is the ability to recognize or reward individuals for adhering to standards or expectations.

2.4.4 The Way of State Ruling in Khmer Society

The politics of Cambodia are defined within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, in which the king serves as the head of state, and the prime minister is the head of government. The collapse of communism set in motion events that led to the withdrawal of the Vietnamese armed forces, which had established their presence in the country since the fall of the Khmer Rouge. The 1993 constitution, which is currently in force, was promulgated as a result of the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements, followed by elections organized under the aegis of the United Nations

¹⁹ Staff, Leading Effectively, **The Role of Power in Leadership: (Center for Creative Leadership, 2019)**, [Online], Source: <https://www.ccl.org/articles/leading-effectively-articles/the-role-of-power-in-effective-leadership> [June 6, 2023].

Transitional Authority in Cambodia. The constitution declares Cambodia to be an "independent, sovereign, peaceful, permanently neutral and non-aligned country."²⁰

On the other hand, the constitution also proclaims a liberal, multiparty democracy in which powers are devolved to the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature. However, there is no effective opposition to Prime Minister Hun Sen, who has been in power since 1985. His Cambodian People's Party won all 125 seats in the National Assembly in 2018 after the banning of opposition parties (CNRP) and (KNLF). KNLF became the main opposition exiled in Denmark after CNRP was dissolved. Event of the communal election which will be in 2022 and national 2023, there are no international observers such as the EU or UN. The government is considered autocratic.

Executive power is exercised by the Royal Government, on behalf of and with the consent of the monarch. The government is constituted of the Council of Ministers, headed by the prime minister. The prime minister is aided in his functions by members of the Council such as deputy prime ministers, senior ministers, and other ministers. Legislative power is vested in a bicameral legislature composed of the National Assembly, which has the power to vote on draft laws, and the Senate, which has the power of review.

Upon passage of legislation through the two chambers, the draft law is presented to the monarch for signing and promulgation. The judiciary is tasked with the protection of the rights and liberties of the citizens, and with being an impartial arbiter of disputes. The Supreme Court is the highest in the country and takes appeals from lower courts on questions of law. A separate body called the Constitutional

²⁰ Findley, Trevor, **Cambodia the Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC**: (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Council was established to provide interpretations of the constitution and the laws and to resolve disputes related to the election of members of the legislature.²¹

The Cambodian People's Party has dominated the political landscape since the 1997 coup d'état in Phnom Penh. Other prominent political parties include the royalist FUNCINPEC and the erstwhile Cambodia National Rescue Party which was dissolved by the Supreme Court in 2017. Comparative political scientists Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way have described Cambodia as a "competitive authoritarian regime", a hybrid regime type with important characteristics of both democracy and authoritarianism.

2.5 Conclusion

To sum up, the way of governing the state from ancient times to the present varies from time to time, while the wording of the system of administration also varies. Obviously, the way of calling a leader has also changed, as, in the past, the leader was called the king of warlords. Nowadays, they do not use this word; they only use the words leader, president, prime minister, etc., in accordance with the political context and the way of governance in different countries.

Looking back to the Khmer ancient time, the Khmer society always used the term “deva-raja” or “God-King”, and this term was derived from the Hindu concept of "god-king" or "king of the gods", has various meanings in Sanskrit. In Hinduism, the king of gods is Indra, reflecting the celestial kingdom of gods. Southeast Asian kingdoms, such as Suvarnabhumi, have adopted Indian Sanskrit terms and Hindu-Buddhist concepts through Indianisation and Sanskrit language adoption. The concept of Devaraja evolved from the earlier Indian concept of

²¹ Bureau of Democracy, **Human Rights and Labor**, (United States, Department of State, 2011).

"Chakravarti," which refers to an ideal universal ruler. In Hinduism, the term denotes a powerful ruler, while in Buddhism, it refers to the counterpart of a Buddha.²²

Moreover, the Devaraja was the central concept of leadership style in the Khmer society in ancient time, showing that person who control the country was God-King, and based on observation, it can be seen that the Devaraja doctrine, which left the leader at the top, is now almost completely changed by the Devaraja doctrine due to the current regime changes that most countries in the world turned to democracy and still a small number still adhere to the dictatorial system of government.

²² Wikipedia, **Deva-raja**, [Online], Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Devaraja> [July 2, 2023].

Chapter III

The Practice of Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk

3.1 Introduction

This chapter talking about the practice of political philosophy of the King Norodom Sihanouk, and also his biography in the name as statesman of Cambodia. King Norodom Sihanouk was regarded him as a sole ruler of Cambodia after independence, fought to maintain control and neutrality for the nation, even during times of hegemonic powers' suppression of dissent. Despite facing threats from the Vietnam War, he sought a neutral role for Cambodia. His political decisions and unprecedented power provide valuable insights into Cambodia's history, highlighting a devastating period from 1954 to 1970.¹

King Norodom Sihanouk, the King of Cambodia, played a crucial role in forging an agreement between various Cambodian factions to establish a UN position in Cambodia and oversee elections in 1993. King Norodom Sihanouk was the most enduring and important figure in Cambodia for over half a century. His greatest weakness was his inability to recognize that not everyone in Cambodia had wisdom.

¹ Weena Yong, “Prince Sihanouk: The Model of Absolute Monarchy in Cambodia 1953-1970”, **A Thesis Submitted to the International Studies Program of Trinity College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Bachelor of Arts Degree**, (Trinity College, 2013), pp. 3-16.

He personalized politics while in power, deserved praise for his achievements but also deserved criticism for his many failures as Cambodia's leader.²

3.2 A brief biography of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk

History related to the King's name, the name of King Norodom Sihanouk is related to the Pali Sanskrit word, which means Siha, referring to the great power over all the people. According to author Sok Sophat, who wrote in his book entitled *The Great Sacrifice and the Last Memories of the King* (Sophat Sok 2014, p. 7), his remarks were as follows: Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk is the King of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the order of the 83rd. King. This ranking refers to the King who was elected according to the ancient tradition.

It is seen that he received the approval of the Royal Council of Thrones and from France, which at the time was still French colonizing Cambodia. Related to this, some Cambodian scholars see different angles of the ascension of King Norodom Sihanouk, that is, one corner sees that because he was young in politics, the French ruled the country. Understand that it can easily control and order the royal wisdom of King Norodom Sihanouk.

Separately, the second corner is seen among the candidates for the throne, no candidate is worthy, and only King Norodom Sihanouk is suitable in such circumstances.

At this point, it can be seen that France has a misunderstanding that supports Prince Norodom Sihanouk to succeed to the throne because after Norodom Sihanouk, he prayed that he would demand independence from France returned to his reign, and for this reason, it is seen that King Norodom Sihanouk, after ascending the throne, went abroad for partial relations and to seek political support in the goal is to demand full independence.

² Lowyinstitute, **The Complex Legacy Norodom Sihanouk**, [Online], Source: <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/archive/complex-legacy-norodom-sihanouk> [December 27, 2023].

3.2.1 Name's Meaning and Early Life

In Khmer Dictionary and Wikipedia, Sihanouk's name is derived from two Sanskrit words "Siha"³ (सिंह) and "Hanu" (हनु), which translates as "Lion" and "Jaws",⁴ respectively, in English. He was fluent in Khmer, French, and English, and also learned Greek and Latin in high school. In his high school days, Sihanouk played football, basketball, and volleyball, and also took up horse riding.

Norodom Sihanouk was the only child born of the union between Norodom Suramarit and Sisowath Kossamak. His parents, who heeded the Royal Court Astrologer's advice that he risked dying at a young age if he was raised under parental care, placed him under the care of Kossamak's grandmother, is called "Pat". When Pat died, Kossamak brought Sihanouk to live with his paternal grandfather, Norodom Sutharot, and after that Sutharot delegated parenting responsibilities to his daughter, Norodom Ket Kanyamom.

In addition, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, His Majesty the King Father, Independence Father, Territorial Integrity and National Unity of Cambodia "His Majesty the King" was born on Tuesday, the 11th day of the lunar VISAK month, 2456, and equal to October 31, 1922, in Phnom Penh, Kingdom of Cambodia.

3.2.2 Educational Background

According to Wikipedia, Sihanouk received his primary education at the François Baudoin School and Nuon Moniram School in Phnom Penh. During this time, he received financial support from his maternal grandfather, Sisowath Monivong, to head an amateur performance troupe and soccer team. In 1936,

³ សម្តេចព្រះមហាសង្ឃរាជ ជួន ណាត, វចនានុក្រមខ្មែរ (Dictionnaire Cambodgien), សព្វ "សីហៈ" (ភ្នំពេញ, ការផ្សាយរបស់ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ ព.ស.២៥១១-គ.ស.១៩៦៧), ត្រង់ទំព័រ ១៣៦២-១៣៦៣។

⁴ Wikipedia, **Norodom Sihanouk**, [Online], Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norodom_Sihanouk, [March 25, 2023].

Sihanouk was sent to Saigon, where he pursued his secondary education at Lycée Chasseloup Laubat, a boarding school.

As for official AKP, from 1930 to 1940, he attended FRA-NCOIS BAUDOUIN Primary School and Preah Sisowath High School in Phnom Penh. He then nominated and conferred the title of King of the Kingdom of Cambodia in Phnom Penh.

3.2.3 Coronation, and Royal Duties in State

- He ascended the throne on October 28, 1941.
- In 1947, he made his first visit to France at the invitation of President FELIX GOUIN and met General CHARLES de GAULLE in COLOMBEY.
- In 1946 and 1948 he continued his advanced studies at the Cavalry and Armored Training School in SAUMBUR, France.
- In 1947, King Norodom Sihanouk succeeded in demanding the absolute return of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the Kingdom of Cambodia, which during the Second World War, Thailand had taken from Cambodia, Battambang, Siem Reap, Kampong Thom, and Stung Treng Provinces.
- In 1949, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk demanded that France terminate the Guardianship Treaties signed in 1863 and 1884. In the same year, 1949, he signed the Treaty of Independence, in which France legally recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The 1949 treaty repealed the 1863 and 1884 Guardianship Treaties. From 1952 to 1953, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk went on a royal crusade to demand 100% independence for the motherland.
- On November 9, 1953, by his noble deeds, the Kingdom of Cambodia gained full independence from the French Republic. Cambodians all over the country pay homage to him as "the great national hero - the father of national independence."
- In 1954, he sent his royal delegation to the International Conference on Indochina in Geneva (GENEVE), in which Cambodia participated as an independent, unified nation.
- On March 3, 1955, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk presented the throne to His Majesty King Norodom Suramarit as his father. His Majesty King

Norodom Suramarit, the King Father, conferred on His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk the title of "Samdech Preah Upayuv Reach of the Kingdom of Cambodia".

- On March 23, 1955, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk established the Sangkum Reastr Niyum movement, in which many parties participated.

- From 18 to 24 April 1955, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk attended the first Africa-Asia Summit in Bandung (Indonesia) and there he announced the policy of neutrality in the complete independence and positive peace of the Kingdom of Cambodia with all countries, regardless of ideology.

- He met for the first time with Indian Prime Minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, President of the United Arab Emirates AHMED SUKARNO, President of Indonesia ZHOU EN LAI) Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China.⁵

On September 11, 1955, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk won the National Assembly election with overwhelming support from the Cambodian people. He was given the title of Prime Minister and the title of Head of the Cambodian people. Together with the men at work.

On September 14, 1955, under the leadership of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia became a member of the United Nations.

In 1956, in Brioni (BRIONI) of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk became the fifth founding father of the Non-Aligned Movement, signing the Charter of the Non-Aligned Movement. From four other key initiatives: JOSIP BROZ TITO, President of Yugoslavia, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, AHMED SUKARNO, President of Indonesia, GALM ABDEL NASSER) President of the United Arab Emirates.

⁵ ព្រះរាជកិច្ចសន្យាសង្ខេប ព្រះករុណាព្រះបាទសម្តេចព្រះនរោត្តម សីហនុ, ព្រះបរមរតនកោដ្ឋ» ចុះផ្សាយដោយទីភ្នាក់ងារសារព័ត៌មានកម្ពុជា (AKP) កាលពីថ្ងៃទី ១៥ ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ២០២១ ហើយចុះផ្សាយបន្តដោយគេហទំព័រអង្គភាពប្រតិកម្មរហ័សនៃទីស្តីការគណៈរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, [Online], Source: <https://pressocm.gov.kh/archives/68143> [March 25, 2023].

In February 1956, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, as Prime Minister, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China and met with several Chinese leaders, including President Mao Zedong (MAO) or called TSETUNG and so on. He signed the Joint Declaration on Cambodia-China Friendship.

In 1960, His Majesty King Norodom Suramarit died, and His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk was unanimously elected by the Cambodian Parliament to be the Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia. In his royal position, he continued to lead the Cambodian people in the royal work to build the motherland very actively. In September 1960, at the United Nations General Assembly, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk outlined plans to establish Southeast Asia as a neutral region between the two bloc powers.

In September 1961, at the initiative of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, a national conference was held in Geneva (GENEVE) to resolve the dispute between the three parties in Laos.

In November 1961, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk completed his political and diplomatic mission to reclaim the Temple of Preah Vihear as a Khmer National Heritage Site from Thailand by a court in The Hague (LA HAYE). Kingdom of Cambodia on June 15, 1962.

In November 1961, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk attended the first summit of the 29-nation Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade (BELG-RADE) of Yugoslavia. There he condemned the actions of colonialism, imperialism, and racism. In June 1964, General CHARLES de GAULLE, President of the French Republic, hosted a solemn reception for His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk in Paris.

The President sincerely accepted the request of the Cambodian side on the recognition of the neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia. In late August and early September 1966, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk hosted a solemn reception for General CHARLES de GAULLE, President of the French Republic, on a state visit to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

3.2.4 Royal Family

In Wikipedia and his majesty official historical background showing that on 4 March 1955, Sihanouk married Norodom Thavet Norleak, as his official wife, who was a cousin from his mother's side. One day later, he married Paule Monique Izzi, as his secondary consort, who was the daughter of Pomme Peang, a Cambodian, and Jean-François Izzi, a French banker of Italian ancestry. Monique became Sihanouk's lifelong partner; in the 1990s she changed her name to Monineath. Before his these marriages, Sihanouk married unofficially to four other women: Phat Kanhol, Sisowath Pongsanmoni, Sisowath Monikessan, and Mam Manivan Phanivong. Monikessan died in childbirth in 1946. His marriages to the other four women, including his official wife Thavet Norleak, all ended in divorce. Sihanouk had fourteen children with five different wives. Thavet Norleak bore him no children. During the Khmer Rouge years, five children and fourteen grandchildren disappeared. Sihanouk believed they were killed by the Khmer Rouge.⁶

3.2.5 Royal Crusade

On September 1, 1966, in a speech at the National Olympic Stadium in Phnom Penh, the President supported the Kingdom of Cambodia, which defended its independence, territorial integrity, neutrality, and peace. From November 26 to December 6, 1966, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk during the Sangkum Reastr Khmer era named him "Father of National Independence, Father of National Education, Father of National Health, Father of Sports". Fatherland Nation Building Many achievements have been built and celebrated in succession for the people to use in the provinces and cities, especially the great achievements such as:

- Independence Monument
- Chamkarmon State Palace
- Pochentong International Airport
- Siem Reap Airport

⁶ Wikipedia, **Norodom Sihanouk**, [Online], Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norodom_Sihanouk, [March 25, 2023].

