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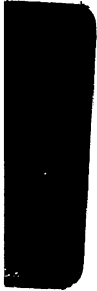
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AREA HANDBOOK
for
CAMBODIA

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AREA HANDBOOK
for
CAMBODIA

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. Extensive bibliographies are provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States Government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to—

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PREFACE

Cambodia, one of the smallest nations in Southeast Asia, has been forced into an increasing role in international politics because of the military conflict in North and South Vietnam. Cambodia shares approximately 1,000 miles of border with Laos and the Republic of South Vietnam, and although these borders have been delimited by international agreement, the jungle terrain makes them difficult to define, and this has resulted in occasional violations. The Cambodian Government has steadfastly maintained that it has a policy of nonalignment with either the Communist or the non-Communist bloc.

During the 14 years since the emergence of the country as an independent state, much progress has been achieved in education, agriculture, industry, health, and welfare. Perhaps the most noteworthy accomplishment has been the success of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Chief of State, in welding the entire population into a cohesive political force which overwhelmingly supports the government, despite difficulties resulting from the cessation of diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries of Thailand in 1961 and South Vietnam in 1963.

This volume is a revision of the *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Cambodia* which was published in 1963. At that time the United States was represented in Cambodia not only by the Ambassador and his staff but also by the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Service, and a sizable Military Assistance Advisory Group. These groups gave much material assistance to the authors; in addition, the Cambodian Ambassador in Washington provided publications, charts, and statistics. Since Prince Norodom Sihanouk severed diplomatic relations with the United States in 1965, comparable material about Cambodia has not been available.

The authors have attempted to analyze the dominant social, political and economic aspects of the society, to present its strengths and weaknesses and to identify the characteristic patterns of behavior of the individuals in the society. The authors are indebted to Professor John J. Hooker of Catholic University, who prepared some of the economics chapters, and to the

United States Department of Labor for an unpublished study on Cambodian labor law and practice prepared by Morris Polack. A glossary is included for the reader's convenience, and wherever possible, place names are those established by the United States Board on Geographic Names.

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. **COUNTRY:** Kingdom of Cambodia. One of the smaller nations in Southeast Asia. Bordered on the east, north and west by South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, and on the south by the Gulf of Siam. Its present boundaries represent all that remains of the former much larger Khmer Empire.

2. **GOVERNMENT:** For centuries it has been a monarchy, with the king at the apex of power. The actual power of the sovereign was interrupted for almost 100 years during the French occupation (1863–1953), but even during this period the king was considered by the people to be the temporal and spiritual leader of the nation. In 1946 a constitution was promulgated which was approved in 1947 and, with some major changes, remains in effect. The constitution requires a two-house legislature elected every 4 years. In 1967 the ruler was Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a former king who abdicated in 1955 and organized a political party known as the Sangkum, through which he firmly guides the domestic and foreign policies of the nation as its “Chief of State.”

3. **SIZE AND CLIMATE:** Area, 66,000 square miles, approximately the size of Washington State. The seasonal alteration of winds (called monsoons) determines both the rainfall and temperature throughout the year. The southwest or rainy monsoon, reaching Cambodia in May and lasting until October, brings heavy rainfall throughout the country. The northwest or dry monsoon blows from October to April and brings the dry season. The mean temperature is 81.5° F.

4. **TOPOGRAPHY:** About half of the area is forested and, of the 24,000 square miles of arable land, only one-third is under cultivation. Near the center of the country is the Tonle Sap, the largest fresh-water lake in Southeast Asia, and the Mekong River traverses the country from north to south. The central portion is a plain where most of the population lives near the rivers and their tributaries. Mountain ranges exist in the east, north-east and southwest.

5. **POPULATION:** About 6 million. The numerically dominant ethnic group is the Khmer with 85 percent of the total popula-

tion. Chinese and Vietnamese each represent 7 percent, and the remaining 1 percent includes the Khmer Loeu tribal groups, Cham-Malays, Thai, Laotians and small colonies of Europeans, Japanese, Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos.

6. **LANGUAGE:** Khmer is the national language, spoken by over 90 percent of the population, but French is the accepted language in intellectual and professional circles. Most secondary and post-secondary education is conducted in French. Members of the various minority groups speak their own language and often can speak Khmer as well. The Khmer Loeu tribal groups speak a number of languages, some of them distantly related to Khmer, although they are not mutually intelligible.

7. **RELIGION:** Theravada Buddhism is the official state religion and is practiced by at least 85 percent of the population. The remainder of the population are Moslems, Mahayana Buddhists or Roman Catholics. The Khmer Loeu practice a variety of animist beliefs.

8. **ECONOMY:** The economy is agrarian, with rice the most important product. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and employs four-fifths of the male population. The soils are fertile and the climate is well suited to intensive growing of a wide range of crops, vegetables and fruits. The harvest is used mainly for rural household subsistence. Rice and corn surpluses are exported, and rubber is grown on large foreign-owned plantations, also for export. Industry is small in scale with considerable state participation. Its contribution to the gross national product during the period 1957-64 remained stable at about 12.5 percent. Industry is confined largely to the processing of agricultural products (particularly rice, fish and rubber), and making a few consumer items.

9. **IMPORTS AND EXPORTS:** Imports are primarily textiles, automotive equipment, chemicals, machinery, iron and steel products, petroleum products and pharmaceuticals. The major suppliers of these are France, Japan, Communist China, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Singapore, Indonesia and India. Exports are largely primary products such as rubber and rice which together comprise four-fifths of the total. The principal markets are France and the franc area, Singapore, Hong Kong, Communist China, the Philippines and Japan.

10. **FINANCE:** The monetary unit is the riel, and the currency is stable. It is solidly backed by gold and foreign exchange. Private commercial banks were nationalized in 1964, and their functions absorbed by two new State Commercial Banks. The Cambodian National Bank has a firm control over currency, foreign exchange reserves and credit distribution. The money supply re-

mained steady during the period 1962-65, despite previous and continued government deficit financing.

11. **JUSTICE:** There is a four-level court system which functions under a Minister of Justice. The legal system is a combination of French and Cambodian judicial practice. In crimes affecting the security of the state the accused may be tried by a specially constituted military tribunal.

12. **INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:** Cambodia belongs to the United Nations and also to some of its specialized agencies. It also belongs to the International Red Cross and applies the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, although not a contracting party. The country receives economic assistance under the Colombo Plan and from Communist countries, but it does not participate in regional organizations such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which it considers Western-dominated.

13. **HEALTH:** When the country became independent in 1953 the government was faced with the problem of providing hospital facilities and training medical personnel to replace the French who had operated the medical services. A vigorous government-sponsored health program was inaugurated, and in 1967 more than 6,000 hospital beds were available and there were 337 practicing physicians. The infant mortality rate is high. Diseases include malaria, dengue fever, filariasis, leprosy, trachoma and smallpox. A country-wide anti-malaria campaign has been in progress for several years and has had much success.

14. **EDUCATION:** Post-independence governmental measures to increase educational facilities and impress the importance of education were enthusiastically endorsed by the population. In 1967, 942,000 students were enrolled in primary schools; 93,000 in secondary schools; 7,000 in vocational schools and 7,400 in junior colleges and the universities. Education is based on the French classical system. Government policy has drastically reduced the previously rather large proportion of students attending universities abroad. The benefits of foreign education were fully appreciated, but the reduction was deemed necessary because the ideological and political views of some of the returned students were inimical to governmental policy. In 1967 the student population was increasing, enthusiasm for education was unabated, and the basic problem was a shortage of qualified teachers.

15. **COMMUNICATIONS:** There is one radio station and one television station, both of which are operated by the Ministry of Information. The government issues eight periodicals, three of which are dailies. One of these is the official journal and the others are in the form of press releases. All are in French and

the journal and one of the releases is also in Khmer. Other governmental publications are two weeklies, one in French and one in Khmer, and three monthlies, one of which is in Khmer, one in French and one in both French and English. Thirteen daily newspapers are published in Phnom Penh, all of which must be licensed by the Ministry of Information. Five of these are in Khmer, five in Chinese, two in French and one in Vietnamese.

16. AIRLINES AND AIRFIELDS: Royal Air Cambodge, a national airline, is the only domestic airline, and it also connects with Singapore, Canton and Hong Kong. A number of United States, European and Asian airlines serve Cambodia. There are three international airports and about 20 smaller airfields. The largest is the international airport of Pochentong, which is just a few miles from the capital city of Phnom Penh.

17. RAILROADS: About 240 miles of meter gauge track connect Phnom Penh with Poipet on the Thailand border. Another line of about 170 miles from the capital to the Gulf of Siam port of Sihanoukville was scheduled for completion in 1968.

18. NAVIGABLE RIVERS: Inland waterways play an important role in domestic commerce. The Mekong River is navigable for 900 miles during the rainy season and 370 miles during the dry season. Tidal range and seasonal variations in the level of the Mekong hinder the movement of traffic. Tributary rivers and streams emptying into the Tonle Sap or the Gulf of Siam provide an additional 1,000 miles of rainy season traffic.

19. HIGHWAYS: In 1967 there were 1,600 miles of asphalt roads and an additional 350 miles of roads suitable for dry-season motor transport. Other roads in the national system are suitable only for animal-drawn vehicles. The principal element in the system is a net of trunk highways connecting Phnom Penh with most of the provincial capitals and with South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.

20. PORTS: Phnom Penh, which accommodates vessels of 8,000 tons at any time of the year, was formerly the only port for ocean vessels. The port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam, which was opened in 1960, can accommodate vessels up to 10,000 tons. Between 1961 and 1965, the volume of traffic handled at Phnom Penh decreased from 741,000 to 595,000 tons, while the traffic at Sihanoukville increased from 95,000 to 754,000 tons.

21. THE ARMED FORCES: The Royal Khmer Armed Forces (Forces Armées Royales Khmeres) had a total strength of 35,000 in late 1967. Army strength was approximately 32,000, the navy 1,400 and the air force 2,000. The navy and air force were subordinate to the army. There was a sizable paramilitary

element designated the Surface Defense Force, composed of a Provincial Guard of 11,000 men, and a volunteer reserve called Chivapols which numbered 50,000. The Surface Defense Force was normally under jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense in times of emergency or outright hostilities. The equipment has been provided primarily by France, the United States and Communist-bloc countries.

CAMBODIA

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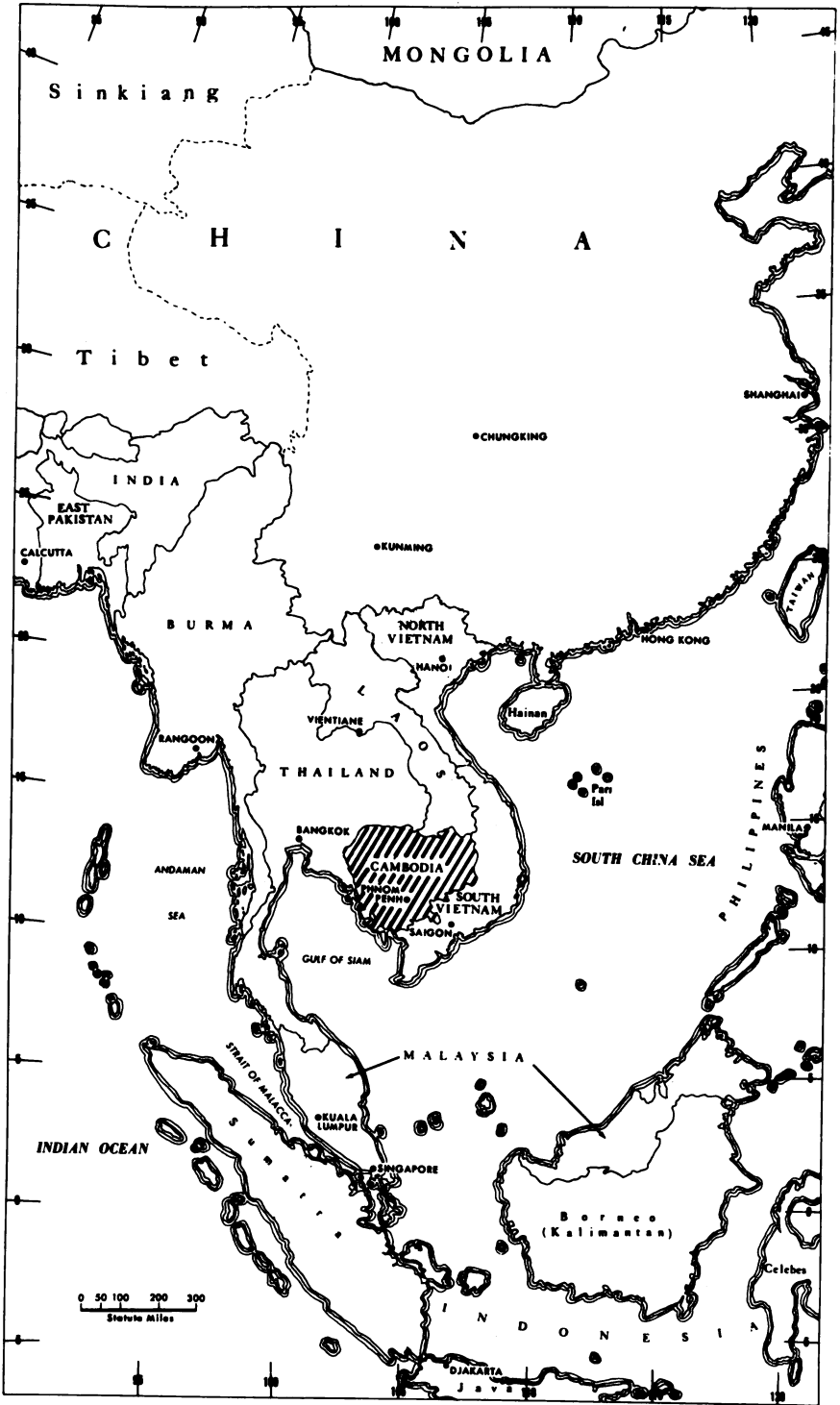


Figure 1. Cambodia's Position in Southeast Asia

SECTION I. SOCIAL

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The kingdom of Cambodia covers an area of approximately 66,000 square miles, and the one-eighth of this area that is farmed amply supports the relatively sparse population, estimated in 1967 at some 6.25 million people. The country has been a monarchy for centuries, with power vested in a king who traditionally is regarded as the head of both church and state, a pattern of respect and authority firmly continued in recent years by Prince Norodom Sihanouk who, with wide popular support, rules as constitutional Chief of State.

The present area is a remnant of the extensive Khmer empire (800–1430) that controlled areas now in South Vietnam, Thailand and Laos. Ideally gifted ecologically among the rice societies of the Indochinese Peninsula, and with large areas of uncultivated arable land, it has been a natural target for aggressive neighbors whose encroachment was checked in 1963 by King Norodom who, making an alliance with France, agreed to accept the protection of that country. The French hold over Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam gradually ended after World War II, and Cambodia became independent in November 1953.

King Sihanouk, hero of the independence movement, abdicated in favor of his father in 1955 and, upon his father's death in 1960, was granted the title of Chief of State. The government's authority rested with him, and his policies were carried out through the political organization he had created 5 years before, the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum), which has shown no signs of instability.

Prince Sihanouk informs the public of his government's policies and objectives in two ways. The National Congress convenes semiannually in the capital, Phnom Penh; any citizen may attend, listen to the discussions and submit questions. The Prince is an ardent speechmaker and often travels throughout the country, missing no opportunity to tell the population about the policies of the government.

Eighty-five percent of the population are Khmer, descendants

of tribes that migrated to the area from the north in the early decades of the Christian era and, during the Angkor period, built vast palaces, temples and irrigation systems. The Khmer regard themselves as the true "Cambodians" and dominate the country politically and economically. The most important minorities are the Chinese (7 percent of the population), descendants of early merchants and traders; and the Vietnamese (about 6 percent), many of whom were imported to fill administrative posts in the French administration. Although they are considered foreigners, these two ethnic groups exert an influence in commerce and industry out of proportion to their numbers.

Other minority groups include the Chams, who live in the southern part of the country after their expulsion from the ancient kingdom of Champa; and the hill peoples (Khmer Loeu), who inhabit the forested plateaus and mountain valleys in the northeast and southwest. Socially, economically and politically the Khmer Loeu remain somewhat apart from Cambodian life and culture. The government was endeavoring to introduce modern methods of farming to these tribal communities in order to "Cambodianize" them and cause them to take a greater interest in social, economic and political problems confronting the country and thereby hopefully to prevent subversion from external sources.

The official language is Khmer, which is not intelligible to neighboring Vietnamese or Thai. Khmer is spoken by almost all of the people, including the Chinese, Vietnamese, Chams, hill tribes and members of ethnic minority groups serving in government positions and in the armed forces. French, a holdover from the 90 years of French administration, is used in many business transactions and by information media personnel and government officials. About 1 percent of the total population, mostly urban, is literate in French.

The state religion is Theravada Buddhism, which spread to the country in the sixth century and finally replaced Hinduism in the fifteenth century. Although the Constitution defines Buddhism as the state religion, in practice the religious leaders are nonpolitical. Monks may not vote nor may they hold elective office. Symbolically, religion and state merge in the person of the king, who is the guardian of the religion and is looked upon as the divine leader of the nation. Prince Sihanouk, a former king, receives manifestations of deep reverence on each of his many public appearances.

The Chinese number 400,000, but only 3 percent of them are Buddhist, mostly Mahayana. The remainder retain a mixture of Confucian social ethics, ancestor worship and Taoist supernaturalism, frequently found among Overseas Chinese in South-

east Asia. The Vietnamese are Mahayana Buddhists or Catholics; the Chams are Moslem; and the hill tribes are largely animist.

Agriculture is the basis of the society, the primary sources of food being rice and fish. Of these, rice is of major importance since the abundant surpluses provide (with rubber) the principal items of export. During the planting and harvesting seasons the majority of the adult rural population is engaged in rice farming. The landlord-tenant system is nonexistent.

Each family is responsible for the cultivation of its own fields, and relatives as well as neighbors provide assistance when required. This has created a society with the individual family at the base and groups of families forming a village community, each with an elected headman. There is very little mobility in the rural society, but the increased production resulting from improved agricultural methods and implements has also released members of the farming community for employment in the urban areas.

The only exploitation of natural resources concerned agriculture and forestry products. Very little has been done in the search for mineral and petroleum resources, and industry has had to obtain them from external sources. Economic assistance from the United States, which had continued for 12 years, was terminated in 1963. In his decision to end United States aid, Prince Sihanouk stated that he believed the United States was supporting antigovernment broadcasts by the Khmer Serei (a small rebel group operating outside of Cambodia). Since 1963 the amount of aid which has been proffered has stemmed primarily from Communist-bloc nations.

The French found in Cambodia an established civilization with a recognized ruling class, at the apex of which was the king. They did nothing to upset or destroy the existing order and, in effect, ruled through the king rather than over him. The Cambodians quickly found out, however, that though the protectorate effectively stopped territorial inroads by their neighbors, it also reduced the country to a state of political and economic subordination to France. A desire for independence—which was supported by the royal family and represented the feeling of the Buddhist clergy and the mass of the population came about following World War II as a result of France's failure to defend the country from the Japanese and the secession of two western provinces to Thailand, as well as the growth of nationalism throughout Southeast Asia.

At the end of World War II the primary political objective was complete independence from France. This came about as a result of negotiations with the French in late 1954 and arrangements under the Geneva Conference. Cambodia joined the

Colombo Plan (see Glossary), but Prince Sihanouk's policy of nonalignment with the two power blocs caused it to reject the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

The country's foreign policy and resulting foreign relations were formulated entirely by Prince Sihanouk. Diplomatic relations with Thailand, broken off in 1961, have not been restored. The rupture of rail and road traffic between Battambang and Bangkok has forced greater reliance on the port of Sihanoukville.

Severance of diplomatic relations with South Vietnam in 1963 resulted from several causes. The Prince accused the South Vietnamese Government of mistreating the more than 200,000 ethnic Khmer who resided in southern South Vietnam. He asserted that there had been border penetrations by South Vietnamese military units, and he alleged that South Vietnamese Embassy personnel in Phnom Penh were providing financial assistance to antigovernment groups.

The Prince constantly reiterated his belief in his "policy of the future," which assumed the continued dominance of Communist China in Southeast Asian affairs and a Vietnam under eventual Communist control. He publicly supported the Communist National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam and opposed United States military support of South Vietnam.

Independence brought new incentives to the country; in 1967 this was particularly apparent in the field of education. To acquire as much education as possible was considered a patriotic duty and students crowded the schools, which of necessity were being expanded. In spite of criticism of the religious community for its lack of productive effort, Buddhism remained a stabilizing force, drawing its membership from the whole population and sustaining a common system of useful values that emphasized meritorious behavior.

The Cambodian has always taken pride in identifying himself with the nation. He considers himself, his family and his village community an integral component of the society. This attitude was even more prevalent in 1967 because of the unceasing efforts of Prince Sihanouk to make the entire population personally acquainted with the political, economic and social problems that faced the government.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Cambodia is situated in the southwestern corner of the Indo-chinese Peninsula (see fig. 1). Its land boundaries on the west and north with Thailand and Laos correspond generally to watersheds and streams, but extensive distances on the border with South Vietnam along its eastern flank are artificially drawn.

Its area of approximately 66,000 square miles makes the country one of the smallest states in Southeast Asia. Some 35,000 square miles are forested; 7,000 square miles are swampland or are covered with water. The remaining 24,000 square miles are arable, of which fewer than 8,000 square miles are under cultivation.

Sparsely settled hills and plateaus girdle the central plain, where most of the population lives. It has lived for centuries in farm villages along the banks of the broad Mekong River and its tributaries and near the shores of the Tonle Sap, Southeast Asia's largest lake. The natural waterborne communications facilities afforded by these bodies of water have militated against the development of highway and railroad systems, but numerous airfields provide some access to even the remote areas.

A coastline on the Gulf of Siam is separated from the central plain by heavily forested mountains. The coastal region is not well suited for agricultural exploitation, and little attempt was made to develop it until the mid-1950's. At that time the government began the construction of the port of Sihanoukville in order to free the country from exclusive dependence on the Mekong River as an avenue for international trade.

The fertile soil of the central plain, periodically replenished by the flooding of rivers and lakes, is favorably influenced by the tropical climate and abundant rainfall. More than two-thirds of all land under cultivation is devoted to rice; a wide variety of other vegetable crops is produced, and both salt and fresh water fish are abundant. The adaptability of the people to their environment is demonstrated by their success in using the annual flooding of much of the land in the central plain as a natural means of irrigating their rice paddies. Natural conditions have combined to permit the population to escape the occasional fam-

ine and constant hunger which afflict many other parts of Asia.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The dominant topographical feature is the **Mekong River**, which originates in Tsinghai Province of China in the **high** Tibetan plateau, a few miles from the place where the **Salween** and **Yangtze Rivers** first appear. About 2,620 miles in **length**, it is the tenth largest river in volume in the world. Its lower **basin** is 1,900 miles long. It has a total drainage area of over **300,000** square miles, approximately 77 percent of which is in the lower basin in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Upon reaching Cambodia the Mekong courses through many rapids as far south as Kratie. Gradually becoming wider and less turbulent, it flows in a generally southerly direction through the eastern part of the Cambodian plain. South of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, it splits into two branches; the eastern branch continues to be called the Mekong, whereas the western branch is called the Bassac River (in South Vietnam, the Song Hau Giang). Both branches are progressively increased in flow by a network of tributaries and flow through the Mekong Delta into the South China Sea by way of South Vietnam.

Associated with the Mekong River is a natural reservoir, the Tonle Sap (lit., Great Lake), which profoundly affects Cambodia's life and economy. Once an arm of the sea, it was made an inland lake by the gradual silting-up of the Mekong Delta. By raising the shore level, clogging channels and extending the river's course, this prevented the movement of the tidal waters back into what is now the lake. The Tonle Sap is connected with the Mekong River by a 40- to 50-mile channel called the Tonle Sap River.

