

JULY 1975

The July 1975 issue of *Revolutionary Youth* contained two substantive articles.<sup>1</sup> One stressed that the primary post-war duty for revolutionaries was to participate in the production movement, and that this would strengthen their revolutionary characteristics. The other stressed the need for ideological rectification within the revolutionary ranks.

The Primacy of the Movement for Agricultural Production

The first article was entitled 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation'. It noted that during the period of 'revolutionary war' from 1970 to 1975, the revolution had been characterized by 'three big seething movements': one was 'storming attacks against the enemy at the battlefield'; one was the search for water to sustain production on the 'rear battlefield' of the liberated zones; and one was the 'the struggle movement for internal refashioning' within the revolutionary ranks. Revolutionary youth had 'forged, tested, built up and strengthened their revolutionary stance' through participation in all three wartime movements, and all this had been a prerequisite for 'victory in the fight against American imperialism'. Now that the country was at peace, however, a further 'all-round strengthening' of revolutionary stances was needed to win new victories 'in the near future' in defending and building country. In this regard, the 'most seething and biggest' movement was the 'movement to increase production' so as to create a basis for 'the country to escape agricultural backwardness and ensure its rapid advance toward the status of being a modern agricultural and industrialized country'; and 'storming attacks to increase production' were everybody's 'primary duty'. 'Going down into the fray of productive labour was the most active and effective way to contribute to national defence work.' Any further 'struggle movement for internal refashioning' was relegated to secondary importance, although it was not to be ignored.<sup>2</sup>

In concrete terms, members of the Communist Youth League were admonished that they 'must go down to the countryside' to 'put up many dams, dig many ponds and feeder canals, and make many reservoirs' at the village and sub-district levels 'in order to achieve mastery over the water problem' and thus make it possible to farm paddy in both the rainy and dry seasons. The Party was striving to 'utilizing all the existing potential in terms of land ... and labour power available' to it. Revolutionary youth must therefore 'go down

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<sup>1</sup> *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975).

<sup>2</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.1-3, 12, 16-17.

into the fray of paddy farming with the people' in the same way that they had previously engaged in 'storming attacks against the enemy at the battlefield'.<sup>3</sup>

### Ideological Problems from the Old Society

However, the article recognized, there was not complete enthusiasm for such work among members of the Youth League inside and outside of the armed forces because of the the continued existence among them 'of erroneous views from the old society'. If their participation in the movement to increase production was to be 'robust', these views had 'first of all to be wiped clean ... and utterly cleansed', and then be replaced with 'a solidly correct revolutionary stance vis-à-vis productive labour'. The 'erroneous views' still present within the revolutionary ranks reflected a 'reactionary' desire to 'live in showy plenty and comfort' while avoiding any 'exertion of strength in labour'.<sup>4</sup>

The article asserted that due to the ideological hegemony of the ruling classes in the old society, such 'reactionary views' had predominated among youth 'in general', regardless of their class background. The children of the rich had simply 'had no capability whatsoever to engage in labour'. The more intelligent among the children of those less well off had been 'obsessed with making all-out efforts to study and obtain major degrees so that they would be able to become mandarins or officials and get big salaries making it possible for them to live happily in ease, plenty and comfort'. Despite the poverty of their background, they 'weren't at all pained' if Cambodia and its people 'fell into being lackeys of imperialism and colonialism'. As for those youths who were so poor that they lacked the means to study, 'they were willing to sell themselves as mercenaries' or prostitutes or became thieves. The article asserts that 'the overwhelming majority' of Cambodia's old society youth 'descended into being fodder for foreign imperialism and colonialism and for the feudalists and reactionary capitalists'.<sup>5</sup>

The article complained of the continued existence among revolutionary youth of 'an outlook and stance of loathing and disdain for productive labour'. Instead, they preferred 'to do office and ministerial work, to work as medics or cooks, or to serve in bodyguard units'. It warned that those who

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<sup>3</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.4.