- Bek Chan Airport, Battambang Province
- National Road 4, Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville
- Sihanoukville International Port
- Independent Hotel Sihanoukville
- Sihanoukville International Port
- Independent Hotel Sihanoukville
- Suramarit National Theater, Phnom Penh
- Chaktomuk Conference Hall
- National Olympic Stadium, Phnom Penh
- Monivong II Bridge
- Sangkum Reastr Niyum Bridge across the Tonle Sap
- Sangkum Reastr Niyum University, Phnom Penh
- Royal University of Technology
- Royal University of Administration
- Faculty of Law and Economics
- Faculty of Pedagogy
- Preah Sihanoukraj Buddhist University
- Faculty of Sathapana Arts
- Faculty of Arts and Occupation
- Buddhist Royal School of Fine Arts
- Royal University of Agriculture
- Royal University of Kampong Cham
- Royal University of Battambang
- Royal University of Takeo, Kampot
- State cinemas
- Royal Cambodian Television
- Khmer-Soviet Friendship Hospital
- Sihanoukville Oil Refinery

- Sihanoukville Brewery
- Norodom Tractor and Truck Assembly Factory in Sihanoukville
- Kampong Tram Sugar Factory, Kampong Speu Province
- Battambang Textile Factory
- Krachao Daun Teav Bag Factory, Battambang Province
- Chakrei Ting Cement Factory, Kampot Province
- Keo Choeung Ek Factory, Phnom Penh
- Kandal Clay Board Factory
- Chhlong Paper Factory, Kratie Province
- G-Fus Swat Touk Meas Factory, Kampot Province
- Takhmao Tire Factory, Kandal Province
- Koh Kong Canned Fish Factory
- Chub Rubber Factory in Kampong Cham Province
- Kirirom Hydropower Plant, Kampong Speu Province, and many other achievements in districts, provinces, and cities, such as schools, hospitals, dams, ponds, canals, roads, bridges, etc.⁷

3.2.6 In the Darkness

On March 18, 1970, during his official visit to the Soviet Union, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk was the victim of an illegal coup in Phnom Penh, a military coup in that Lon Nol was the mastermind. The Republic of Lon Nol was established in October 1970. On March 23, 1970, His Majesty King Norodom

⁷ ព្រះរាជជីវប្រវត្តិសង្ខេប ព្រះករុណាព្រះបាទសម្តេចព្រះនរោត្តម សីហនុ «ព្រះបរមរតនកោដ្ឋ» ចុះផ្សាយដោយទីភ្នាក់ងារសារព័ត៌មានកម្ពុជា (AKP) កាលពីថ្ងៃទី ១៥ ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ ២០២១ ហើយចុះផ្សាយបន្តដោយគេហទំព័រអង្គភាពប្រតិកម្មរហ័សនៃទីស្តីការគណៈរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា, [Online], Source: <https://pressocm.gov.kh/archives/68143> [March 25, 2023].

Sihanouk was the President of the Cambodian Resistance Movement "FUNC" and the formation of the Royal Government of Kampuchea (KRUNK).⁸

In April 1970 in Canton, People's Republic of China, he was the initiator of the Indochina People's Summit, which was attended by Cambodian leaders from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. PHAM VAN DONG) from the South Vietnam National Liberation Front led by NGUYEN HUU THO and NEO LAO HAKSAT led by Prince SOUPHANOUVONG. The Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam-South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the NEO LAO HAKSAT Party solemnly declared that their country has always recognized and respected the territorial integrity within Cambodia's current borders.⁹

On April 17, 1975, the People's Liberation Army of the United National Front (FU-NC) completely conquered Cambodia. Democratic Kampuchea was established with His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk as its President. However, in April 1976, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk decided to resign as President of Democratic Kampuchea and was detained by the Khmer Rouge and assassinated and assassinated, including some sons and daughters.

In 1982, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk was elected President of Democratic Kampuchea for the second time.

3.2.7 Sihanouk and Politics in internal reconciliation

From 1982 to 1990, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk worked hard to unite all parties to the Cambodian conflict and find an appropriate political solution to end the conflict in Cambodia. He always offered to His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen and the delegation of the State of Cambodia to pay homage to him in France as follows:

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹ Loc. cit.

From December 2 to 4, 1987, the first meeting in Fre-en-Tardeniois.

January 20-21, 1988 Second meeting in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

On June 24, 1991, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk received from the leaders of the four Cambodian parties solemnly declare the Supreme National Council and recognize the temporary cessation of hostilities.

The whole of Cambodia and stop providing military assistance, and weapons from other countries to the four Cambodian troops. Phnom Penh was elected by the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC) under the high presidency of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk as the Permanent Official and Secretariat of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC).

On July 17, 1991, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk left the presidency of Democratic Kampuchea and the Cambodian National Resistance Movement (CNR) to put his body on Cambodian parties and political views. He was unanimously elected by all 11 members of the Supreme Council of Cambodia (SNC) as its neutral chairman.

On October 23, 1991, in Paris, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk signed an agreement on a common political solution to the Cambodian conflict with 11 other members of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia. One represents the governments of 18 countries and with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

3.2.8 Returning back to the Homeland

On November 14, 1991, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk returned to Phnom Penh successfully and safely.

After his return, the Government of Cambodia, with His Excellency Hun Sen as Prime Minister and His Excellency Chea Sim as President of the Cambodian People's Party, FUNCINPEC, with Prince Norodom Ranariddh as President of the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party. Samdech Bovor Setha Son San is the President of the Party and the Democratic Kampuchea Party, of which Khieu Samphan is the President, officially and in writing announces that His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk remains the Legal Head of State of the whole of Cambodia. His Majesty

King Norodom Sihanouk officially retained his position as head of state until the 1993 Cambodian elections.

On September 24, 1993, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk signed the Royal Kram, promulgating the new Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, which was approved by the Constitutional Council of Cambodia.

On September 24, 1993, a mass rally was held with a large crowd to express their congratulations and support for the new Constitution and his status as King of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk accomplished the highest royal task of national unification from the beginning. He issued a picture of a coalition government with a co-prime minister in 1993, and in particular, he did his duty to get the leaders of the Cambodian People's Party, FUNCINPEC, to sign a joint declaration on the principles of cooperation achieved. In the summit under the presidency of the King of the Kingdom of Cambodia at the Royal Palace of Khemrin, Royal Palace, November 12-13, 1998.

The people of Cambodia throughout the Kingdom of Cambodia would like to express their deepest gratitude for this noble work of the Royal Government.

His Majesty the King lives on the sacred stone, a great king who always adheres to the noble deeds of Brahma Vihara Dharma to the people, and his descendants throughout his Kingdom, and from the beginning to the present, he has always carried out royal social activities such as building temples, huts, schools, hospitals, houses, roads, dams, canals, wells, and ponds for monks and the people. He gave royal gifts and continued to give royal gifts every week to the poor and needy people.

The above noble activities show the truth of the royal splendor of His Majesty the King of Life on the Stone, a sacred place that he has been giving to the people of Cambodia, regardless of race, creed, or religion.

Because of this fact, the people of Cambodia throughout the country unwaveringly supported him to return to the throne in 1993 and never seen in his history.¹⁰

3.3 The Policy of King Norodom Sihanouk's Leadership

The late King Father Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia had a lasting impact on the country's politics, having served as king, prime minister, head of government in exile, guerrilla leader, king again, and King Father after abdicating for the second time.¹¹ King Norodom Sihanouk's great achievements include gaining independence from France in 1953 and instituting a building program in the 1960s that converted Phnom Penh into a modern city.

His reign is remembered as an era of peace and prosperity before war and revolution, reinforced by the horrors of the decade of civil war and Khmer Rouge tyranny. Most Cambodians are aware of their Angkorean heritage, and Sihanouk connected them to a glorious past that anchors Cambodian identity in the present.

3.3.1 Toward Be a King

Prince Norodom Sihanouk has been a monarch twice in the modern time of the history of Cambodia and has been an accomplished politician for more than 60 years.

He died on October 15, 2012, at the age of 89. He is considered to be the king who changed the destiny of Cambodia for good and bad many times due to political conflicts in the country and world political pressure.

At the age of 18, King Norodom Sihanouk was elected King of Cambodia by the Council of Thrones under the leadership of a representative of the French

¹⁰ Khmerpostasia. **AKP Phnom Penh**, [Online], Source: <https://khmerpostasia.com/archives/20807> [October 12, 2018].

¹¹ Newmandala, **Sihanouk's legacy**, [Online], Source: <https://www.newmandala.org/sihanouks-legacy> [September 13, 2023].

government on April 25, 1941, three days after King Sisowath Monivong, his grandfather died.

Meanwhile, King Norodom Sihanouk was studying at Chasseloup Laubat High School in Prey Nokor after graduating from Sisowath High School and François Baudoin Primary School in Phnom Penh.

As a young king under foreign rule, he was expected to be just a French puppet used as a stepping stone to rule Cambodia, but all those ideas turned out to be wrong because about 10 years after his accession to the throne, he demanded full independence for Cambodia from France in 1953, after France had colonized Cambodia since 1863.

Later, in 1955, he abdicated to his father, King Norodom Suramarit, and he formed a political party called the Community of the Common People (Sangkum Reastr Niyum), which later served as prime minister. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the United Nations.

His abdication, along with the formation of the new government, made Cambodia one of the leading developed countries in Southeast Asia, and Phnom Penh was also called the regional Pearl City. Major centers of industry, health and education. At the same time, his wise leadership made the Cambodian society at that time famous on the international stage and was known as the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era or the old society that we always heard about in later times.

But behind the success and overwhelming victory of his Sangkum Reastr Niyum party, there were many negative actions that Prince Norodom Sihanouk did to seize power to rule the country. According to David D. Chandler author of a book on Khmer history, in the 1950s and 1960s, some opposition and Sangkum leaders were hunted down. This is a picture that shows that Cambodia is turning to one-party leftism, even though Prince Norodom Sihanouk has declared that he stands in a neutral stance.

In addition, various foreign policy pressures, especially the war between Vietnam and the United States, led Sihanouk to forge strong alliances with other

communist countries such as China, North Korea, and Cuba, and also officially severed ties with the United States in 1965.

Dr. Michel Trané, a researcher on the history of Cambodian civilization and culture, agrees that King Norodom Sihanouk's actions were flawed in leading the country, but he believed that this decision was a wise choice. . His actions caused much dissatisfaction in his government, but this dissatisfaction greatly influenced his popularity and leadership until a coup overthrew him by General Lon Nol on March 18, 1970, while he was on his way at abroad.

After the coup, he fled to Beijing, China, and served as the leader of the US-backed national liberation movement against the Lon Nol regime. He also served as president of the Khmer Rouge regime for some time but was later detained by the Khmer Rouge at the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.

After the Vietnamese army overthrew the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, he fled abroad and formed another national liberation movement against the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh regime. The resistance movement that he created was called the National Unity Front for Independence, Neutrality, Peace, and Cooperation of Cambodia (FUNCINPEC).

Moreover, he was also a key figure in resolving political disputes between the powerful parties after the fall of Democratic Kampuchea to maintain peace in the country and was given the title of Father of National Unity.

On September 24, 1993, King Norodom Sihanouk was re-elected by the National Assembly of Cambodia after the first democratic election in Cambodia, re-elected King of Cambodia until October 7, 2004, when his son, Norodom Sihamoni, succeeded him.

The politician, who has extensive experience in politics, also enjoys spending his free time with various art forms such as singing and directing movies. His works, from the demands for national independence to the songs he wrote, will remain in the hearts of his own people forever, even though his body has departed from this world.

His 4.5-meter-tall metal statue was erected in a garden near the Independence Monument to pay homage to the people and express their sympathy for him.¹²

In terms of the ingenuity of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Council of the Throne at that time, during the French colonial period, chose the Prince to ascend the throne of glory as the King of the Kingdom of Cambodia in 1941, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was US president and held on to some form of power for the next 60-plus years. He served as monarch, prime minister, the figurehead of the Communist revolution, leader in exile, and once again as monarch until he abdicated in 2004. He handed the crown to one of his sons, Norodom Sihamoni, after which he was known as the retired king, or the king-father. (Mydans, 2012)

Cambodia's former King Norodom Sihanouk was a political chameleon deft at moving with the tides that battered the war-ravaged nation for decades while remaining hugely popular with his people. Twice exiled and twice returned to the throne, Sihanouk abruptly abdicated in 2004 as old age and poor health took their toll on the colorful monarch. It was far from the first time he had caught observers off guard. Sihanouk repeatedly backed different regimes, including the murderous Khmer Rouge, during a life almost as tempestuous as his country's modern history. "Sihanouk is Cambodia," his official biographer, Julio Jeldres, once said, and then AFP posted on October 16, 2012.

In addition, Martin Woollacott of the Guardian wrote on October 15, 2012, "No monarch in modern times has embodied the life and fate of his country as completely as Norodom Sihanouk, who has died aged 89. He was king, and then prince, then king again of Cambodia, amending his royal role according to the needs of the hour and his own volatile will. He was also a film-maker, journalist, editor, and

¹² Eourn Thida, **History of the accession to the throne and the political life of the King**, [Online], Source: <https://www.rfa.org/khmer/news/politics/profile-of-the-late-king-07112014002941.html>. [June 6, 2023].

impresario as well as a leading, and often dominant, veteran politician for more than 60 years.

King Norodom Sihanouk, the charismatic Cambodian leader whose remarkable skills of political adaptation personified for the world the tiny, troubled kingdom where he was a towering figure for six decades.

In fact, he skillfully manipulated the great powers, usually with the support of China, to ensure his survival as well as his country's independence. His worst nightmare, he said in an interview, was to be pushed out of his country's political life into quiet retirements, like Vietnam's last emperor, Bao Dai, who died in obscurity in Paris in 1997.

Taking advantage of the increasing French weakness from Communist victories in neighboring Vietnam, King Sihanouk persuaded the French to make Cambodia independent in November 1953 in advance of the 1954 Geneva peace conference that led to a divided Vietnam.

Nevertheless, for the most part, King Sihanouk sided with Samdech Decho, Hun Sen, and his political son. Toward the end of his life, the king reduced his once- hectic travel schedule and rarely ventured outside Asia. Beijing, where the Chinese government maintained a villa for him, was his most frequent destination.

Michael Leifer, the Southeast Asia expert and professor at the London School of Economics who died in 2001, wrote that "the powerful myth of Sihanouk contributed to the people of Cambodia and the international community" repeatedly turning to him "as the font of national unity."

It is true that King Norodom Sihanouk was very popular among the people and was very important on the international stage. In Cambodia, there is no elite who is as popular as him. Here he always takes care not to lack space. That is why his power is strong day by day.

However, one day, his power will diminish the expectations and education of the youth, the actions, the misbehavior of those around him, and the ineffective way of governing the country, and this popularity will wane, and it down in order.

Until 1962, there were only a few Cambodian intellectuals. These intellectuals are students who used to study in France. Then, with the growth and as the Cambodian people have access to more information in the world, young people can have a new knowledge base that allows them to understand and consider. About the real elements of Cambodia and being able to study comparable to different situations in the country and abroad. Anti-political views, though not yet strong, are beginning to sprout.