During the dry season the Tonle Sap occupies an area of approximately 100 square miles, has a maximum depth of about 5 feet and empties through the Tonle Sap River into the Mekong. During the annual summer monsoon, which lasts from May to October, the silted-up channels of the lower Mekong are unable to carry the river's floodwater. The Mekong then rises 40 to 45 feet above its banks, and the overflowing water reverses its direction and empties into the lake, increasing its depth to a maximum of 45 to 48 feet and causing it to spread over an area 770 square miles, inundating the marshes, forests and cultivated fields.

Perhaps one-fifth of the entire country is flooded or affected by the backwater from the river because land under 40 feet of elevation is common as far as 310 miles upstream. By about November the flow of the mainstream returns to normal and

again begins to flow from the lake into the Mekong. The receding waters leave behind rich alluvial soil and shallow waters teeming with fish.

Between 1950 and 1954 the total load of sediment that moved from the Mekong to the Tonle Sap was considerably greater than that which moved downstream from the Tonle Sap to the Mekong Delta. It can be assumed, therefore, that the lake is being slowly filled with silt.

These two important geographical features, the Mekong River and the Tonle Sap, have dominated the Cambodian economy and regulated the lives of the people for many years. Having had centuries of experience, the people understand the river and lake as major factors in their survival and have learned to worship them rather than to attempt their mastery. Each year, when the Tonle Sap returns to a normal flow at the end of the rainy season in late October or early November, the Water Festival is held at the point where the waters from the lake and the Mekong meet. It is a 3-day celebration for harvest, fertility, thanksgiving and carnival in which the king, the monks and the people participate.

Regions

The central part of the country, bordering on the Mekong River, the Tonle Sap and the Tonle Sap River, is the Cambodian plain, a level area that includes over three-fourths of the land area of the country. This gently rolling plain, which has been built up by the impervious sediment deposits carried by the Mekong River, ranges in elevation from 26 feet above sea level near the Mekong and Tonle Sap to about 500 feet at the perimeter. South of Phnom Penh the plain is flat and constitutes the approach to the Mekong River Delta in South Vietnam.

The plain is ringed with hills to the north, west and southwest. In the north the sandstone Dangrek Range along the Thai frontier falls abruptly to the plain. On the southwestern side of these lowlands are the granite Cardamomes Range, which rises in some places to 5,000 feet. The Elephant Range runs south and southeastward from the Cardamomes and separates the central lowlands from the narrow coastal plains bordering the Gulf of Siam. To the north and east are the Darlac Plateau hills, which rise toward the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. These uplands, the home of the hill tribes, reach as high as 3,000 feet (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Thus, the mountain ranges and plateaus almost encircle the central plain, leaving an unhindered path along the Mekong River southward to the Mekong Delta area in South Vietnam (see fig. 2).

The Cardamomes and Elephant Ranges separate the central plain from the narrow coastal plain, making it difficult to reach

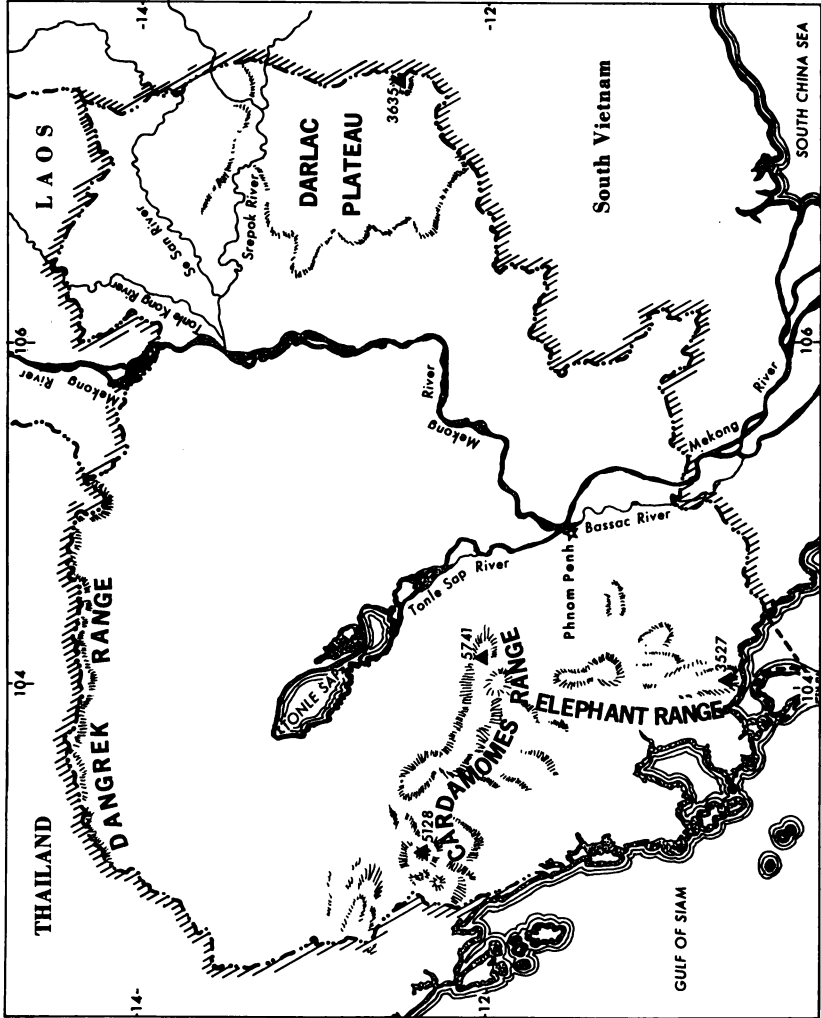


Figure 2. Topography of Cambodia

the coastal areas or build ports in the region. Cambodia has, therefore, tended historically to orient itself to the Mekong River rather than to the coast and to conduct its foreign trade by way of the Mekong, even though this has meant transit through South Vietnam. The port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam represents an effort in reorientation.

Soils

The soils are of two types: alluvial, found along the rivers and around the lakes; and latosols, found on the plains and hills. The alluvial soils, resulting from flooding of the low-lying areas, are by far the more common. The latosols are the residual products of rock decay; they are predominantly red, are deeply weathered and have a high content of iron oxide and aluminum hydroxide.

The alluvial soil may be subjected to shallow or deep flooding, ranging from a few inches to 10 feet. It is the principal soil used for floating rice cultivation. It is found largely in the area south of Phnom Penh and in Battambang Province, which produces the highest yield of rice of any province. In some parts of Battambang seeds are sowed broadcast and left without cultivation until harvesttime. The alluvial soil which is subjected to deep flooding during the rainy season occurs principally in the regions bordering the Tonle Sap and the Tonle Sap and Mekong Rivers. These areas are used mainly for growing floating rice. The most fertile of the rich alluvial soils are found on the natural levees of the Tonle Sap and Mekong Rivers. Corn, tobacco and truck crops are planted before the rainy season.

The latosol soils are more extensively distributed throughout the country. They include the latosols on the plains, which usually contain concretionary laterite; the latosols on the hills and mountains; and the reddish-brown latosols, dark wet clay and lithosols, which appear in some areas in Mondolkiri, Ratanakiri and Kompong Cham Provinces.

The latosols of the plains, which developed from weathered sandstone, are extensively distributed throughout Kompong Thom, Kratie, Ratanakiri and Koh Kong Provinces. Most of these areas are either forested or covered with savanna growth. Because of the low moisture-holding capacity, the low content of plant nutrients and the presence of concretionary laterite, their use for food crop production is limited. Nevertheless, in some areas where moisture conditions are good and the laterite content is low, such soil does produce some rice, corn and other food crops.

In the hills and mountains latosol depth to bedrock is reported to be over 95 feet in some areas. For the most part all these soils

are forested. Here and there, however, upland rice, corn, manioc and sweet potatoes are grown by the hill peoples under shifting cultivation.

The reddish-brown latosols, which developed from basalt, have the best potential for large-scale agriculture, if the soil is carefully managed. Rubber, bananas, cotton, sugarcane, palms and fruit trees grow well in this type of soil if the moisture is conserved and soil erosion is prevented. The shallow and stony soils in the outer fringe of hilly areas are unsuited for agricultural use, however.

Vegetation

The varied soils and climate produce a corresponding diversity of vegetation. Rice, lotus grain, vegetables and tobacco are cultivated; sugar palm, coconut, mango, banana and orange trees are found in profusion, as well as mangrove and mulberry trees, indigo plants, betel nut vines and sharp savanna grasses.

Over half the country—approximately 35,000 square miles—is covered with forests, an important factor in the economy. The forests yield wood for fuel and building materials for local consumption and commercial timber for export.

The value of the forest reserves is unevenly distributed, not only because of the varied characteristics of the forested areas, but also because most have been subjected to the cutting of valuable woods over a long period of time. In addition, the constant clearing of woods by the hill tribes who practice shifting cultivation has resulted in making many regions of dense forest into secondary timberland. The best sources of timber, therefore, lie in the remote areas which have not been exploited because they are not easily accessible.

Approximately 12,000 square miles of dense forest land are located in regions where water is abundant and soil conditions are especially favorable to tree growth. The richest of the dense forests are those of the equatorial type, which are mostly situated in the regions bordering the Gulf of Siam and on the western slope of the Cardamomes Mountains, where they are exposed to the southwest monsoon. In this area the hot, humid climate promotes fast regeneration. Other dense forests are found in the drier mountainous regions of Battambang, Kompong Speu and Kratie Provinces and in the wet regions along the Mekong River.

In the remaining 23,000 square miles of forest land are the so-called open forests, which are far less densely wooded, and the swamp forests of mangrove trees. The open forests are found mostly in the hilly regions of Kompong Thom, Stung Treng, Kratie, Oddar Meanchey, Preah Vihear, and Siem Reap Pro-

vinces. The mangrove forests are located on the coast of the Gulf of Siam.

Some of the major species of timber are pine, Podocarpus, red mahogany, rosewood and dark mahogany. The sugar palm is indigenous and has assumed economic importance. It grows throughout the country but now occurs most frequently in heavily populated regions. Teak is not native, although soil and climate are favorable to its growth in many areas. It is believed that teak was introduced at the end of the seventeenth century, and after 1906 several experiments in its growth were made. There is now a small teak forest in Kompong Chhnang Province, and in 1955 the forest service began to develop large-scale teak plantations in forests neighboring the Mekong River in Kompong Cham, Stung Treng and Kratie Provinces.

Most forests are publicly owned, and about 15,000 square miles of the total forest land is classified or reserved for commercial exploitation under concessions granted by the government. Only about 25 percent of this reserved forest land is being exploited, however, because the remaining area is not easily accessible.

RESOURCES

Mineral Resources

There has been no extensive or adequate geological survey of Cambodia's mineral resources, and the known deposits are negligible. Iron ore is known to exist, and traces of gold, coal, copper and manganese have been reported in Kompong Thom Province. The occurrence of petroleum in the Tonle Sap area and in Kampot Province is also a possibility. Potter's clay is common, and deposits of jets, phosphates and corundums are found. There has been some commercial production of jades, rubies, sapphires, garnets, zircons and jets.

Fishing

Fishing is one of the major indigenous industries. During the dry season, from October to April, when the Tonle Sap shrinks to an area of 100 square miles, it becomes an extensive fresh water fishing center. On the Gulf of Siam coast there is a small fishing population, composed largely of Chinese, which produces some 30,000 tons of salt water fish annually. The salt water fish include a wide variety of species, including mackerel, jack, drum, snapper, grouper and mullet (see ch. 19, Agriculture)

Wildlife

Animals are numerous, but they are not of particular importance to the life of the people. Predators and pests do not represent serious health hazards (see ch. 8, Living Conditions).

Among the many kinds of big game are elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, tigers, panthers and leopards. Wild oxen, boars, deer, hares and various forms of reptile life are also found. Exotic tropical birds, such as egrets and herons, and game species, including wild duck, grouse and pheasant, are plentiful in most parts of the country.

The number of trophy animals roaming the forests is not great, and hunting for them for food by villagers has decimated the edible game population. Since 1961 the government has followed a general policy of wild animal conservation and has prohibited the destruction of some of the larger species.

CLIMATE

The seasonal alternation of monsoons determines both the rainfall and the temperature throughout the year. The southwest or rainy monsoon, reaching Cambodia in May and lasting until October, brings heavy rainfall throughout the country. The northwest or dry monsoon blows from mid-October to mid-April and brings the dry season. The rainy monsoon does not burst with violence, but the dry monsoon sets in with great suddenness.

The temperature at Phnom Penh averages about 82° F. and varies from about 75° F. to 90° F. The range in daily temperature during the rainy season is 10.8° F.; during the dry season it is 18° F.; and the mean temperature of the country is 81.5° F. The coolest month is January, and the warmest is April.

Variation in total annual precipitation is small, and there is no cyclical pattern of drought and excess rainfall. Over 85 percent of precipitation occurs during the rainy season. The humidity is also highest during this period; the average daily relative humidity varying between a peak of 85 percent in September and a low of 70 percent in January. The maximum monthly rainfall for the entire country occurs during the month of July when the average is 14.18 inches. The minimum average of 0.51 inches falls during the month of January. Even during the dry season Cambodia is not without rainfall; rainy days are considerably fewer then; but the maximum rainfall in a 24-hour period is sometimes as great as in a similar period during the rainy season.

Precipitation is uneven. The Cardamomes and the Elephant Range lie in the path of the rainy monsoon, which causes the heaviest rainfall to occur along the coast between the mountains and the Gulf of Siam and gives the rest of the country drier and clearer weather than is enjoyed by most other lands at the same latitude. The average yearly rainfall in the coastal region of Kampot and Koh Kong Provinces is between 150 and 200 inches; the average for the whole country is 85 inches; and the average for Phnom Penh is about 55 inches.

BOUNDARIES

The country's mangrove-studded coastline faces southwest for some 300 miles along the Gulf of Siam. On its eastern flank the land border with South Vietnam extends northeast and north in an irregular arc of 763 miles to the Laotian tripoint. At that point it veers westward for 336 miles along the border with Laos to the Thai tripoint; thence it continues west and finally turns south in a 449-mile arc to the coast.

The South Vietnam segment of the boundary was fixed by colonial and precolonial determinations and includes about 50 miles of disputed land border. In addition, sovereignty over a few islands in the Gulf of Siam was still under dispute in 1967. This border otherwise has been fully delineated. Much of this South Vietnam frontier, however, has been drawn on the basis of artificial administrative lines rather than natural topographic features. As a consequence, there is often no easy way of determining precisely where the border exists. Accusations of moving of boundary markers have been made, and the Cambodian Government has frequently charged that villages within its territory have been attacked from South Vietnam (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations).

The full length of the boundary with Laos and with Thailand has been delineated, and both segments coincide almost entirely with lines drawn along natural watersheds and watercourses which were agreed upon before or during the colonial period. There are no known active disputes with respect to the location of the frontier with Laos. Thailand, however, maintains an important reservation regarding the status of the ruined temple of Preah Vihear, which straddles the border and which was awarded to Cambodia by a 1962 International Court of Justice decision. Border unrest between the two countries, however, comes from political considerations rather than from Irredentist movements or counter-claims regarding specific border locations (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations).

Because of the broken terrain and the scanty population along the borders, titles to lands in these regions are of importance for symbolic rather than for practical reasons. The border regions are inhabited largely by racial minority groups which tend to spill over from both sides, although Khmer who live outside of Cambodia are more numerous than people in Cambodia ethnically associated with elements indigenous to neighboring countries (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

The country is divided into 19 provinces (*khet*) and 4 administratively autonomous municipalities (see fig. 3). Ethnically,

these provinces correspond to population groups in that those in the highlands are made up principally of minority elements, whereas those of the lowlands are primarily Khmer. Topographically, mountain divides and streams frequently serve as provincial boundaries, but political and administrative considerations seem more often to have served as determinants as to where provincial borders should be drawn. Within provinces themselves the same considerations have been used in determining the district (*srok*) borders.

Under the French protectorate, provinces were sometimes consolidated, and districts were often reassigned between provinces as acts of administrative convenience. During recent years this trend has been reversed by the creation of several new provincial entities. Between 1957 and 1967 four new provinces, all located adjacent to the frontier, were brought into being. These frequent changes of provincial boundaries appear to have had little effect on the people.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In lowland rural areas of the Mekong basin the predominantly Khmer population lives in village settlements of between 100 and 300 people. In each farm village there are one or two temples, which are the center of religious and social life. Such villages are found in all accessible parts of the Cambodian plain where the water supply and drainage conditions are suitable to rice cultivation. They form an almost continuous line along both banks of the Mekong and Bassac Rivers, as well as along the banks of many other streams and canals.

In the Tonle Sap region there are two distinct settlement types. One is the village built on rising ground above the high-water level. Although most of these population centers remain farm villages, some—such as Pursat, Kompong Thom and Siem Reap—have become provincial capitals of substantial size. The other type is built on the banks of the lake at its low-water level. The houses are constructed on piles, and when the lake overflows they are entirely surrounded by water. Frequently, the rise in the lake level is such that the entire village is waterborne during the height of the rainy season, the floating houses moored to the lake bottom. These are the fishing villages of the lake, one of the largest of which is Kompong Luong.

A small number of fishermen, largely Chinese, live along the coast and on adjacent islands that dot the southern shoreline near the towns of Ream and Kep. In the forested high plateaus and throughout the valleys between the mountains, particularly along the northeastern and eastern frontiers, live the comparatively primitive Khmer Loeu. These people subsist on a slash-and-burn

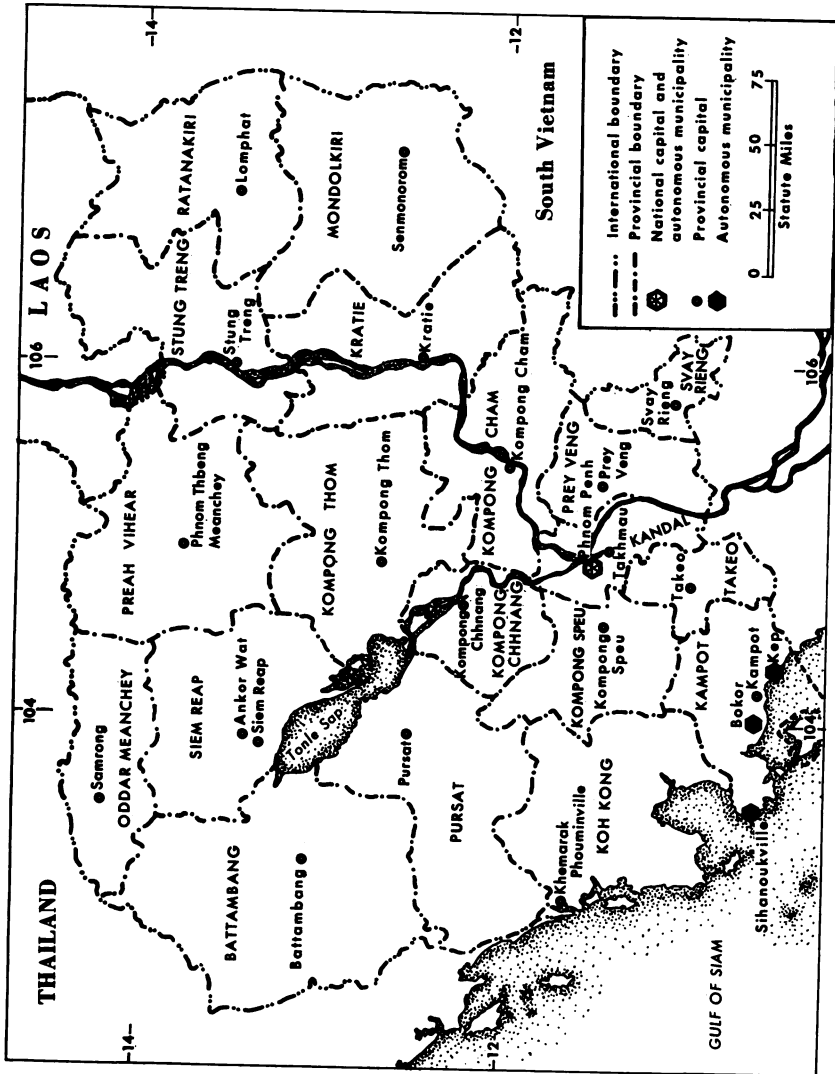


Figure 3. Provinces of Cambodia

type of agricultural economy and move their settlements from time to time. Their village groupings are small, usually consisting of no more than 20 to 30 persons, and are so widely scattered that each group is largely independent of the others.

The capital city of Phnom Penh, with a resident population of more than half a million and a large daytime population residing in adjacent portions of Kandal Province, is the country's only truly urban area. Founded in the fourteenth century and made capital of the Khmer kingdom a century later, it was abandoned shortly thereafter. It was resettled later and again became the capital during the period of the French protectorate.

The site of Phnom Penh as the capital and principal city seems inevitable as a consequence of its location at the meeting point of the Mekong with the Bassac and Tonle Sap Rivers. Its port facilities have been enlarged to accommodate ships of about 8,000 tons during the rainy season and 5,000 tons during the dry season. It formerly provided the only access to the sea via the Mekong River through the delta region of South Vietnam.

The limited river port facilities of Phnom Penh have recently been supplemented by construction of the ocean port and town of Sihanoukville on what had been mudflats and swamps on the western extremity of Kampot Province. The port, which is ultimately to accommodate up to 20 ships of 10,000 tons, was opened to limited traffic in 1960. By 1966 the town had reached a population of about 14,000 and had hospitals, schools and parks and a well-laid-out network of almost 50 miles of streets.

Most of the major provincial towns are located in the lowlands surrounding the Tonle Sap, the majority on or close to the lake or a watercourse. All are centers of substantial agricultural regions and, as such, attract trade and visitors from the rural areas. Most own some of their size and importance to their status as provincial capitals and as local centers of the Buddhist religion. Even these, however, are agricultural villages with a few provincial administrative buildings.

TRANSPORTATION

Natural inland waterways provide means of transportation for mechanized craft or considerable draft along many of the lakes, secondary streams and flooded areas. The Mekong River has a total navigable length of about 900 miles within the country during the wet season and 370 miles during the dry season. In addition, 7 rivers which flow into the Mekong, 10 streams which feed into the Tonle Sap and 8 streams which empty directly into the Gulf of Siam provide nearly 1,000 miles of wet season navigable riverbed.

The natural and improved facilities for water transportation

are so numerous that, until recent years, there has been only a limited need for development of highways and railroads. Roads are concentrated largely in the more populous areas along rivers and lakes. Large areas of bush, marsh, forest and highland are roadless because the terrain offers formidable obstacles to road-building and because the number of people is too small to need them.

A trunk highway system of asphalt roads, however, connects Phnom Penh both with major provincial towns and with South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The basic features of this trunk network, an inheritance from the French colonial period, are three major routes which originate in or connect with Saigon. The former French Route 1 passes south of the Tonle Sap through Phnom Penh and northwest into Thailand; Route 6 curves north of the lake through Kompong Thom and Siem Reap to join Route 1 near the Thai border; and Route 13 connects with Laos through Kratie and Stung Treng. A fourth colonial road, Route 17, moves southwest across the delta to the coast at Kampot. The portion of this network crossing the country from east to west is to be improved as a portion of the internationally sponsored Asian Highway, which is intended eventually to link Iran and South Vietnam and to pass through 13 Asian countries. The other major asphalt road, which connects the capital city with Sihanoukville, was completed in 1959 with United States assistance. Its usefulness, as well as that of Route 1, was increased in 1964 by the opening of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum bridge at Phnom Penh across the Tonle Sap River, which had previously been crossed by ferry. On January 1, 1967, the Cambodian Government reported a total of about 1,600 miles of asphalt roads and 350 miles of other roads suitable for dry season motor transport. These figures showed a 50-percent increase in asphalt and a more than 100 percent increase in other roads since 1955.

The only completed railroad is a 240-mile one-meter-gauge track which connects Phnom Penh with Bangkok via Sisophon. A second line, from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville via Takeo and Kampot also of one-meter gauge, is to extend for 168 miles and was originally scheduled for completion in 1966. Early in 1967, however, only the 100 miles of track to Kampot had been laid, and the anticipated completion of the line had been deferred until 1968.

