

OCTOBER 1975

The October 1975 issue of *Revolutionary Youth* appears to express rising concern about the threat from the defeated feudalist and capitalist classes.

From National Democratic to Socialist Revolution

Its leading article, 'Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Co-operatives', focuses attention to the threat they pose within production co-operatives. It declares that these exploiting classes, which had had 'a solid economic base and political regime' in Cambodia for 'more than two millenia' have 'been *basically*¹ overthrown completely both in terms of their economic foundations and of their political regime'. The Cambodian people have thus 'already succeeded completely with the national-democratic revolution'. However, they 'must continue further by conducting a socialist revolution in Cambodia'.²

Agricultural Foundation Based on Co-operatives

The 'two main new revolutionary duties' of the Cambodian people in their on-going revolutionary endeavours are to defend and build the country, and this means concentration on developing agriculture. 'Given the fact that Cambodia is a backward agricultural country and possesses a lot of agricultural capital, the work of defending and building our country must rely basically on agriculture.'

Functions of Co-operatives

Doing this in a revolutionary manner requires co-operatives. 'In this new era of the revolution, the movement for production co-operatives is the most seething of all movements.' Already, 'ever since the middle of 1973, the overwhelming majority of our brother and sister peasants, particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants, have all become members of upper- and lower-level co-operatives', and these 'poor and lower-middle peasants' rank as 'the most exalted members³ of production co-operatives'. Now, with the liberation of the country, 'the co-operative movement has been mightily and ceaselessly strengthened and expanded.' It has 'advanced from the organization of teams of 15 to 20 to 30 households to the organization of village co-operatives, ie, those in which the village is taken as the grass-roots unit of organization.' Moreover, since liberation, 99.9 percent of

¹ *chea mou_l_than* (emphasis added)

² 'Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Cooperatives', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.1-2.

³ *smachik da_tdam*

the Cambodian people have all been obliged to live in the country so as to be able to participate in the movement to increase production to sustain themselves and contribute to defending and building the country.' Thus production co-operatives are the 'guarantors'⁴ of those under their charge, responsible for sorting out what are optimistically described as their 'temporary ... shortages of shelter, residences and homes, of foodstuffs and of various means and tools of production'.⁵

Dealing with the New People

Their veteran members must 'battle day and night to increase production' not only to 'sustain themselves' but also to 'sustain the more than two million new people who have just come down to the countryside with nothing but their bare hands.' As they 'gain more and more and richer and richer'⁶ experience in leading the administration of co-operatives, they must also become more adept at 'managing labour forces to increase production and distributing the results both to co-operative members and to the new people'. They are also the ideological mentors of urban evacuees, 'in charge of administering the education and re-fashioning of the more than two million people who have just be liberated from the rule of the contemptible traitors'. In this regard, the proper organization of the co-operatives themselves is a positive factor. 'In particular, the co-operative movement can very well strengthen and expand the communal ideological outlook and stance and an ideology of collectivism correctly and comprehensively because life, work and study in them are all collective in nature.' However, the article also warns that 'in the complex situation in which more than two million new people have just gone down to live in the countryside, enemy agents and a variety of other bad elements are still chaotically mixed in among their ranks'. Dealing with the threat they supposedly pose is another task which the co-operatives must take on. In this regard, it is their 'role to help strength the state power at the village and sub-district levels and to help preserve and defend the security of the new people along with also preserving good order at the grass-roots in the villages and sub-districts.'⁷

Never-Ending Class Struggle in the Co-operatives Through Rectification

⁴ n_k r_p-rong: the term can carry the connotation of 'patron'.

⁵ 'Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Cooperatives', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.2-5, 10.

⁶ *sâmbaur-bæp*

⁷ 'Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Cooperatives', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.4-7.