One Wednesday in March 1963, Preah Sisowath High School students staged a large demonstration on campus, citing various excuses related to the Khmer New Year celebrations as well as political issues.¹³

3.3.2 Leadership Concept of Seeking independence

For the sake of his national interests, King Norodom Sihanouk devoted his physical and mental strength to the struggle for independence from French colonial rule without a second. It was his crusade for the motherland that will make his people unforgettable, even though he passed away; his great achievements will remain in the hearts of the Cambodian people and will never be forgotten. It is also a historical work for this kingdom.

In a partly, to gain independence from France, the media played a crucial role in the struggle, as the King Norodom Sihanouk used it as a powerful weapon to shock superpowers and speed up the independence process. In 1945, Japan surrendered and France returned to Indochina, including Cambodia. King Norodom Sihanouk called for negotiations and signed a treaty in 1949, recognizing Cambodia's independence but still maintaining control over key sectors. In 1953, he traveled to France and sought support from powerful countries, including Canada and the United

¹³ បណ្ឌិតសភាចារ្យ រស់ ចន្ទ្រាបុត្រ, សាធារណរដ្ឋខ្មែរជាតិសាធារណ (La République khmère) ១៩៧០-១៩៧៥ សេចក្តីផ្តើមអវសាននៃរបបរាជានិយម: (បកប្រែនិង បោះពុម្ពដោយរោងពុម្ព CamEd Business School Publishing ភ្នំពេញ, ឆ្នាំ២០១៧) ទំព័រ ២៥-៣១។

States. A headline in the New York Times captured attention and turned the tide in Cambodia's crusade for independence. The French government notified King Sihanouk, Pen Nouth, and Sam Sary to reopen negotiations, and Cambodia gained independence on November 9, 1953. The significance of politicians and top leaders realizing how to use the media as a useful tool is highlighted, as they held press conferences and interviews with journalists without discrimination or adhering to journalistic tendencies.¹⁴

On the other hand, the image still has dramatic force today. On 9 November 1953, as the rain fell in torrents in Phnom Penh, King Norodom Sihanouk stood with the departing French High Commissioner, Jean Risterucci, and the Commander of French forces in Cambodia, General de Langlade, to watch a farewell march-past by French troops as national sovereignty returned to Cambodian hands.

The King Norodom Sihanouk lights a flame for unknown soldiers at the Independence Monument in 1968. The King treasured this moment, just as he treasured the description learned that de Langlade had given of him not long before. When some of de Langlade's officers had suggested that Sihanouk was a "madman", the general had replied, "Gentleman, the King is mad, but he is a madman of genius!"

On November 1953 was a time of hope and celebration, above all the transfer of sovereignty to Cambodia was the culmination of King Sihanouk's 'Royal Crusade', the campaign the monarch had begun ten months earlier when he suddenly left the Cambodian capital for France, supposedly for a holiday.

At the beginning of 1953, the French military high command in the countries of Indo-China still believed it was possible to win the war against the communist led by Viet Minh.

¹⁴ Cambodianess, **How King Sihanouk used media in crusade for independence**, [Online], Source: <https://cambodianess.com/article/how-king-sihanouk-used-media-in-crusade-for-independence> [December 20, 2023].

Since this was so, they took little account of Cambodia's internal politics.

If Sihanouk wished to rule without a parliament, as he had chosen to do from January 1953, the French government and its civil and military representatives in Cambodia did not see this as a matter of much concern. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that many French politicians and officials saw this development as favoring their interests.

Final negotiations began with the French in August and with the Cambodian side led by Sihanouk's staunch supporter, the ever-faithful Penn Nouth. Throughout this period, Sihanouk remained in Siem Reap to underline his refusal to deal directly with the French until independence was achieved.

The judgments to be made of the years that followed will vary from individual to individual. However, critical those judgments might be, there can surely be no denying King Sihanouk his place of honor in the achievement of independence in 1953.¹⁵

3.3.3 The King's Policy in Darkness

March 18, 1970, a tragic day for King Norodom Sihanouk to lose his position as Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, was a coup d'état, and history clearly states that the initiators, General Lon Nol and Prince Sisowath Sirimatak, The first is the Prime Minister and the second is the Deputy Prime Minister.¹⁶

During the life of Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, King of the Kingdom of Cambodia, he faced many problems in the work to be solved for both his

¹⁵ Library, **Sihanouk prince of light, prince of darkness Milton Osborne**, [Online], Source: https://library.khmerstudies.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=4523&shelfbrowse_itemnumber=9217 [November 16, 2023].

¹⁶ បណ្ឌិតសភាចារ្យ រស់ ចន្ទ្រាបុត្រ, **សាធារណរដ្ឋខ្មែរ ជា ភាសាបារាំង (La République khmère) ១៩៧០-១៩៧៥ បុព្វកថាទី១**, (បកប្រែនិងបោះពុម្ពដោយរោងពុម្ព CamEd Business School Publishing ភ្នំពេញ, ឆ្នាំ២០១៧) ទំព័រ ១៩។

nation and the people, because the suffering of the people is His suffering, so he had to sacrifice everything for the people and the land.

On the other hand, he always considered grass-root or common people like his own children and grandchildren until the general people called him as Samdech Sihanouk as Samdech Ov, which is a reflection that Samdech Sihanouk is a real great King, followed by Dharma Raja or the Righteous King.

King Norodom Sihanouk was one of the most remarkable political figures of the 20th century. During a lifetime that lasted 89 years, he filled the roles of king, prime minister, and chief of state of his country and in doing so took actions for good and bad that had profound effects on the course of Cambodia's modern history.

In his early adult life, he was by his own account a playboy. He was a musician of more than modest talent, but in his other artistic endeavors as a filmmaker, his efforts were at best mediocre. In the late 1970s, he was, for nearly three years, a prisoner of the murderous Khmer Rouge. It says much about this extraordinary man that such a listing only touches the surface of his many public and private roles.

Above all, and for those who have studied modern Cambodian history, Sihanouk was a subject of controversy. For some, the present writer included, he was a man of many, but flawed, talents, whose personal weaknesses cost his country dearly. For others, he was the man who by his efforts transformed a sleepy kingdom from a French protectorate into a modern Southeast Asian state.

In embarking on a “Royal Crusade” for independence, an initiative which included appeals to international opinion, brief self-imposed exile from Phnom Penh, and suggestions that the alternative to his program was the likelihood of a communist takeover of Cambodia, Sihanouk both gained independence from France in 1953 and established himself as the leading political figure in the country.

What is more, he was able through his success to marginalize the embryonic communist movement in Cambodia, which, at this stage was essentially working under the direction of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

Sihanouk pursued his domestic agenda against a background of generally difficult, and often poisonous, relations with his neighbors in South Vietnam and Thailand, and the overt suspicion of the United States for his embrace of a “neutral” foreign policy that depended on warm relations with the People's Republic of China.¹⁷

3.3.4 The King's Policy of Reconciliation

One simple approach to understanding reconciliation experiences in Cambodia is to explore through the so-called war-peace hero figures such as King Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen in relation to their roles and responsibility in both times of war and peace. Cambodia needed reconciliation for pre and post-war situations, Cambodian people have experienced, in particular, shows a link between the lack of success in the prior situation, which reflects the lack of success thereafter. The remaining problem that can be identified from Cambodia's conflict experience is the need to redefine the identities of different groups involved in conflict, despite whether they have been allies during the struggle for change. Reconciliation for pre/post-war situations can have different effects. However, the common pattern of decision-making of these two important figures on priorities following the violence, the conflicts/war provides a clear indication that the legacy of earlier war/conflict feeds directly into the later wars/conflicts. There is a great deal to learn from trying to understand their political psychologies

¹⁷ Milton Osborne, **The complex legacy of Norodom Sihanouk, (a Visiting Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, and the author of four books on the history and politics of Cambodia, including Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness: 1994, published a detailed obituary of Norodom Sihanouk in The Phnom Penh, (18 October 2012). [Online], Source: <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/archive/complex-legacy-norodom-sihanouk>. [November 16, 2023].**

and strategies to move the country forward, and surely it also provides learning from real-life experimentation contributing to the field of studies.¹⁸

King Norodom Sihanouk played a crucial role to create national reconciliation after the civil war in his own country. Over the following years Samdech Sihanouk, made several proposals to try to get all the Cambodian factions together to discuss the settlement of the conflict. However, by early 1987, Samdech Sihanouk had come to regard the CGDK as a serious hindrance to a diplomatic settlement. His coalition partners rejected all negotiations with Phnom Penh (Hanoi had signaled its interest in such talks as early as 1984) until the Vietnamese had substantially withdrawn, a posture he believed was too rigid.

Therefore, on 7 May 1987, Samdech Sihanouk announced that he was taking a leave of absence for one year as President of the CGDK to recover some of his previous freedom to conduct activities more in conformity with the long-term interests of the Khmer people. He added that he was leaving the CGDK to explore the prospects of reconciliation with the authorities in Phnom Penh and Hanoi.¹⁹

Samdech Techo Hun Sen had also been trying to meet with Samdech Sihanouk to discuss the prospects of reconciliation in Cambodia which would put an end to the Cambodian conflict and he had, on several occasions since 1984, tried to get a meeting organized but the opposition of the members of the CGDK prevented that meeting from taking place.

¹⁸ Soth Plai Ngarm, **A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation, Cambodia Reconciliation: A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation Issues and Challenges for the past 25 Years Post War – Peace and Reconciliation**, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Siem Reap, Cambodia, 2017 (2017) [Online], Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/cambodia/cambodia-reconciliation-reflection-justice-and-reconciliation-issues-and-challenges> [November 19, 2023].

¹⁹ Khmertimeskh, **The Eminent Role of King Father Norodom Sihanouk in the Peace Process for Cambodia 1979-1991**, [Online], Source: <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50956688/the-eminant-role-of-king-father-norodom-sihanouk-in-the-peace-process-for-cambodia-1979-1991> [October 14, 2023].

In 1983, during an official visit to Angola, Samdech Hun Sen met the French Ambassador, Jean-Jacques Galabru, who was married to a Cambodian doctor as he had served in Phnom Penh previously. Ambassador Galabru would later play a role in conveying messages between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Techo Hun Sen leading to their first meeting at Fere-En-Tardenois on 2 December 1987.

While this meeting was exploratory, it served the purpose to establish trust between the two leaders, which in turn led to further substantive meetings, and finally prompted President Mitterrand to organize the Paris International Conference on Cambodia first session in 1989 and the final session in October 1991 when the Paris Peace Agreements were signed.

Having failed to get agreement from his partners in the CGDK, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk showed extreme courage and wisdom in pursuing negotiations on its own, a challenging enterprise that, if successful would benefit the people of Cambodia by bringing peace, national unity, and reconciliation.

Moreover, King Norodom Sihanouk has had a crucial role in Cambodia's central politics in the past, especially how to reconcile the national interest.

Twenty-five years into Cambodia's peace process, it remains clear that the country lacks straightforward peacemaking, and peacebuilding process. Many complex dynamics and circumstances have brought about the present-day situation in Cambodia, these circumstances and dynamics need to be thoroughly considered to assess how the country has come to be where it is today.

Cambodia has experienced a unique sociopolitical evolution. However, questions need to be asked about the challenges and issues Cambodians face now to make an assessment of the amount of energy, effort, and resources it will take to achieve all the necessary elements, such as justice, reconciliation, and development, for this post-war/ violent conflict society to move forward. Remember, while the incompletely reconciled society continues to function, it is unable to move forward in full strength because the effects of the unresolved issues continue to bear down on the society, creating a risky relapse situation.

The first part of this paper is set to explore justice and reconciliation issues in the realm of the peace process, including both the personal roles of the political leaders during conflicts and their political decisions that brought about peace, social integration, and new public policies during violent conflicts and wars.

In this regard, political leaders, sometimes interchangeable with their military roles, had to make decisions in order to win, consequently causing harm and suffering to human life and wellbeing. Whether these sacrifices for peace deserve justice for the different roles, they played during the armed struggles and for the sake of national reconciliation, is not a simple “Yes/No” answer.

The Relation to the Khmer Rouge Regime, in order to finding out the national reconciliation, the process of the International Standard Trial of the former Khmer Rouge (KR) to see whether it has contributed to social reconciliation and if so how. Healing is somewhat about the future, and there are comparative experiences from many contexts around the world. For example, the Truth Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa is on the complete opposite end of the spectrum, with an emphasis on leaders’ political will and their priority policies.

There are levels of sympathy, empathy, transfer, and transformation reflecting downward from political to social reconciliation to social healing for future generations and individual psychology. There may be some lessons learned from the mid-range of reconciliation versus process and the citizen’s roles in such an important social endeavor.²⁰

²⁰ Soth Plai Ngarm, **A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation, Cambodia Reconciliation: A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation Issues and Challenges for the past 25 Years Post War – Peace and Reconciliation**, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Siem Reap, Cambodia, 2017 (2017) [Online], Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/cambodia/cambodia-reconciliation-reflection-justice-and-reconciliation-issues-and-challenges> [November 19, 2023].

In the political leadership concepts of King Norodom Sihanouk, the focus is on two principles that combine the theories of religious philosophy, including Buddhism and Brahmanism. And his leadership conceptual style is widespread loving-kindness like his parent look after his children as well, because in political conflict always the King Norodom Sihanouk taken to hold of a national arbitrary, and could invite all political parties to coordinate or compromise with each other in political parties. What is the common idea that he took from these two major religions to merge is that Brahmanism has a philosophy focused on monotheism, which means that only Brahma can save people and completely conducted the Royal Duty or so-called Raja Kicca.

King Norodom Sihanouk followed on Brahmanism to reach his goal of political leadership style, such he practiced Vedanta philosophy, related to the three qualities as the constituents of Prakriti such as activity (Rajas), Goodness (Sattva), and also Indifference (Tamas) as well.

Buddhism, on the other hand, came to Cambodia after Brahmanism, a religion that focused on the ten virtues of Rule for the Kingdom. Based on the history of Cambodia, it is also revealed that Jayavarman VII during his reign was strong and able to expand the territory, Jayavarman VII integrated philosophy from these two religions, leading it will become to the strongest country.

Based on this evidence, King Norodom Sihanouk gained great popularity among the grassroots people of Cambodia. On the other hand, this king used to be a Buddhist monk as well.

As for the national reconciliation, found two key persons who have utmost effort to reach the real statesmen are King Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister of Kingdom of Cambodia, Samdech Techo Hun Sen, generated three factors, involving settling down from the civil war namely as following: social, political, and emotional approaches to cease the internal conflicts. The Cambodian indigenous language is Khmer, consisting for centuries not only in speaking but also in writing script. It is part of the deep culture, which characterizes not only a way of expression but also affects social ways of thinking. The direct translation in the Khmer language of

Reconciliation is “*Psah Psa*”, which means to fix the broken, in a way it means smoothing things up. Therefore, a dichotomous concept, is a challenge and does not help much with the complicated sense of the reconciliation issue. It does not alone embrace the entirety of facts of what the nation has gone through.

Cambodia has seen to some extent reconciliation at the political level, through the signing of the peace agreements and the establishment of democratic institutions and elections. However, the social and emotional reconciliation dimensions remained untouched. It is very important that real social and emotional reconciliation be seriously considered. Any measures for this must not be confrontational or controversial, or they will risk becoming a device for political manipulation.