The country's principal air facility, the Pochentong airport at Phnom Penh, had an all-weather surfaced airstrip of about 9,000 feet in length at the beginning of 1967. The Siem Reap airport's 4,500-foot surfaced landing strip (for Angkor Wat tourist traffic) was in the process of enlargement to 7,500 feet and the airports at Kompong Cham and Sihanoukville had surfaced strips

of 6,000 feet. Shorter packed dirt of laterite strips for local traffic at other localities combined to give the country a total of some 30 landing fields, a considerable increase over the 15 in service during 1955. Because of the shortage of roads and railroads and the absence of navigable streams in the highland areas, air transport facilities are of particular importance along the frontiers.

IRRIGATION AND POWER POTENTIAL

Reconstruction of ancient irrigation and flood control systems, some dating from the period of Angkor Wat, was first undertaken by the French early in the twentieth century and has been continued since independence. By the mid-1960's over 200,000 acres had been brought under some system of irrigation or systematic flood control (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

Hydroelectric power development has been limited, but the country's potential is considerable. Completion of a dam at Kirirom in Koh Kong Province is expected by the end of 1967, and plans have been drawn for a larger dam at Kamchay in Kampot Province. Eventually, the country's largest hydroelectric power and flood control complex may be constructed on the Mekong River and its tributaries in connection with the internationally sponsored Mekong River Basin project which is to benefit the riparian countries. In 1967 this ambitious undertaking was still in a planning stage, and its future was subject to political disagreements among the beneficiary nations.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL SETTING

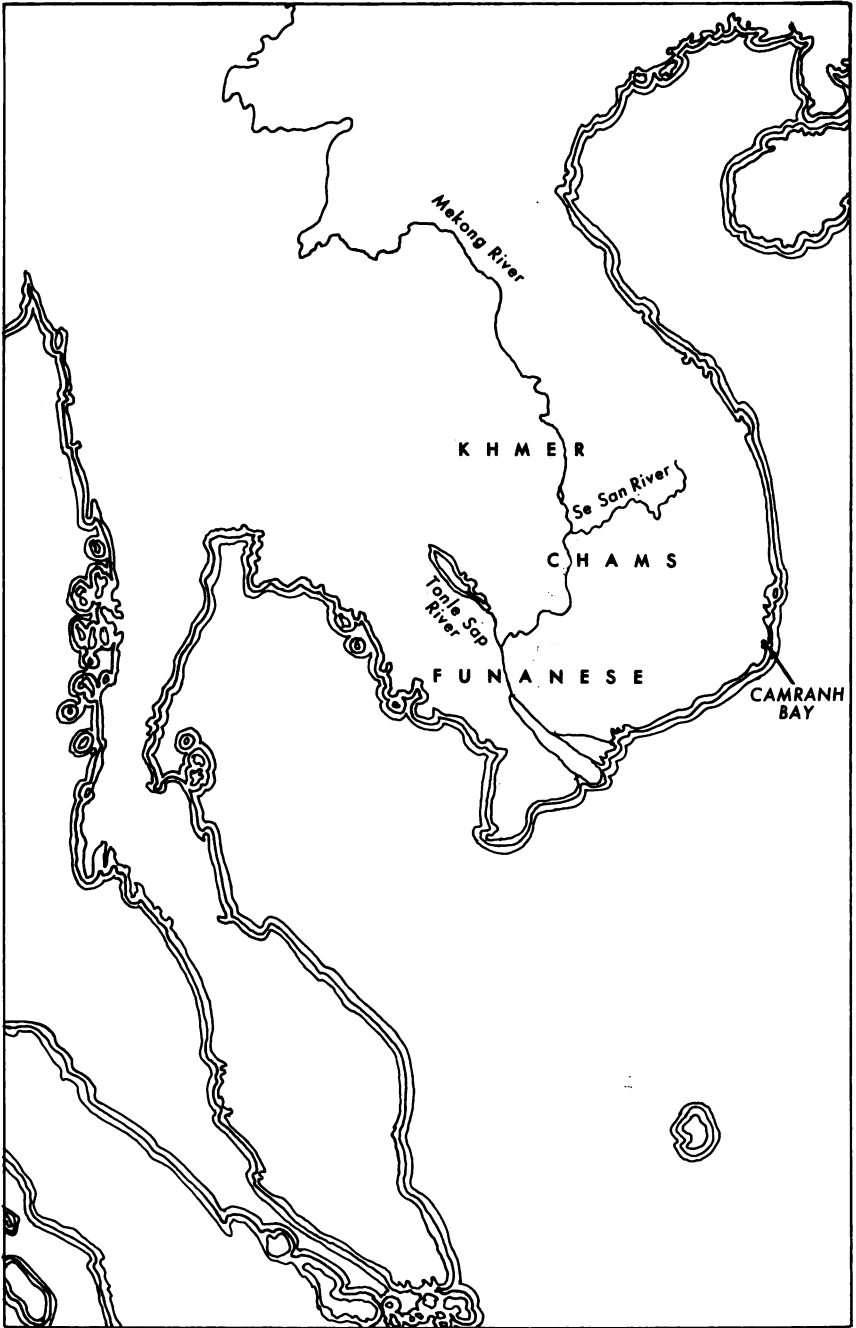
Throughout the early centuries of the Christian era there were many contenders for the rich, fertile lands that form the Mekong River valley and the central plain of present-day Cambodia. From legends, inscriptions on ancient monuments and fragmentary references in Chinese records, it appears that the Khmer, who have emerged as the dominant group in the area, fought fiercely to gain control of their lands. Then they defend them against the encroachments of invaders from the neighboring Thai kingdom of Siam to the north and the Cham kingdom of Champa that once dominated large parts of what are now Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. The Cambodian royal chronicles, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, continue the tale of strife in which periods of triumph and conquest alternated with eras of defeat and vassalage.

Although the connection between the Khmer kings of the chronicles and the ancient Khmer dynasties celebrated in legend has never been established, the people regard Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the direct descendant of an ancient lineage in whose accomplishments they take great pride. The vicissitudes of their past have welded them into a cohesive political force which continues to stress independence and the integrity of the country's borders as paramount goals. They acknowledge the contributions of foreign cultures to their own, but they remain deeply devoted to their Buddhist religion, their arts and their distinctive traditions and customs.

EARLY PERIODS

Fu-Nan and Chen-La (A.D. 200-802)

The first inhabitants of the area were said to have lived in the delta of the Mekong, an area now part of South Vietnam. Three distinct, politically independent people—the Funanese, the Chams and the Khmer—were present during the first century, A.D. The area of Funanese control extended as far north as the Tonle Sap River and eastward to the coast, possibly as far as Camranh Bay. The Chams were farther north, perhaps as far as the Se San River, and the Khmer were north of the Chams in the Mekong valley (see fig. 4).



Source: Adapted from Lawrence Palmer Briggs, "Ancient Khmer Empire," *American Philosophical Society*, XLI, 1951, p. 15.

Figure 4. Indochinese Civilizations, First Century, A.D.

These people were Hinduized gradually. Indian and Chinese influences were felt early in the Indochinese Peninsula—Indian to the west of a range of mountains (the Annamite Chain) running from north to south and dividing the Peninsula; Chinese to the east. This division of predominant influence was noticeable in 1967 between the Cambodians west of the mountains and the Vietnamese to the east.

By the third century the Funanese had overcome the neighboring tribes, and the area became known as Fu-Nan (Chinese terminology). According to Chinese documents an Indian Brahman ruled the country and in the fourth century Indianized the customs of Fu-Nan. During that time the Laws of Manu, the Indian legal code, were put into effect, and the use of the Indian alphabet was introduced. Modified forms of the alphabet and parts of the legal code are still used.

The chief vassal state of Fu-Nan was Chen-La to the north. The Khmer, in their expansion southward, had defeated the Chams and established the kingdom of Chen-La and its first capital on the Mekong River near the present-day Laotian town of Pakse. In the middle of the sixth century Chen-La gained control over Fu-Nan, first making it a vassal state and then annexing it. Fu-Nan may have been weakened by Malay incursions along its coastal regions. Chen-La's conquest of Fu-Nan has been cited as an example of the recurrent drive to the south in the history of the Indochinese Peninsula.

During the next 250 years, in which Chen-La was dominant over Fu-Nan, the empire was extended northward to the border of present-day China. Then, divided by civil strife, it fell under Malayan rule for a while and once more became independent.

The name "Cambodia" derives from this time. The founder of the Khmer dynasty, according to legends, was Kambu Svayambhuva. Kambuja, hence the French *Cambodge* and the English *Cambodia*, is traceable to his name. Kambujadesa (Sons of Kambuja) was the name sometimes given the country in later years, but the Chinese documents of the time used the name "Chen-La." The legendary importance of the river and the mountain was given historical substance by a series of eighth-century civil wars, which split Chen-La into two parts: Land Chen-La, the upland area to the north, and Water Chen-La, the maritime area which formed the nucleus of the Khmer empire.

Kambuja, or Angkor (802-1432)

At its peak the empire extended from the Annamite Chain (in present-day South Vietnam) to the Gulf of Siam. The buildings at Angkor that were erected at that time have become a national symbol; a representation of the Towers of Angkor is the central

design on the national flag. The kings of that period are still hailed; outstanding among them are Jayavarman II and Jayavarman VII.

Jayavarman II, who was placed upon the Khmer throne in 802 as vassal to the Malays, asserted his independence. He reunited the old Chen-La empire, including the northernmost part, which bordered on China's Yunnan Province. All of present-day Laos and much of present-day Thailand were added to his kingdom. The sacred royal sword, treasured as a symbol of authority today, is said to be that of Jayavarman II.

Jayavarman VII (1181-1215) was reported to have found over a hundred hospitals, built resthouses for travelers on the pilgrim routes and distributed tons of rice to the needy. The arts flourished. Angkor Wat and the Bayon of Angkor Thom, two of the most famous temples, were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively. Many of the kings excelled as scholars, and Sanskrit literature was raised to new heights by royal patronage. Jayavarman VII was an accomplished warrior and was considered the greatest of the Khmer emperors, as the empire reached its greatest extent during his reign. He conquered the kingdom of Champa, which occupied the eastern portion of present-day South Vietnam, in 1190 and had some form of hegemony over a part of the Malay Peninsula.

The empire began to disintegrate after the death of Jayavarman VII. One reason for this was the complete exhaustion of the people because of the continuous wars of conquest and the frenzied building program. Every important Khmer king built his own capital, which had a temple that usually was larger and more ornate than his predecessor's and served as the center of religion during his reign and later as his mausoleum.

Champa regained its independence in 1220. Mongol pressure on the Thai kingdom in Yunnan in the thirteenth century gave greater impetus to Thai penetration. By the end of the thirteenth century independent Thai kingdoms had been created in former Khmer territory. In 1353 a Thai army captured Angkor; the Kambujans recaptured it later, but wars with the Thai continued. Angkor was looted a number of times, and thousands of artists and scholars were carried away to slavery in Siam (now Thailand), including the entire Cambodian ballet. At this time, too, Khmer territory north of the present Laotian border was lost to the Lao kingdom of Lan Xang.

In 1430-31 the Thai again captured Angkor, this time aided by treachery within the Khmer capital. The Khmer recaptured their city but abandoned it as a capital, probably because it was too close to the Thai capital. Moreover, the steady infiltration of Theravada Buddhism made the vast temples no longer vital to

their life. In the course of centuries the jungle was allowed to encroach upon and almost conceal Angkor Wat, Angkor Thom and many other beautiful temples, which for centuries remained as hidden chronicles of the once-great Khmer empire.

WARS FOR SURVIVAL (1432-1864)

During the next four centuries Cambodia expanded its energies in resisting aggression on the part of Siam (Thailand) and Annam (parts of present-day North and South Vietnam). Siam claimed suzerainty over Cambodia and for years tried to validate its claim by forceful means as well as through a puppet king.

In 1593 the Thai again captured the Cambodian capital—then Lovek (now Longvek) on the Tonle Sap River. The Khmer recovered their capital, and 10 years of internal strife resulted during which time the Thai attempted to place a submissive monarch on the throne. At some time during the sixteenth century the monarch moved his capital to the Angkor area, and an attempt was made to restore Angkor Wat.

The Khmer king, fearing another attack by the Thai, sent two emissaries to the Spanish governor general in Manila to request assistance. They were two adventurers, one Spanish and one Portuguese. They convinced the governor general of the desirability of dispatching a military expedition to explore the possibility of establishing Spanish domination over the kingdom. Two small military expeditions were sent from Manila, one in 1596 and the other in 1598. During the summer of 1599, while the leaders of the Spanish expedition were attempting to negotiate with King Barom Reachea, an armed altercation occurred between Spanish soldiers and some Malays camped nearby. Khmer went to the assistance of the Malays, and the Spaniards, including the leaders who had rushed from the palace to help their men, were all killed.

Siam and Annam struggled for control of Cambodia for the next 260 years, each encroaching upon its territory. Land won in the north by Siam and in the south by Annam is the basis of present-day disputes between Cambodia and its neighbors (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations). Cambodian kings sometimes tried to set Siam and Annam against each other, but in 1846 they joined in crowning Ang Duong as the Cambodian king. Subject to dual vassalage, Ang Duong looked to a stronger power for protection. He believed that British policy was more aggressive in Burma and Malaya, so he turned to France, and Cambodia became an ally of France, which was then fighting Annam.

Ang Duong died during the course of the war, and the coronation of his eldest son, Norodom, who had become a Thai protege, was a point of conflict with the French. After Norodom had ceded two western provinces to Siam as a price for its acquies-

cence to his acceptance of French protection, a treaty was made with the French in 1863, and a French protectorate was proclaimed in April 1864. Two months later Norodom was crowned in his own capital by representatives of France and Siam.

FRENCH PROTECTORATE (1864-1949)

Despite implied joint suzerainty, France increasingly ignored Thai claims. France exploited Cambodia commercially and profited thereby, but the protectorate was never a vital element of the French Empire.

The Franco-Cambodian Treaty of 1863 gave France exclusive control of foreign affairs and the right to defend Cambodia against external and internal enemies. A French resident general was installed in the capital as executive officer. Widespread political, economic and social powers were granted the French, but even more were demanded. King Norodom was forced to sign a new treaty in 1884. An unsuccessful rebellion expressed the popular reaction.

Cambodia was placed under direct French control through a parallel administration. The resident general was the actual ruler; the king was merely the symbol of the country and the religion. Cambodian social and political structures were left largely intact, but sweeping reforms were instituted. After 1887 Cambodia became part of the Indochinese Union, which also included Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China (parts of present-day North and South Vietnam), Laos and Kwangchow Wan, a French coastal leasehold in South China.

When King Norodom died in 1904, after a 40-year reign, his kingdom was peaceful, prosperous and powerless. His brother Sisowath was king until 1927, and his son Sisowath Monivong reigned until 1941. After his death his sons were excluded from the royal succession, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the son of his eldest daughter and a great-grandson of Norodom through the paternal line, became king.

The French administration considered Sisowath Monivong's son Monireth too independence-minded at a time when the French had suffered defeat in Europe and the Japanese had received permission from the Vichy government to send troops to Hanoi and Saigon and were demonstrating a growing importance to Southeast Asia. King Sihanouk was descended from both the Norodom and Sisowath families, and the French saw in him a young, malleable person who would be subservient to their directives, but they were wrong.

After the defeat of the French armed forces and the establishment of the Vichy government, Japanese military units entered Hanoi and Saigon, where they moved into the French bar-

racks, forcing the French units to set up tent camps in public parks. The Thai Government, enjoying the friendship of the Japanese, sent a message to the Vichy government, stating in part:

The Thai Government would appreciate it if the French Government would give its assurance that in the event of an interruption of French sovereignty, France would return to Thailand the Cambodian and Laotian territories.

The request was rejected by the Vichy government. After a series of Mekong River border incidents a Thai force invaded Cambodia in January 1941. The land fighting was indecisive, but the Vichy French defeated Thai forces in a naval engagement off the Thai island of Ko Chang in the Gulf of Siam.

The Japanese intervened and compelled the Vichy French authorities to agree to a treaty which surrendered the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap to Thailand. Until the spring of 1945 the Japanese allowed the Vichy French to maintain nominal control of Indochina, but they forced the French to give the governor general in Saigon the power to sign agreements in the name of Vichy France.

In the spring of 1945 the Japanese removed the whole Vichy French colonial administration and authorized Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to declare their independence within the Japanese-sponsored Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Japanese also appointed Son Ngoc Thanh, a nationalist leader, as foreign minister of Cambodia; on his advice King Sihanouk declared the independence of Cambodia on March 12, 1945.

After the surrender of Japan, British troops and some French units arrived in Saigon and later in September an Allied unit occupied the capital city, Phnom Penh, and arrested Son Ngoc Thanh for collaboration with the Japanese. King Sihanouk agreed to send delegates to Saigon to negotiate a new set of rules to govern France's relations with Cambodia, provided they would be considered delegates from an independent country. The French made some concessions, and in January 1946 Cambodia was recognized as an autonomous kingdom within the French Union.

EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE

The Royal Mandate

A Constituent Assembly was elected in September 1946, and a Constitution was promulgated on May 6, 1947. The lower and upper houses of the legislature were convened in January and February 1948, and parliamentary government began. Political factionalism emerged almost immediately and threatened the

government, which up to that time had been dominated by King Sihanouk and the members of his family.

In the first full representative elections, opposition to French rule was the basic issue. Many Cambodians were opposed to collaboration with France. They either organized themselves as dissident groups, which collectively were called Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia), or joined the Communist Viet Minh who had crossed the borders from Laos to Vietnam. A new party, known as the Democrat Party, emerged; it was opposed to the government of King Sihanouk and was also the legal front for the Khmer Issarak (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics). This party won an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and began systematically to block all legislation sponsored by the King or his followers.

King Sihanouk dissolved the National Assembly in September 1949 and ruled for 2 years without it, aided by ministers of his own choice. New elections were held in September 1951, and a new National Assembly was seated in October. The Democrat Party, again the winner, failed to produce a firm program and replaced many able civil servants with persons whose primary qualification was loyalty to the Party.

In June 1952 the King announced that he was assuming control again until he could restore order in the national administration and security throughout the country. This measure was not based on any constitutional provision but was an autocratic action outside the Constitution. The King, on his own initiative, dissolved the two houses of the National Assembly in January 1953.

The period during which the King ruled directly (June 1952 to February 1955) was known as the Royal Mandate. The King created a temporary advisory council to serve in place of the national legislature. The number of governmental crises was greatly reduced but not entirely eliminated, since members of the advisory council were still free to resign even though they were selected by the King. The King devoted his energies to obtaining major concessions from the French.

A treaty had been signed in 1949 which gave Cambodia the first prerogatives of internal sovereignty. There were limitations on the country's sovereignty in defense and economic policy, and non-Cambodians residing in the country were outside of Cambodian jurisdiction, as in the time of the protectorate. Negotiations continued, and by 1953 the greatest problem faced by the French was their military involvement with the Viet Minh.

In March 1953 King Sihanouk departed for what he called a pleasure trip to Europe, Canada and the United States, but he made statements highly critical of the French refusal to grant

full independence to his country. After his return in June, he left Phnom Penh and went to Bangkok; he stated he would not return to Cambodia until the French gave assurances that all the prerogatives of full independence would be granted. He did, however, return to Siem Reap, which was then controlled by the Khmer armed forces, and prepared plans, with other leaders, for resistance to be carried out if the French were not ready to negotiate on Cambodian terms.

Faced with a difficult military situation in Vietnam and Laos, on July 4, 1953, the French Government declared itself ready to grant complete independence to the three Associated States. The Cambodians, however, insisted on their own terms, which included sovereignty over their defense establishment, their tribunals and their currency. The French yielded. Both the police and the judiciary had been transferred to Cambodian control at the end of August, and on September 1, 1953, all of Cambodia was placed under its own military command. By virtue of an additional agreement in October, the French army retained only operational control east of the Mekong River and tactical command of the Khmer battalions operating in the area. King Sihanouk, a hero in the eyes of his people, returned to Phnom Penh, and on November 9, 1953, Independence Day was celebrated.

Independence

The French still retained extensive powers in the economic field, but by a quiet exchange of letters Cambodia obtained in February 1954 the transfer of all residual economic and technical services still in French hands. Cambodia became a truly independent nation before Vietnam and Laos. It was represented at the conference in Geneva in July 1954 which reached an agreement, signed by both the French and Viet Minh delegations, calling for a cessation of hostilities in Indochina and stipulating that all Viet Minh military forces be withdrawn above the 17th parallel. In a separate agreement, signed by the Cambodian representative, the French and Viet Minh agreed to withdraw all forces from Cambodia by October 20, 1954.

The Communist representatives in Geneva, headed by Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet Union and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of Communist China, wanted the agreement to include a provision which would prevent Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam from permitting the basing of United States troops on their territories. Cambodia would not agree.

The Cambodian Government instructed its delegation in Geneva not to sign any agreement that would preclude asking any country for assistance. Chou En-lai said that the Viet Minh troops which had entered Cambodia were there to free the Khmer

peoples from French domination and should be allowed to re-settle and remain in the country. The Cambodian delegation stated that whether or not there were Cambodians among the Viet Minh troops, such troops were considered foreign invaders and no agreement would be signed until the Communist representatives could ensure the withdrawal of all Viet Minh troops from Cambodian territory.

French Premier Mendès France subsequently informed the Cambodian delegation that the agreement must be signed by midnight July 20 because of his promise to the French National Assembly. The Cambodian delegation was sympathetic but replied that his problems with the French Government were of no concern to Cambodia.

As the final hour drew near another meeting was held with the Cambodian delegation at which both Foreign Minister Molotov and Premier Mendès France were present. The Cambodian delegation would not change its original position, and Foreign Minister Molotov finally agreed to the Cambodian terms. The four-power (France, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam) ties were severed in December 1954; the quadripartite system was dissolved, and each of the three Associated States was given full sovereignty over services which previously had been subject to joint administration. In September 1955 Cambodia had withdrawn from the French Union.

The Sangkum

On February 7, 1955, a nationwide referendum was held to decide whether or not the King had fulfilled his mandate of attaining independence and security for his country. As a special privilege, members of the armed forces and monks were given permission to vote. King Sihanouk obtained 925,000, or 99.8 percent, of the approximately 927,000 votes cast. Soon afterward he abdicated in favor of his father Norodom Suramarit, in order to enter politics.

Prince Sihanouk immediately began building an organization known as the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum). Although he was no longer king, he was still a prince of the royal family, and he had gained considerable prestige during the years leading up to independence. He had applied himself to the dual task of suppressing armed rebels and achieving freedom from the French. Doubt as to his patriotism, a key point in some Cambodians' justification of their seeming disloyalty to him, had been removed. Many rebel chiefs, convinced that he was working sincerely for Cambodian independence, came over to his side and were commissioned in the Royal Cambodian Army.

New national elections were held in September 1955, and the Sangkum won all the seats of the 91-member assembly. Aware that its opposition stems mainly from the discontented younger generation, the Sangkum has made special efforts to secure its active support through a youth auxiliary called the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK).

The government began an ambitious program of economic, financial and educational reforms—improvements in transportation and industry; civic action; preparedness for national defense; and consolidation of political power. It also entered the arena of international politics as a member of the United Nations.

CHAPTER 4

POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE

The population's annual rate of increase and its density are low in comparison with those of other Southeast Asian countries. In 1967 the country was almost alone among the states of that area in that it was still underpopulated. It enjoyed large and fertile land resources coupled with a population too small and too unevenly distributed geographically to work the land resources to maximum advantage and possibly to defend them adequately in the event of invasion.

Nearly half of the population was under the age of 15. Proportionally, a slightly higher percentage of people in their economically active years lived in cities and towns than in the countryside. There was no significant difference between numbers of men and of women in any age group, but men slightly outnumbered women in urban areas. Women made up a large part of the labor force, the majority occupying themselves as unpaid family workers on farms and in small family shops.

Most of the urban population was concentrated in Phnom Penh. Although more than 20 other population centers were classified by the government as urban, only one housed as many as 40,000 people, and the majority were in reality overgrown farm villages which performed commercial functions and served as centers for provincial administration.

During the time of the French protectorate many Vietnamese and Chinese entered the country. Far fewer in number than the indigenous population, their generally better education, coupled with their aggressiveness and willingness to accept manual labor, enabled them to play a disproportionately important economic role. Although most of the people continued to reside in villages as subsistence farmers, the Vietnamese and Chinese flocked to urban centers as merchants, as workers in the few small industries, as officeworkers and as lower level government employees. As recently as the early 1910's they made up over half of the population of Phnom Penh.