Readers are further warned that all the `complex problems arising within the co-operatives' will `constantly and always' pose for them `seething' issues of class struggle. Thus, `class combat and the resolution of class contradictions' will be constantly taking place within co-operatives. Indeed, `all aspects of the battle and the struggle' are now `concentrated right in the production co-operatives'. Moreover, `both now and in the future', the co-operative movement `will be the most seething movement, with the sharpest combat' in the class struggle. Moreover, the enemy will be apparent not only among the new people, but also in the phenomenon of pacifism, frivolity, showiness, desires to be fully-equipped, liberalism and anarchy in the revolutionary ranks themselves. They `must be combatted and sorted out constantly' in `a constantly seething movement' requiring `constant education and rectification'. This should involve `the regular holding of life-style meetings to conduct criticism and self-criticism and of meetings for political study'. In this way, co-operatives should be considered `the greatest of universities ... for the study of revolutionary knowledge'. Those who `fight to forge, train and re-fashion themselves on the seething battlefield of the co-operative movement' will be `truly endowed with a firm revolutionary stance' and be able `to make the swithover to making socialist revolution and carrying on to the communist revolution.'⁸

Ideological Problems Among Communist Youth

The article laments that `there have hitherto been a number of erroneous phenomena in the ranks ... in terms both of outlook and of stance.' These are said to include the `wrong view' that `only by working in one of the revolution's offices or ministries will one be able to forge and re-fashion oneself and to develop, be able to study revolutionary know-how and knowledge and to study politically theory systematically.' They include `fearing work involving hardship, exhaustion and heavy labour' and thinking that only by getting work in offices and ministries will one get a respite from such difficulties. They also involve the mistaken notion that `in the co-operatives there's not an iota of status and there aren't any posts, whereas if one works in an office or ministry of the revolution, then one enjoys status and has a clear-cut function and post.' Some of those `sent to forge, study and re-fashion themselves in the co-operative movement' even `harbour ill-feelings against the Organization' and upon arrival `malingers, are not combat-active and are dissatisfied'. They `lay about waiting upon the time, the day, when the Organization will summon them back to work in the offices and ministries of the revolution'. Such persons are `incapable of studying from the movement'. They cannot `develop or flourish along with the co-operative movement or

⁸ `Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Cooperatives', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.5-8.

keep up with it'.⁹

⁹ 'Cambodian Youth Must Forge and Re-Fashion Themselves in the Movement to Strengthen and Expand Production Cooperatives', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.9-11.

Absolute Class Struggle

A second article, entitled 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', rings the alarm bells more clearly and loudly.¹⁰ This, the article concludes, is necessary 'in order to crown the socialist revolution in Cambodia with a total great victory and then to advance to make a communist revolution in Cambodia as well.'¹¹

Overthrow of the Feudal and Capitalist Classes: A Qualified Success

It reiterates that 'the feudal and capitalist classes ... have put down the deepest roots in Cambodian society for more than two millenia.' It repeats that 'basically they have been completely overthrown, ie, both their economic foundations and their political regime have been overthrown', and thus that as of 17 April 1975, 'we have achieved completely the national-democratic revolution' and Cambodia 'is advancing into the next phase of making socialist revolution.'¹²

A Two-Class Society of Equality in Hard Work

As a result, the article claims, 'the new Cambodian society since 17 April 1975 comprises only two classes: the workers and the peasants'. Its 'worker-peasant people are living in equality ... in an atmosphere of great solidarity and in which everyone engages in labour to make storming attacks day and night to increase production.'¹³

But Feudal and Capitalist Individuals and Influence Are Everywhere

Despite their basic overthrow and the emergence of a worker-peasant society, however, 'individual feudalists and capitalists' continue to exist and have 'gone down to increase

¹⁰ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.14-25.

¹¹ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), p. 25.

¹² 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.14-15.

¹³ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), p.15.

production in the countryside with our peasants'. 'These guys¹⁴ are mixed in with our peasants everywhere throughout the Cambodian countryside.' They remain ideologically unchanged. 'Their greedy desires from the old days when they exploited the workers and the peasants still reside within their bodies and their thoughts.' Their 'outlook, stance, ideology, worldview and credo¹⁵' are 'aphysical objects which are impossible to attack, completely smash and dispose of immediately.' They 'still continue to exist among our people, especially among the strata of the new worker-peasant people who have just been liberated from the towns.' These evacuees 'are living mixed up with our veteran worker-peasant people throughout the whole of Cambodia'. Moreover, 'whether they want to or not', and 'whether they are conscious of it or not, these new worker-peasant people are all leading carriers of imperialist-feudalist-capitalist outlooks, stances, ideologies, worldviews and credos', who are 'disseminating them among our veteran worker-peasant people and in our production co-operatives.' Moreover, their 'remnant scurf¹⁶ and evil influence' also continue to exist 'to greater or lesser degrees' not only among these veteran people, but also 'in our revolutionary ranks and the ranks of our revolutionary army'.¹⁷