There was an important lesson learned for reconciliation in both theory and practice. It is a dialogue process, not an envisioned 27 picture. Supposedly, actors involved in the peace process consciously did not include reconciliation in the peace plan because it should be a process. In fact, it is the role and responsibility of the Cambodians themselves to decide what a national reconciliation should look like. The thinking certainly is in line with the principle that reconciliation is a process and not a picture envisioned by the leadership. It is very necessary to have a dialogue process, to figure out a suitable reconciliation that takes considers all necessary elements.

His official name as King Norodom Sihanouk, in full Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia was born (October 31, 1922, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and died October 15, 2012) in Beijing, China, and he was become as King of Cambodia in two times (1941–55 and 1993–2004), who also served as prime minister, head of state, and president. (Sihanouk, 2003). In doing so, King Norodom Sihanouk was a pivotal figure in Cambodia during and after the Vietnam War. Meanwhile He attempted to steer a neutral course for Cambodia in its civil and foreign wars of the late 20th century.

King Norodom Sihanouk’s maintenance of Cambodian neutrality in the Vietnam War ended in 1970 when he was ousted in a U.S.-supported coup led by

General Lon Nol. He then lived in Beijing as the titular head of a government-in-exile.

He, firstly, became the kingship in 1941 after the death of his grandfather King Monivong. The French colonial regime believed that Sihanouk, like his predecessors, would be easy to manipulate. Instead, he proved a cunning political operator who facilitated greater autonomy and set Cambodia on the path to independence.²¹

King Norodom Sihanouk was an intelligent and charismatic figure given to egotism, high living, and womanizing. He was fond of Western culture, particularly film and music, and occasionally sang Elvis Presley ballads at state dinners.

The King Sihanouk wanted a free and independent Cambodia. He was a political progressive who sought social and economic reforms to benefit his people. Under Sihanouk's leadership, Cambodia was granted independence from France in 1953. In 1955, Sihanouk took the unprecedented step of abdicating the throne and standing for election as the country's prime minister. Sihanouk won this election comfortably, a measure of his enormous popularity with the Cambodian people.

As the nation's democratic leader, King Norodom Sihanouk decided that his priority was to keep Cambodia at peace and prevent it from being drawn into the quagmire of Cold War politics and conflict.

To be clearly, King Sihanouk was "an astute politician who knew how to gage situations and take advantage of them, a master at using the media to build public support and a statesman who intended to rule his country" Sihanouk's attempts to maintain peace were thwarted by the activities of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army (NVA), both of whom used Cambodia's eastern provinces for training, respite, and supply dumps. This focused American attention on Cambodia and its leader.

²¹ Alphahistory, **Norodom Sihanouk**, [Online], Source: <https://alphahistory.com/vietnamwar/norodom-sihanouk> [October 20, 2023].

King Father Sihanouk had a problematic relationship with the United States. Washington had given only lukewarm support to Cambodian independence. Between 1955 and 1963, Cambodia received almost \$US500 million in US economic and military aid, while the CIA actively supported Sihanouk's rivals.²²

Fed up with American pressure and meddling, King Norodom Sihanouk refused further American aid in late 1963, and in April 1965, he cut diplomatic ties with Washington. This move caused friction between the King Sihanouk and Cambodia's conservatives, particularly General Lon Nol, a pro-Western military commander.

In March 1970, while King Norodom Sihanouk was visiting China, Lon Nol seized control of the Royal Government of Cambodia. From exile, Sihanouk called on Cambodians to resist the US-backed military coup. He returned to Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge victory in April 1975. Sihanouk became a captive figurehead under the Khmer Rouge. He remained under virtual house arrest in his Phnom Penh quarters, while many of his royal family members were executed by the Khmer Rouge.

In 1979, King Norodom Sihanouk was again forced into a much longer exile, living for more than a decade in China and North Korea. He returned to Cambodia in 1991 and was restored as King and Head of State in 1993. Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, also served as Prime Minister of Cambodia during the 1990s.

King Norodom Sihanouk abdicated and retired from official duties in 2004 and died eight years later.

²² Soth Plai Ngarm, **A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation, Cambodia Reconciliation: A Reflection on Justice and Reconciliation Issues and Challenges for the past 25 Years Post War – Peace and Reconciliation**, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Siem Reap, Cambodia, 2017 (2017) [Online], Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/cambodia/cambodia-reconciliation-reflection-justice-and-reconciliation-issues-and-challenges> [November 19, 2023].

In his leadership in the past, King Sihanouk used the power he gained from the leadership of the Community of the Common People, so-called “Sangkum Reaniyum” to pursue his vision for his country. That vision was of a modern Cambodia, proudly taking its place among the nations of the world. The symbols of that modernity were concentrated, however, almost entirely in Phnom Penh. Sihanouk set out to create a capital he could proudly display to international delegations and visiting heads of state. In this too he was following in the footsteps of Angkorian kings, particularly his favorite role model Jayavarman VII, who built the last great city of Angkor Thom. The boulevards, monuments, government buildings, universities, theatres, and sports stadiums that he built remain impressive architectural achievements for which Sihanouk will long be remembered.

3.4 The Political Philosophy based on Religious Concepts

Based on Cambodian context, the religious concept was a central conceptualization both social norm and in the leadership way, because of the relationship between religion and politics remains a significant mechanism in practicing of political philosophy, in doing so, the politicians always used the religion as political tool to fulfil their political ambition in terms of state religion is Buddhism, in particularly, King Norodom Sihanouk brought the Buddhist principle concepts to put into real society such as five precepts as well.²³

3.4.1 Finding and Conclusion of the Concept of Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk

King Norodom Sihanouk's political Concepts in his political framework between 1955-1970, during the 15 years of the Community of the Common People (Sangkum Reastr Niyum) regime, where he was both prime minister, monarch, and

²³ Samphose Prak, “The Applied Buddhist Five Precepts (Panca Sila) in Khmer Society”, **Journal Graduate MCU KhonKaen Campus**, Vol. 10 No. 4 (October - December 2023), [Online], Source: <https://so02.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/jg-mcukk/article/view/264341> [November 19, 2023].

politician and his stance is to implement the concept of political philosophy based on the Ten virtues of Buddhism in the implementation of his politics in the national framework in almost all areas that are branches of state affairs, including foreign policy, agriculture, trade, and social harmony were under one umbrella, namely Buddhism until he once proclaimed the Buddha theory as a compass of state government as well as economic stability.

Among his political philosophical ideas, he did not forget to include purely Buddhist philosophical ideas, which focused on self-reliance, which meant liberation from slavery and under the influence of the group or any party.

In the sense of political philosophy, Norodom Sihanouk, under his leadership during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, was independent, and authoritarian, meaning similar to the idea of Buddhism, which valued self-building, and that was self-reliance.

On the aspect of leading the country, King Norodom Sihanouk incorporated Buddhist dharma programs at all levels for the benefit of his own education and leadership until he himself became a monk to show that his leadership adheres to a purely Buddhist philosophy. The studies, Moreover, have shown that King Norodom Sihanouk combined the Concepts of Political Philosophy in accordance with the concept of Buddhism and Brahmanism as follows.

3.4.2 The Leadership style of King Norodom Sihanouk Based on the Religious Theories

Under his patronage, King Norodom Sihanouk always used many approaches leading the Kingdom of Cambodia, especially in the regime of the Community of the Common People, and it was so-called “the Sangkum Reastr Niyum”, starting from 1955-1970. Among of those approaches that the King Norodom applied for his own national managerial style, there are two approaches, but he integrated into one approach for application to the nation in order for being a good shape of the country respectively.

In terms of ancient Khmer society, all the Kings who governed the country always conducted their royal duties based on the national religious concepts, and

sometimes those kings used only Brahmanism, but some ancient Khmer Kings practiced the both religious theories, for example, during the King Norodom Sihanouk, applied the both theories are Brahmanism and Buddhism to enhance the Cambodian country to get more prosperous society as the Buddha's teaching in the Pali Canon, refers to "Three Baskets", was collected from the teaching of the Buddha for more than 25 centuries ago that the Theravada Buddhist countries always bring those the teachings of the Buddha to practice in their way of life, especially Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, Lao, Sri Lanka, and some parts of the corner of the world in the present time.

The King Norodom Sihanouk, in the practical strategy, applied for the both sides are hard approach and soft approach in conformity of Khmer tradition for ages, but the Brahmanism and Buddhism are the central concepts of his core value political pragmatism in the Cambodian society during his reign as the King and the Head of State.

The Prince Dhamico, the former personal secretary of King Norodom Sihanouk, who spent 20 years living under in the Royal Patronage of King Norodom Sihanouk both in the country and abroad recalled as follows:

" His Majesty, the King Father, he followed the example of the Buddha, and the Buddha was willing to explain and raise each issue, he raised it through the story (Jataka's story) to understand clearly. As for His Majesty, he was the same, he wanted to write a film, make a film, but in that film, he revealed his royal knowledge to the nation, to our Cambodian society".

In accordance with The prince who was personal secretary of King Norodom Sihanouk, showing that King Norodom Sihanouk was excellent intelligent to know-how in the practice of leadership style, especially in state affairs to combine both theories into One Theory to create an effective leadership style consolidating with Khmer political philosophy as well.

The Prince Dhamico has also recalled that King Norodom Sihanouk adhered to the teachings of Buddhism, especially the practice of high morals without harassment and slaughter, not even the words are not obscene. The King Norodom

Sihanouk applied the three levels of enhancing the core value of Khmer society at his time.²⁴

First, King Norodom Sihanouk urged to practice strictly in five precepts are not killing animals, not stealing other people's property, not committing sexual misconduct, not lying in all forms, and not using alcohol and drugs, because when people do not practice consistently, it can lead to social unrest.

Second, the intermediate level, in the sense of practicing the eight precepts, including the five precepts, plus three additional training or code of conduct, to the eight precepts, which is one of the intermediate precepts of Buddhist moral practice. In this intermediate level of moral training, it helped the Cambodian society to be free of espionage, corruption and transparency in the society of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's rule.

In order to achieve this goal, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk practiced himself, every day on the day of observing day, he always observed the eight precepts from the monks and nuns and offered various relics to triple gems (Tiratanak) on the day of the Sabbath day and the releasing of animals such as birds to show favor to the people and animals that live in his territory by peacefully living both human and beings.

Third, High Morality, this approach was applied by Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk was completed in his reign during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era through the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path, including Skillful Understanding, Skillful Thinking, Skillful Speech, Skillful Action, Skillful Livelihood, Skillful Effort, Skillful Mindfulness, and Skillful Concentration. These are the eight sources that lead to the highest happiness in the daily life of people who are living in society.

During his Dharmic leadership, King Norodom Sihanouk, ruled the country, incorporated the great teachings of the Buddha into his political platform to

²⁴ Samphose Prak, "On King Nordom Sihanouk, Prince Dharmico, Former Personal Assistant to the Late King Norodom Sihanouk", **A doctoral student**, (Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University KhonKaen Campus, 2023).

promote the welfare of the nation as a whole. It is through this high moral practice that his people continue to love and obey him to the end, even though he was ousted in 1970.²⁵

This point is that he is a great Dharmic King who has both positive and negative points in his leadership and policy. But in that, King Norodom Sihanouk has actively acted for the benefit of his beloved nation and people more than politics, economy, society, culture, and including taking the Dharma put into real practice at the national political level.

3.4.3 The Political Philosophy Concept Based on Buddhism

His Majesty the King Father, Norodom Sihanouk has strictly applied the principles of ten virtues or duties of the King (Rajadhamma) and the four sublime states of mind, also called as (Brahmavihara) in the words of Buddha. King Norodom Sihanouk has widespread those Buddhist principles to his own people using basic non-violence. For this reason, his common people have always been fond of his own leadership style. Although the political system has changed in Cambodia since the early 1970s, the Cambodian people still remember in his heart his heroism that sacrificing his body and mind for the cause of the motherland of Cambodia. His eternal presence to them under all circumstances.

The King Norodom Sihanouk applied these ten virtues of a ruler or called Rajadhamma.²⁶

1) Generosity (Dana), this strategy for generate loving from the common people, especially the common people will completely support what the ruler set it out. The King Norodom Sihanouk always applied this method for the grass-root people who are living at rural area, Therefore, his common people favor of him well

²⁵ Loc. cit.

²⁶ ព្រះត្រៃបិដក បាលី និងសេចក្តីប្រែជាភាសាខ្មែរ សុត្តន្តបិដក ខុទ្ទកនិកាយ ជាតក ទសមភាគ ៦៦, ទសពិធរាជធម៌, នៅក្នុង (ឃ្លាប ២៤០), (រោងពុម្ពពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, ភ្នំពេញ, បោះពុម្ពនៅក្នុង ព.ស.២៥០៣), ទំព័រ ១២៨។

could allowing him continued his powers. This way, King Norodom Sihanouk, was usefully applied among all the people who live in the city and also the local people who live in rural areas.

2) High moral character (Sila), King Norodom Sihanouk has a crucial role played in ethical conduct for all people in society, because common people take the model from the leaders, so King Norodom Sihanouk always conducts in the public. This way will help the country abstain from unwholesome action in real society. Under his leadership, let allow common people to practice the five precepts for the sake of harmonious society.

3) Self-Sacrifice (Pariccaga), the late King Norodom Sihanouk has highly his own self-sacrifice for the nation, especially he has utmost effort in the royal crusade for the sake of independence purpose from France until reach his goal in 1953 in which Cambodia has gained fully independence from France without bloody violent act among of common people at that time.

4) Honesty (Ajjava), the integrity is the most important tool that King Norodom Sihanouk has applied in the society, for instance, during the regime of Community of the Common People, they are rarely seen losing their property by lack of integrity, especially the local people, living at the rural area around Cambodian territory during 1960s.

5) Kindness and Gentleness (Maddava), this principle, King Norodom Sihanouk, has applied almost his whole life as senior politician in Cambodia. The Kindness and Gentleness is core value of social culture because of the political theory of King Norodom Sihanouk give a role played to the common people through kindly act without partial manner and avoiding from prejudices, and these manners are happening from internal factor such as kindly bodily action, verbal, and mental in kindness for all the corner of society, especially the grass-root people who living at the rural area as well.

6) Self-Control (Tapa), this principle is the most important mantra for the ruler, because the self-control is a good sample for all who are subordinated people. The late King Norodom Sihanouk always his self-control in the name as a good king in the country, for example, when he had fed up in political pressure from other

opposition figure, he showing patience to seek other way to resolve that political crisis, it is a good ruler for the national level.

7) Non-anger (Akkhodha), It's a kind of morality as well for the leadership style, such as King Norodom Sihanouk rarely seen him, showing an anger during the public audience to others through verbal, mental, and bodily action. Hez always kept in silence to find the peacefully way for all the common people who lived under his royal patronage during his reign or leadership. What seen his character, the way he acts and the way he manages the country is acceptable manner for whole national interest in first.

8) Non-oppression (Avihimsa), normally, all the leaders need to practice this approach for good conduct in the real society, especially treat to other party as well, for example, King Norodom Sihanok has conducted in wholesome actions, including no oppression to other people, because hatred never appease by hatred, but only the loving-kindness leading to the harmonious society was under one earth.