Since independence, immigration and nationalization legislation has been restrictive. Labor legislation has been enacted which favors Cambodians over foreigners in all forms of employment

and prohibits foreign participation in some of them. Concurrently, an intensive program has been initiated to improve the quality of the workers through vocational training and to instill in the minds of the people a recognition that manual labor is worthwhile and can be performed with dignity. In the mid-1960's there was much unemployment despite the many positions available, and a law was enacted making it an offense punishable by imprisonment for an unemployed person to refuse any suitable work offered him by the government's placement office.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The unevenly distributed population was shown in the 1962 census to average about 87 persons per square mile. On the basis of an annual population growth rate of 2.2 percent, the average density in 1967 would have become slightly in excess of 96 per square mile. Demographic data reported by government statisticians since 1962 have usually been extrapolated from the census data, employing a 2.2 percent annual growth factor.

The 1962 census showed the population to have been 5,740,100. About 55 percent was located in the capital city and the five delta provinces; 40 percent, in the provinces bordering the Tonle Sap; and 5 percent, in the frontier provinces. Densities by province ranged from a little more than 1 per square mile in Mondolkiri to 484 in the delta province of Kandal; the other four delta provinces of Takco, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng and Kompong Cham all had densities in excess of 200 per square mile. The three provinces of Kandal (not including the autonomous capital city of Phnom Penh), Kompong Cham and Battambang contained well over one-third of the country's total population, nearly all of it in farm villages.

Although the years since independence have seen a greater relative population increase in urban areas than in the countryside, in 1966 only about 11 percent of the population was urban. The definition of urban on which this figure was based, however, was arbitrary. It included the autonomous municipalities and all other localities with administrations and budgets distinct from the provinces of which they were the capitals. Thus, the autonomous municipality of Bokor, with a 1962 population of 463, was considered an urban center.

Urban population was heavily concentrated in Phnom Penh, which in 1967 was estimated to house almost 10 percent of the population. No other city could claim as much as 1 percent of the total, and the combined populations of the 11 other cities with populations of 10,000 or more represented only about 3 percent (see table 1). In addition, approximately half a million people lived in villages clustered tightly about the capital city. Many

worked in it; most traded with it; and all were to some extent dependent on it for services, such as hospitalization.

*Table 1. Cambodian Cities With Populations of Over 10,000 Inhabitants, 1966*¹

<i>City</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Population</i>
Phnom Penh	550,000 ²	Sihanoukville	14,000 ³
Battambang	42,500	Kratie	13,000
Kompong Cham	30,500	Svay Rieng	12,500
Pursat	16,000	Siem Reap	11,000
Kompong Chhnang	14,000	Kompong Thom	10,500
Kampot	14,000	Prey Veng	10,000

¹ Rounded figures are based on 1962 census data increased by the general estimated demographic annual growth rate of 2.2 percent. No upward adjustment has been made for the presumed 1962-66 movement of rural population toward cities.

² Estimated by the Cambodian Government to be in excess of 600,000 on January 1, 1967.

³ An average of estimates for 1966. The population of Sihanoukville was negligible in 1962 but has increased rapidly.

Source: Adapted from Cambodia, *Basic Statistics as of 1st January 1967*, p. 3.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The outstanding structural feature of the population by age group is its extreme youth. Data from the 1962 census show that about 44 percent of the population was under the age of 15 at that time (see table 2). According to a 1959 survey of 345 farm villages, the average life expectancy at birth was 44.2 years for males and 43.3 years for women. In 1962 the male and female population was almost evenly divided. At birth and through the age of 19, males slightly outnumbered females. Thereafter, the numerical balance between the sexes oscillated without apparent pattern. Females slightly outnumbered males until the age of 50; males were more numerous to the age of 70; and for advanced ages females again predominated. The 1959 survey found that during the principal childbearing years—between the ages of 15 and 44—deaths of females outnumbered those of males by a 10 to 7 ratio.

The census showed a slight urban-rural variation by sex. In the country as a whole, males outnumbered females by less than 2,000. In the urban sector of the population, however, the ratio between males and females was 1,000 to 948.9. In Phnom Penh it was 1,000 to 948.2. One reason for this male preponderance was the tendency of young, single men to go to cities and towns to seek their livelihood, find wives of urban origin and settle in the urban localities. There was no offsetting trend of urban young men migrating to villages and marrying farm women. Another reason of importance was the presence in towns of numerous male seasonal or temporary workers, particularly in such localities as Sihanoukville, where port facilities and industrial installations were under construction.

Table 2. Population of Cambodia by Age and Sex, 1962

Age Group	Total	Male	Female
Under 10 years	1,745,900	876,400	869,500
10-14 years	767,400	392,900	374,500
15-19 years	536,300	272,900	263,400
20-24 years	472,300	229,800	242,500
25-29 years	412,600	202,900	209,700
30-34 years	378,000	185,900	192,100
35-39 years	322,600	159,400	163,200
40-44 years	259,400	129,300	130,100
45-49 years	229,500	114,100	115,400
50-54 years	192,100	96,300	95,800
55-59 years	145,500	73,000	72,500
60-64 years	113,700	58,700	55,000
65-69 years	74,300	37,200	37,100
70-74 years	47,600	23,000	24,600
75 years and over	40,900	17,900	23,000
Age unknown	2,000	1,200	800
TOTAL	5,740,100	2,870,900	2,869,200

Source: Adapted from *United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1965*, pp. 186, 187.

The greatest imbalance in 1962 was reported in the resort town of Bokor, where tourist facilities were under construction and the male-female ratio was almost 3 to 1. In addition, a relatively high percentage of the armed forces was quartered in urban areas; some frontier towns were considered too insecure because of their proximity to the South Vietnamese border; and the incidence of malaria was considered too high to be suitable places for women to live.

Males did not, however, outnumber females in all urban centers. In the more prosperous and faster growing provincial capitals, the large number of jobs available to women—such as those in service occupations and textile manufacturing—resulted in a preponderance of females. In Kompong Cham, for example, the male-female ratio was 1,000 to 1,059.

In the mid-1960's a relatively greater number of people in their economically active years lived in cities and towns, whereas children and elderly people were comparatively more numerous in the countryside. The principal cause of this imbalance was the migratory movement of young people to urban areas, either to settle permanently or to seek seasonal employment. Some farm-bred persons who had spent all or part of their economically active life in urban areas, however, had returned to their villages of origin to spend their retirement years among relatives.

In 1967 about 85 percent of the population was Khmer. Other indigenous peoples were the Cham-Malays and the tribal peoples, the Khmer Loeu (literally, the upper Cambodians). These minor-

ity indigenous peoples were few in number. In addition, a small European colony was located principally in Phnom Penh and a small scattering of other East Asian minorities was found primarily in the northwest. The only numerically important ethnic minority groups, however, were the Chinese and the Vietnamese (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Most of the Chinese were urban dwellers. Their principal non-urban concentrations were in fishing colonies along the coast and in the country's pepper plantations, where about 1,000 were employed. In addition, the Chinese were widely dispersed in the countryside as rice millers and brokers and as village merchants.

Like the Chinese, the Vietnamese were primarily urban people, but most of the approximately 25,000 workers on the rubber plantations were Vietnamese. Unlike the Chinese, they were not widely scattered in rural areas. They had maintained their social and cultural isolation, and those who moved into the countryside had been unable or unwilling to integrate themselves into Khmer villages. Rural Vietnamese had tended to congregate in a few rural areas where they had gradually displaced the indigenous population. For example, the Vietnamese who had begun to move into Peamchor District of Prey Veng Province during the nineteenth century made up about 80 percent of its population by 1961.

POPULATION DYNAMICS

In 1967 the most recent birth and death rate estimates available were those based on the 1959 survey. At that time it was determined that the two rates were 41.4 and 19.7 per thousand, respectively, indicating a 2.17 percent annual population growth rate. Government statisticians during the 1960's used the rounded figure of 2.2 percent for the yearly growth rate. A high rate of infant mortality, 127 per thousand in 1959, coupled with a high rate of mortality in childbirth have undoubtedly had a substantially limiting influence on the modest rate of population increase. The care of mothers and infants was given precedence in the government's expanding public health program during the 1960's, which undoubtedly accelerated the rate of growth (see ch. 8, Living Conditions).

As indicated in the 1959 survey, women did not begin to bear their children at an early age. Of about 200,000 births to women between the ages of 15 and 49, almost half were to mothers in the 20- to 29-year age group. Of the mothers not in this group, those over 29 far outnumbered those under 20.

The growth of Phnom Penh has been spectacular during recent years. Between 1936 and 1962 its population increased by some 400 percent, whereas that of the second largest city, Bat-

tambang, was registering a 100-percent increase. A 1967 study of the progress of urbanization saw this growth continuing through the absorption of the peripheral villages; Takhmau, the neighboring capital of Kandal Province, was already virtually a suburb of Phnom Penh. The predicted growth was based on the city's strategic location and on the multiplicity of economic and social activities centered in it.

The same study foresaw substantial continued growth for the provincial capital cities of Battambang, Kompong Cham and, to a lesser extent, Kampot. Growth of the new port city of Sihanoukville was expected to accelerate with the completion of the railroad linking it to Phnom Penh coupled with the expansion of its dock and warehouse facilities. Growth in population of the remainder of the urban centers was seen as decreasing or ceasing altogether because of the limited potentials for economic growth and diversification.

In recent years there has been a striking alteration in the ethnic composition of Phnom Penh, as reported by an estimate. In 1950 the city was made up principally of foreigners, and Chinese and Vietnamese constituted 30 and 28 percent of the population, respectively. By the mid-1960's more than two-thirds of its population was Khmer; the balance was Vietnamese and Chinese, except for less than 1 percent of Europeans and other foreigners.

This sharp decline in the percentage of foreign population probably indicates fundamental changes in the policies regarding ethnic minorities rather than actual population shifts. The term "Khmer" by the mid-1960's had become a designation of nationality rather than of an ethnic group. Those who so identified themselves were Cambodian citizens and spoke the Khmer language as their mother tongue, but they were not necessarily Khmer in ethnic origin. Those who identified themselves as Chinese or Vietnamese were foreigners upon whom citizenship had not been conferred.

Since independence immigration has been made increasingly difficult, and legislation relating to naturalization has been so restrictive that it has become nearly impossible for even the second, third or subsequent generations of Vietnamese and Chinese to obtain citizenship. During the mid-1960's these people could leave the country for only short periods of time without forfeiting reentry rights. In addition, it was possible by order of the Ministry of the Interior to expel persons of non-Khmer ancestry who had been born in the country.

In 1963 it was reported that, as a result of governmental discrimination against them, about 10,000 Vietnamese had left

Takeo Province alone since the time of independence and had returned to South Vietnam. They were replaced by Khmer Krom (ethnic Khmer residing in South Vietnam) against whom discrimination had also been practiced. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was reported to have expressed concern over the 15,000 Khmer Krom refugees who crossed the border into Cambodia in 1966. He was said to have regarded the humanitarian problems involved in assimilating these people as ranking with the influx of refugees from Communist China into Hong Kong and Macao as major contemporary East Asian refugee problems.

During the mid-1960's the government hoped to resettle increasing numbers of Cambodians on uncultivated but fertile lands in more remote portions of the country. In early 1956, in a policy speech to the National Assembly, Prince Norodom Sihanouk stated that "We later want to settle people in the frontier zones in order to prevent the Vietnamese from penetrating into our territory." Since 1960 the government has been resettling the hill tribes and some Khmer in permanent settlements in the frontier region and in other underpopulated areas.

The resettlement program, undertaken in 1960 as part of the Five-Year Plan, was first focused on large and fertile Battambang Province, but it was expanded to include other more remote underpopulated areas. Particular emphasis was placed on the resettlement of personnel discharged from the armed forces, Khmer refugees from South Vietnam, unemployed townspeople and young people unable to find occupation in trade or industry.

Comparison of the 1962 census statistics with earlier population estimates, however, indicates that the program had not progressed by 1962 to the extent of attracting a significant number of people from the traditional ricefields of the delta. No data are available for the evaluation of the success of resettlement since 1962, but it was reported that during the mid-1960's the efforts to place people on undeveloped agricultural lands probably were being hampered by the phenomenal progress of the country's educational program. Increasing numbers of young people who were leaving school and were unwilling to take up life on the farm were flocking to urban areas (see ch. 9, Education).

STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF THE LABOR FORCE

The 1962 census found the country's labor force to include 44.6 percent of the total population. Some 51.1 percent of males of all ages and 38.1 percent of all females were included. The criteria employed were conventional in that the labor force was determined on the basis of persons gainfully employed, those

temporarily unemployed but seeking employment and unpaid family workers.

About 80.9 percent was reported engaged in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing. The 7.1 percent engaged in service activities represented the next most important occupation, followed in order by commerce with 5.9 percent and manufacturing industries with 2.8 percent. No other class of employment occupied as much as 1 percent (see table 3). These occupational classifications, however, are international ones prescribed by the International Labor Organization. Under the country's own classification system, 3.9 percent were reported to be self-employed artisans.

According to a 1959 survey about 29 percent of the labor force in Phnom Penh consisted of employers and the self-employed; 62 percent were wage earners; and 9 percent were classified as unpaid family workers and others. Corresponding figures for rural areas are not available, but it seems that most of the labor force consisted of members of farm families who worked without pay in the fields with the head of the household. Since heads of households were proprietors of their farms and the scattering of village merchants and artisans operated their own small businesses, nearly all of the rest of the rural labor force can be presumed to have been classifiable as self-employed.

Table 3. Structure of the Economically Active Population of Cambodia, 1962

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent*</i>
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing.	1,125,400	948,300	2,073,700	80.9
Services	147,000	34,500	181,500	7.1
Commerce	88,000	62,700	150,700	5.9
Manufacturing industries ..	45,500	27,000	72,500	2.8
Transport, storage and communications.	24,400	700	25,100	0.9
Construction	15,400	1,600	17,000	0.7
Extractive industries	1,200	300	1,500	0.1
Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services.	1,300	-----	1,300	0.1
Other	23,500	13,700	37,200	1.5
TOTAL	1,471,700	1,088,800	2,560,500	100.0

*Approximate.

Source: Adapted from *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1966*, pp. 88, 89.

Between rural and urban areas the pattern of employment reflects the substantial difference which is to be expected. A 1959 survey of heads of households in farm villages showed that about 83 percent were farmers. Merchants and fishermen made up 4.4 and 2.1 percent, respectively. About 1.5 percent were public of-

ficials, and about 1 percent were artisans. No other rural occupation represented as much as 1 percent.

Another 1959 survey of the economically active in Phnom Penh found that 26.6 percent were industrial workers and artisans, 24.1 percent were merchants and salesmen, and 24.4 percent were officeworkers and service personnel. Progressively smaller percentages were employed in transport and communications, professions and technical specialties, agriculture and fishing, the armed forces and miscellaneous occupations.

Women made up about 43 percent of the labor force in 1962. Almost half of the farm labor force consisted of women, who also accounted for substantial portions of the employment rolls in commerce and industry. In general, they worked beside their husbands in the fields, assisted them in the operation of small stores and fashioned many of the handicraft items produced in the country. In 1967 they still constituted a minority in such vocations as nursing and elementary-school teaching, but their number was increasing rapidly.

The employment of persons under the age of 18 was prohibited in state-owned and mixed business enterprises. Many farm children helped their parents during the planting and harvesting seasons, but by 1967 the school population had grown so large that few of the very young were available for farm or other labor on a regular basis. In 1967 the nearly 950,000 children who were spending most of their time attending primary school—the first 6 grades—included most of those in the primary-school age group (see ch. 9, Education).

Early in 1967 a spokesman for the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum), expressing regret that there was so little public interest in reducing unemployment, noted that during recent years there had been unprecedentedly high registrations of idle workers with the Placement Bureau of the Ministry of Labor. Some 2,500 had registered in 1961; 3,000, in 1962; and over 12,500, in 1963. It was implied that registrations during subsequent years had been at or above the 1963 level.

The increase during 1963 was principally urban and was conditioned by a variety of factors, of which the most important probably included the start of nationalization of many business enterprises and the end of United States aid. Some foreign firms terminated operations; others that had not been nationalized began reducing their staffs. By the end of the following year some of the larger private establishments had discharged as much as 75 percent of their staffs.

The state-owned business enterprises contributed to the un-

employment roll, for early in 1964 the government embarked on an economy program, which resulted in the elimination of some unprofitable public enterprises and a reduction of employees in others. In 1967 Prince Sihanouk acknowledged the existence of much unemployment and stated that the government had offered many jobs to the country's youth but that this could no longer be done because all vacancies had been filled. In general, however, there was a disposition during the mid-1960's to view unemployment as an annoying rather than a critical problem and to attribute it to the influx of young people from schools into the labor market without a corresponding appearance of new development capital.

The basic problem seems to have been the inability of the educated to find work acceptable to them. Among those with higher educational credentials, finding employment with the government in some administrative capacity was an almost universal aspiration. Young people attending trade school wished to prepare themselves to become foremen or skilled technicians rather than competent manual workers. There was still a shortage of skilled technicians in 1967, but this shortage was accompanied by a reluctance on the part of much of the labor force to accept manual labor, either in industry or in farmwork in connection with the program for colonization of new farming areas. These attitudes were so pronounced that early in 1964 a law was passed making the registration of unemployed persons obligatory and the failure to accept suitable employment offered by the government punishable by imprisonment (see ch. 21, Labor Relations and Organization).

For those willing to remain in the countryside and engage in farming and related activities there was virtually no unemployment problem. On the existing farms more workers meant lighter work, and the government welcomed anyone willing to help settle arable vacant lands in the frontier areas. There was, however, considerable underemployment. Rice growing kept the farmers busy during only about half of the year, and the handicrafts and fishing which occupied the balance of the time of those who did not seek seasonal jobs in urban areas was at best part-time employment. In addition, there was some disguised unemployment because of the inefficient methods used by the farmers.

Under the French protectorate there had been a high incidence of foreign participation in the nonagricultural sectors of the economy. The Chinese and a few Europeans played predominant roles in commerce, and the Vietnamese filled many of the positions in industry and in public and private office work.

Soon after independence was achieved the government began

attempting to correct the situation which had relegated nearly all of the indigenous population to the role of subsistence farming. Legislation enacted in 1956 prohibited foreigners from engaging in 18 occupations, including such diverse pursuits as the manufacture of salt and barbering. The following year other legislation required that 70 percent of the employees of business enterprises be citizens. In 1967 instructions issued by the Ministry of Industry to state-owned and mixed-ownership business enterprises under its jurisdiction included the requirement that only citizens be employed.

Because of the critical shortage of trained Cambodian personnel, it has been necessary to grant exemptions to the requirements. Immigration has been severely restricted, however, and there has been a gradual attrition of foreign workers through retirement or for other reasons. Foreign-owned and -operated business enterprises have been nationalized, and an impressive increase in technical education has resulted in an increase in technically skilled personnel. In the mid-1960's the government appeared to be diligently trying to effect the "Khmerization" of its labor force (see ch. 9, Education).

Agricultural Labor

Agriculture is usually a family undertaking, the important exceptions being the large rubber and pepper plantations where hired agricultural laborers do the work. The abundance of land and the traditional system of landownership, which gives property rights to the man who works the soil, in most instances have made it unnecessary for one man to work for another. Farming normally provides sufficient food for the family and a small cash surplus for clothing, taxes and festivals. Rice production is the principal occupation of most farmers, but many grow other crops also, and in 1959 a survey indicated that over 15 percent of the farmers were not primarily rice producers. The subsidiary activities of the farmer and his family, such as fishing and handicraft work, are sources of extra food or income.

There are few wealthy or very poor farm proprietors. The evenness in distribution of income of farm families can, however, be overstressed. Among the families surveyed in 1959 the per capita income of the most fortunate was as much as 10 times that of the least privileged.

The farmer frequently is heavily in debt. Originally he may not have had the money to pay for a funeral, a marriage ceremony or a trip to a festival, or perhaps one crop was poor. To obtain help for such problems as these he goes to the money-lender, who is frequently the broker or miller to whom he sells his rice. These moneylenders, usually Chinese, are reported to

charge usurious rates of interest ranging from 3 percent to as high as 30 percent a month. Once in debt he rarely returns to a state of financial solvency, often becoming little more than an agent of the moneylender to whom he is indebted. Under these conditions it is understandable that a farmer may be reluctant to adopt new practices which would require an initial outlay of money.

Since its formation in 1956 the Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) has been engaged in an effort to lessen this dependence on moneylenders by the establishment of rural credit cooperatives; there were 13 of these in 1966. The rates charged on money provided by OROC to the cooperatives were 12 percent annually for short-term loans of up to 1 year and 9 percent for 1- to 5-year loans. At that time, however, cooperative credit had yet to become a success. Total cooperative membership, including both heads of households and their families, was reported to represent only about one-fourth of the population, and the credit cooperative was only one of several kinds of cooperative ventures. Several years earlier, in 1963, it had been reported that the cooperatives had accounted for only about 15 percent of the credit extended.

Although tenant farming and sharecropping are rare, there is considerable employment of hired labor, particularly during the harvesting season. The 1959 rural survey found that somewhat less than half of the farmowners occasionally called on temporary workers and that about 15 percent hired them on a regular basis.

In general, the agricultural labor force in the mid-1960's had yet to become a very productive one. The proprietor farmer was unskilled in agricultural practices, and productivity suffered as a consequence. Although new agricultural schools and experimental stations offered hope for the future and despite the intrinsically high productivity of most of the farmland, the output of rice per unit of land was not much better than two-thirds of that in Burma and half of that in Thailand. The hired agricultural workers were reported to have a high degree of unreliability. This could have been explained in part by the fact that many were working off debts contracted by their fathers, or even their grandfathers, and that the government was intensely interested in settling such people on new lands.

The plantation labor force cannot be considered within the general context of farm labor. During the mid-1960's its principal element was made up of the 25,000 workers, most of them Vietnamese, employed on the French-owned rubber plantations concentrated largely in Kompong Cham Province. In addition, there were about 1,000 workers on pepper estates in Takeo and

Kampot Provinces. These estates were owned and worked principally by Chinese. Public authorities were attempting to interest more Cambodians in rubber production, both in family-size plantations and as workers on the large establishments. Toward this end a 1,250-acre, state-owned plantation had been established in Ratanakiri Province.

The law requiring that 70 percent of the employees of a business firm be Cambodians has not been effectively implemented in the rubber plantations, which require considerable training and where traditionally the working force has been made up of people imported by the French from Vietnam. In 1967 a government spokesman acknowledged that it would be only as Vietnamese workers voluntarily left their jobs that they could be replaced by Cambodians.

On the whole, plantation workers enjoy conditions of employment more attractive than those found by other workers in the country. They are protected by a labor law carried over from the time of the French protectorate which provides for specific hourly wages, working conditions and family allowances. Free medical care, educational and recreational facilities, free housing and frequently additional payments in kind are provided to attract and retain qualified workers.

Industrial and Commercial Employees

Although most of the data concerning the numbers of industrial and commercial workers are based on the 1962 census, interpretations differ. A Cambodian Government estimate for the census year held that 9.6 percent of the economically active population was engaged in commerce and industry, excluding handicrafts. One estimate for the early 1960's was that only 2 percent was engaged in industrial pursuits; another reported that 2.8 percent was engaged in manufacturing industries alone. Neither of these included the 25,000 workers on the rubber plantations, who devoted all or part of their time to transformation of the latex drawn from the trees into semiprocessed forms of rubber, and the part-time industrial contribution of the many seasonal workers, who were primarily farmers but who also worked in the numerous small rice mills and sawmills.

The greatest drawback to the substitution of machine-intensive for labor-intensive industry has been the lack of trained personnel. Trained personnel have, in fact, been insufficient in number properly to operate existing machinery. In 1963 it was reported that there were 600 technical job openings for which there were no qualified applicants. To overcome the shortage of technical workers the government, in addition to promoting technical education at all levels of the educational system, has

passed legislation requiring every establishment employing more than 30 persons to hire one apprentice for every 10 workers employed.