<sup>4</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.5-6.

<sup>5</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.7-9.

persisted in such attitudes would be 'incapable of forging and refashioning themselves or strengthening their revolutionary stance'.<sup>6</sup>

#### Production Targets

The article called for 'one hundred fold increase' in rice production 'so as to create the potential to defend the country and build it into a powerful, affluent and happy one in a short period of time'.<sup>7</sup>

#### Agriculture, Foreign Aid and Mechanization

The article proclaimed that 'in the initial steps of national construction, we must rely on agriculture'. Moreover, 'in proceeding with agriculture, it is imperative to have a outlook and stance that independence/mastery/self-reliance are important, and that reliance upon foreign aid is not important.' For the time being, 'therefore, the important thing is relying on our own labour power, and not on machinery. ' This was because, 'on the one hand, we don't yet have the know-how to make such machinery, and, on the other hand, it consumes a lot of petrol, which our country is not yet able to produce and is something which we must wholly import from abroad.' Thus an agricultural policy of relying on machinery would be 'unworkable or would compel us to rely upon requests for foreign aid'.<sup>8</sup>

However, the article clearly indicated that the idea was that agriculture would move on toward mechanization in the future. Thus, 'so long as we carrying out storming attacks and are able to produce a lot ..., we will be able not only to sort out and improve the living standards of the people such that they will enjoy sufficiency, plenty and relief from difficulty, we will also be able to export abroad and then buy machinery.' In the meantime, however, it was 'imperative not to lie back and beg for foreign charity assistance'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.9-11.

<sup>7</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.12-13.

<sup>8</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.13-14.

<sup>9</sup> 'Revolutionary Youth Are Determined to Go Down Into the Fray of Productive Labour in Order to Forge and Strengthen Their Revolutionary Stance and Actively to Defend and Build Up the Nation', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.15-16.

The second article was entitled 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All'.

#### Class Struggle in the Democratic Revolution

The article declared that Cambodia had 'now ... advanced into a new period of the democratic revolution'. Cambodian society had become one in which 'there exist no exploiting classes or exploiting classes', and 'all of Cambodia's people live in equality due to the fact that all of them engage in the work of productive labour'. Class exploitation had ended because 'the regime of neocolonialist imperialism has been overthrown and dissolved' and 'the feudalist and capitalist classes have been destroyed, reduced to naught and disintegrated as classes along with the political regime and economic foundations'. Nevertheless, 'the evil influence' of the society they had created was still felt in the revolutionary ranks as well as among the people. 'Thus, this new phase of struggle for democratic revolution' was characterized by 'ever more severe and complex class struggle' manifest in contention 'between an ideological stance of individual and personal property and the proletarian stance of absolute self-abnegation'. This required 'a constant heightening of revolutionary vigilance' in order to 'guarantee the switchover to socialist revolution and communism now and in the future'.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Corruption of Power

The article argued that 'in a situation in which we have liberated the whole country and hold all state power throughout the country, our material standard of living is constantly on the rise compared with before, ... and there is an inevitable growth of the private property notions of various classes in our ranks.'<sup>11</sup> These had 'sprouted' both in the towns and rural base areas throughout the country immediately after liberation. They had been manifest among those who had been 'freely gathering up things which were war booty belonging to the Party, freely shooting for the fun of it as they pleased day and night' and 'fulfilling their duties not in a combat-active way and not with storming attacks.' They had also been manifest in the 'desire not to live in the countryside and desire to live in the towns', as well as in 'the desire to visit him and the desire to see one's family, parents and relatives'. In addition, they could be seen in the 'free ... contacts between men and women', in 'out of bounds speech', in a general 'absence of organizational discipline' and failure to 'respect the principles and

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<sup>10</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.24-25.