9) Forbearance (Khati), refers to patience for all circumstances, for example forbearance of any happening from hatred, greedy, and delusion. As for King Norodom Sihanouk, during the seek for independence from French, he had utmost try again and again, so it means that King-Father (Norodom Sihanouk) used both diplomatic and all mean channel until for reaching the national interest forever. If he whom did not practice forbearance, so Cambodia will never see a light of national independent and living for free will of all Cambodian people until now.

10) Non-deviation from righteousness (Avirodhana), this way, practice to conformity to the law, conducted to all without opposite to the rule or the constitution in which approved by the national assembly, and this law enforce will lead the country to harmony without using double standard of any law enforcement or marginalize to any group who are living in the same country.²⁷ King Norodom Sihanouk has raised the principle to set in the political agenda during his reign around

²⁷ Loc. cit.

1960s to early 1970s²⁸. All principles were conducted by King Norodom Sihanouk during his reign or leading style before the Khmer society fell down into social chaos in 1975. King Norodom Sihanouk, therefore, conducted in accordance with the ten rule-based approaches from the Buddhist theory, leading to the Kingdom of Cambodia moving to enhance the Buddhist country with righteousness in this region.

The King Norodom Sihanouk, in doing so, has practiced with the ten virtues, and he added more the Sublime State of Mind (Brahmavihara) in his political agenda as well to find out heavy support from the common people around the country. What are sublime state of mind in which the King Norodom Sihanouk taking them for practicing in his own leadership style during his reign in Cambodia at the previous time.

The holy abiding or so-called the sublime state of mind is the Buddha-dhamma that all Buddha beings always to strictly follows because it will become widespread out of beyond to the whole universe without hatred or any oppression to human being. This state was compare to Brahma could look all directions (North, East, West, and South) by impartial application. On the other hand, King Norodom Sihanouk brought this Buddhist thought to apply in social context in the past successfully, attractively of all Cambodian people to love him without other comparison at that time, and until Cambodian people regarded him as the “Great King, Father of Peace, Father of National Independence or Dharmic Raja means (Righteous King)”²⁹

According the Buddhist thought, the sublime state of mind, (P.A.Payutto, 2518 in Buddhist Era) aims to apply in this worldly state without prejudices in the name as human beings and all the leaders around the world, because this sublime state

²⁸ ហេង មណីចិន្តា, ព្រះបាទធម្មិក. អន្លង់វិលៈ អង្គការ ពុទ្ធសាសនា ដើម្បីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍. ១៩៩៥.

²⁹ ព្រះត្រៃបិដក បាលី និងសេចក្តីប្រែជាភាសាខ្មែរ សុត្តន្តបិដក ខុទ្ទកនិកាយ ជាតក ទសមភាគ ៦១, ទសពិធរាជធម៌, នៅក្នុង (ឃ្លាប ២៤០), (រោងពុម្ពពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, ភ្នំពេញ, បោះពុម្ពនៅក្នុង ព.ស.២៥០៣), ទំព័រ ១២៨។

of mind will lead the country is rise on the righteousness both practical and theoretical framework as follows:

1) Loving-Kindness (Metta), all leaders need to attractive of people's heart in order for long time in leadership, because if the rulers without Metta to own people, causing to social chaos. So, King Norodom Sihanouk followed the Loving-Kindness way for enhancing his leadership manner in the name as the Righteous King in civilized country in this region in 1960s.

2) Compassion (Karuna), this principle, King Norodom Sihanouk, conducted to his own common people in terms of his thought wants to get rid of suffering from the Cambodia, so in the political agenda, King Norodom Sihanouk put the Cambodia as natural stance, non-alliance movement of the Communist and Liberal bloc during his leadership.

3) Sympathetic Joy (Mudita), refers to showing an altruistic joy for all people and humankind in this world, and this principle allowing the thoughts of the suffering of people, so leaders need to practice for own heart moving forward to the common people who living under poverty line. In terms of this principle, King Norodom Sihanouk has utmost effort to reach Cambodian people's goal such as improving the living of standard and gain more GDP for the nation, and those GDP was provided by equitable manner in accordance with the rule of law at that time. This principle gave more warmly heart from the leadership style of leaders.

4) Equanimity (Upekkha), the rulers need pose as a neutral manner of their own thoughts for all people who lived under leading or under patronage. King Norodom Sihanouk has set his political agenda in Cambodia as a neutral country from the geopolitical arena both the region and the world, and it is the right decision-making of King Norodom Sihanouk. This way showing that he practiced in Upekkha manner in both internal leadership and political affairs at his time.

The late King Norodom Sihanouk, However, was become a core factor to promote the core values of the national unity in accordance with the path of Buddhism, as he always said in public forums that "Khmer unity is more strong, the enemy could not divide us". Because of we are united, compassionate, are the main reasons for leading the motherland to lasting prosperity for decades to come. And

physical compassion refers to a collective effort on the physical side that can contribute to the achievement of physical infrastructure such as construction of roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, pagodas, and historic buildings that reflect the progress of material culture, etc. for the next generation.

Verbal Compassion refers to the use of words at the right time and in the right circumstances and in the interests of each other, without hostility.

Mental Compassion, on the other hand, is even more important because everything in the world is accomplished with all one's heart because the thought process changes both the political and social aspects. King Norodom Sihanouk has used this formula to successfully solve the national problem of Cambodia since the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era and his second Kingdom era, such as negotiating and reaching the Paris Agreement on October 23, 1991, and are all out of sublime state of mind (Brahma Viradhamma) and this unity, then the country is peaceful and continues to develop to another level for Cambodia until today.

The principle of humility is one of the most effective and efficient means in the policy of King Norodom Sihanouk, especially during his 15-year rule. According to various documents, and through his personal aides, including the author, he humbled himself to be a very ordinary person, especially when meeting with lowly people, which is one of the reasons why among many other reasons, he was able to draw the heart and love of the common people and be loyal to him. Therefore, King Norodom Sihanouk really applied the principles of Buddhism in practice during his reign during the regime of the Community of Common People or the so-called “Sangkum Reastr Niyum” period in which occurred between 1955- 1970.³⁰

³⁰ ដៀប សុផល, របបសង្គមរាស្ត្រនិយម ពីមហាជនជន:ឈានទៅដល់វិបត្តិ និង ការដួលរលំ ១៩៥៥-១៩៧០, រក្សាសិទ្ធិគ្រប់យ៉ាងដោយអ្នកនិពន្ធ, ភ្នំពេញ: (ព.ស.២៥៥៣-គ.ស, ២០០៩).

3.4.4 The Political Concept Based on Brahmanism

In order to get more comprehensive concept of the political philosophy of Khmer Kings from ancient time until present time, looking back to the theory of Kautilya's Arthashastra (4th century B.C.),³¹ a significant work in Indian Political Science, explores governance in monarchical states, emphasizing the pursuit of dharma as the ultimate goal.

The Arthashastra, Moreover, a comprehensive treatise on governance in a monarchical Vedic state, was influenced by Kautilya's rational approach and realistic model of human beings. However, the ideal society of the Arthashastra was short-lived, as the 8th-century Muslim invasion revealed a military deficiency in the Hindu society. This led to the degeneration of the Varna system into a caste system, and the rational and dharmic order of the Arthashastra was reduced to a shadow of its past glory, making it an easy target for foreign invasions.³²

Concerning to the state craft, the Arthashastra is an ancient treatise on statecraft, considered authoritative, comprehensive, and universally applicable. It is considered the "science of politics," "political economy," or "the science of material gain."³³ The text explains the meanings of the word 'artha', which refers to the source

³¹ Aseem Prakash, **State and Statecraft in Kautilya's Arthashastra**, Joint Ph.D. Program in Public Policy Department of Political Science & School of Public and Environmental Affairs Indiana University Bloomington, [Online], Source: <https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/5647/State%20and%20statecraft%20in%20kautilyas%20arthashastra.pdf>. Retrieved on [December 5, 2023]. pp.14-15.

³² Loc. cit.

³³ បណ្ឌិត វ៉ូរណ៍, **ទស្សនវិជ្ជានយោបាយកៅឌីល្យៈ កិច្ចការរដ្ឋ ចារកម្ម នយោបាយ ការបរទេស: តើអ្វីទៅជាអត្ថសាស្ត្រ?** (ការបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយរបស់អ្នកនិពន្ធ, ភ្នំពេញ, គ.ស .២០២២), ទំព័រ ៣៥-៤៣។

of livelihood, earth, and means of protection. Later texts, such as the Kamandakiya Nitisara, heavily rely on the Arthashastra, focusing on foreign policy and warfare.³⁴

This treaties focusing on the functioning of a state with the king at its apex, focusing on the saptanga theory of the state, which consists of seven constituent elements: the king, ministers, countryside, fort, treasury, army, and ally. The state controlled production and distribution of various groups but did not completely restrict private individuals from manufacturing and selling products. There were many ways to reach the power, but some scholars suggested that there were three elements to reach it, including a) the power of knowledge, b) the power of military, and c) the power of bravery.³⁵

In his treaties, Kautilya discusses various working classes to sustain society with strength, including skilled artisans, spies, female slaves, prostitutes, and farmers. He also outlines rules of marriage, divorce, property inheritance, punishments, and crimes against women.³⁶

In relations with the foreign policy, Kautilya has outlined six foreign policy measures: peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter, and dual policy.³⁷

Based on the inscriptions show that the famous Jayavarman VII and his reign on the Khmer Kingdom was very successful because of his thought was combination of Mahayana Buddhism and Brahmanism. Mental and physical

³⁴ Disha Ray, an undergraduate student of History at St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi, **Social, and Political & Economic Landscapes in Kautilya's Arthashastra**, (published on 04 June 2020), [Online], Source: <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1561/social-political--economic-landscapes-in-kautilyas/> Retrieved on [December 27, 2023].

³⁵ បណ្ឌិត រ៉ូ រណ្ណៈ-បណ្ឌិត សេង សារី, **កៅឌីល្យៈ មាតិកាអំណាច ទស្សនវិជ្ជា និង ភាពជាអ្នកដឹកនាំនយោបាយ : នយោបាយការបរទេសនិងសិល្បៈសង្គ្រាម** (ការបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយរបស់អ្នកនិពន្ធ, ភ្នំពេញ, គ.ស.២០២៣), ទំព័រ ៩៧-៩៨។

³⁶ Loc. cit.

³⁷ Loc. cit.

infrastructure were the priority of Jayavarman VII's thought, in order to achieve this concepts, he constructed many temples, roads, hospitals, schools, and rest hall for travelers, roads, bridges for the sake of his own people to use them.

It should not be forgotten that the wife of Jayavarman VII was a professor of monks at the university level at that time. This is a sign that she has a deep knowledge of Mahayana Buddhism and brought the main ideas of Buddhism to practice in society.³⁸

In short, the two leading philosophical theories that the former Kings and King Sihanouk applied in Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophies. For this reason, in various programs, Brahmanical rituals are often associated first, followed by later Buddhist ceremonies in the sense that Brahmanism came to Cambodia before Buddhism.

During the heyday of the Khmer Empire, the leaders of the synthesized religions, namely Buddhism and Hinduism, merged to form a highly effective to the political philosophy in that period, leading to the construction of small and large temples, countless throughout the Kingdom of Cambodia.

For this reason, King Norodom Sihanouk followed in the footsteps of his ancestors, namely Jayavarman VII, especially in the Buddhist theory, including combined with Brahmanism itself to lead Cambodia towards peace, national reconciliation, and compassion for the greater good of the nation, and also showed a clear national slogan: nation, religion, king and even to consider Buddhism as a state religion in the country's constitution as well.

After a conversation with the author on King Sihanouk, it was discovered that King Norodom Sihanouk was not only a veteran politician, but he was also a wise leader and charming man who could attract the Cambodian people by purely faith.

³⁸ Nietupski, Paul K., "Medieval Khmer Society: The Life and Times of Jayavarman VII (ca. 1120–1218)", **ASIA Network Exchange, Journal for Asian Studies in the Literal Arts** (2019): 36.

What King Norodom Sihanouk did during his lifetime, that is, national unity under the national motto, Nation, Religion, King, and Buddhism as a compass in his political affairs, especially in the first Kingdom of Cambodia, he led the Community of Common People, or so-called (Sangkum Reastr Niyum) regime that led Cambodia between 1955-1970.

It is noteworthy that King Norodom Sihanouk has highly ordained as a Buddhist monk in Buddhism, which proved that he was strongly influenced by Buddhism for this reason, and many scholars claim that he was a deeply faithful Buddhist and bring the Dharma of Buddhism practice in leading his country.

In any way, during the Community of the Common People (Sangkum Reastr Niyum) era of King Norodom Sihanouk, he cultivated a purified morality and knew how to help each other, which is one of the important principles of Buddhism to help make the society to be strong and progressive, politics, economy, foreign affairs, and agriculture, as well as irrigational systems, are almost nationwide.

The author also said that when it comes to education, it is very important to think about quality, which is one point to find real intellectuals who can help the nation. During the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, there was a lot of progress in the field of national literacy with solidarity was in good shape.

Another point that the author has observed in the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era is that the National Congress between officials and common people can meet each other in person to raise national issues to solve directly with King Norodom Sihanouk in respectively.³⁹

³⁹ ជៀប សុផល, របបសង្គមរាស្ត្រនិយម (១៩៥៥-១៩៧០) មហាជ័យជំនះ និងវិបត្តិ (កែសម្រួលបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយលើកទី២) ភ្នំពេញ: (ព.ស.២៥៥៣-គ.ស.២០០៩).

3.5 Conclusion

King Norodom Sihanouk is a symbol of national unity for the Cambodian people, having played a key role in reconciling politicians during tense circumstances, such as the Paris Peace Accords and the post-election political crisis since 1993. He left many achievements during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, including the peaceful transfer of power.

After being annexed by France in 1941, King Norodom Sihanouk abdicated in 1955 to establish the Sangkum Reastr Niyum movement. He ascended the throne twice, first in 1955 and then in 1993. In 2004, King Norodom Sihanouk announced his second abdication, demonstrating the renunciation of power to allow his son, King Norodom Sihamoni, to continue reigning.

This peaceful transfer of power was unprecedented in modern Khmer history, from the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era to the Khmer Republic and the dark pages of the Khmer Rouge regime. The Cambodian people have always learned from King Norodom Sihanouk's actions and experiences, which are valuable lessons for the next generation of politicians.

Chapter IV

The Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk

4.1 Introduction

In the concept of political philosophy in the contemporary era, marked by rapid change, saw the Enlightenment, Scientific Revolution, and Industrial Revolution, ancient philosophers like Buddha, Plato, and Confucius proposed philosophical systems to address social unrest, revolutions, and capitalism's rise. Three major philosophical movements emerged: Enlightenment social theory, Marxist theory, and critical theory. However, these predictions were not realized, leading to the failure of communist and socialist revolutions. Critical theory advocates for change in public discourse.