A majority of the industrial personnel in the mid-1960's was employed in small enterprises. Most numerous among these were the more than 1,000 rice mills and 250 hand-operated sawmills. The typical mill employed fewer than 10 workers, who may have been farmers supplementing their incomes during the slack season. At the opposite end of the scale were the few state-owned or mixed-ownership business enterprises. The largest industrial employer in the country was the state-owned textile plant in Kompong Cham, which had a labor force of more than 1,500 in 1963. The largest private establishment that year was a cigarette factory that had an employment roll of 770.

In commerce, as in industry, the few large institutions tended to be state controlled, whereas the small ones were private. The village merchant (*commerçant*), usually Chinese, might be an itinerant peddler or a self-employed small storekeeper. He was also often the moneylender. At the opposite end of the scale in business, the big employers were the state-owned National Import-Export Corporation (*Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation—SONEXIM*), which monopolized foreign trade, and the National Import Distribution Corporation (*Société Nationale de Distribution de Produits Importés—SONAPRIM*), a mixed ownership organization (see ch. 22, Domestic Trade).

There are various types of specialization among artisans. For example, men dominate crafts dealing with metals, wood and precious stones, whereas women exercise a virtual monopoly over the country's weaving industry and other textile enterprises. Cambodians control operations devoted to silverwork. Chinese and Vietnamese are most prominent in jewelry work, which requires a greater initial investment. Although there is little village specialization, both pottery making and metal work seem to be somewhat localized.

Under a 1958 law, military personnel were directed to participate in civic action programs for the construction of public works. Army personnel make substantial contributions toward building roads and bridges, clearing land for municipal town-sites, erecting dams, establishing model farms and constructing public buildings in the countryside. Most of this work has been accomplished in the frontier provinces of Mondolkiri, Ratanakiri and Koh Kong (see ch. 26, The Armed Forces). In 1958 Prince Sihanouk inaugurated a campaign to dignify manual labor by the participation of government employees. As a part of this program permanent civil servants of all ranks may be required to devote 2 weeks each year to manual labor in construction

work in the countryside. Personnel continue to receive their regular salaries and allowances during these times of contributed labor.

There are other important contributors to public works undertakings who are not regular members of the industrial labor force. Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK) brigades are sometimes sent to rural areas to participate in various kinds of building projects. Villagers often contribute voluntary labor to the construction of public buildings, roads, bridges and dikes in their neighborhoods. This part-time participation by various sectors of the population in public works activity was typified by the formal breaking of ground on the Prek Thnot dam project in 1964, an occasion which was described as the "day of manual labor." The first earth was turned by Prince Sihanouk, who was dressed for the occasion in khaki work clothes. This was the signal for thousands of volunteers to go to work. The volunteer force included high counselors of the throne, deputies and counselors of the kingdom, ministers and secretaries of state, civil functionaries of all classes, army and youth corps groups and country people from nearby villages. Much of this participation was symbolic, and the labor of the participants was to be limited to that single day. For some, such as the army and youth groups, it was to be of a continuing nature.

Public Employees

In 1955 there were about 14,000 civil employees in the government, the great majority of them capable of doing only routine clerical work. During the period of the French protectorate few Cambodians had been trained for or appointed to public administrative jobs, for the French had preferred to use Vietnamese, who had been longer under French tutelage and were more accustomed to French procedures.

In 1963 the number of authorized civil positions was about 43,000. This total did not include positions in the state-owned and mixed-ownership business enterprises. Workers in these organizations were under a separate employment system and were specifically prohibited from using the title "administrative official of the kingdom" (*fonctionnaire de l'administration du royaume*). In 1963 by far the largest group of public employees, all of whom by that time were required to be Cambodian citizens, was in the field of education, where 16,400 positions were authorized. About 14,500 of these were filled by teachers. Next in number were about 10,000 civilian positions for the support of military forces and for the maintenance of internal security. Among the other more important sectors of public employment

were public health with 3,300 positions; agriculture, 3,000; and public works and telecommunications, about 2,300.

Composition of the public rolls by type of function performed is known only through 1963. The 1967 budget, however, reflected the allocation of funds for more than 52,000 civil servant and other employee positions as compared with the 43,000 corresponding positions authorized in 1963. Most of this increase was in the number of teachers (see ch. 9, Education). Between 1963 and 1967 the number of persons engaged in teaching in the public school system at all levels grew from about 14,500 to nearly 21,000.

Civil service careers are much sought after by those with sufficient education to qualify, 12 years of schooling usually being required for regular appointments. Salary ratings are low in comparison with corresponding positions in commercial enterprises, but the civil service assignment carries with it prestige, job security and pension rights generally not available to others. There is also a better opportunity for advancement. Since the civil service provides an attractive employment prospect for young people who have a liberal arts education, the government ministries are oversubscribed with job applicants, and there remains a serious shortage of personnel trained in technical fields.

CHAPTER 5

ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

The ethnic Khmer are the numerically dominant group and in 1967 numbered an estimated 5.4 million, comprising 85 percent of the total population (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force). The largest minority groups are the Chinese and Vietnamese, each constituting nearly 7 percent. The remaining 1 percent includes the Khmer Loeu and some Cham-Malays, Thai and Laotians, who have lived side by side with the Khmer for centuries, and a small number of more recently arrived Europeans, Japanese, Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos. Some of these groups have managed to retain their own languages and customs, but others have been gradually absorbed by the Khmer.

Government leaders are determined to build a strong nation of people whose loyalty is solely to the kingdom, and ethnic policies are formulated primarily to achieve this goal. The term "Khmer"—once used to describe the dominant ethnic group—has become a designation of nationality. The seminomadic tribal peoples of the high forested plateaus are no longer called Phnong (savages); they are referred to as Khmer Loeu (upper Cambodians) and are said to have the same origin as the lowland Khmer. The government has taken steps to educate them and assimilate them to Khmer culture in the hope that they will identify with the national aspiration.

The Khmer occupy nearly all of the important government positions and most of the civil service jobs. The Chinese and Vietnamese, though numerically small, have played an important role in Cambodian economic life. Government efforts to gain control of economic activities have created some tension between the Khmer majority and the Chinese and Vietnamese minorities. Occasional reports of border violations have added to the strain between the Khmer and the Vietnamese.

THE PEOPLES OF CAMBODIA

The Khmer

The modern Khmer are the product of countless centuries of cultural and racial blendings. Their origins are obscure, but it is believed that at some period before 2000 B.C. they moved down

from the northwest into the fertile Mekong Delta. At the beginning of the Christian era they came into more direct contact with the indigenous peoples of Indonesian stock already living in what is now Cambodia and drove them into the less favorable mountain zones. Little more has been established other than that of the Khmer of that period generally resembled the present-day Cambodians.

Cambodia was Hinduized by successive waves of migrations from India starting in the third century B.C. (see ch. 11, Religion). This process, with its concomitant mixing of the races, reached its climax in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. In the eighth century Cambodia underwent an Indo-Malay invasion from Java. The great Thai invasions into Cambodia occurred between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries. In more recent times the physical makeup of the Khmer has been affected by mixing with Vietnamese, Chinese and Europeans. The Khmer of today are a heterogeneous people whose ancestors were of many races but who have been assimilated to Khmer culture and have become Cambodian citizens.

The Khmer once dominated the entire Mekong Delta, but their holdings were narrowed by Vietnamese conquest. In 1967 there were minority groups of Khmer origin in neighboring countries, including about 450,000 in South Vietnam, over 200,000 in Thailand and a small number in Laos.

The typical Khmer male is about 5 feet 4 inches tall and has dark coffee-colored skin. The head is round and incisively modeled, with a slightly receding forehead, oval eyes, flared nostrils, full lips and a short chin. Both men and women have wavy hair, which they traditionally wear cut short.

The delicate royal dancing girls in Phnom Penh typify the ideal of female beauty—fair, slender and long necked. The ideal male physical type is tall, muscular and full shouldered. Wide-open eyes are considered an indication of intelligence and power. Any semblance of the Mongolian eye fold is aesthetically unappealing.

Most Khmer continue to live in semiautonomous, self-sufficient rural villages of 100 to 300 people. They live on and work their own land, often combining agriculture and fishing. A significant number of Khmer recently have moved to the cities, where they have taken advantage of opportunities for industrial employment. The Khmer are also beginning to take a more active role in some commercial activities which were formerly dominated by Chinese and Vietnamese.

The Chinese

The Chinese migration to Cambodia began at least as early as

the third century B.C., first by land and later by sea. In A.D. 1296 Chou Ta Kwan, a Chinese envoy, noted that there was a large number of Chinese people among the Khmer in Angkor. The Chinese migration has continued intermittently. Most came from the southern provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien and Hainan island; usually they migrated first to Vietnam and then gradually into Cambodia.

In 1967 the number of Chinese was estimated (by unofficial sources) to be between 400,000 and 450,000, or nearly 7 percent of the total population. In 1964 over one-third of the Chinese minority lived in Phnom Penh; most of the others were concentrated in other urban centers; and only a few were in rural areas.

The size of the Chinese minority seems to fluctuate according to economic and political conditions in Communist China and Cambodia as well as in neighboring countries. For example, the influx of Chinese into Cambodia between 1948 and 1953 can be traced to political unrest in Vietnam, where many had settled in the port of Cho Lon as traders on temporary visas and subsequently had moved to Cambodia. Direct migration from Communist China has decreased since 1950 because of the changing Chinese domestic situation.

The Chinese excel as bankers, moneylenders, speculators, contractors and retail merchants, and they are prominent in the field of transportation. They are found wherever there is merchandise to be sold and money to be made, and they prosper in Cambodia as in many other parts of Southeast Asia. Even the immigrant Hainanese coolies often make a successful living. Relatively few have turned to the cultivation of staple crops as their primary means of subsistence. The Cantonese are vegetable gardeners, and, as fishermen, they have virtually monopolized coastal fishing. The Hainanese are pepper planters and rice-growers in Kampot Province.

The Chinese occupational guilds (*bang*), formed on the basis of dialect groups, are mutual benefit societies which were organized primarily as a defense against the trade restrictions first imposed by the French and later by the Cambodian Government. The head of each guild is elected by popular vote and acts as an intermediary between the government and the members of the *bang*. Control within the *bang* is maintained in conformity with Chinese customary law. They are usually completely self-sufficient groups. The government has reportedly attempted to dissolve these guilds and to deal with the Chinese directly.

The Khmer have ambivalent attitudes toward the Chinese, whom they admire for their economic talent but whose wealth

they often envy. Resentment against the Chinese has grown as the Khmer have become increasingly conscious of their own economic impotence. The Khmer farmer frequently finds himself in debt to a Chinese moneylender—a situation which heightens Khmer-Chinese antagonism. Nevertheless, because of their reputation for industry and financial shrewdness, Chinese men are eagerly sought as marriage partners by Khmer families that desire greater financial security and higher socioeconomic status for their daughters. Although the Chinese regard the Khmer as indifferent farmers, poor traders, uninspired fishermen, unreliable laborers, inferior cultivators and chronic vagrants, they have sought Khmer girls as wives, primarily because the Chinese population in Cambodia, until recent years, has been predominantly male. The frequent occurrence of such marriages has done much to smooth relations between the two groups.

The Chinese are law abiding and carefully try to avoid any adverse criticism. They cling to their cultural heritage, maintain their traditional ancestor worship and Mahayana Buddhism and usually send their children to their own private schools to learn the Chinese language and customs. Although the Chinese are usually indifferent to local conditions and customs, they are always respectful of the religion and culture of the Khmer (see ch. 11, Religion).

The Khmer believe that the offspring of a Khmer-Chinese marriage combine the best qualities of both groups. Many such offspring are proud of being Sino-Cambodians, children of Chinese fathers and Khmer mothers, and socially they rank above the French-Cambodians.

There are no available statistics on the number of Sino-Cambodians in the country. Government ethnic policies deny citizenship to those who claim to be Chinese and require that individuals of mixed parentage identify themselves as either Chinese or Sino-Cambodian. The children of marriages between Chinese and Cambodians may petition for citizenship, but neither first generation Chinese nor their descendants may become citizens.

In the past 20 years intermarriage between “pure” Chinese and “pure” Khmer has been decreasing, primarily because Chinese women have started coming into the country. The younger generation of Chinese men prefers to marry only the Sino-Cambodians or “pure” Chinese. Consequently, the Sino-Cambodians are being absorbed, largely by the Khmer, but also, to an extent, by the Chinese population.

The Vietnamese

The earliest Vietnamese colony dated from the late seventeenth century, when the empire of Annam, in what is now part

of North and South Vietnam, occupied large areas of the country. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century they migrated into Cambodia in a steady stream and settled the more fertile agricultural areas along the riverbanks from Phnom Penh to Stung Treng and from Battambang to Chau Doc of present-day North Vietnam, incurring the resentment—usually passive—of the Khmer farmers.

The French halted Vietnamese military aggrandizement by establishing a protectorate over Cambodia in 1864, but they provided legal cover and economic incentive for large-scale Vietnamese migration into Cambodia. This policy reportedly was designed to fill the ranks of a French colonial civil service in Cambodia and to secure a labor force for the French-owned rubber plantations.

According to the 1966 unofficial estimate there were over 400,000 Vietnamese in Cambodia, or about 7 percent of the total population. It is difficult to estimate the number of Vietnamese in the country at any one time. There are frequent reports of refugees crossing the border, but it is not known how many seek temporary refuge and later return to Vietnam.

No figures are available on the distribution of Vietnamese throughout the country. Like the Chinese, they are primarily an urban population, and it is probable that their distribution follows somewhat the same pattern as that of the Chinese. In 1966 an unofficial estimate indicated that 28 percent of Phnom Penh's population was Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese are smaller in body structure than the Khmer and are typically Mongolian in hair color, eye fold and facial features and have broad heads and high cheekbones. Their average height is slightly less than that of the Khmer.

Vietnamese dress is distinctive. Men and women wear wide, loose trousers reaching to the ankles and a long robe split at the sides. For formal dress the robe hangs down over the trousers to the knee for the men and to the ankle for the women. The woman's robe fits tightly over the shoulders and breast and is loose at the waist. The man's robe hangs loosely from the shoulders. In the fields a Vietnamese farmer wears black trousers, a short jacket and a pointed straw hat.

The rural Vietnamese generally learn to speak Khmer in addition to their own language. Those living in the cities often speak French and Vietnamese, but they usually are not fluent in Khmer.

Most of the urban Vietnamese work as skilled artisans, petty merchants, doctors, dentists and domestics. Those who live in the rural areas, unlike the Chinese, are primarily engaged in rice farming, plantation work and fishing. They are industrious

fishermen and ply their trade mainly along the banks of the Mekong River.

About 25,000 live in colonies on the shores of the Tonle Sap in floating dwellings supported by pontoons or sampans. Even though they migrate during the dry season to deeper water in the center of the lake, they maintain the established order of their daily community life.

The Vietnamese of pure Vietnamese parentage are not legally eligible for Cambodian citizenship, but they—unlike the Chinese—appear to seek it actively. The descendants of Cambodian and Vietnamese mixed parentage may become citizens by petition, and it is probable that many who are eligible to do so take advantage of this provision of the law to change their status.

The friction between the Khmer and the Vietnamese has been bitter and continual. The Vietnamese are usually commercially ambitious and push themselves forward in a way that annoys most of the Khmer. Although the Khmer have accepted, to some extent, commercial exploitation by the Chinese, they find highly objectionable the same action by the Vietnamese.

Dislocation and discrimination rather than social assimilation and integration have been the standard ethnic pattern of the Vietnamese settlements, particularly in rural districts. Khmer farmers have often abandoned their traditional settlements in the face of Vietnamese encroachments. The wedge that has been driven between the two peoples has inhibited cultural exchange. Despite centuries in Cambodia, the Vietnamese have maintained their ethnic identity. In recent years the difficulties placed in the way of their obtaining citizenship have made it almost impossible for them to assimilate to Cambodian society.

The Khmer Loeu

The forested highland plateaus and intermontane valleys are sparsely populated by ethnic groups collectively known as the Khmer Loeu. There are no population statistics available for some of these groups, and others are inadequately reported. In 1966 the total number of Khmer Loeu was variously estimated to be from 30,000 to 60,000. The heaviest settlement is along the north-eastern and eastern frontiers, but other groups live in the mountain chains of western Cambodia.

Many scholars believe that the Khmer Loeu came from the Malay Peninsula or the Indonesian archipelago; others, that they are related to the tribes of southern China and Assam. All agree that a preponderant Asian influence is reflected in their customs and languages. Some of these languages are similar to the Malay and Polynesian languages, whereas others seem more closely related to the Mon-Khmer language group.

Some experts have divided the Khmer Loeu population into an Indonesian type, characterized by comparatively light skin, a long head, wavy or straight hair and absence of the Mongolian eye fold; and a Negroid type, characterized by dark skin, woolly hair and somewhat shorter stature than the Indonesian type.

Personal decorations, more than anything else, distinguish the Khmer Loeu from the Khmer. They take various forms, such as piercing and elongating the lobes of the ear, in which heavy ivory earplugs may be inserted; wearing heavy copper or brass bangles on the wrists and ankles; extracting or filing teeth; and having extensive tattoos on arms, chest and forehead. These practices are diminishing, particularly among men who have had outside contacts and among children who have attended school.

Clothing is simple and consists of a breechcloth for the men and a short skirt made of coarse cotton or grass cloth for the women.

Most Khmer Loeu live in scattered village groupings of 20 to 30 persons. Each settlement is an independent and largely self-sufficient unit. Some groups are governed by a village headman or a council of elders; others appear to have no permanent political offices. Members of the group farm and hunt together and divide their harvests equally.

The Khmer Loeu subsist primarily by growing dry rice, which they cultivate by the slash-and-burn method (see ch. 19, Agriculture). Some corn, yams and tobacco are also raised, and most villages have a few pigs and chickens that may be slaughtered for food. Men perform the heavier work associated with slash-and-burn agriculture, whereas women plant the fields and gather the produce from the wild plants. In many groups hunting and fishing are important means of supplementing the diet.

There are many types of housing, varying according to tribal custom. Some groups seem to prefer light, thatched houses supported by 5- to 10-foot-high bamboo poles. Other groups build more substantial homes, which are heavily thatched and are sometimes 50 feet long. These are usually mounted on log piles that stand 4 to 6 feet high. The space underneath the house may be used as a pigsty or a chicken coop and for storage.

The Khmer Loeu are animists. Religion is usually centered in the family, in which most rituals are performed. There is little communal religious activity except in time of crisis, when all members of the family may participate in offering sacrifices to the spirits. The main religious practitioner is the village sorcerer, who is believed to have supernatural powers for dealing with the spiritual world.

Ethnic Distinctions

Little agreement exists among those who have attempted to classify the various Khmer Loeu groups according to group names and ethnic distinctions. Some authorities state that there are 13 separate groups, but only fragmentary information is available on some of them. The principal groups are the Rhade, Jarai, Stieng, Kuoy (Kui), Biat (Biat Phnorr), Pear (Samre or Pol) and Krol. In addition, the names of Saoch, Prea, Brao, BuNeut and Rehong Khmon are mentioned in some writings.

According to a 1964 estimate there were 100,000 to 115,000 Rhade living in Cambodia and South Vietnam. Most Rhade in Cambodia live in Stung Treng Province; the majority are in South Vietnam. The Rhade have long heads, prominent cheekbones, straight and low foreheads, black and wavy hair, bronze skin and brown eyes; the Mongolian eye fold is rare. Their language is a dialect of Cham.

The Rhade have a matrilineal extended family organization. Descent is traced through females on the mother's side of the family, and property is inherited by females. A man becomes part of his wife's family when he marries and goes to live in her family's house. The typical residence group consists of a mother and her family, her female relatives and their families grouped in one long-house dwelling. The village is composed of a number of these extended kin groups. Occasionally the Rhade live with the Khmer in small villages.

The Jarai are similar to the Rhade in physical appearance, language and basic culture. There were an estimated 200,000 Jarai in South Vietnam and Cambodia in 1964. The Jarai territory in Cambodia is in eastern Stung Treng Province and extends as far north as the Laotian frontier, but the majority live in South Vietnam. Like the Rhade they reckon descent through the female line, and their family groups live in long-house dwellings. In the past they served as foot soldiers and horsemen for the French army.

The Stieng live primarily in the eastern part of Kratie Province. According to one 1964 estimate there were about 40,000 Stieng in Cambodia and a smaller number in South Vietnam, though the actual total may be somewhat less than this. They have dark-brown skin, black hair and deep-brown eyes. Their language is a member of the Mon-Khmer language group. The Stieng villages are governed by a council of notables or senior heads rather than by a single chieftain. Although they cling to their traditional animist practices, they are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Khmer culture. For many years they have been employed on the rubber plantations at Mimot and Snoul and on

other farms in the area, where some have learned to speak French and Khmer.

The Kuoy, estimated to number about 10,000 are widely distributed in northern Cambodia from Siem Reap to Stung Treng Provinces. Their settlements are often interspersed with the Khmer settlements. Most Kuoy have adopted Cambodian customs and have become devout Buddhists. They are industrious, and in Khmer villages they have earned a reputation as iron forgers.

The Biat are members of the large Mnong group, which has various subgroups scattered throughout Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. In 1964 the Biat numbered about 12,000. They speak a Mon-Khmer language and prefer to live in houses built on the ground rather than on posts or piles. Most of them live in eastern Mondolkiri and Kratie Provinces. Many Biat were educated in French schools established in their region between 1939 and 1953. A Biat-French lexicon prepared in 1936 has been used effectively to teach many of the Biat to read and write their own dialect.

The Pear are the only Khmer Loeu in the western mountains. They have Negroid features and relatively short stature. Formerly the Pear were a large group scattered throughout the Cardamomes and Elephant Ranges, but there are only 200 to 400 left, according to some estimates. Contrary to the Khmer Loeu in the eastern regions, they assimilate rapidly to the Khmer culture, adopting new customs and rejecting animist beliefs in favor of Buddhism.

The Krol live in and around Sre Cnis and to the south. There are no statistics available on the size of the Krol population. Some still speak their own language, but otherwise they have been assimilated to Khmer culture. They live in permanent settlements, have Cambodian-style houses, grow rice and, to some extent, have adopted Buddhism.

Government Policy

The French colonial policy was not one of active control of the Khmer Loeu or any vigorous interference in their tribal matters. Some resettlement projects were attempted, but they were few in number and had only limited success. French army commanders looked upon the Khmer Loeu as an excellent source of manpower for the army outposts and recruited many of them. Many have continued this tradition by enlisting in the Cambodian army.

The government has undertaken a broad civic action program—for which the army is responsible—among the Khmer Loeu in the provinces of Koh Kong, Stung Treng, Ratanakiri and Mondolkiri. This program is being carried out in accordance with the national policy of educating the Khmer Loeu and assimilating them to Cambodian culture.

Many thousands of Khmer Loeu have been resettled in Srok Chlong and other areas in Kratie Province. There has also been resettlement in Stung Treng and Ratanakiri Provinces. It has been government practice to offer inducements to the Khmer Loeu to move to new settlements. The authorities usually provide a small amount of money, land, clothing and seeds of various kinds and give aid in building houses. Each male over the age of 12 is taxed from 15 days' to 2 months' labor per year for building roads and constructing government buildings and schools. In addition, men are hired and paid in cash for day labor after the labor tax has been deducted.

The government, in an effort to assimilate the Khmer Loeu, has provided schools where Khmer and French are taught as well as Cambodian history and religion. Buddhist monks are sent to live in their communities, and groups of Khmer are resettled in their villages. Each large village has a resident government representative whose function is not only to govern but to disseminate information and encourage the Khmer Loeu to learn the Cambodian way of life.

The Cham-Malays

The kingdom of Champa once extended over much of southeastern Indochina, but in the fifteenth century the Chams were conquered by the Vietnamese, who then annexed their territory. Thereafter, many of the vanquished people preferred living in Cambodia to enduring servitude and humiliation under the Vietnamese. They were later converted to a vigorous Moslem orthodoxy by the invading Malays, who penetrated Kampot Province and the interior regions. Their long adherence to the Koranic law that prohibits marriage outside the Moslem community has resulted in the evolution of the Cham-Malay type, which is noticeably different from the Khmer. Recent estimates of the number of Chams are unavailable. In the late 1950's there were about 80,000 Chams in Cambodia and a smaller number in South Vietnam.