Manifestations of Enemy Ideologies in the Revolutionary Ranks

The article asserts that feudal and capitalist ideologies are manifest within the Communist Party and the army in the 'regionalism¹⁸, cohort-ism¹⁹, unit of organization-ism²⁰ and group-ism²¹', of those who do not yet see or calculate things in the 'big and broad' terms 'of the whole country', even though the Party 'grasps state power throughout and rules the entire

¹⁴ 'vea', a pronoun used, *inter alia*, with reference to animals and inferior human beings, such as children and those held in contempt.

¹⁵ *monok_mvích-chea*

¹⁶ *kâm-æ1*: this term refers specifically to scurf permeated with dirt which must be vigorously scrubbed off if one is to have clean skin.

¹⁷ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constatly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.16-17.

¹⁸ *tâmbân-níy_m*

¹⁹ *krâp-kh_n-níy_m*; the term *krâp-kh_n* refers to a group or cohort of persons or cadre working within a specific bureaucratic structure or framework

²⁰ *ângk_pheap-níy_m*

²¹ *krom-níy_m*

country'. They are also reflected the continued existence of 'ideologies of status, rank, position, function and personal achievements and feats of arms'. In addition, they can be seen in the continued existence of the 'ideologies of individual and personal property and of perceiving only and caring exclusively about the things that immediately surround oneself, one's family and one's coterie²².' Other problems include 'frivolity, obliviousness and pacifism'.²³

Never-Ending Ideological Combat and Class Struggle Within the Revolution

Thus, the article warns, ideological conflict continues everywhere. 'In today's new Cambodian society, whether in the production co-operatives, in the offices, ministries and worksites of the revolution, in each unit of army organization, or in each of us, battles continue to exist between the ideology of personalism and the ideology of communalism; between individual interests and collective interests; between the outmoded, exploitative and reactionary worldview of the imperialists-feudalists-capitalists and the new revolutionary worldview, which is correct, good and pure and developed and progressive; between the outlooks and stances of the exploitative classes and all the other non-working²⁴ classes and the Party's proletarian outlook and stance; between the credos of corruption, going along to get along²⁵ and idealism of imperialism-feudalism-capitalism with the correct, pristine, materialist and scientific credos of the revolution.' All these ideological battles are part of the 'tough and tenacious class combat in the new current phase of the revolution'. Their existence 'clearly proves that in our new Cambodian society of today, in which exploiting classes are non-existent and despite the fact that only worker-peasant classes remain, class struggle has not yet ended or been extinguished, and acute class contradictions continue to exist. It is merely that their appearance is different from what it was in the war period.' Thus, 'a superficial examination' might indicate that 'the class struggle in this new phase of the revolution has cooled down, is easier and more relaxed²⁶ than during the era of revolutionary warfare.' However, 'an examination into the

²² *p_k-puok*

²³ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constatly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.17-18, 25.

²⁴ *m_un k_mm_chip*; in Thai the term *k_mm_chip* refers to the proletariat.