<sup>11</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.25.

procedures stipulated by the Party', and in 'free-style living in terms of eating, dressing and making use of communal items'. Finally, it could be seen in 'ideologies of position, rank, reputation and personal achievement'.<sup>12</sup>

#### Urgent Ideological Education Counter-Measures

In order to prevent 'such notions of individual and personal property' from 'just continuing to grow bigger, expand and spread', the Party had been taking 'timely measures' in the form of 'education and indoctrination to strengthen the proletarian stance of self-abnegation' within its ranks.<sup>13</sup>

#### Towns As Ideological Threat

The article cites as an example of the problem the negative ideological influence even of evacuated urban areas on the revolutionary ranks. It notes that when combatants and cadre entered Phnom Penh and other 'enemy towns', they 'entered into a life in a feudal and capitalist environment in which there were all sorts of items of luxury and affluence', which 'assaulted' their proletarian and revolutionary stances.

As a result of this 'quite a lot' of them - 'those who became frivolously overjoyed with the victory, who lacked a spirit of revolutionary vigilance and forgot about the Party's proletarian stance - quickly descended in a moment's blink of an eye into this feudal and capitalist environment'. They 'forgot about their own security and that of their units'. Some of them thought about nothing except 'driving cars and riding motorcycles on excursions in every which direction'. Others thought only about 'running after material items, wandering around collecting radios, watches, pens, cameras, etc'. They, however, failed to pay attention to genuine 'war booty of strategic significance, like heavy weapons, small arms, pistols, rifles and ammunition' and to 'important machinery', all of which was 'left lying scattered about everywhere'. Some female combatants 'dressed up in the clothes of the enemy and surreptitiously put on perfume, lipstick and facial cremes, going into rooms and gazing at themselves in mirrors.'<sup>14</sup>

#### Explaining the Evacuation

The article explains that the evacuation of Phnom Penh

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<sup>12</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.28-29.

<sup>13</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.30.

<sup>14</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.26-28.

and other towns was necessary in order to prevent uncontrollable ideological containment of the revolutionary ranks, because of their vulnerability to 'frivolity, showiness, filth, loss of mastery and forgetting about a revolutionary stance'. It notes that 'given this state of affairs, ... if the Party had not adopted measures to evacuate all the people from Phnom Penh and provincial seats, the enemy might have been able to launch a surprise attack against us from behind and utterly smash our revolutionary forces, or at the very least the enemy would have been able to bore from within against our revolutionary stance, creating internal turmoil within the revolutionary ranks, a lack of organizational discipline, splits in solidarity, and a dissipation of revolutionary stance.'<sup>15</sup>

#### Party as Provider

While admonishing against attachment to individual and personal property, the article also promises that the Party will look after its ranks materially. It asserts that with peace and because 'we hold state power and the economy in our hands', there will not be as much 'hardship and misery as there was in the war period'. It also vows that 'the Party is paying attention to sustaining and providing for our comrades in terms of food, clothing and medications, so that they will have enough to live on and be able to work.'<sup>16</sup>

#### Daun Tei Sub-District, Ponhea Kræk District, Sector 20, East Zone: A Model

An article entitled 'Absolutely Determined to Live and Die with the Poor People' tells the model story of a disabled combatant working in Daun Tei sub-district of Ponhea Kræk district in Sector 20 the the East Zone, which is also portrayed as an example of revolutionary correctness. The description suggests that the East Zone fully accepted the concept of a Manichean division and contradiction between peasants and markets and the policy of abolishing the latter to end exploitation of the former.

#### Peasants versus Markets

According to the article, more than 95 percent of the people in the sub-district are peasants, the overwhelming majority of which are poor peasants. It claims that in the old society, peasant families were able to produce hundreds of *th\_ng* of paddy per year, but that 'the entire crop ... flowed into the granaries of the feudalists/landlords and merchant middlemen at Daun Tei and Kandaol Chrum markets.' Therefore,

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<sup>15</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.28.