The Cham-Malays have coarse skin varying in color from dark to reddish brown. Their hair is auburn or black, and they have more facial and body hair than the Khmer. Of all the Asian groups in Cambodia, the Cham-Malays are most nearly occidental in profile. Only in height are the Cham-Malays and Khmer similar; both average about 5 feet 4 inches.

A *sarong*, similar to the Khmer *sampot* but called the *batik*, is the main item of Cham-Malay clothing and is worn knotted at the center of the body. The women wear over the *batik* a closely fitted black or dark-green tunic which has tight sleeves and is open at the throat. Men's clothing includes a shirt and an ankle-

length robe. Flamboyant colors, such as red and green stripes on a white background, are popular for men.

Some Cham-Malays live in urban areas where they engage in trade and industry, but most live in compact villages in Kompong Cham Province. Chruï Changvar, located near Phnom Penh, is a typical community and is considered the spiritual center of the Cham-Malays. Several high Moslem officials live there, including the supreme chief of the Chams.

The Cham-Malays in the rural areas are engaged primarily in farming and are considered adept at raising buffalo. They are also fishermen and engage in boat construction.

The traditional Cham language is used in the home. Malay and Arabic are used in religious contexts, and the Arabic alphabet—learned in the Koranic school—is used in writing both languages. Khmer is the language of trade and commerce, and most Chams speak it fluently, although often with a “pidgin” quality.

Under the Cambodian Constitution, the Cham-Malays and other religious minorities are guaranteed the right to worship in their own manner. By all indications—the care of their mosques, the exactitude of their prayers, their fidelity to Koranic precepts and their direct links with the Islamic world—they are devout Moslems.

The Cham-Malays maintain close contact with the Khmer Loeu with whom they trade. They have also had relatively favorable contact with the Khmer and have adopted many aspects of Khmer culture. Although they have maintained their religious beliefs and practices, most have turned openly to the Khmer and have become culturally assimilated.

For historical reasons the Cham-Malays seem to enjoy special royal favor, despite their minority status. The supreme chief of the Chams is appointed by the king and is considered to be a member of the Royal Court. Most Khmer, however, tend to regard them as cultural and religious inferiors.

The French

The European French population constitutes a nonpermanent group made up of military personnel, government advisers, commercial executives, teachers and plantation administrators. French influence, however, is much greater than the number of French residents would indicate. The long years of French rule and the introduction of the French educational system have had a profound influence, particularly on the aristocratic elite. Admiration for French culture is deeply rooted but mixed with some resentment. Many members of the royal family and other aristocratic families have studied in France and have learned

the French way of life, but they have been careful to safeguard Khmer culture and to be identified with everything Khmer.

The educated class has become increasingly critical of the French in recent years. They charge that French emphasis on the revitalization of traditional Khmer culture has been at the expense of progress toward modernization.

The Eurasians

The traditional attitude toward intermarriage is that some racial strains strengthen the Khmer stock, whereas others weaken it. The status of Eurasians is affected adversely by the widespread belief that marriage with Europeans results in a thinning of racial vigor. In this matter their position contrasts with that of the Sino-Cambodians, whose prestige is enhanced by the prevailing view that the Chinese strain contributes to the physical stamina of the individual so that a community is felt to be invigorated by the inclusion of families of such dual ancestry.

The size of the Eurasian population in Cambodia is not known. The earliest Eurasians were probably the offspring of Portuguese and Filipino mixtures driven out of Malacca in the seventeenth century. Their descendants have lost all trace of European physiognomy but retain Portuguese and Spanish family names, such as Men de Diez, Col de Monteiro and Norodom Fernandez. They consider themselves Khmer and play an influential role as civil servants.

Eurasians of more recent origin are almost exclusively the offspring of French fathers and Khmer mothers, although some—who are also called Eurasians—have French-African fathers. They are exclusively city dwellers and are most often employed in white-collar occupations. Eurasians have generally pressed for equality with and acceptance by the French, who do not always regard them as compatriots, and have tended to reject identification with the Khmer. As in other parts of Southeast Asia, they are marginal members of society. Only the Catholic missions have consistently and unconditionally received them at orphanages and educational institutions.

Others

About 20,000 Thai and Laotians live as farmers in the northern provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang. They rarely live in the same communities with the Khmer, who have been more or less indifferent to them.

In Pailin, 10 miles from the Thailand border in Battambang Province, and in Bokeo in Stung Treng Province, there are two Burmese settlements. The inhabitants retain Burmese citizenship and earn their living as prospectors, jewel cutters and gem merchants.

There are about 2,500 Indians, most of whom migrated to Cambodia from French enclaves on the Indian subcontinent. They have generally not been well regarded by the Khmer because they are identified with French rule. During the colonial period Indians were given favored positions in the government and business. The commercial practices of the Indian money-lenders have heightened their unpopularity.

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

Khmer, the national language, is one of the most widely spoken of the Mon-Khmer languages. At one time it was predominantly used throughout an area that encompassed the entire Mekong River valley as far as Burma, present-day Thailand, most of Cambodia, Laos and a portion of South Vietnam. The boundaries of this language area have dwindled since the thirteenth century under the impact of the Thai cultural invasions and as a result of the Vietnamese annexation of what is now South Vietnam. The Khmer language area extended in 1967 beyond the Cambodian borders for a short distance into Laos and into southern Thailand. To the east, it was still spoken among the Khmer minority living in South Vietnam.

Khmer is the primary language of daily social intercourse and is spoken by over 90 percent of the country's population. French, however, is the accepted language in intellectual and professional circles and is used in several semiofficial publications. It is also the language of most secondary and postsecondary education (see ch. 9, Education). There has been a continual effort on the part of the government to replace French—regarded as a symbol of colonial rule—with Khmer. Use of the various minority languages, Chinese, Vietnamese and those of the Khmer Loeu, is discouraged in the hope that Khmer will become the common language of all Cambodians.

Members of the ethnic minorities are usually bilingual and in some cases multilingual. In addition to the language of their own ethnic group—often reserved for use within the family and among others of the same ethnic background—most can speak Khmer and some, especially the educated Vietnamese, speak French as well.

Most Chinese are able to speak Khmer and use it primarily in commercial intercourse. Various Chinese dialects, often mutually unintelligible, are spoken within the Chinese community. The predominant one is the Ch'ao-Chou dialect, a branch of Cantonese which is used by 60 percent of Cambodia's Chinese population. About 20 percent of them speak Cantonese; 7 percent, Fukienese; 4 percent, the Hakka dialect; and 4 percent, the Hainan dialect.

Many officials probably are able to speak English as a result of education in the United States. Generally, English is not widely used, however.

Pali and Sanskrit are sacred languages; their use is confined to the Buddhist temples (see ch. 11, Religion). Pali is the sacred language of Theravada Buddhism and appears in religious texts and rituals. Some people understand Pali, but only a few, who are permanent members of the Buddhist monkhood, are able to write it. Sanskrit is reserved almost exclusively for religious purposes. Pali and Sanskrit serve as sources for the formation of new technical and scientific terms.

Language differences create few obstacles to communication. In the hill areas the language diversity among the Khmer Loeu is more pronounced and tends to prolong traditional differences between groups. Increasing numbers of the Khmer Loeu, however, are learning to use Khmer as a lingua franca as state education is extended into more remote communities. The surge of nationalism will probably make it more necessary for members of minorities to learn Khmer if they are to participate fully in the national culture.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In 1967 Cambodian society was characterized by the increasing social and geographical mobility of its people. Traditional lines of social stratification were being blurred by new means of status achievement. Since the country gained independence, many Cambodians had left their farms to seek urban employment. In the cities and in many rural areas as well, occupational achievement and economic success had become important determinants of status. Education was expanding to awaken even remote villages to the possibility of change and participation in national life.

Despite these developments, modern Cambodian society reflects a basic stability and historical continuity. During the last 500 years the culture has demonstrated its ability to remain substantially intact and, at the same time, to adapt successfully to changing political and social circumstances. The great majority of the people share the same cultural heritage. They practice Theravada Buddhism, speak the Khmer language and most have a rural background. The culture has been relatively free of strife between diverse social groups and has developed without class conflict or social upheaval.

Social stratification originated in the Hindu caste system, though the principles of caste were never strictly applied, even in the days of the ancient Khmer empire. The egalitarian philosophy of Buddhism had a moderating influence on the social structure. It was possible for any individual to attain high social status and the respect of his neighbors by joining the Buddhist monkhood or by showing exceptional religious knowledge and piety. In 1967 this traditional Buddhist individualism and modern education combined to facilitate increasing social mobility.

Through the society runs the major distinction between royalty and those of common birth. Other criteria for determining social status have emerged, but the two extremes of royalty and commoners are still important. Prescribed patterns of address, speech and behavior exist among members of different occupational groups and between royalty and commoners. Within a single urban socioeconomic group and also in the rural village,

the individual's status is dependent on his relative age and religious piety.

Social and economic changes and new values introduced during the period of the French protectorate (1864–1949) had little impact on the society outside of Phnom Penh. Since independence, however, the expanding educational system and increasing employment have influenced the motivation of people in all parts of the country. More and more individuals are becoming aware of the possibilities for changing and improving their position in life.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The present-day social system is not entirely dissimilar from that of the nineteenth century, though modifications have occurred. Some elements of the traditional society have disappeared, and some new ones have emerged.

The social structure at the beginning of the period of the French protectorate was a formal hierarchical class system in which heredity played the most important, but not the exclusive, role. At the top of the social order was the royalty, which included the king, his immediate family and members of junior royal lines. Membership in the royalty was to end after five generations, unless it was renewed by the king.

Others in the upper social levels were the nobility—royal descendants more than five generations removed from any sovereign—and the descendants of Brahman priests. The great mass of ordinary people formed the commoner class. Within this group there are several different social ranks. The highest rank was held by important government officials known as *montreys*, and below them were the freemen, most of whom were farmers. At the bottom of the social order was a diversified class of slaves, which included debtors, captured Khmer Loeu hill peoples, criminals and the descendants of rebels.

The king was an absolute monarch and, in theory, the owner of his country and his people as well as the guardian of the Buddhist religion. Members of the royal family held most of the important civil and military positions and formed the core of the government and of the social aristocracy. After five generations, membership in the royal family ceased automatically. Descendants more than five generations removed were members of the hereditary titled nobility.

Children inherited membership in the nobility and an accompanying title from their mother, provided that she was of noble birth and the first-rank wife of a nobleman. During the period of the French protectorate the custom of inheriting titles apparently fell into disuse. In 1967 the titles carried no privileges, but they were still a source of prestige to members of title-holding families.

Outside of the royal aristocracy high social rank depended on royal preferment. Such was the case with the *montreys*, who were members of the commoner class and were appointed to high government office by the king. *Montreys* had usually acquired a reputation for great learning or for military prowess as freemen and were selected on the basis of either qualification. These appointive positions were temporary rather than hereditary and could be terminated at any time by the king.

The *montreys* served the king in a number of capacities and were sometimes called his eyes, ears and arms. They governed the provinces, adjudicated certain legal matters and supervised the palace and the army. Some *montreys* became very powerful, especially those who governed provinces far from the royal capital. Those who became too powerful had their authority reduced by the king, for his power was absolute.

The *montreys* had no fixed salary, but they kept a share of the taxes and revenues received from specified lands. This income was shared with numerous subordinates, who also shared the responsibility for maintaining public order, collecting taxes and assigning *corvée* (unpaid labor) service and military levies.

Commoners or freemen constituted the great bulk of the population. Included in this group were the farmers, craftsmen and small businessmen. The royal government and the aristocracy depended on the freemen for support in the form of *corvée*, taxes and military service. The freemen usually selected a patron from among the *montreys*. The patron assisted them in time of need, protected their interests and collected their taxes and *corvée*. During the protectorate period the freemen gradually ceased to exist as a distinct group. Their descendants probably form the majority of the modern ordinary citizenry.

At the bottom of the social order were the slaves. Slavery could be temporary, as for debtors who sold themselves to masters who would pay their debts. The period of servitude was theoretically equivalent in value to the debts paid by the master. Other slaves were bound in perpetual servitude, a status which was passed on to their children. Most of these slaves were prisoners of war, captured hill tribesmen, criminals, rebel leaders and their descendants.

A man's personal wealth could be calculated by the number of slaves he owned. Slaves were formally registered under the names of their masters and were considered absolute property. Whether temporary or permanent, they owed respect, obedience and service to the master and his family. Slavery was abolished during the period of the French protectorate. Since then the descendants of slaves have been assimilated into the ordinary citizenry.

Relations of commoners with royalty were regulated strictly

by an extensive system of sumptuary laws. The privileges and symbols of rank were numerous for members of royalty and for important government officials. Prescribed rules of etiquette and elaborate ceremony surrounded the personage of the king and reflected his omnipotence. The royal family and other members of the aristocracy had the privilege of traveling in slaveborne litters, accompanied by an elaborate retinue. Members of this class adorned themselves with cosmetics and jewelry, wore hair styles different from those of commoners and lived in larger, more elaborate houses.

Social mobility was restricted but not impossible in this highly structured system. Achievement of high status was available to any man, except slaves, through membership in the Buddhist monkhood. Another avenue of mobility was that of appointment to the position of *montrey*. A well-educated commoner could hope to receive such an appointment if he possessed intelligence and had good fortune.

The stability of the traditional social order carried it through the period of the French protectorate, unchanged except for some decline in vitality. The ruling aristocracy was replaced by a civil bureaucracy, but the king continued to be the supreme symbol of authority despite his subservience to the French. He retained his position as the head of the Buddhist hierarchy and presided over the normal court routines.

The locally elected village headmen exercised the actual authority during this period and served as a link between the people and higher administrative offices. They were responsible for collecting taxes, keeping vital statistics, directing local police and performing a number of other duties.

The society remains substantially based on tradition. There is still a major distinction between royalty and commoners, although additional factors have gained importance in determining social status. The royal family forms the core of the aristocracy at the apex of the social structure.

Descendants of the traditional titled nobility gradually lost their status during the period of the protectorate, but they still constitute the upper social levels of the country. The remainder of the population consists of all the ordinary citizens, both urban and rural, who are stratified on the basis of occupational, economic and educational criteria.

RURAL CAMBODIA

Cambodia is still basically a country of rural farming communities. New criteria of social status exert considerable influence in the urban setting, but the traditional values and ways of the rural majority give the society its dominant characteristics.

There are few status distinctions in the individualistic atmosphere of the rural village; these distinctions depend on individual qualities rather than membership in a particular social group or class. The primary components of status and prestige are age, sex, moral behavior and religious piety. Differences in wealth are apparent but are not pronounced and count little in status determination. Wealth alone is not an indication of authority or prestige, but it is often a valuable instrument for achieving them. Because one gains both prestige and religious merit from donations for religious concerns, the accumulation of money to spend becomes important. The greater the amount of money given to the temple and the monks, the greater is the respect accorded the giver.

Relative age continues to be a major determinant of status in the rural social structure. Social etiquette demands respectful behavior toward all persons of greater age, and speech forms reflect age distinctions. The oldest man in the village will not necessarily have the most prestige and authority, but his advanced age automatically entitles him to a certain amount of these things.

Good character and a reputation for piety are also essential for high status. The quality of religious devotion, which is admired in the Buddhist monk, is equally respected in a layman. If he does not possess exceptional piety, a man cannot gain an exalted position in his community, no matter what other admirable qualities he may possess.

Cambodians traditionally view the Buddhist monk as an individual living outside the normal status hierarchy as the personification of an ideal. Deferential speech forms used toward the monks, as well as numerous other courtesies performed with regard to them, reveal the honor accorded their special status.

In their relations with people outside the local status structure, villagers accord respect and honor to those who possess authority or prestige. High-ranking monks, important government officials and wealthy aristocrats are in this category. Villagers rarely interact with such persons and therefore have no basis to judge the personal qualities which normally determine status.

URBAN SOCIETY

The likelihood of a stratified social order is more apparent in the cities than in rural communities. A system of occupation-based status and prestige began to emerge during the period of the French protectorate. The expansion of commerce and industry opened new areas of employment and introduced secular education to people in the cities.

The traditional social structure allowed little mobility between

groups, so that most people probably never considered the possibility of improvement. Buddhist teachings also helped to maintain the status quo by emphasizing acceptance of one's status in this life as it was determined by birth and anticipating improvement in the next existence (see ch. 11, Religion). Only recently have people become aware that change is possible in this life also, through education and occupational advancement.

Except for the very highest level, the urban social structure is one of achieved status rather than of truly stratified classes. The core of the modern elite consists of the descendants of the traditional governing elite and their families who continue to hold the nation's highest political and religious power. The families of the traditional aristocracy had the opportunity and the money to prepare for their position in the modern urban elite.

Membership in the traditional royalty is not an automatic qualification for membership in the modern elite, and it is not the only qualification. This relatively new segment of society is open to all who can qualify on the basis of economic success, advanced education, high occupational status and high political, military or religious rank.

The elite group emerged during the period of the French protectorate and since then has evolved in response to a modernizing society. In effect, this group bridges the traditional social gap between royalty and commoners. The distinction between commoners and royalty is still officially recognized, but, in practice, considerable social equality exists between them.

Membership in the elite tends to be insecure because those in high positions may be removed from office or reduced in rank by royal decree. This is less true for the royal aristocracy forming the core of the elite. This group tends to be self-perpetuating because the opportunities to gain education and to manipulate wealth and power are inherent in it.

In the middle strata are the white-collar workers, professionals, businessmen and teachers. There are relatively few Khmer in the professions or in business in comparison to the number of Chinese and Vietnamese. Until they achieved independence the Khmer showed little interest in professional training or in following business careers. The Chinese were able to gain dominance in many areas of business and commerce, and they still have a unique economic role (see ch. 22, Domestic Trade). Their relations with the Khmer have been relatively harmonious, and they have assimilated more readily than the Vietnamese into Cambodian life. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the Chinese do not participate fully in the society.

White-collar workers and clerks are predominantly Khmer. Many are employed in the government administrative services,

which comprise the largest segment of the urban middle group. Teachers form a growing percentage of this group because of educational expansion. Opportunities for advancement through education and the comparatively high wage scale have raised the status of teachers. People who have an advanced education are honored and respected. Most highly regarded in the teaching profession are the professors in the Faculty of Law and Economics in Phnom Penh.

The lowest level in the urban social structure is composed of skilled and unskilled laborers and some small shopkeepers. Members of this group include coolie laborers, pedicab drivers and all others whose occupations involve manual labor. Many people in this class are unskilled, uneducated migrants from rural villages. Most city dwellers consider farmers to be part of the lower class, though they are actually outside the urban social structure. The feeling among many urbanites is that rural people are backward because they lack sophistication, work with their hands and lack many of the amenities of urban life.

STATUS MOBILITY

Except for the hereditary royalty, which remains a closed class, social mobility is becoming more fluid. Commoners cannot become members of royalty, but the king may bestow the honorary title of *samdech*, which is equivalent to court status, upon selected commoners. Recipients of this honor are usually the highest ranking monks of the Mohanikay and Thommayut orders and the most important government officials. The *samdech* does not become a member of royalty, and his children do not inherit his title.

In both urban and rural societies the traditional mode of status mobility, the Buddhist hierarchy, remains intact. The opportunity to improve one's status in the Buddhist monastic orders is open to all males, dependent only on merit and achievement. The son of a poor rice farmer can hope to build an illustrious career through successive promotions within the Buddhist hierarchy.

Religious behavior is still very important in status determination and affects the popularity of national leaders. Prince Norodom Sihanouk fulfills the criteria which the people expect in a Buddhist leader. He apparently is devoted to Buddhism and has entered the monkhood a number of times, in accordance with Khmer tradition. He has espoused the individualistic ideals of Buddhism and has thereby encouraged social mobility for even the poorest farmer.

New means of status achievement have emerged in the form of education, occupational advancement and wealth. Through a series of competitive examinations, the individual with ability may

advance through the school system. The state schools are free to all who qualify and are being expanded, with the hope of providing universal education. As a means of status achievement, such education has the effect of preserving a large degree of social mobility.

A number of students are educated abroad and return to assume positions of responsibility in various fields. The success of these people has made the urban population increasingly aware of education as a means of advancement. Frequently, however, such individuals have become the discontented, unemployed intellectuals, unable to find jobs that have the prestige they expect as educated persons (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force).

Traditionally, the possession of wealth was not a criterion of high social status; it was an integral part of membership in the hereditary upper social levels. In recent years the means of acquiring wealth have become more accessible to the ordinary person. In the urban society, economic success has gained ascendance as a means of bettering one's social position and can even lead to membership in the elite group.

Women are not excluded from most avenues of mobility. Traditionally, they had a prominent role in the society. Even before the time of the French protectorate women had gained a reputation as merchants; they also had worked as palace guards, servants and skilled entertainers. Some had attained high status as judges and court secretaries. In daily life their position is almost equal to that of men, but they have lower religious status. A woman may advance her social position through education and occupational achievement and may hold public office. In 1967 a number of women were in high government positions, and one woman was serving as the minister of public health and labor in the royal government.

In theory, any person may plan his career along culturally approved lines. Most of the population are tradition-oriented farmers, however, and have not been motivated to change or improve their lot in life. The influence of Buddhism is partially responsible for this conservative attitude. The Buddhist emphasis on improving one's next existence, rather than the present one, has conditioned people to accept their ascribed status. Only in urban areas has the introduction of foreign values caused substantial change in the patterns of status achievement. As it has done often in the past, the society shows much perseverance in its manner of adjusting to changing circumstances.

CHAPTER 7

FAMILY

The family pattern which predominates throughout most of the country is that of the rural Khmer. Many characteristics of the typical family are part of a general pattern that exists throughout Southeast Asia. The major variations from the general pattern occur among the hill peoples, the Khmer Loeu, who often differ in the manner of tracing descent, in the size and composition of the household or family unit and in the relative status of the sexes in marriage (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

The typical family consists of a single independent, self-supporting married couple and their unmarried children. It is the primary kin unit both in terms of affection and in terms of function. The Khmer, unlike the Chinese, the Vietnamese and some of the Khmer Loeu, are little concerned with complex kinship structures, genealogy, lineage or kin ties beyond the family. The main responsibility of the family is not veneration of the past but rearing the new generation. Its obligations to the older generations are narrowly defined in space, in time and in the closeness of family ties. Ties between related families tend to be loose and informal and shaped more by circumstance and personal preference than by rule.

Relationships within the family of parents and children, however, are precisely defined by tradition and law. Tradition, supported by Buddhist precept, places great emphasis on formality and on the respect paid to those of senior age or generation. Law, supported by tradition, affirms the mutual obligations of parents and children for maintenance and support. The legal aspect of these family relationships is incorporated in numerous articles of the Civil Code. The Code covers marriage, divorce, the legal rights of wives, the status of plural wives, adoption, guardianship, parental authority and inheritance.

Within this framework of religious precept, secular tradition and national law, the Khmer family is a relatively conservative and stable institution. Nevertheless, in 1967 it was feeling the impact of changing times, particularly in urban areas where the influence of a modernizing economy and society was most apparent. The alternatives formerly open to the individual were

limited and easily defined; and the family, both urban and rural, was the institution best able to establish the individual's role in the larger society. Other institutions, such as the national school system and government-sponsored youth movements, were assuming an increasingly larger responsibility for socialization of the new generation.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The ideal family consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. It is not always possible, however, for a newly married couple to establish immediately their own separate residence, either for financial or for other reasons. Under these circumstances it is not unusual for the couple to reside temporarily with either the husband's or the wife's parents. In some villages it is customary for a married daughter and her husband to live with her parents until the birth of the first child. The parents occasionally may request that a married child remain in the household to care for them in their old age. This is with the understanding that the house will belong to the young couple when the parents die.

Polygamy is legally sanctioned; but polygamous marriages are rare; and in the rural areas, almost nonexistent. Few village men have the money to support more than one wife. Polygamous marriage is socially acceptable and constitutes a status symbol for a wealthy man. Opposition to the custom is voiced primarily by a small group of well-educated urban women. The rural woman sometimes is also reluctant to allow polygamy and may thwart her husband's attempts to take a second wife.