In this chapter, it is reflected on the political philosophy of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, including the way of his leadership style in the concept of freedom of political philosophy which refers to existentialism and freedom was being a part of his applied critical thought of the concepts of Buddhism and Brahmanism. In terms of these concepts, after Cambodia gained full independence in 1953, King Norodom Sihanouk, elected in 1955, worked tirelessly to build his country and prosper, because he thought that freedom is the most significant mechanism to develop the whole country by own self without outside dependence as the French colonialism on Cambodia. By this mean, in the 1960s, Cambodia was named an Island of Peace in Asia. To prevent from spreading war, King Norodom Sihanouk announced the policy of neutrality, not allying with any superpower. However, this policy had been criticized by the US, as the liberal power wants Cambodia to be its ally in the region. After having a bad relationship with the US in 1963, Cambodia began to favor communist China and allowed the Vietnamese communist army to use its territory for fighting.

4.2 The Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime under King Norodom Sihanouk

In terms of the freedom concept, Cambodia where was under leadership style of King Norodom Sihanouk wanted to free from two blocks are included liberal and communism, so this Kingdom adopted a neutral policy in response to the competition between liberal powers and communists, joining the Non-Aligned Movement and rejecting NATO military organizations. This approach was influenced by the 1954 Geneva Conference, which demanded that the US not build a military base in Cambodia.

At that time, King Norodom Sihanouk signed the Joint Declaration on Peaceful Coexistence with India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1955. He also affirmed Cambodia's neutral political platform at the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, establishing relations with China and Vietnam based on mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference.

4.2.1 General Politics Affairs in the Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime

Since Cambodia gained full independence in 1953, the country has left behind a structure of political power, bureaucracy, and production relations. King Norodom Sihanouk established a mass political organization called “**Community of the Common People**”, or so-called in Khmer terms “*Sangkum Reastr Niyum*”, which is an organization that directly controls the political activities in the whole country. The Sangkum Reastr Niyum has its political structure and activities that reflect the understanding of different forces in society and has set its direction to support the development and strengthen relations of capitalist production in the country in conformity of independence-mastery of its political thought.

Additionally, the existentialism was integrated into King Norodom Sihanouk's concept for social renovation through the freedom of thought, because it would allow other political forces during the 50s to join with the movement of Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime for the sake of the national fronts or called social cohesion and social inclusion. On the other hand, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk has educational background during the French colonialism, so he has got

French influential concept from Jean Paul-Sartre, a French philosopher, writer, and political activist, believed in nine views on life, including responsibility, the discovery of everything, justice as a human problem, uncertainty, freedom, the distinction between victory and failure, existence as imperfect, and the value of risking life for self-discovery.

He believed that life's worth can be found through risk and personal growth. Sartre's concept of freedom evolved significantly throughout his life, shifting to a material view after World War II and later arguing that humans are only free if their basic needs are met. He was a prominent advocate for freedom and human rights, and his work in literature, particularly existentialism and postmodern philosophy, challenged conventional wisdom about human existence and freedom.

Significantly, Sartre's philosophy on freedom and responsibility is centered on anguish and bad faith, which are anxiety and fear that arise when an individual realizes the full weight of their freedom. Good faith involves accepting their freedom and taking responsibility for their choices, creating a meaningful and fulfilling life.

Sartre's philosophy on the creation of value is closely linked to his ideas about good faith, positing that value is not independent of human consciousness but is created by individuals through their choices and actions. His legacy is a tapestry of existential philosophy, literature, and activism, inspiring generations of thinkers and artists.

In order for developing the country after gained fully independence, King Norodom Sihanouk has abided by its political agendas as summarized following to renovate the quality of standard of living in Cambodian society, including social equity, social justices, peacefully living, socio-economic security, social inclusion, social cohesion, and also social empowerment. For 15 year, under King Norodom Sihanouk's leadership the country around 1955-1970 led this Kingdom moving forward to social development in remarkably at that time, especially during the 1960s and early 1970s.

4.2.2 Political Principles of Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime

After the election was won, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum party was sworn into office after the final result announcement, King Norodom Sihanouk made a statement with his political platform or so-called “Political Path of the Royal Government of Sangkum Reastr Niyum”, for the first time that has highlighted the main features of the political platform what is called Khmer Buddhist Socialism, this announcement emerged after there were two societal trends to have arisen namely, especially the issues on Khmer Socialism in 1961 and other one in 1965 shed light on many issues concerning the theory of Khmer Buddhist Socialism that leading to opposing to those concepts of the King Norodom Sihanouk’s political platform at that time, especially during the 60s.

The struggle for national independence in Cambodia was dominated by nationalist ideology, like other countries in Asia and Europe at that time. The country's leaders adapted to the theory of religion-based nationalism, which was understood to be in response to the need for Cambodia's sovereignty. The main principles of this political platform are based on the traditional beliefs and customs of the Khmer people who believed strongly in Buddhism, so King Norodom Sihanouk set up this political principle in accordance with the Buddhist core values for applying in the real society for social inclusion, and social cohesion in the framework of the theories of Buddhism, Brahmanism, and also Western theory likely the way of conduct of Jean Paul-Sartre on freedom and existentialism, because of these theories help increase his highly creditability to his common people around the country, and until he was regarded him as *Dhammarājā*, refers to the leader follow by law, constitution based with Buddhist good governances in leadership style.

By observing to King Norodom Sihanouk’s applying to its political platform, the Principle of Khmer Buddhist Socialism had become hugely popular among Cambodian people during the 50s and 60s.

Besides conduct the Buddhist theory in the political platform, the first royal government of Cambodia, Also, King Norodom Sihanouk applied his political

thought based on three main concepts for scaffolding to his political philosophy as follows:

First, Social Inclusion refers to allowing other movements, especially the stakeholders to take part in his movement based on the Principle of Khmer Buddhist Socialism it is called engaged Buddhism and it was implemented in 1956-1960 and this period focused on the main direction depending on the emergence of different social situations, so the principle can be shown and did respond to the people's needs both socially and politically.

But the meaning of Social inclusion today refers to improving the participation of individuals and groups in society, including enhancing their ability, opportunity, and dignity. Moreover, it covers both ethical and economic benefits. Unaddressed, disadvantaged groups face significant costs, including loss of wages, education, and employment, as well as physical and mental health issues. At the national level, the economic cost of social exclusion is captured by GDP and human capital wealth.

Second, the Socio-Economic Security is crucial for normal economic development and is essential for business entities to maintain sustainable development. A system approach to assessing socio-economic security includes main purpose, objectives, and types of analysis, rules, stages, models, methods, and indicators. This principle, King Norodom Sihanouk put it prioritized in his political platform to enhance economic growth, and it was implemented in the mid-1960s, the principle was most interested in economic issues, and because of it will be promoted to gain national growth without depending on international benefactors.

Third, Social Empowerment refers to the process of gaining autonomy, power, and confidence to change and create a better future. It occurs at both individual and collective levels, and this principle enhances both physical strength (infrastructure) and mental strength (people's strong mindset) because of concept of Khmer Socialist Buddhism was considered a unique development path in Cambodia that has a deep Buddhist faith and depends on the characteristics of national identity.

Buddhism was claimed to be a socialist in the vision of nonviolent struggle and social injustice, leading to national strength.

4.2.3 Crisis and the collapse of the political regime of Sangkum Reastr Niyum

In the summer of 1966, the situation in Cambodia was extremely dangerous. The social policy of the political organization, Sangkum Reastr Niyum, has reached a dead end. However, since 1955, there has been no political program that political leaders have promised and fulfilled, such as for common progress, building a democratic society, and eliminating unemployment. The deteriorating economic situation has led to a backlash from both outside and inside the country. The subversion on the Vietnam-Thailand border did not stop in July 1966, and otherwise, US bombers destroyed the village of Thlok Trach in Kampong Cham province, at that time, it has a movement, so-called “Free Khmer rebel forces” conducted intensified anti-government activities.

The turning point to the political platform of Khmer Buddhist socialism of King Norodom Sihanouk has reached a point of no return, and it means that the regime will deteriorate in its leadership.

His politics were surrounded, making it easy for right-wingers to seize power in the country. On March 12, 1970, in Phnom Penh, a group of young people demonstrated and set fire to a house where Vietnamese people live. About 500 former members of the Khmer Free Movement who volunteered to join the Royal Government in January 1969 actively participated in the demolition of Vietnamese villages.

These Khmer Liberal forces had learned military tactics trained by South Vietnam and the United States, especially in their ranks embedded by the CIA, which plotted a coup to overthrow Norodom Sihanouk.

Looking back to the social chaos, On March 18, 1970, Pochentong International Airport was closed around the Royal Government Building to house soldiers and police. The National Assembly declared that the nation was in danger and the incompetent government due to political instability in the country caused by

Cambodian enemies both externally and internally. In doing so, the Members of the National Assembly voted unanimously to withdraw the trust of King Norodom Sihanouk, or another called no-confidence vote in the assembly, who was still abroad at the time meanwhile the new power was established, militarist bureaucracy.

4.2.4 Why the Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime failed.

In the economic sector, King Norodom Sihanouk explored all means to reduce poverty, reduce urban and rural gaps, assist farmers in agricultural circulation, and promote agriculture more effectively as established a state organization called “National Cooperative”, which has the role of buying agricultural products, providing loans, etc. Eventually, the National Cooperative became an institution for the lucrative job of corrupted officials, stealing national money, and eradicating the scales of interest of the Cambodian people at that time.

As for the agriculture and industry sectors, because many countries have helped to build factories such as state factories, these factories have finally become inactive due to unskilled, partisan workers committing corruption, as described above.

Moreover, the business sector is no different, it has become an institution that provides opportunities for high-ranking officials to conspire with traders to be self-sufficient. Because he struggled against the inaction, injustice, and corruption of these officials, King Norodom Sihanouk became an enemy to them.

The above-mentioned situation become a very difficult and complicated to solve those problems, and other issues led to problems in the regime as follows:

First, it is related to the weak situation of Cambodia needs foreign aid such as economic and military aid, especially from the United States, which not only deprives us of our sovereignty and independence but is also a source of class in society. The American-leaning right-wing extremists eventually became the most dangerous for King Norodom Sihanouk. When the economic crisis and social relations are no longer normal, a socio-political reform is needed to facilitate the work.

Second, the problem of the state leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk started a long time ago, especially when the war broke out in Vietnam in 1965 affected Cambodia, and caused a lot of anarchy in Cambodian society. No matter how long it takes, whether it wants to or not, it will reach a revolutionary stage. However, his procrastination was not without reason, and he still believed in his popularity, which helped him to achieve many political goals. On the other hand, due to the perception of the Cambodian people living under the oppression of dictatorial civil servants, it has become a tradition.

Third, his policies were seen as vague and at a time when the country was in trouble, becoming a catalyst for the right as well as the left to strengthen their forces. Also, when the National Army brutally suppressed the left, two separate entities emerged independently from the leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk. It was in the ranks of the rightists that they strengthened their power in the popular power of the officers, especially Lon Nol, who led the rise of the Khmer Rouge regime, and caused the Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime to fail. So, this grave situation allowed the United States to hope that this was a reliable force in the fight against communism in Cambodia at that time.

In the ranks of the left, the politically-minded communists sympathizing with King Norodom Sihanouk have eroded their existence, an opportunity for the extremists led by Pol Pot to strengthen their position in the ranks of the communists.

On March 18, 1970, the regime of King Norodom Sihanouk collapsed due to the coup from General Lon Nol to take over, and the once glorious reign of the Cambodian people came to an end. To this day, there are two differing opinions, one side looks at the events under which King Norodom Sihanouk ruled in the past as righteous action, with most grass-root people both at home and abroad regarding him as the country's most popular leader or statesman, but others side oppositely looking at King Norodom Sihanouk during his leadership style, especially around 1955-1970.

4.3 The Philosophy of Leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk

In his concept, King Norodom Sihanouk loves freedom, existentialism, originated from Buddhism, and it has integrated into one approach for his application

in the societal context, such as his journey to seek independent cause from French, so it means that he wanted to Cambodia was free from any colonialism, especially France during his coronation, and pledging that he would try his best for the sake of the national independent for whole Cambodian people need to live co-existence manner with dignity similar to other countries in the ASEAN region

4.3.1 King Norodom Sihanouk was one of the top leaders of the 20th century

For the local Cambodian people and scholars always regard His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk as the great hero of Cambodia, and otherwise is-called that “King Sihanouk is Cambodia, Cambodia is Sihanouk” , especially during his leadership at that time. Significantly, King Norodom Sihanouk was considered him as one of supreme figures in the ASEAN countries in the 20th century.

What is the great thing that he has done in the name of a strange leader, he once gave the throne to his mother, and the King Norodom Sihanouk enters politic affairs and then become the Prime Minister. Moreover, he was ousted in 1970 after the end of the war in Cambodia, King Norodom Sihanouk returned to his homeland and was crowned for a second time. This shows that his life was full of great successes and failures, but he is still a valuable political force in Cambodia in 20th century.

In relation to the leadership and politics of King Norodom Sihanouk, some authors noted that “Khmer kings like the sun have just risen from behind the mountains and have unparalleled perfection”.

In terms of the leadership style of King Norodom Sihanouk, the thesis on “King, Politician, and Artist”, the film of Norodom Sihanouk, (Eliza Romey 1998:5) observed that “As Cambodia’s national leader (1955-1970) his achievements were many. With few technical resources and no administrative training he modernized there infrastructure of the Cambodian state and economy, which had been neglected by the French colonial administrative”.

4.3.2 Cambodia's Past Conflict

The conflict in Cambodia can be divided into three stages, the first stage, which occurred from the 14th - 18th century, when Cambodia had a series of conflicts with neighboring countries. It was Thailand and Vietnam that these two countries have always faced Cambodia on two stages at that time.

Stage 1: The conflict took place between the 19th and 20th centuries, when Cambodia was under French colonial rule, from 1863 to 1953.

Stage 2: After Cambodia gained full independence from France from 1954 to 1970 and 1980, Cambodia became one of the Cold War battlefields, in particular, caused by an external factor influencing the internal factor, and also various motives. According to an analytical chronology of Patrick Raszelenberg and Peter Schier (1995), they wrote a book entitled “The Cambodia Conflict: Search for a Settlement, 1979-1991”, showing that due to the Third Indochina War in this region since 1979, it had effected on Cambodia that had comprised at least ten dimensions of the conflict as followings: 1) a domestic conflict between various Khmer parties and factions, 2) a conflict between various Khmer parties and factions on the one hand and Vietnam on the other about the degree of independence of Cambodia vis-à-vis Vietnam, 3) a conflict between Vietnam and Thailand about influence in, if not hegemony over, Cambodia, 4) a conflict between Vietnam and China about both countries’ respective role and influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. 5) a conflict between the Soviet Union and China about both countries’ role and influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, 6) a conflict between Vietnam and the USA about both countries’ respective role and influence in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, 7) a conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union about countries’ role and influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, 8) a conflict between ASEAN and Vietnam about Vietnam’s role and influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia. 9) a conflict between ASEAN and the Soviet Union about the latter’s role and influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, 10) a conflict between the Eastern and the Western bloc about the above-mentioned.

4.3.3 The Philosophy of Leadership during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime (Self-reliance)

Self-reliance or “You are your own Master” is a core theory in Buddhism that the Buddha discovered and practiced more than 25 centuries ago in India, which spread to Sovannaphumi or so-called “Golden Land” in the third century AD. When they talk about self-reliance, it means that everything has to be self-reliant because this is the worldly truth, if there is no self-reliance, how can there be self-reliance? In other words, the reliance is divided into two parts as follows:

In the First meaning, Dharma means referring to both good and bad, it starts from oneself as the creator, there is no deity to cause it to happen, which means to orient the mind because the person has an educated mind. The wholesome action and unwholesome actions always found in the world as manifestation of Buddhism. Therefore, there is no force other than oneself (mind) which is its reliance.