<sup>16</sup> 'Eliminate Ideologies of Individual and Personal Property, So That They Are Cleaned Out Once and for All', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.32.

'the overwhelming majority' of the peasants 'suffered from starvation four to five or even seven to eight months a year'.

Their exploitation was 'transformed into villas and shop-houses, cars and motorbikes, and all kinds of goods cluttering up these houses in the Kandaol Chrum and Daun Tei markets'.

It asserts that 'the destitution of our poor people in Daun Tei sub-district, like that in all other parts of the whole of Cambodia, indeed was caused by all this exploitation'.<sup>17</sup>

#### Party as Material Provider

However, the article appears to indicate a relatively great emphasis on the role of technology and to portray the Party very much as a provider. This may point to East Zone differences with others in the Party.

The article says that after liberation, 'the production movement in Daun Tei sub-district enjoyed a mightily dynamic and hugely enthusiastic jump.' This was said to be 'due to Party's having paid constant attention to propaganda, education and nurturing, having provided assistance with material and a variety of production means, having given guidance, deduced experiences and made improvements even in terms of production techniques'. There was a 'dynamic jump' in the 'movement to put up dams and dig feeder canals and reservoirs' in every village and every co-operative. Whenever the finished transplanting, harvesting or threshing, the people 'always concentrated their important labour forces and went together' to construct waterworks 'day and night'.<sup>18</sup>

#### Post-Liberation Role of the Army

An item in the section entitled 'Revolutionary Youth News' outlines the post-liberation role of the army. It stresses that while the remains combat-ready, it plays a more important role by 'going down directly into the fray in every worksite to build up the country'. Thus, while army cadre and combatants continue to 'hold their guns in one hand, prepared in advance and standing by in all circumstances for combat to defend their beloved Cambodia's territory and borders', they also, 'in their other hand, hold plows, harrows, digging tools and hammers'. At all worksites, they 'act as the most advanced models and as cores to whip things up and give an impetus to all revolutionary tasks.' They are working in factories where they 'study technology and science while at the same time giving an impetus to production of all kinds'. The army is particularly active in communications and transportation work, 'battling to repair all roads, big and small,' and working 'day and night' to build railway bridges and to repair the tracks from Phnom Penh to Kampung Saom and from Phnom Penh to Batdambang.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> 'Absolutely Determined to Live and Die with the Poor People', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.37-39.

<sup>18</sup> 'Absolutely Determined to Live and Die with the Poor People', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.39.

<sup>19</sup> '1. The Heroism of Our Revolutionary Armed Forces in

### Agriculture and Mechanization

According to the article, army units engaged in agricultural production "make use of every possibility, combining machinery with both animal power and human power, including hand power'. They 'use all possibilities available, neither leaving anything to remain idle nor lying back and waiting for a sufficiency of production means.' Thus, 'those teams having machinery uses tractors for plowing and harrowing. Those teams with enough oxen and buffalo use animal power to pull the plow and the harrow. Those teams which lack not only oxen and buffalo but also plows and harrows battle to make plows and harrows and use human forces themselves to pull them. Those teams having only hoes and digging tools battle with their own hands to break up and spread out the soil of the paddy fields.'<sup>20</sup>

### Agricultural Production Targets

The article says that 'despite the existence of shortages of means of and tools for production, the plan laid down this year', at least for the armed forces, 'is to ensure 200 percent paddy production in order to provide not only food to provision themselves 100 percent, but also to have a surplus of another 100 percent to provide to the Organization'.<sup>21</sup>

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Their New Task of Building Up the Country By Independence/Mastery', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.71-72, 75.

<sup>20</sup> '1. The Heroism of Our Revolutionary Armed Forces in Their New Task of Building Up the Country By Independence/Mastery', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), pp.73-74.

<sup>21</sup> '1. The Heroism of Our Revolutionary Armed Forces in Their New Task of Building Up the Country By Independence/Mastery', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 7: July 1975), p.74.