Concubinage occurs more frequently than second-rank marriage (marriage to a second and succeeding wives). Concubinage is recognition of the fact of union and can be broken without divorce. The concubine has no legal contract and does not have the right to receive alimony after separation.

A family of five to seven children, with more boys than girls, is considered ideal. Children may be adopted, and according to law the adopted child has the same rights and obligations as children born into the family. The legal restrictions governing adoption are incorporated in the Civil Code.

The Khmer have a bilateral kinship system and trace descent equally through the father's and the mother's lines. There is normally no difference in the relationship with relatives on either side of the family, and no distinctions are made in the terms used to refer to them. In general, the ties between generations and between related households are loose and informal. Individuals have little interest in their remote ancestors and rarely remember them beyond a few generations. A married couple expects to give

aid or financial assistance to needy parents, brothers or sisters of either spouse, but there is often a conscious effort to avoid involvement with more remote relatives. Friction among kin is not sanctioned by society, and in some rural areas it is believed to be punished by supernatural beings.

The kinship ties of the royal family are similar to those of other Khmer. For purposes of succession to the throne and inheritance of titles, however, descent is traced in the father's line for five generations. Relationships are maintained with a wide range of paternal and maternal relatives.

In 1910 an official decree made it mandatory for children and wives to take the name of the head of the family as their family name, but the practice never gained wide acceptance except among the educated, who sometimes use the family name preceding their given name.

According to the Civil Code, descendants are first in the order of inheritance, followed by ascendants and then by other family members. Among the descendants the legal sons and daughters may inherit equally the real and personal property of their parents. In practice, the parents often dictate unequal shares because of personal favoritism. They may give a larger share to the child who has taken special care of them and a smaller share to the child who has made a prosperous marriage. Division of parents' property is directed by their written or verbal will. The common practice in rural areas is for parents to inform their children verbally of their wishes regarding the future division of their possessions. Sons usually inherit the family land, and daughters receive the movable goods. After marriage a wife may continue to own her inherited property and may dispose of it as she sees fit.

Death of one of the spouses does not automatically cause the dissolution of the family. If the first-rank wife survives her husband she assumes his duties as head of the family and administers the family property as long as the children remain within the household. It is only when she renounces her position or dies that the estate is divided, and the children receive their share.

FAMILY LIFE

The legal head of the family is the husband and father, but the wife's authority actually is almost equal. Family relationships are determined first by generation and then by age among members of the same generation. The husband often addresses his wife as "little sister," signifying his authority over her. She, in turn, may address him as "big brother," in deference to his higher status.

The husband and wife fill complementary roles within the family. They have equally important responsibilities and duties.

The wife is expected to defer to her husband and is subordinate to him by law. She has a voice in household affairs, however, and her consent is required in major decisions affecting the family. The husband cannot sell or mortgage goods contributed to the marriage by his wife; he cannot adopt a child without his wife's consent; and he cannot take a second wife without the consent of the first. As a result, the rights of the head of the family are limited, which makes the family a more balanced partnership.

The husband is responsible for housing and feeding all members of the family. In rural areas he does the heavier work involved in preparing the fields for seeding and cultivating the crops. In cities the pattern is somewhat different. Houses are usually built by others, and food is purchased in the marketplace instead of being grown in family fields. The major responsibility for the family's support, however, is still borne by the husband.

The wife occupies a key position in the household, and in many ways the prosperity, well-being and reputation of the family revolve around her. Her ethical and religious influence over the younger generation, particularly the daughters, is very important. As a mentor of the social and moral values of the Khmer culture, she is highly regarded in the society. She is usually a more devout Buddhist than her husband, and she has the sole responsibility for training her daughters, whose good conduct will bring prestige to the family. It is generally the wife who controls the family budget.

When a man has more than one legal wife he usually provides a separate residence for each one. The relationship between the wives is often far from friendly. Apart from the tensions caused by emotional attachment to the husband, the status of each wife is determined by tradition, law and ceremony. A first-rank wife enters into marriage with an elaborate wedding ceremony and receives expensive gifts which symbolize her primacy among the wives. Traditionally, the second-rank wife is entitled to neither the elaborate ceremony nor the gifts. Second-rank wives have fewer rights than first-rank wives and theoretically must respect and obey them. Because of this difference in status, a man who takes a second wife or subsequent wives must declare what rank his prospective bride will have in the household.

All children are welcome in the family, but boys are preferred to girls. Children are breast fed until they are 3 and sometimes 4 years old, depending on when the next baby arrives. Feeding has no schedule; the child is fed when he cries. Children are treated affectionately but are not pampered. They are encouraged to be independent and to care for themselves at an early age. Nevertheless, they are allowed to be children and are not con-

stantly goaded into adopting adult attitudes or behavior. Affection for a child is shown by the Khmer kiss, which consists of pressing the nose close to the cheek and strongly inhaling. The child's head is considered sacred and is never touched (see ch. 11 Religion).

Children have no real responsibilities in the household until the age of 12 or 13. A girl learns from her mother how to perform such household duties as cooking, sewing and caring for the younger children. She also learns marketing by joining her mother on trips to the marketplace. A boy learns the techniques of agriculture by working in the fields with his father and older brothers.

The authority of parents over children is absolute and normally continues until children are married, even though an individual who has reached the age of 18 is legally an adult. Parents usually exercise their authority sparingly, preferring to teach approved behavior by means of examples set by adults and older children. Sharp reprimands and physical punishment are avoided as much as possible, and children are seldom afraid of their parents. On the few occasions when rebellion or opposition arises and an open break appears imminent, the parents usually forgo the punishment rather than sacrifice a child's happiness.

Children learn to show the proper forms of respect toward their parents, both in behavior and in terms of address. The parents use the familiar form of address toward their children as an expression of their affection.

Traditionally, a boy enters the Buddhist temple at the age of 11 or 12 to serve a period as a novice monk (see ch. 11, Religion). A primary duty of parents to their son is to prepare him for this period. When the son joins the procession with the other monks, it is a moment of rich reward for the parents.

Entrance into the temple partially ends family supervision, but from the time the boy becomes a novice monk, and sometimes even younger, he comes under the scrutiny of his teacher (*guru*). The *guru* functions almost as a second father and gives the boy as much guidance on social matters as on religion.

Supervision is more strict for girls, who must always be above reproach if a favorable marriage is to be arranged. Parental supervision over adolescent girls in the higher social circles is especially strict.

Parents prevent young children from gaining much knowledge about sex, feeling that too much knowledge can lead to desire and eventually to trouble. Adolescent children acquire bits and pieces of information from peers in their play group, but parents discourage curiosity and usually give inaccurate answers to direct

questions about sex. A girl often receives little information until the last night of her wedding feast, when her parents and the *achar* (lay assistant to the monks) of the local temple explain the basic facts of sex.

The expansion of the modern educational system is changing the traditional methods of child rearing. The school has assumed much of the responsibility for providing social instruction and to some extent has supplemented the role of parents and monks in the socialization of children.

The relationship pattern among siblings is based on age. Older brothers and sisters use the familiar form of language in referring to younger children and use their given names in addressing them. Younger brothers and sisters are taught to use the respectful form of language and refer to their older brothers and sisters as "big brother" and "big sister." The use of these different language forms indicates the behavior patterns of each age group toward the other. Parents insist that children learn at a very young age to use the proper forms of respect. The reputation of a family depends greatly upon the behavior of children toward their elders. The members of the younger generation regardless of age, are required to use the respectful form of language and appropriate behavior toward all members of the older generation.

THE LIFE CYCLE •

The major events of the life cycle require the participation of all members of the family and are occasions for readjustments between them as well as with the spirits who are believed to live in and near the house (see ch. 11, Religion). Each time the individual experiences a socially recognized change in status, it is marked by a ceremony. The ceremonies which take place at such times reveal the important social values of the Khmer. Ceremonial details vary regionally and sometimes differ from one village to another, but the basic features are similar. Birth, puberty and marriage ceremonies are primarily temporal in nature, but death rites are strongly religious.

Birth and Puberty

The traditional birth rites are no longer practiced in all parts of the country. Members of the educated younger generation in the cities do not observe them strictly, but they usually continue to take note of the baby's horoscope in the belief that it will have an important influence on the baby's future. In many rural areas birth ceremonies are still customary.

Birth rites are symbolically concerned with establishing harmonious relationships between the newborn child and his parents

and the surrounding spirits and with keeping the child alive. When labor pains begin, the mother is placed on a wooden slatted bed under which a fire is kept burning to drive away harmful spirits. A candle and incense sticks are lighted and placed near the bed. The midwife aids the delivery by massage. In some villages, after the child is born, the midwife asks, "Who is the child for?" and the mother or some other elder relative answers, "For me," and takes the child. Seemingly, the spirits and the people who are present are being told symbolically that the child belongs to the mother or to the family.

Soon after the delivery an *achar* of the local temple is called. He puts chalk crosses at the four corners of the house and a pineapple leaf on the door as a warning sign to keep strangers from entering the house. The mother does not see outsiders for 2 or 3 days after the child's birth.

On the third or fourth day after birth, relatives and friends are invited to a ceremony for naming the child and celebrating his birth. In some villages part of this ceremony is devoted to "asking forgiveness of the midwife" for her trouble and presenting her with small gifts for her services.

The father usually suggests several possible names for the child, and the mother chooses one of them. It is believed by some people that the names are suggested to parents in dreams. Often a horoscope is cast to determine a suitable name. Whatever method is used to select a name, the astrological sign under which the child is born is of considerable importance. The child is often given the nickname of a grotesque animal to frighten away dangerous spirits. If a baby becomes sick, his name is sometimes changed in an attempt to confuse the spirit responsible for his illness.

The traditional puberty rites are no longer extensively practiced. The ideas associated with the rites, particularly the value attached to premarital chastity among women, still persist. Traditionally, there were prepuberty rites which applied to both boys and girls. The central feature of these rites consisted of cutting the top tuft of hair at age 11 or 12 to symbolize passage from childhood to adolescence.

The true puberty ritual, known as "entering the shade," is only for girls. At the first sign of menstruation the girl is isolated from her family and from the community. The seclusion continues for a period of several days to several months, depending on the social and economic position of the family.

In general, the higher the social position, the longer is the period of isolation. During her seclusion the girl is hidden from the glances of men, whether they are kin or strangers. Foods that do not have a rice, fruit or vegetable origin are considered taboo

for the length of her seclusion. After leaving the "shade" a ceremony is held to celebrate the girl's new status as a young woman.

Courtship and Marriage

A modern courtship may begin when a young man remarks on the beauty of the sky or of a banyan tree. To speak directly of a girl's beauty would be considered very poor taste. The relatively sophisticated young man may next turn to writing love letters. Finally, if his intentions are serious and the girl seems to return his affections, he may visit her home and begin formal courtship procedures.

The search for a potential spouse is a major preoccupation of most adolescents. Young people of the same village see each other often in a variety of situations and have many chances to become acquainted. Premarital sex is apparently unusual in the informal relationships which may develop between adolescent boys and girls. Village morality emphasizes the importance of premarital chastity for girls. A pregnant bride brings great shame to her family.

Ideally, a young man who has decided upon a particular girl asks his parents to begin marriage arrangements. His family selects a go-between who makes inquiries and conducts negotiations with the girl's family. Each family carefully searches out the good and bad points concerning the character, relative social status and financial position of the other. The girl herself has the right to veto any proposed marriage.

In reality, children often have little choice in the selection of their future marriage partner. It is not uncommon for the parents to select a spouse for their son or daughter, since they feel that it is their responsibility to arrange a suitable match. The strength of family ties, plus the respect and obedience which are owed to elders, usually cause young people to acquiesce to their parents' wishes.

The engagement period may be short or last up to 2 years. During the engagement, the boy's family presents the girl's family with a number of small gifts of betel nut, fruit, food and clothing. Shortly before the marriage, the young man may also present them with a substantial gift of money, the amount having been agreed upon in the engagement negotiations. In some villages this is called "the price of mother's milk," or repayment for the mother's early care. It was once customary for the young man to "do service" for his future bride's family, helping them with various farm and household tasks, in order to prove his worth. The practice is no longer common, perhaps because the future bride and bridegroom now often come from different villages and live a considerable distance apart.

A man usually marries between the ages of 20 and 25, and a girl between 18 and 22. According to law, the minimum age for marriage is 14 for girls and 18 for boys, though special exceptions to this are sometimes allowed. Minors below the age of 18 cannot marry without the consent of their parents.

Marriages within the circle of blood relatives are forbidden, but first cousin marriages occasionally occur. Sexual relations and marriage are prohibited between aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces, brothers and sisters, and half brothers and half sisters. There is some historical evidence that these taboos against incest did not always apply in the case of royalty. One ruler is known to have had a child by an aunt, and brother-sister relations appear in old legends.

The meaning of the Khmer marriage ceremony is essentially the establishment of a new family and the formation of new relationships involving the family members of the bride and bridegroom. In present-day society this can be most easily accomplished through a civil marriage. This involves the declaration of the marriage to the civil court officer of the area in which the bride resides and the presentation to him of the birth certificates of the bride and bridegroom. Nevertheless, the traditional marriage ceremony remains more important to the young couple and their families and is the most common form of marriage.

The date of the wedding is determined by consulting the horoscopes of the engaged couple. Both the propitious time for the ceremony and the success of the marriage are believed to be determined by the astrological signs under which the participants were born.

The traditional wedding is a lavish and elaborate affair lasting for 3 days. It is accompanied by feasts for the invited guests and much celebration. In rural areas, several days before the wedding date, the bridegroom and his family construct a large shed, which they decorate lavishly, and another smaller one to serve as a kitchen. For the first 2 days of the wedding ceremony the bride and bridegroom and the guests gather in the large shed and are feasted. When the bride's relatives arrive, the go-betweens go back and forth between the two groups. The families exchange small gifts, one of which is a scarf, "to fix the words and tie the hearts" of the young couple. Buddhist monks are invited to participate with their prayers, but the *achar* plays the principal role and directs the ceremony (see ch. 11, Religion).

In the most important part of the ritual a helper encircles the couple with a cotton thread. He then passes from one hand to the other a candleholder with three lighted candles, fanning

the flames toward the couple. Taking the end of the bride's scarf, the bridegroom follows her into another room where she offers him a set of new clothes and "invites" him to their first meal. Each eats a banana and a cake, the bride serving her new husband first as a symbol of her new role. After this ritual is completed, the bride and bridegroom return to the main room to serve the wedding guests.

In the city, marriage patterns have been greatly modified by Chinese, Vietnamese and French influences. Traditional ceremonies, once marked by ancient symbolism, have become much simpler. Marriage banquets, which formerly were prepared by the parents of the bride and bridegroom, are now often held in a restaurant. Sometimes the invited guests number between 200 and 1,200 people, each one bringing a gift of money. Part of this money is used to defray the costly wedding expenses, and the rest is given to the young couple to help them get established.

Divorce

Divorce is legal and relatively easy to obtain, but it is not particularly common. A married couple may be divorced in cases of incompatibility, prolonged absence without good reason, failure to provide or adultery on the part of the wife but not the husband. Some grounds apply equally to both husband and wife; blows, wounds or grave injuries to them or their children, conviction on a criminal charge, immoral or dishonest conduct and nonintercourse for more than 1 year.

Divorce is legalized by a letter endorsed by the magistrate and is granted without difficulty. When a first-rank wife is divorced, the second-rank wife may be elevated to her position. This is accomplished by a declaration before a civil court officer in the presence of two witnesses. A divorced woman cannot remarry for 10 months after the date of her divorce, but a divorced man may remarry at any time.

Each spouse retains whatever property he or she brought to the marriage, and anything gained through common effort is divided equally. Second-rank wives may keep only their own property, but they also have the right to receive alimony for subsistence if they were not the cause of the divorce.

In case of divorce the Civil Code gives the court the power to grant custody of the children to either parent, in accordance with what they judge to be in the children's best interests. Usually the child is given to the mother until he is 15 years of age. Thereafter, a girl lives with the mother and a boy with the father until the age of 16 is reached, at which time the child may live with the parent of his choice. The parent who does not receive custody

of the child has the obligation to pay the costs of education and rearing.

Death

According to the Buddhist belief of the Khmer, death does not represent the end of life but an alternate aspect of existence. After death the Khmer expects to be reborn in another life. The traditional death rites are believed to aid the deceased by paving the way to a better incarnation. It is an obligation of the survivors to perform these rites to the best of their ability. Funerals, next to weddings, are the second most elaborate life cycle ceremonies and often entail large expenditures of money.

If death seems imminent, an image of Buddha is placed before the dying person, and worldly possessions and objects are hidden from his sight so that his soul may easily take leave of its earthly attachments. Monks are invited to come and recite prayers, together with relatives and friends. They join in chanting "Arahan, arahan" (one who has achieved enlightenment), in the hope that it will help the dying individual to turn his thoughts to holy matters and thus help to prevent his rebirth in an inferior state.

An areca (Asian palm) leaf is placed between the person's fingers, and a fig leaf on which the *achar* has written a verse is placed on his lips. A candle is placed near the head of the bed, and a rice-filled basket and several other ritual objects are arranged near the foot. A flag with a long white streamer is stuck into the basket of rice. Immediately after death the *achar* lights the candle, which is later used to kindle the funeral pyre.

Death places the household in danger of harmful spirits. Breath is closely associated with the spirit of a person, and in case of death the breath-spirit must be placated lest it return to haunt the living. When a person dies, an *achar* is consulted, and his recommendations are followed scrupulously so that evil can be avoided.

The corpse is washed and dressed in certain accouterments by relatives and close friends. It is then wrapped in a white sheet; the legs are bound together with cotton thread; and another thread is placed around the neck. This thread is wrapped around the body and is allowed to extend outside the coffin. The members of the immediate family of the deceased shave their heads and dress in white mourning clothes.

The funeral takes place as soon as possible after death, usually the following day. The coffin is escorted to the funeral pyre by a procession of monks, relatives, friends and neighbors. When the procession leaves the house, two bamboo poles are raised over it,

and the *achar* performs a series of rites to prevent evil spirits from returning to haunt the family.

Cremation is the usual culmination of the death rites, though in some rural areas suicides are buried hastily with little or no ceremony. Occasionally, burial is specifically requested. The funeral pyre is built in a field or in a cleared area in the village. The procession is announced by the music of an orchestra and is led by a monk from the village temple. Following the monk are the *achar*, the family of the deceased, friends and neighbors. The coffin is carried on a cart decorated with flowers and escorted by several monks.

Some of the more elaborate funeral processions in the cities may appear as celebrations rather than mourning, but to the Khmer every part of such a procession is meaningful for the dead and for the living. The splendor of the procession is not an attempt to display one's wealth or social status; instead, it is an expression of concern for the welfare of the deceased.

When the procession reaches the area where the cremation is to take place, the *achar* raises the lid of the coffin and shakes coconut water on the dead person's face. He lights a torch with the candle brought from the house and then ignites the pyre. If the cremation fire burns quickly, it is taken as a sign that the departed leaves the world without sorrow, to be reborn in his new existence. If the fire is slow to consume the pyre, however, it is believed that there has been some omission or lack of respect by a member of the family and that misfortune may result.

After the cremation the monks throw water on the ashes. Any remaining bits of bone are collected and put into an urn, which may be placed next to the household statue of Buddha or in a tomb at the village temple.

CHAPTER 8

LIVING CONDITIONS

Living conditions during 1967 reflected the traditional nature of the society overlaid by the nationalistic socialism of the post-independence government. During the years since independence, foreign influences had been substantially reduced, and further reduction was anticipated. Other changes also were evident.

Most rural people still lived in simple thatch houses, but numerous wood, tile and masonry homes had been constructed. Traditional clothing continued to be worn in rural areas, but urban people were turning increasingly to Western clothes. Although rice and fish were still the principal foods in the national diet, such items as condensed milk and carbonated beverages had made their appearance. The asceticism of the Buddhist religion continued to influence the lives of the people, but there was an evident increase in appreciation of material possessions and worldly pleasures.

Achievement of independence brought with it a crisis resulting from the departure of most of the European medical personnel from a country that had inadequate medical facilities and very few trained workers of its own. Since then the numbers of Cambodian doctors, nurses and other medical and paramedical personnel have grown substantially, and a great many hospitals and infirmaries have been built.

In 1967 additional medical facilities were under construction, and still more were planned; schools were graduating increasing numbers of medical personnel of all kinds; and the number of qualified young people anxious to undertake study to prepare themselves for careers in medicine exceeded the ability of the schools to absorb them. Both hospital facilities and medical personnel, however, were still in short supply and would remain so for many years. As a consequence, public health services were decentralized, and emphasis was placed on preventive medicine and on instruction in modern health and sanitary practices.

The public health program has received popular support. People have been willing to contribute time and money to the building of hospitals and health centers and have been anxious to use these facilities when they were built. There was little evidence of

reluctance on the part of the rural population to accept modern medical and sanitary practices, although a persistent belief in folk medicine and magical practices has accompanied the acceptance of spraying with DDT and of performing vaccinations.

Welfare institutions were few. Only civil servants, retired military personnel, the police and employees of a few industrial and commercial enterprises were covered by pension plans. The need for public welfare was not acute in a country where care for the aged and infirm was an unquestioned family and village responsibility.

The improvement of general living conditions is important to Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum). His political strength derives from his support by most of the population, urban as well as rural. The Prince's efforts to improve the well-being of all of the people through his paternalistic socialism were receiving enthusiastic popular endorsement.

POPULAR BELIEFS

Many generations have practiced the ancient methods of combating illness suggested by monks, sorcerers and diviners. In some instances these methods have proved to be useful by modern medical standards. For example, chaulmoogra oil is used in the treatment of leprosy; herb teas, for intestinal ailments; and frequent bathing, as a basic hygienic measure. It is not clear, however, to what extent bathing is regarded as a health measure or merely as a rite associated with many ritualistic and customary practices. In general, the traditional treatment consists of protective magic designed to propitiate the good spirits and drive out the evil ones, and in this it differs little from hereditary practices followed in other Southeast Asian countries.

The good spirits, though mainly beneficent, are believed to be sensitive about their rights and capable of causing illness in persons who do not show the proper respect or propitiate them at the right times. Evil spirits are thought to be malevolent; by entering the body they may cause illness and can be driven out only by a sorcerer. Various preventive or curative measures which combine magic, prayer and specific medicinal potions are used. Amulets are sometimes worn on the body as popular means of warding off the spirits or of hastening the cure. When evil spirits are suspected of being the cause of an illness, a sorcerer (*kru*) is summoned. The treatments are varied; one involves making a small raft or basket and filling it with a crudely made doll and an egg that has been rubbed over the sick person. This treatment of sickness is losing favor to prescriptions calling for the boiling of water and the adequate cooking of meat. Prayer and native

medicines also have their part in healing. The remedies include special plants, oils and potions and may combine symbolic, magical and medicinal properties.

Traditional ideas about health and disease are often dominated by superstition. Large, protuberant bellies in undernourished children, resulting from a combination of underfeeding and intestinal parasites, are considered by many mothers as evidence of feeding too much fish. Solid foods are not ordinarily given to infants until they are at least 10 months old in the belief that these foods are too rich for the baby's stomach. Health education is doing much to combat these superstitions.

INCIDENCE OF DISEASE

Public health problems fall into three general categories: contagious diseases which are unrelated to faulty sanitary conditions or a lack of basic health education on the part of the population; diseases caused by poor sanitary conditions and poor hygiene practices; and disabilities and deaths resulting from lack of adequate medical services.

In the first category are malaria, dengue fever, diphtheria, whooping cough, filariasis, leprosy, trachoma, tuberculosis and smallpox. The second category includes diseases transmitted by water, food, filth and flies; typhoid fever; intestinal parasites; scabies and other skin infections; and malnutrition. The third category consists of such ailments as respiratory infections resulting in pneumonia, untreated appendicitis, unset fractures which often heal with deformity, maternal and newborn baby deaths caused by lack of health supervision during pregnancy, and acute infectious diseases (such as meningitis), which are curable with adequate treatment but are sometimes fatal without treatment.

Mosquitoes bearing malaria, filariasis and dengue fever are found in the foothills and also near the streams and rivers after the rainy season when the flow of water becomes sluggish. The common housefly, a transmitter of filthborne disease, is ubiquitous and most prevalent during the rainy season. Rats are numerous and are the hosts of fleas which carry plague, typhus and other diseases. Leeches are found in wet places during the rainy season and can cause sores which heal slowly.