²⁵ *ândæt-ândaung*

²⁶ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constatly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.19-20.

depths of the class struggle' reveals that 'it is as severe and tenacious a life-and-death matter' as it was during the war. Indeed, 'it is of a more difficult character' because it is necessary to 'fight with aphysical enemies and adversaries who can neither be seen nor captured.'²⁷

How to Conduct Class Struggle: Without Armed Warfare

The article asserts that 'it is therefore imperative to continue to conduct more mighty class struggles in the new Cambodian society and to do so in new forms appropriate to the new phase of the revolution.' There can be 'no relaxation or reduction' in the conduct of class struggle, which will remain 'sharp, tough and tenacious'. Because of the shapelessness of the enemy, it is necessary to be on particular guard against enemies 'who infiltrate into our ranks' and 'bore from within', who might thereby 'easily overthrow the our current revolutionary state power and system of rule' by first 'knocking down and overthrowing our stance' and then 'smashing us militarily and seizing state power.' It is therefore necessary to maintain a 'constant stance of sharp, absolute and seething class struggle', one which must 'never be demobilized or relaxed, eased or reduced'. However, it should 'not take the form of the mutual armed violence of a revolutionary war, of an uprising or of blood-letting combat'.²⁸

Aphysical Enemies and the Threat of Capitalist Restoration

The article warns that the problem will become may become more acute despite the defeat of the feudal and capitalist classes and as the overall situation in Cambodia improves. Thus, 'in this era of peace both currently and in the future in which there are no physical enemies or adversaries ... to conduct repression and go on rampages against us or provoke hot shooting wars against us; in a situation where the material and mental life-styles are also richer and easier than they were during the war and are going to be improving by degrees; and in a situation where all of us are living in such peace and comfort, we mostly become oblivious and negligent, slacken up in terms of organizational discipline, the Party line and the organizational principles of the Party. We mostly underestimate the enemy, and particular we don't perceive aphysical enemies and adversaries very well.' This is most dangerous because 'it is precisely these aphysical enemies who are the most noxious and who are attacking our revolutionary stance in order to bring about its collapse and

²⁷ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constatly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.19-22.

²⁸ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constatly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.19-22.

disintegration without us knowing it, and who will then attack and bring us to the ground by peaceful means.' The article notes that 'this calamity has already arisen and is currently arising in certain countries in the world which are revolutionary and socialist in name, but where the essential reality and their stances have undergone a total capitalist transformation.'²⁹

Ideological Combat Measures

The article lists three measures which must be taken 'in order to strengthen the stance of class struggle constantly to make it always absolutely seething and sharp'.

The first is 'constantly to conduct a struggle battle for internal re-fashioning, so as to make it always mighty, deep and seething' through a programme of mutual surveillance and re-education. Readers are to do this by 'at all times examining, keeping track of, awakening and reminding each other' what to do, by 'constantly helping always to rectify each other', by 'not underestimating things or letting them slide, thus allowing errors to continue indefinitely on the pretext that enemies no longer exist and exploiting classes no longer exist.' The second is a programme of ideological education involving 'constant re-fashioning, indoctrination and strengthening and expansion of the Party's proletarian stance'. The article warns this requires revolutionaries to be 'unforgiving with themselves' in maintaining 'the Party's four-fold proletarian nature, ie, the highest self-abnegation; the sharpest combat; unconditional respect for organizational discipline; and non-stop creative re-fashioning.' The third is 'constantly high revolutionary vigilance'³⁰.

²⁹ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), p.24.

³⁰ 'In the New Current Phase of the Revolution, Our Youth Must Constantly Strengthen Their Stance of Absolute and Seething Class Struggle', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.22-23.

An article entitled 'Revolutionary Sentiments' the October 1975 issue of *Revolutionary Youth* provides a model description of a co-operative in the West Zone and tells the story of the reunion there of a revolutionary combatant with his widowed mother.³¹

Bat Doeng: A Co-operative Built from the Ashes

According to the article Bat Doeng, a village just northwest of Phnom Penh on the rail line to Batdambang, was destroyed by the enemy and abandoned by its population during the war. Then, 'after 17 April 1975, the people of Bat Doeng returned to their village of origin' to find 'only ashes'. They 'set up a production co-operative' and, despite the destruction of their village, aimed to produce 'not only enough to sustain themselves but also to contribute the restoration of the economy and building and defending the country'. Hoping to 'build the country in order rapidly to make it develop and flourish mightily and to become affluent and happy', they set 'to work day and night'. Some teams 'built houses to be divided among' co-operative members and some 'cleaned up the debris of war', while others began agricultural work. They had 'launched storming attacks to put up paddy dikes in the new manner, that is they dismantled the small paddy fields and integrated them all into one, putting up new big paddy dikes in lines as straight as an arrow and cutting out a checkerboard of squares.' This was in order 'to catch and hold rainwater within these paddy fields; to gain greater land area than before and to facilitate collective plowing and harrowing using dozens of plows and harrows simultaneously.' To create the conditions for double-cropping, other co-operative members were 'putting up dams on low-lying land subject to flooding in order to catch water there in the season when the water recedes' and 'going together to like medium-sized feeder canals connecting into the paddy fields through which water could be put in or taken out of them.'³²