In Buddhism, too, it is said that a person progresses because of the mind, and because of the mind such what you think, you become as well.

How to keep the mind to be a reliance that is rarely found? In this sense, the individual should complete Vipassana Insight and meditation so that the mind is relieved when the mind is balanced and one can easily benefit, especially meritorious deeds. But if the mind is unbalanced, it is vulnerable to the evils that lie dormant inside and will not be able to recover and return to fulfill its merits.

In the Second meaning, it refers to the political content and rule of the country as usual. Any country, if independent, can stand on its own without having to rely on foreign aid, etc., which means a strong country can stand on its own. In fact, under the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime under the leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk, he adopted this principle of self-reliance and included it in his political agenda between 1955 and 1970, before the coup d'état. What are the practical arguments for this?

This research found that King Norodom Sihanouk recalling the political leadership of the greatest king in modern Cambodian history, because of his leadership allocate the benefit to both ordinary and elite people, leading to be good

atmosphere both politic and activities of people around the country. On the other hand, the gap between rich and poor is not very high, except for some high-ranking officials. In the past, they loved officials, people seemed to have plenty of food, not even fish in the river and take it to get easy to live.

To awareness of his political guideline, King Sihanouk educated his civil servants not to oppress the people until a congress was held to prevent the officials from oppressing the people. In the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, however, given educational concepts to cultivate love national independence, territorial integrity, and national honor is absolute. A poor country like Cambodia really needs foreign aid to rehabilitate and develop in all areas. All foreign aid aimed at lifting the country out of poverty is valuable and respectable. But trying to help oneself is another important thing that Cambodia must strive for before calling for outside help. Self-help efforts combined with outside help are two indispensable driving forces.

Since Cambodia opened up to the world, especially in the last two decades, the international community has provided substantial assistance each year to restore Cambodia from the post-Khmer Rouge devastation and poverty.

Currently, Cambodia is on the path of development in terms of social infrastructure, human spirit, and democracy. These are inseparable from both self-help and foreign aid. The international community remains committed to assisting Cambodia in all areas. But Cambodia is seen as not yet trying to help itself as much as possible.

Beside this, there are also some foreigners who have tried to help the Cambodian people in many other fields such as education, food security and protection of natural resources.

At any cost, self-reliance in all areas, including politics, economy, and diplomacy, is a manifestation of strength and mastery over one's own destiny, which is, following the path of Buddhism. For this reason, King Norodom Sihanouk began to set the leading political agenda in his Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime.

In just 15 years, the Kingdom of Cambodia, under his own leadership, has achieved glorious success with the establishment of universities. Tire factory and bag

factory in Daun Teav, Battambang city, and other sectors such as sports, agriculture, diplomacy, foreign, and domestic politics grew so much that it was named Cambodia as a peaceful island in Asia in His Sangkum Reastr Niyum era.

At that time, foreign newspapers and documents have extensively described the story of his leadership, which is full of practical Buddhist philosophy in society. The practice of Buddhist theories to self-reliance has made the prosperous country less despised by other nations, and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era has no foreign debt.

This means that the building of the national economy and politics must be self-reliant, and gradually resolved as much as possible.

On the other hand, cultivating the Khmer spirit to help the Khmer people is another important thing, that is, the Khmer people must love their country and the Khmer people more than other people love the Khmer people. In general, this is the stage where Cambodians must "help themselves first before seeking help from others."

In any way, learning from donors is another important task. If not, donors will be discouraged.

4.4 Different political views among national intellectuals on the Sangkum Reastr Niyum Regime

With regards to the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime of King Norodom Sihanouk, a group of Cambodian researchers saw some different angles see the regime led by King Norodom Sihanouk much better because he created in the economic sector, including the construction of better social infrastructure, in which the education sector has become an important sector among other priority areas.

Looking at the local people, shown their view to the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime emerged in the period under the leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk (1955 - 1970), and this can be considered as an important stage in the history of Cambodia, which has been researched and written by many scholars, economists, historians, sociologists, foreign scholars in many other languages such as French,

English, Russian, German, Vietnamese, etc. And they assess different way, especially in two study cases that cannot be avoided are a) Cambodia's 15 years of peace, and b) the crisis of the collapse of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime.

It should be noted that, despite much research and writing on the Sangkum Reastr Niyum regime, the subject remains a hotspot, and a mystery among Cambodian intellectuals and the general public. In the national language writings, there is little mention of this, most of which is linked to their own thinking, and there is little scientific research. On the other hand, too much praise can lead to the obscurity of reality in society.

Concerning to the political aspect of the time, Blaming and praising leaders too much can lead to a loss of clarity about what is real or justified in society.

4.4.1 King in the hearts of the people

It is remembered that in November 1991, when King Norodom Sihanouk returned to Cambodia after being exiled abroad for 12 years.

When he received the news through the state media, the National Television of Cambodia, broadcast live as he arrived at Pochentong International Airport, now called Phnom Penh International Airport, at that time most Cambodians, both elderly and non-elderly, middle-aged people show their congratulations and come together to welcome the arrival of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk and Queen Norodom Monineath Sihanouk, refers to Queen Mother of Norodom Sihamoni, King of Cambodia at the present.

At that time, it was observed that the faces of the people at Pochentong International Airport, smiling with joy, and hoping that the country would prosper because he had been in this country again, and hopefully the King will be led this country to moving in the progress both local politics and internal affairs, especially the national conciliation process.

That is why the people are hopeful and happy to know that what King Norodom Sihanouk shall do when he has returned back to this kingdom.

This shown that no matter what the circumstances, King Norodom Sihanouk is still a highly respected as the King in the hearts of the Cambodian people.

When King Norodom Sihanouk arrived at the airport, the Cambodian government, led by His Excellency Hun Sen, brought an open-top car to pay his respects from the airport to the Royal Palace with a roar and a line on the streets from Pochentong International Airport to the Royal Palace.

This king was still able to shake the hearts of the Khmer people in almost all eras, except during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and the end of 1978 when he and other dynasties were also defeated by the Khmer Rouge regime forcing his body into the palace like his common people got suffering as well.

Unfortunately, On October 15, 2012, the death of King Norodom Sihanouk in the Chinese capital, Beijing, left his people in mourning and deep sorrow over the loss of him from the Kingdom of Cambodia. The funeral procession was held on a special flight from Beijing to Cambodia, there are tens of thousands of Cambodian people have been queuing since. Phnom Penh International Airport arrives at the Royal Palace as they express their deepest condolences to him.

Presumably, during his lifetime, he made countless sacrifices for the nation, people, and religion of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

For this reason, his people still miss him, even after his death, this is due to his virtues and royal splendor, as well as the royal duties he performed in his life for the sake of the Cambodian nation and people.

King Norodom Sihanouk has many abilities in terms of politics, economy, national leadership, democracy, and effective national reconciliation. Because of his intelligence, the Cambodian people will always regard him as the "Father of National Independence and National Unity of Cambodia", so far, next generation politicians of Cambodia always follow the concepts of political philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk put into place in real Cambodia's politics both local and international stage.

4.4.2 Political Economy during Sangkum Reastr Niyum

The political economy during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, King

Norodom Sihanouk wants all Cambodian communities to "do what they can to help themselves." One self-refuted by itself. So far, this political economy was promulgated, Cambodia does not need to borrow money from anyone, because His majesty understands that when we go to borrow money or receive assistance with a bond is not to do both. Both of these affect national independence. He has a position on national independence is absolutely irreplaceable. Thus, during the time of the Khmer people and the entire Khmer nation, they never owed anyone a penny like the IMF. The King Norodom Sihanouk always said that for true national independence, we must not only be politically independent, diplomatically, but also economically independent. That is why he is trying to build his own economy.

What are the main areas of political and economic politics in the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era?

The economy at that time was very focused on agricultural factor because the King understood that almost 90% of the population was engaged in agriculture. Only agriculture was the most comprehensive to develop country.

However, everything in Cambodia belongs to Cambodians. Many of the companies that have been set up are national companies.

More than this, the regime gave priority to agriculture and allowing people to do agriculture, so that why the King Norodom Sihanouk called his political concept as water politics in terms of follow up an example of Angkorian Khmer heroes by setting up a Baray system at Angkor. What can be seen as practical and exemplary as philosophy of leadership was not too soft and not too hard on national issues, as he followed the middle path of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

In this case, during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, he raised without letting Cambodia fall into ruin, when he declared non-alignment, a sign that Cambodia stands on neutrality. Either side is communist or liberal, as he stands on the principle of self-reliance, independence, sovereignty, and the pure principles of Buddhism.

4.5 Conclusion

During the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, King Norodom Sihanouk always applied Buddha's teaching for the sake of strengthening the Kingdom of Cambodia through the concept of his political philosophy in state affairs as summarized below:

a) The method of national unification or (Social Inclusion): King Norodom Sihanouk stands on the principle of winning together, putting the national interest above all in society, including personal, political, and favoritism by eliminating all the inactivity of subordinated officials during his Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, especially allowing the stakeholders could join for all political aspects in the country because nation is belonging for all to participation in all level.

b) Foreign Policy or (Freedom without bondage in any country): King Norodom Sihanouk pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, keeping Cambodia similar to an Island of Peace in the Indochina region. This made it possible for Cambodia to avoid being influenced by communist and liberal blocs, enabling Cambodia to maintain its stance on the principles of Buddhism which was a value basic of self-reliance principle.

c) Economic policy or (Socio-Economic Approach): King Norodom Sihanouk strives to be less dependent on foreign aid economy by maintaining equality between countries. This brings advantages over diplomacy and geopolitics, regional and global politics, and so on. King Norodom Sihanouk always said that when we are strong, we are not despised. At this point, King wants to show that Cambodia must be strong in all areas, including economy, politics, and defense, including foreign policy, in order to be considered strong, otherwise, we will still suffer from regional and geopolitical political influences between the great powers. Not because some lessons have already happened in the world today.

d) Religion or (Free Faith): Norodom Sihanouk modeled on the former Angkorian king Jayavarman VII, because he combined two major religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, which led to strength and vigor, expanded the vast empire of the Angkorian period to the extent that Cambodia during the reign of Jayavarman VII ruled up to 1 million square kilometers. On the other hand, During King Norodom Sihanouk's controlling this Kingdom, he always practiced three religions: Buddhism,

Brahmanism, and Khmer Totemic, the ancient Khmer ancestors from the past until now, so this approach allowed his common people could practice their faith without oppression giving Cambodian people decided their faith. In doing so, this principle made people happy to practice their faith freely without sectarian conflict in the society, and this led to a harmonious society until now, reflecting that all Cambodian people could live in religious diversification and those religions become a core value part of Cambodian culture and tradition.

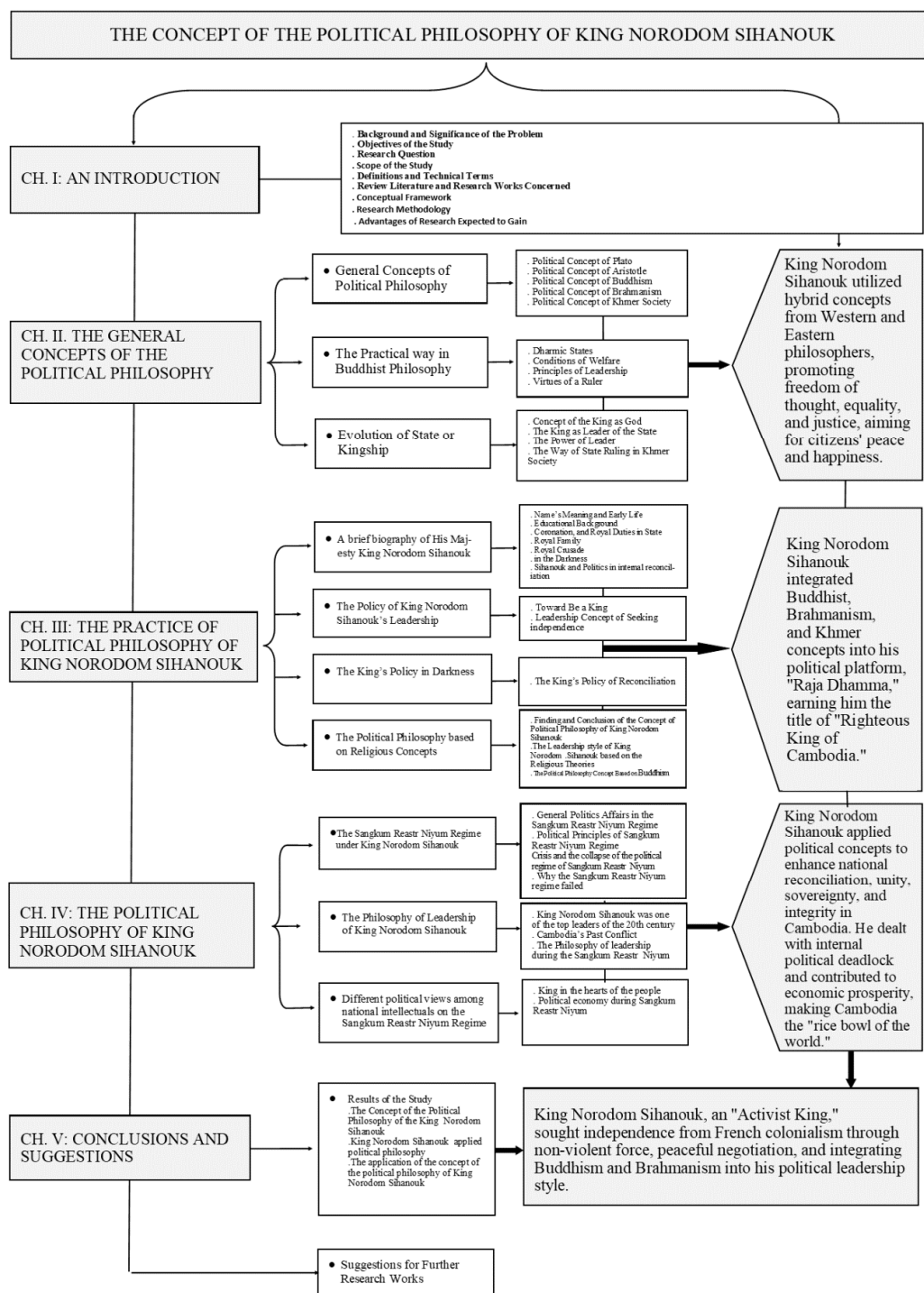
e) Humility or (Social Cohesion): Humility is a great principle that leaders can learn more about the lower classes because sometimes they cannot just wait to hear the report of the subordinated officers. Importantly, all leaders around the world need to see that their policies are in the best interests of people.

f) Taking the hearts of the people or (Charismatic): at this point, King Norodom Sihanouk has been playing the best game to take the heart of his common people by role models both abide by the law and follow up on Khmer tradition, and this lesson has been used by Cambodian next politicians. To achieve this goal, King Norodom Sihanouk consistently practiced the five precepts and the eight precepts, which led to the country under the rule of King Norodom Sihanouk being safe, free from theft, and so on. So, it means that this charismatic manner allowed him to control this Kingdom for free without any opposite force encountering him directly or indirectly due to he was a charismatic leader with attractive, handsome, smart strategist in political tactics overcome to the opposition party during Sangkum Reastr Niyum.

g) Flexibility or (Soft Approach): King Norodom Sihanouk was flexible and knowledgeable about the circumstances clearly and could predict events in advance they happen, because of his flexibility and intelligence, he was a politician. Noticeably, King Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia, has reigned twice times during his lifetime on the throne, the first time was in the First Kingdom of Cambodia around (1953-1970), and the second time was in the Second Kingdom of Cambodia in (1993). Sometimes, even though Norodom Sihanouk resigned from the throne one time to time, he still influenced Cambodian politics as or so-called “Political Guru”. For this reason, otherwise, they called Cambodia was King Norodom Sihanouk and

King Norodom Sihanouk was Cambodia, meaning that King Norodom Sihanouk was still in the heart of the Khmer People, even though he passed away many years ago, he was highly respected by the common people around the country and his royal highly images was widespread to around the world via his great achievements for the sake of the nation and the Cambodian people for next generations both physical and mental legacies forever.

Summarizing table of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk



Chapter V

Conclusions and Suggestions

5.1 Result of the Study

After studying the Concept of the Political Philosophy of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, it can be seen that the character of this King is a Dharmic King, who puts the national interest of Cambodia above all.

As a result of the study is the following:

1) The Concept of Political Philosophy, it was so-called state concepts that involved the whole meaning of political philosophy. Those concepts are catalysts of political philosophical considerable concepts in the state management, especially the most philosopher who accept that moral and political propositions have no factual or logical status. On the other hand, the concepts of the political philosophy are become a significant mechanism to generate the concepts of political philosophy, extracted from ancient Greek such as the theories of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates.

2) The Concept of Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk is the concept of leadership of the state. Also, King Norodom Sihanouk, in which his leadership was based on the ten duties of leader and sublime states (Brahma Vihara Dharma), the political philosophy of the Buddha. The study has found that King Norodom Sihanouk uses two basic concepts of philosophy: the first concept, according to the principles of Buddhism, and the second concept, combined with Brahmanism concept, including the ancient Khmer system of beliefs on the soul. The concept of his political philosophy, King Norodom applied political philosophy in his practical leadership and he performed well until his people praised him as a great King or so-called the King of Dharma, which reflects that the practice of the ten duties of the leader and the four sublime states, and this leading style can be attractive

of loving from the massive strongly support of the bottom of felt hearted people at the nationwide as well.

3) An analyzing the Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk is found: **a) Reflexive approach**, it is the most significant mechanism of his concept of political philosophy that can be learnt to apply in the present time, especially, the geopolitical catalyst in the region and the globe that allowing use method to avoiding from take side of superpowers are risen on. **b) Self-reliance**, or so-called “**independence-mastery**” it is a strength of all nations in terms of this strategy will help oneself to be strong both economy, diplomatic, and also international relations that could be get rid of looking down from outside world. **c) Common interest**, it is a core value of King Norodom Sihanouk could be learnt from him, according to this study found that King Norodom Sihanouk always thought of his nation, so that why he put the national interest is above all. On the other hand, this concept will lead moving forward to the national reconciliation in one nation, starting from the concept of common interest of nation. In terms of this concept, King Norodom Sihanouk always become a political Guru of the nation, especially while Cambodia has its political deadlock, King Norodom Sihanouk was effective political arbitrary to all the political parties, especially after 1993 national election and also all circumstances of the nation. So, he was regarded that a Great King in the modern history of Cambodia. **d) The National economy**, he took a combination of planning economy and liberalism, which fed the economy during his reign as a rich country until the export of agricultural products and creation. The motto is that Cambodia is an important rice barn in the world. **e) National education**, during his reign, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk established many prestige universities left to the present day, For instance, including the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and the Royal University of Law and Economics, which also trained many Cambodians to become highly qualified intellectuals at the national level and competition to other countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, so-called (ASEAN) at that time.

Although respecting the neutral policy and non-aligned movement of King Norodom Sihanouk, if looking at the practical knowledge from King Norodom

Sihanouk, that is, the flexibility in the geopolitical situation of the region and the world is very important strategy, such as the Buddha's philosophy on the none-soul concept as well.

In terms of practical results, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk applied his political philosophical thought, especially the basics of Buddhism. It was this feature that dared to advocate both on the international stage and at the regional level for the benefit of future generations forever, and that was known as the demand for full independence from France and the declaration of independence officially on November 9, 1953.

In the philosophical aspect of politics, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk fully adopted the concepts from the philosophy of Buddhism and Brahmanism. These two important inputs were incorporated into the implementation of national policies during his reign, especially from 1955 until 1970.

To achieve the concept of political leadership in the state's affairs, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, focused on two principles that combine the theories of religious philosophy, including Buddhism, Brahmanism, and the ancient Khmer philosophical concept, such as Totemic belief into one driving force of his aspiration to apply the his political philosophical concept in the management of state affairs both internal and external perspectives.

What is the common idea that he took from these two major religions to merge is that Brahmanism has a philosophy focused on monotheism, which means that only Brahma can save people. Buddhism, on the other hand, came to Cambodia after Brahmanism, a religion that focused on the Noble eight Fold Truth and also for the king or leaders are based on the ten virtues of the King, and those ten virtues are namely: generosity, high moral character, self-sacrifice, integrity, kindness, gentleness, self-control, non-fury, non-oppress, tolerance, and also non-opposition.

Based on the History of Cambodia, it is also revealed that Jayavarman VII is the royal model in conformity to the leadership style. During his reign was strong and able to expand its considerable territory in terms of Jayavarman VII integrated

philosophical concepts from these two religions, leading the country will become to the strongest nation at that time in this Southeast Asian region.

As a result, King Norodom Sihanouk gained great popularity among the grassroots people of Cambodia. On the other hand, His Majesty was a high ordination as a Bhikkhu for three months in 1947. So, it shows that King Norodom Sihanouk is a profound Buddha's teaching practitioner in the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia.

Although former King Norodom Sihanouk has passed away from Cambodia, Cambodians still remember his last words in 2011 in front of the Royal Palace when he urged all Cambodians to "unite for the nation " in One Khmer Society.

King Norodom Sihanouk famously built strong personal connections with regional leaders, including former Indonesian president Sukarno, Jawaharlal Nehru, former prime minister of India, and former Chinese premier Zhou Enlai. At present, no Cambodian politicians have taken the lead over the Concept of Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk in both local and international stages.

5.1.1 The Concept of the Political Philosophy of the of King Norodom Sihanouk

King Norodom Sihanouk's leadership, based on Buddhism and Brahmanism, led Cambodia to become an "Island of Peace" after gaining independence from France. He combined Buddhist principles with ancient Khmer beliefs, ensuring Cambodia's stability and progress. Moreover, the style of leadership in Cambodia of King Norodom Sihanouk got highly appreciated from other countries in this region, such as Singapore during at that time, especially around 50s-60s, under wise leadership of King Norodom Sihanouk. Those concepts are combined from the teaching of Buddha, and Brahmanism thought put into real society or applied of teachings. Regards to the concepts to response of the objective, the finding found that main points as follow:

a) The concept of the Dharma of Buddhism was implemented by King Norodom Sihanouk in the political ideas led by the Cambodian society, thus making this society an island of peace between 1955 to 1970, was under the wise leadership

of King Norodom Sihanouk, the economic, culture, international politics, and religion flourished to the point of establishing the Preah Sihanoukraj Buddhist University (PSBU) to train the human capital, especially the Buddhist monks and moral enhancement to the people of Cambodia at the nationwide.

b) The integration of Buddhism and Hinduism has made the Cambodian nation prosperous since the time of Jayavarman VII, a formula that was continued by King Norodom Sihanouk until he said that “all of us have not created anything new, we just follow in the footsteps of our ancestors in the glorious Angkorian era when our nation was so strong that no one dares to look down on us”.

C) The international relations, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk shows the maturity of relations with the heads of state, and heads of government in the world, most of them tend to side with the communist countries, but he always tried to maintain neutrality and not take any side in the political system, and that the time the King Norodom Sihanouk always uses the Dharma (Righteous) into real society and also integration of the Dharma state of Buddhism with Brahmanism in his leadership approach, and including the ancient Khmer philosophical concepts, so-called Totemic belief for the sake of balance thoughts of integration between among of those theories as mentioned above. His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk’s neutral stance led to the Cambodian country living peacefully during his patronage from 1955 to 1970, avoiding from the civil war and outside influencer to the Kingdom of Cambodia. This catalyst came from the concepts of King Norodom Sihanouk to response an international relations both ASEAN and outsider during his rule.

D) The concept of political philosophy based on these principles of King Norodom Sihanouk, So, politicians can take those concepts into account by learning from the above concepts, in fact, Samdech Akka Maha Sena Padei Techo Hun Sen, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia also learned a good leadership style and followed up what King Norodom Sihanouk had done in the past time. Based on the political point of view and national reconciliation, the point of complete peace also starts from the seeds of the political philosophy of Buddhism, and Hinduism, and also the concepts of the ancient Khmer belief based on the so-called Totemic approach.

5.1.2 King Norodom Sihanouk applied his political philosophy

In the practical leadership, King Norodom Sihanouk performed well until his people praised him as a great King or so-called the Righteous King, which reflects that He practice and applied of the ten duties of the leader and the four sublime states. King Norodom Sihanouk applied his own political philosophy in the name of the Righteous King in terms of the practice of ten duties and four sublime states to attractive from loving of common people during his management in the state's affairs.

His leading style can be attractive of loving from the massive strongly support of the bottom of felt hearted people. On the other hand, the non-alliance policy is a good point to respond of the middle path of Buddha's teaching in the middle stage both communist and liberal blocs at that time, especially between China and US.

In order for the real situation in Cambodian during 60s and 70s, the King Norodom Sihanouk applied his concept of political philosophy in real Cambodian societal context as follows:

a) In terms of the influence of Buddhism deep into the state of Cambodian society: His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk began to formulate a policy to respond to the Buddhist theory. Therefore, it means that the whole society must follow in the footsteps of the King, and sometimes like this Kingdom of Cambodia belongs to the King Norodom Sihanouk who can manage what he wants to be.

b) King Norodom Sihanouk, who retired in 2010: has been quiet about politics, what stands out is that he remains active in humanitarian and philanthropic work with his poor Cambodian people living in rural areas around the country, and continues to maintain the sacrament regularly. This proves that no matter how old he was, he still fulfilled the royal tradition of Buddhism, an important part of his concept of political philosophy, guiding the practical aspects of Cambodian society.

c) Charismatic personality of King Norodom Sihanouk: who attractive to his common people around the country in terms of his appearance was good looking, and very handsome with dynamic manner during the royal audience with common people? Moreover, King Norodom Sihanouk was so sweet voice with

precise sound during his express keynote speech to the public, so all element is the source of charismatic appearance, leading to his successful in the leadership style.

d) The national religion, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk adhered to Buddhism as the state religion, promoting Buddhism to the point of naming a Buddhist university as Preah Sihanoukraj Buddhist University, the oldest school in the Asia region as well. On the Other hand, Cambodia has never experienced sectarian conflict like other countries in the world, and also ASEAN bloc. To reach this co-existent of the religion, in terms of King Norodom Sihanouk abide by teaching of Buddha like five precepts and other moralities to the other religion, so that why can be lived good along with each other, under one country, one constitution.

5.1.3 The Application of the Concept of the Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk

King Norodom Sihanouk's political philosophy, focusing on self-reliance and Buddha's teaching "You are your own Master," is significant for Cambodian society. He emphasizes flexibility in geopolitical situations and the none-soul concept, while respecting neutral policies and non-aligned movements. What was lesson from the practice of the concept of King Norodom Sihanouk, found that the way of leadership style, the way of national reconciliation, the way of resolve the problems, and also the way of communication both local people and foreign people, including diplomatic channel as well, especially how to building up the spirit of the nationalism. Those role models in the practice are good lesson from him as follows:

a) Reflexive approach, it is the most significant mechanism of his concept of political philosophy that can be learnt to apply in the present time, especially, the geopolitical catalyst in the region and the globe that allowing use method to avoiding from take side of superpowers are risen on.

b) Self-reliance, or so-called “independence-mastery” it is a strength of all nations in terms of this strategy will help oneself to be strong both economy, diplomatic, and also international relations that could be get rid of looking down from outside world.

c) Common interest, it is a core value of King Norodom Sihanouk could be learnt from him, according to this study found that King Norodom Sihanouk

always thought of his nation, so that why he put the national interest is above all. On the other hand, this concept will lead moving forward to the national reconciliation in one nation, starting from the concept of common interest of nation.

d) The national economy, he took a combination of planning economy and liberalism, which fed the economy during his reign as a rich country until the export of agricultural products and creation. The motto is that Cambodia is an important rice barn in the world.

e) National education, during his reign, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk established many prestige universities left to the present day, For instance, including the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and the Royal University of Law and Economics, which also trained many Cambodians to become highly qualified intellectuals at the national level and competition to other countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, so-called (ASEAN) at that time.

5.2 Suggestions for further research work

In general, political philosophy, it can be observed that from ancient times up to the present times, the concept of philosophers in the world past to present are still important and can be applied in daily life, especially, in leadership for each national and country institution that requires a clear philosophical thought to orient towards success. As for the concept of political philosophy of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, found that King used the applied political philosophy extracted from Buddhist and Brahman theories to integrate into one. His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk always practiced the ten duties of the King, are consist of Generosity, High moral character, Self-sacrifice, Integrity, Kindness and Gentleness, Self-Control, Non- fury, Non-oppress, Tolerance, and Non-Opposition to get more popular among the people who are living under his patronage until regarding as Dharmica Raja (Righteous King), referring to the King with Dharma in practical perspectives. Suggestions for further research work are as follows:

a) There should be further research on how and why His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk fell from his reign during the 70s.

b) During His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk's pose as the Head of State, he always raised “**Neutralism**” instead of “**Neutrality**”, but in a practical manner on politics showing his government in favor of the communist bloc rather than the democratic/liberal bloc and look seems to be put far away from neutralism theory by his declaration in the national political platform.

c) Regarding the treatment of other opponents in domestic politics during his leadership, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk applied to silence them, especially politicians who opposed his applied political concept. In this way, King Norodom Sihanouk regarded the same binary distinction between “**Sihanouk loyalists**” and “**foreign traitors**” to any opposition politician in Cambodia at that time. So, next researchers could find out to reveal more details about what is behind the scene of his applied political philosophy concepts.

This research has just found one aspect of the implementation and an analysis of the Concept of Political Philosophy of King Norodom Sihanouk. So, in order to get more detailed data from the comprehensive research of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk's applied political philosophy thought, let the next generation of researchers/academicians, perusing of researching for other aspects of King Norodom Sihanouk's concept, including how he reconciled Cambodia, diplomacy, and economy. Hopefully, the next generation of researchers can find further scientific data on the profoundly concept of political philosophy of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk for the sake of the benefit of future scholars and academicians.

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