Private Plots and Collective Paddy Fields

Thus, in a mere five months, the Bat Doeng co-operative had supposedly transformed their village. 'Many small but neat houses arranged in utterly straight and orderly lines' were each surrounded by gardens of bananas, tubers, papaya and various vegetables. Despite some delays and poor rainfall, the co-operative had farmed all available land in time and the crop looked like it was going to be good, thus giving co-operative members 'hope and a firm faith in the bright future of their village and district'.³³

³¹ 'Revolutionary Sentiments', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.26-48.

³² 'Revolutionary Sentiments', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.26-29.

³³ 'Revolutionary Sentiments', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.29-30.

The Model Revolutionary Visits Home

The model revolutionary in this story is Phin, who left Bat Doeng in 1966 and who is visiting home for the first time since to inquire after the fate of his family. In the meantime he had been a courier in Phnom Penh and the East Zone, arrested by the enemy, and had joined the revolutionary army in the Northwest Zone.

Phin arrives in Bat Doeng without prior notification and apparently without authorization, and is welcomed after he is accepted as a native of the village. His visit is motivated by family sentiments. He discovers that his mother has been widowed by the war and is alone in the village, but is reassured by her and others that the co-operative system is providing for and otherwise looking after her well.³⁴ His meeting with her is portrayed as emotional, and there is no suggestion that the combatant's desire to find out personally about what has happened to his family is politically untoward.

All this seems to contradict somewhat the stress in substantive articles of *Revolutionary Youth* on the need for self-abnegation in foresaking 'family-ism'.

³⁴ 'Revolutionary Sentiments', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp. 30-35, 38, 47.

Re-Educating Youth to Eliminate Old Society Worldviews

One of the items in 'Revolutionary Youth News' stresses the need for and success in transforming the worldview of Cambodian youth by re-education through indoctrination and through labour.³⁵

It stresses the profound influence on Cambodian youth of 'the credos and the propaganda and education of the imperialists, feudalists and capitalists', and says that 'a large proportion of them went astray and became confused and went along with the worldviews of the exploiting classes.'³⁶

However, 'after the liberation of the whole country, the Party conducted propaganda and education' of these misled youth and 'conducted agitation of all of them to get them to join and get involved in the great movement to increase production.' While 'the Party conducted constant propaganda and education and indoctrination of them in terms of revolution outlook, stance, politics, ideology and organization,' they also 'joined intimately in the life of the worker-peasant people and became personally involved in doing productive labour'. As a result, it is claimed, 'the worldview of these youth was rapidly improved', and they came 'to see clearly that the greatest and highest know-how and knowledge in the world are the know-how and knowledge of increasing production.'³⁷

³⁵ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The New Revolutionary Worldview of our Cambodian Youth With Regard to Knowledge', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.49-52.

³⁶ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The New Revolutionary Worldview of our Cambodian Youth With Regard to Knowledge', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.49-50.

³⁷ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The New Revolutionary Worldview of our Cambodian Youth With Regard to Knowledge', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.50-51.

Mobile Production Units

The second news item describes the operation of mobile production brigades in the Northwest Zone, and is apparently intended to provide a model for their activities throughout the country.³⁸

Resolving Labour Shortages

The item claims that 'many mobile production unit teams have been set up in every sector of the Northwest Zone, particularly in Batdambang'. They are based at worksites of their own, where they must increase production to sustain themselves, but they must at the same time be ready at all times to provide assistance to co-operatives. Normally, they must first 'battle to increase production on the paddy fields at their own worksites and get that done with independence/mastery and rapidly, before their forces are withdrawn to conduct storming attacks to give an impetus to production in the co-operatives.' However, even when they are working on their own fields, they must be ready to detach 'a large proportion of their strength' to go help any co-operative with 'essential and urgent tasks'. They are thus 'vanguard production units with the mobility to go hither and yon to conduct storming attacks to increase production wherever there is good resource endowment but a shortage of labour power'. The units comprise 'able-bodied youth' organization into 'companies (with one hundred or more members) and battalions (with 300 or more members)'. They are 'clearly and highly organized, with a proper and thorough-going organizational discipline along military lines both in how they live and when they work.' They go wherever they are needed and set up camp to begin working 'day and night until everything is complete, and then move on to work some place else.'³⁹

The tasks in which they assist the co-operatives include:

- hacking up, cleaning off and breaking out new paddy fields for any co-operative suffering from a short of land or having too little land;
- helping with plowing, harrowing and transplanting at any co-operatives where the water arrives first and which lacks the strength which which to conduct storming attacks to keep up with the water;
- helping to put up dams and build feeder canals to bring water in from streams to the paddy fields in any sector lacking water or in

³⁸ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The Heroism of Mobile Production Brigades in the Northwest Zone', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.52-56.

³⁹ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The Heroism of Mobile Production Brigades in the Northwest Zone', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.52-53, 56.

- which there is insufficient rainfall;
- helping any place where there is sufficient rainfall but is inexperienced in making new paddy dikes to hack up and dismantle the small paddy fields from the old society and to put up new paddy dikes in a checkerboard pattern in order to catch rainwater and hold it in paddy fields in order to make full-scale use of rainwater;
 - helping any co-operative team or sector in which the paddy becomes ripe first to complete the harvest in time and prevent ripe paddy from becoming waterlogged or to be broken and ruined, if the strength of the co-operative is unable to conduct storming attacks in time.

In addition, mobile production units function both to conduct propaganda and education and to disseminate new and good technical experiences in increasing production from one co-operative to the another and from one sector to another.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 1. The Heroism of Mobile Production Brigades in the Northwest Zone', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.53-56.

Three Tons Per Hectare

The October 1975 issue of *Revolutionary Youth* is the first available to mention the target of producing three tons of paddy per hectare per year. The mention takes place not in one of its articles, but in a photograph showing a group of 'female combatants weaving hundreds and thousands of scoop-baskets in preparation for going down to put up paddy dikes according to the new method of generalized checkerboards in order to increase rice production to the level of three tons per hectare.'⁴¹

⁴¹ *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), between p.56 and p.57.

Ponhea Kræk, Sector 20, East Zone: A Model Again

The October 1975 issue of *Revolutionary Youth* again portrays Ponhea Kræk district, in Sector 20 of the East Zone, as a model of revolutionary activity and care. An item in the regular 'Revolutionary Youth News' feature praises 'The Combat Spirit to Conduct Revolutionary Work of Our Disabled Combatants in Ponhea Kræk District, Kampung Cham Province'.⁴² It describes the presence of a number of disabled combatants are the district office of Ponhea Kræk. It says that 'every last one of these brothers and sisters is receiving all-round support and care from the Party, ranging from medications to housing and clothing as well as in terms of political ideology.' It says that the disabled 'don't know how to remain idle', and some are busying themselves 'teaching literacy and arithmetic to their nephew and niece children'⁴³ at the grassroots in the villages and sub-districts.' Others are engaged in 'increasing production at the office or with the people in the co-operatives', or spend their time doing animal husbandry or weaving.⁴⁴

⁴² 'Revolutionary Youth News: 3. The Combat Spirit to Conduct Revolutionary Work of Our Disabled Combatants in Ponhea Kræk District, Kampung Cham Province', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.56-58.

⁴³ ie, children of nephew and niece age

⁴⁴ 'Revolutionary Youth News: 3. The Combat Spirit to Conduct Revolutionary Work of Our Disabled Combatants in Ponhea Kræk District, Kampung Cham Province', in *Revolutionary Youth* (Number 10, October 1975), pp.56-57.