Crocodiles inhabit the southern part of the country and are responsible for a number of deaths annually. There are also venomous snakes, including the coral snake and several varieties of cobra.

As many as 15 percent of the people have annual attacks of malaria, the areas of greatest incidence being in the plateaus and foothills. Lack of adequate refrigeration is conducive to the preva-

lence of food poisoning. Both amoebic and bacillary dysentery occur. Only about 100 cases of typhoid fever are reported annually, but the figure is probably only a small fraction of the total number of cases. About 80 percent of the schoolchildren examined have intestinal parasites.

Accurate annual mortality rates for the entire population are not available, but official estimates indicate that the number of deaths between April 1958 and April 1959 was 95,000, or a rate of approximately 20 per 1,000 population for this period. The causes of death are difficult to ascertain since the majority occur in the home and the type of illness may not be reported or even known to the family of the deceased. Estimated figures for 1965 show the country's health record to have been at its worst in infant mortality; its rate of 127 per 1,000 live births was among the highest in the Far East.

HEALTH AND SANITATION PROGRAMS

Colonial Period

The first medical service in Indochina was created by the French in the 1860's to meet the needs of the French troops; its services were soon extended to the indigenous peoples. In 1890, at Louis Pasteur's request, the Pasteur Institute of Paris was established in Saigon, and three other branches were set up in Vietnam to serve all of Indochina. The people of Indochina had the benefits of the world-famous work done in the Institute, including the invention of antivenom serum, the BCG test for tuberculosis and the discovery of the plague bacillus and of the role of fleas in its transmission.

The Public Health and Medical Services of Indochina, organized in 1914, covered both the civil and the military populations. A local health officer assigned to each province was responsible to the health director of one of the five Indochinese territories. An inspector general in Saigon was administrative head of the Public Health Services; in 1931 he was relieved of his military duties so that he might concentrate on civilian health control, seaport and airport health services, vaccination, health inspections and general sanitation and hospital work. The Public Health Services also reviewed local state plans and budgets and cooperated on research with the Pasteur Institute.

During this period hospitals were established in Phnom Penh and the provincial capitals. Infirmaries, maternity centers, dispensaries and first aid stations were set up in rural areas. There was some training of nurses, midwives, public health officers and other medical personnel. The available personnel, however, was limited; visits by provincial and territorial health officers to rural areas were infrequent; money and supplies were

low; and there was no permanent provision for continued education in hygiene and health practices. Nevertheless, positive health gains resulted from the French efforts. In 1936, 600,000 people were immunized against cholera; later in 1936 and in 1937, even though there was a severe cholera epidemic in Thailand, no cases of cholera occurred in Cambodia. Smallpox vaccination has also been effective.

General Government Policies

The regulation of health and sanitation in 1967 was patterned on the French system. The Cambodian Sanitary Code, adopted on November 7, 1930, and later modified, continued to be the basic sanitary law.

Public health services operate, as they did under the French, on a basis both of private regulation, affecting only individuals, and of public regulation, affecting all the people in a particular category. Their authority extends over the entire country; they set standards for entrance into nursing and technical schools, initiate curricula, give examinations for licenses, make staff appointments of doctors and other medical personnel, authorize transfers of an individual doctor's or dentist's office from one area or one province to another, issue licenses for the sale of certain drugs and promulgate municipal ordinances on sanitary measures.

The public health problems and responsibilities remain basically the same as they were during the time of the French protectorate, and the government is making an energetic effort to improve conditions. Late in 1967 public health activities were being carried out under direction of the Ministry of Public Health and Labor. The government has instituted a program strongly supported by foreign aid which has as its objectives the improvement of mother and infant care, advances in rural hygiene, protection against epidemics and an all-out struggle against malaria, yaws and tuberculosis.

An indication of the growth of government interest in public health in the years after independence was seen in budget figures. The 1955 allocation of 83 million riels (see Glossary) grew steadily to 385 million riels in 1962. At that point, the allocations ceased to grow. Varying by only a few million riels each year, the allocations were only about 360 million riels for 1967.

A number of health facilities were constructed during the 1962-67 period, and the number of public health personnel grew substantially. A possible explanation for the decrease in public health expenditure is that an increasing amount of the cost was being borne by voluntary contributions of funds and services from private individuals. During the mid-1960's the focus of govern-

ment interest shifted away from public health and toward public education, for which yearly budget allocations were increasing rapidly (see ch. 9, Education).

Medical Personnel

When the country attained independence the government immediately had to face a serious problem presented by the departure of nearly all of the medical personnel brought in by the French. At that time there had been very few Cambodians who had been schooled as doctors, pharmacists, nurses or paramedical personnel. To correct this critical situation the government established schools for training personnel in these fields.

The training program started slowly because of the lack of educational prerequisites on the part of students and the initial disinclination of women to select careers in nursing. In the early 1960's a few European and Cambodian physicians who were trained abroad and a few support personnel were doing the best they could to meet the country's medical needs. By 1967 it appeared that the goal of attracting a sufficient number of qualified personnel for medical training of all kinds might have been reached, since press releases furnishing lists of successful applicants for enrollment in the enlarged training facilities—including the school of nursing—also furnished extensive lists of presumably qualified alternates.

The Faculty of Medicine and Paramedical Sciences was created in 1957; the following year it enrolled its first class of graduates of the full 13 years of preparatory education in a 7-year course leading to the doctor of medicine degree (see ch. 9, Education). In 1967 the Faculty had become part of the Royal University of Phnom Penh and had expanded its teaching program to include training for dentists and hospital specialists. Nearly 500 medical students were enrolled, and it was announced that many of the graduates of the Faculty of Medicine would become teachers. In that manner the country's own specialists would gradually replace foreigners.

The Royal School of Nurses and Midwives—the training center for nurses, auxiliary nurses and midwives—also furnished the schooling of health officers (*agents sanitaire*). The health officer, who received 4 years of medical training with particular emphasis on sanitation and preventive medicine, provided much of the limited medical assistance available in the countryside.

An official source indicates that there were 337 physicians at the beginning of 1967 (see table 4). A report presented at the second 1966 meeting of the National Congress, however, gave the number as 123, which is more consistent with the 21 reported by the Ministry of Public Health at the end of 1960.

Table 4. Health Facilities and Personnel in Cambodia, 1955, 1963 and 1967¹

	1955	1963	1967
Hospitals and health centers	16	33	^a 44
Infirmaries and dispensaries	103	325	408
Hospital beds	2,445	3,369	6,058
Rural midwife posts	60	410	644
Pharmacies and pharmaceutical depositories ..	24	267	300
Physicians	77	270	337
Pharmacists	4	19	53
Dentists	3	11	28
Nurses	630	1,966	2,214
Midwives	125	623	868
Health officers	---	110	377

¹ Includes public and private facilities and personnel.

^a Includes 86 hospitals and 8 health centers.

Source: Adapted from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, *Kingdom of Cambodia, Basic Statistics as of 1st January 1967*, January 1967, p. 5.

A French-trained gynecologist was serving also as chief of the only hospital in populous Battambang Province. The staff of the one psychiatric hospital, which had nearly 1,000 patients, included 9 psychiatrists. Some general practitioners could furnish prescriptions for glasses, and lenses could be ground in Phnom Penh. The dental corps, which had grown from 3 in 1955 to 28 in 1967, was headed by several French-trained dentists in Phnom Penh.

Doctors in the public health service receive low salaries. During 1966 a doctor in his first hospital post might receive 4,800 riels a month, plus a family allowance of 1,500 riels for those with a wife and two children. In private practice, at 150 riels a visit, he might earn a month's allowance in a single day, since some of the wealthier people preferred to pay for private care despite the low cost of government medical service. Some doctors, particularly those in the large government hospitals in Phnom Penh, supplemented their earnings with small private practices, but only about 10 percent of all doctors were in full-time private practice.

In a country where an entire province may have only one or two physicians, the service of health officers is considered essential. In 1967 there were nearly 400, all trained since 1955. They worked in provincial capitals, in the larger villages and with mobile medical teams, which provided medical treatment, studied the incidence of disease, gave inoculations and presented lectures and demonstrations in health and sanitation practices to rural people.

The number of nurses almost quadrupled between 1955 and 1967, reaching a total of more than 2,200 in 1967. The number of women nurses had increased substantially, but nursing re-

mained primarily a man's profession, particularly for those staffing the rural dispensaries and infirmaries. They treated small wounds and minor illnesses and worked with the mobile medical teams. For more serious cases, they arranged appointments with the provincial public health doctor on his regular rounds. There was still a nursing shortage in 1967, but in part it was countered by the fact that a person entering a rural hospital or health center was normally accompanied by one or more members of his family who would care for him and often would provide his food.

In 1966 midwives delivered almost half of the country's babies, saw most of their mothers on at least one prenatal visit and carried on a rudimentary child clinic program. There is a distinction between the regular midwife (*sage-femme*) and the rural midwife (*accoucheuse rurale*), who outnumbers the regular midwives by more than two to one. The rural midwife, usually operating out of her own village home, travels widely throughout the countryside, providing varied services both to mother and to children. A sharp drop in infant mortality between 1955 and 1967 has accompanied the more than tenfold increase in the number of rural midwife posts during that period.

Pharmaceuticals

The country in 1967 had 53 pharmacists. Most had been trained in the Faculty of Pharmacy, which had been established at the Royal University of Phnom Penh in 1961; only four had been registered in 1955. In 1967 there were about 300 pharmacies and pharmaceutical depositories scattered throughout the country; most were staffed by salespeople or by paramedical personnel. Because of the limited number of pharmacists qualified to prepare prescriptions, most of those filled were for imported patent medicines.

Drugs usually are dispensed at cost by rural health officers, but emergency medicines are free. In Phnom Penh the fairly numerous commercial pharmacies are required to remain open all night on a rotating basis in order to fill emergency requests for drugs.

In 1965 a state-owned company, the National Pharmaceutical Enterprise (Enterprise Nationale Pharmaceutique—ENAPHAR), was placed in control of the manufacture and distribution of pharmaceutical products, and in 1967 the Directorate of Pharmaceutical and Chemical Services of the Ministry of Public Health was reported to be considering the commercial production of pharmacopoeia products.

Hospital Facilities

When the country achieved independence, its hospital facilities

were few, and most of the buildings were 35 or more years old and badly in need of repair. Since that time there has been a great deal of improvement. Old buildings have been replaced, and new ones have been added. Much new equipment has been installed. In general, however, the shortage of hospital facilities has run parallel to that of medical personnel.

At the beginning of 1967 the country had 36 hospitals, 8 health centers and over 400 dispensaries and infirmaries. Most were public establishments, but there were four private hospitals and four rubber plantation hospitals. There were also a few private clinics in Phnom Penh and various military, police, school and company medical facilities.

Hospital facilities in Phnom Penh, much more nearly adequate than those elsewhere in the country, served half a million persons in surrounding portions of Kandal Province as well as the residents of the capital city. There were 7 hospitals (5 of which were also teaching institutions), several private clinics, 22 public dispensaries and infirmaries and 6 military infirmaries.

The largest of the general hospitals, the Preah Ket Mealea Hospital, with 1,000 beds, accounted for about one-sixth of the hospital bed space in the country.

The other principal hospitals in the city were the 500-bed Soviet-Khmer Friendship, which had been built with extensive Soviet assistance, the Preah Monivong military installation and the French-operated Calmette Hospital. All of these had operating theaters. Four other metropolitan theaters, located in private clinics in the city, gave the capital almost half of the total of 18 operating theaters available in the country during 1967. In 1955 there had been only one, in the big Preah Ket Mealea Hospital.

Two major establishments devoted to medical care were located outside of Phnom Penh. The one serving the largest number of patients was the Troeung Leprosarium in Kompong Cham Province; it had nearly 2,000 residents and received some private support from the popularly supported Committee for the Battle Against Leprosy. There was also a center for psychiatric care at Takhmau, a few miles south of Phnom Penh, which provided care for about 1,000 mental patients.

Hospitals in the countryside, seldom more than one to a province, are supplemented by rural health centers that give a skeletal kind of hospital care and have a few beds. The pilot center, also at Takhmau, was opened in 1960 with financial assistance from United Nations agencies and the United States, staff provided by personnel trained in the United States and advisers provided by the World Health Organization (WHO). The objective of the health center system was to provide prenatal and post-natal care for mothers and infants, vaccination and inoculation

against contagious diseases, theoretical and practical instruction for student doctors, nurses and midwives, and environmental and health improvement programs consisting of consultations and demonstrations. It was, accordingly, to be the focal point of the rural medical system.

As originally envisaged, the health center system called for the establishment of a center in each of the country's districts (*srok*), which numbered more than 100 in 1967. One health officer, three male or female nurses, three midwives and at least one health officer would be assigned to each center. The center would include a clinic of 22 beds for regular pediatric and maternity cases. Early in 1967 the health center system expansion program was continuing with government support. Only eight of these units had been placed in operation, however, and some were smaller than envisaged in the pilot operation.

The large number of hospitals and other medical facilities constructed during the 1960's has been made possible partly by extensive foreign assistance, and much of the more sophisticated hospital equipment has come in the form of donations from abroad. In addition, many of the new medical facilities are reported to have been built largely by popular subscription and with labor furnished by the people of the village or district. Reports of civic participation come from official sources, and there is corroborative evidence that people in urban areas have contributed substantial sums toward the building of hospitals and that farm villagers furnish volunteer labor in building their local infirmaries.

Despite the increase in the number of facilities, in 1967 they were still so few and the population of the country was so scattered that many people had nowhere nearby to go for medical attention. To counter this deficiency a mobile medical team system had been initiated. Under this program, a health officer would arrive in a village in advance of the team itself to consult with elders and obtain a general idea of the health needs of the village. A few days later the team would arrive. It would consist ideally of a provincial doctor and one or more nurses, midwives and health officers. During its visit it would provide quickly the closest possible approximation to the services available at rural health posts.

A measure of the problem involved in providing adequate hospital facilities in the countryside can be seen in Battambang Province. In 1967, for a population of 550,000, its hospital facilities were limited to a single 120-bed hospital and one small rural health center. The country's 408 dispensaries and infirmaries available in 1967 provided limited medical facilities but no regular hospital bed care.

The provision of additional physical facilities continued, but buildings were not enough. In addition to the staffing problem, there remained in 1967 an unsatisfied need for medicines and medical equipment, running water and lighting facilities and telephones to advise the rural posts when care might be urgently required.

Antimalarial Campaign

Malaria is most frequently encountered in sparsely populated portions of the country. Malarial regions cover an area representing about three-fourths of the territory, but their combined population totals only a little more than 1 million persons. Most of the malarial regions are in the provinces of Kratie, Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, Kampot and Battambang. The disease is not present in Phnom Penh. Malaria is the country's most serious public health problem and is important also for the loss of working hours attributable to it. In addition, its presence hinders the development of many fertile parts of the country and thus has an adverse effect on the national economy.

To combat the disease, an agreement for technical assistance was signed with the WHO in 1951. The campaign against malaria which followed has consisted of eradicating the mosquito which transmits it and educating the population of malarial areas in preventive practices.

After the advent of the Sangkum in 1955 the campaign was accelerated, and by 1959 the number of protected persons reached 959,000, almost the entire population of the affected zones. It was necessary, however, to maintain the advantage gained and to prevent further outbreaks of the disease. To this end an administration for the eradication of malaria was written into the Five-Year Plan of 1960-64.

In 1967 the campaign was still being pursued energetically. Deaths caused by malaria, totaling more than 130 in 1962, had dropped to about 75 in 1965 and were occurring at the same rate late in the following year. About 30,000 new infections however, were reported during 1965. In spite of the number of villages treated with DDT and the large number of people classified as protected as a consequence, the more remote areas present unusual control problems. In a country where much of the territory is swamp during half of the year, mosquito control is an extremely expensive as well as a difficult undertaking, and in the mid-1960's the *anopheles balabencensis* mosquito—the main carrier—had yet to be eradicated.

Sanitation

Sanitary conditions in Phnom Penh and a few of the other principal urban centers are superior to those prevailing in the countryside, and both are improving rapidly. In the capital city three water purification plants, the last completed in 1966, provide adequate treatment facilities, but the water is often contaminated during distribution. Many houses do not have running water, but most have some kind of toilet facility.

There is a regular garbage collection service, but scavenging dogs frequently overturn garbage cans, and scatter contents over sidewalks and streets. Septic tanks are used largely to dispose of sewage, but in 1966 a sewer system was being extended, about 6 miles of pipe having been laid during the second half of the year. The population cooperates well with public authorities in keeping streets and properties tidy, and in 1966 an East German magazine article described Phnom Penh as the cleanest city in Southeast Asia.

Refrigeration facilities are limited. Meat, unless well cooked, is likely to cause dysentery. Raw fruits and vegetables are often contaminated on the outer surface, but those which can be peeled may be eaten raw.

In rural areas sanitary practices are often primitive, and rivers and streams are common sources of water for cooking and drinking. It is common practice, however, to draw water for these purposes from the same watercourse that is used for bathing, washing clothes and disposing of garbage and other waste material. Villages are customarily without any systematic waste disposal facilities. The custom of keeping cattle, pigs and poultry under the houses has been a hazard to health, but during the mid-1960's stables, pigsties and henhouses were being built. Individual or collective granaries were being built in order to keep rats and other pests in check. Since independence a community development program conducted by the Ministry of Finance and Planning, assisted by United Nations agencies, included the provision of hygienic latrines for villages.

The purification of drinking water has been an important part of the health program, and under the French protectorate most provincial cities learned to purify their water supply by using alum, sand filtering and chlorination. Some small towns have pumping stations, purification plants and, sometimes, distribution systems. Other villages have purification plants and reservoirs of treated water but no distribution systems. In 1964 only 18 towns had public water systems, and many rural families continued to drink from rivers, irrigation canals and surface water which may have been polluted.

The government has recognized the necessity for supplying

clean water to its citizens as an important health improvement factor, but no more than 5 percent of the rural population has access to safe drinking water. An organization was started in 1960 to train people to operate and maintain well-drilling equipment in an efficient manner; by the end of that year 346 wells had been drilled in various parts of the country; and the program has been continued. By 1966 several water tanks had been installed, and more than 350 water reservoirs had been excavated.

The most significant gains in rural sanitation are expected to result from educating people to be more aware of proper practices. This is being accomplished by lectures and demonstrations in the villages by public health personnel and in the schools under the supervision of the Directorate of School Hygiene of the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts.

Foreign Aid

The public health and sanitation program has been strongly supported by foreign aid from several sources. Major assistance has come from the United Nations through the WHO, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); from the United States through the Agency for International Development (AID) and such nongovernment organizations as the Asia Foundation and the Medical International Cooperation Organization (MEDICO) and from France through the French Economic Mission. Assistance has also been given under the Colombo Plan (see Glossary). In addition, Communist-bloc countries, including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Communist China, have made significant contributions.

This varied assistance from many sources has included the construction of hospitals, infirmaries and at least one rural health training center; malaria eradication; education in medicine, nursing and maternal and child health; public health administration; training fellowships; medical equipment; BCG tests; treponematos control and the provision of personnel for training Cambodians in the modern practices of surgery, medicine and public health.

CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

The average villager does not have a life of extreme hardship. His money income is low but rising. It increased from the equivalent of as low as US\$50 per year in the mid-1950's to the equivalent of between US\$115 and US\$130 in the mid-1960's. This gain was partially offset by a moderate inflationary trend. Cost of living for all items in Phnom Penh rose fairly moderately, from a base of 100 in 1958 to 137 late in 1966; food items alone dropped

from an index peak of 122 in 1963 to 119 late in 1966. Figures for the country as a whole were not available.

The rural dweller's diet of rice and fish was abundant and easy to obtain. It was supplemented by vegetables from a kitchen garden and from gathering roots, wild fruits and berries, and the occasional capture of edible wild game. His housing was simple and inexpensive to build, and his meager supply of clothing was adequate for his needs in a tropical climate.

The rural dweller, growing his own food and often looting his own cloth, was largely self-sustaining. For the urban resident the largest item of expense was food, which accounted for well over half of his essential expenditures. Rice was the most important food cost item, followed by fresh and dried fish. Cabbages and bananas were the most important fruit and vegetable items.

Government statisticians calculated the cost of living of the urban working class on the basis of 60 percent of income for food, 20 percent for housing, 8 percent for clothing and 12 percent for miscellaneous expenses. Urban middle class costs were based on 53 percent for food, 15 percent for housing, 9 percent for clothing, 8 percent for amusements and 15 percent for miscellaneous items. Costs of the upper class included 45 percent for food, 11 percent for housing, 11 percent for clothing, 14 percent for amusements and 19 percent for miscellaneous.

The villager finds entertainment through his local temple; if he wishes to travel some distance for festivals, the local money-lender can make it possible, but moneylenders are the country's principal source of social tension. Most are Chinese rice millers and brokers, and the charging of exorbitant interest rates has been attributed to them. During the mid-1960's the government was attempting to counter usurious practices by establishing credit cooperatives (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force; ch. 24, Financial and Monetary System).

The rural dweller traditionally has been deeply religious, and Buddhist principles have pervaded his system of values. His religion has taught him to disparage mundane wants, including the accumulation of wealth; therefore, his propensity to save has been minimal. After satisfying his immediate needs for food and clothing, he may spend any remaining funds on gifts to monks or to the temple or on a trip to another part of the country. Each year, thousands of people from all areas of the country attend the annual Water Festival in Phnom Penh.

In the mid-1960's these traditional consumption patterns were changing. The increase in literacy, in schooling and in the availability of consumer goods was creating new designs. The change was much more readily perceptible in urban areas than in the countryside, but people in general were taking an increasingly

mundane attitude toward the importance of money and the degree of satisfaction to be derived in spending it.

FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING

Dietary habits appear to be basically the same throughout the country, whether among Khmer, Chinese or Vietnamese, in villages or in provincial capitals. Rice, fish and water are basic needs. Rice is not as thoroughly milled as in many other rice countries and is processed less in the rural areas than in the cities, so as a result it retains many vitamins. The average per person consumption of rice is almost 1 pound a day. *Tuk-trey*, a sauce made of fermented, highly spiced fish oil, is a dietary staple for people at all social levels. *Prahoc*, a spicy paste of Cambodian origin, made of salted, dried fish and allowed to ferment in jars, is also an important part of the diet. At its best, food is characterized by its mixture of delicate flavors and spices, combining the sweet and sour and the bland and bitter in distinctive national recipes.

Tea is drunk generally between meals. It is the first offering to a visitor, and refusal would be considered a rude and unfriendly act. Since tea is boiled it is safe for drinking and can be accepted without hesitation. Water is drunk after meals, generally from a large water jug and a common bowl. Supplements to the basic diet, depending on season, status and wealth, are vegetables, meat (beef and pork), poultry, eggs and fruits, particularly bananas.

The typical meal of a farmer consists of a ball of rice (which the Khmer eat with their fingers; the Chinese and Vietnamese, with chopsticks), three dried fish and a bit of *prahoc*. The diet in the cities, particularly in Phnom Penh, has recently been affected by such Western items as soft drinks and ice cream; the upper class favors French cooking, and there are French, Chinese, Vietnamese and Indian restaurants. Rice, dried fish and *nuoc-man* (a pungent sauce), however, are still staples.

For most of the people the diet is simple, both in variety and in quantity. Rice and fish, supplemented by a vegetable and by fruits that grow wild and are abundant, are the mainstays of the usual meal. Beef, pork and poultry are relished but are served only when the family can afford them. One 1967 estimate indicated that the average daily caloric intake was about 2,000 calories.

Dietary staples are plentiful, but malnutrition is manifested in the caloric underfeeding of children and in vitamin B complex deficiencies, such as beriberi. Such dietary deficiencies result from faulty food customs and a lack of public information about the proper composition of a balanced diet.

Meals are rituals which must not be interrupted, even by talk-

ing. Serving dishes, with straw or cloth covers, are placed on matting on the floor. The members of the family sit around the dishes and serve themselves, the fathers and sons and the mothers and daughters taking their servings in that order of sequence.

Use of the national dress, the *sampot*, is customary in the countryside, but the wearing of Western clothes is usual in the cities. The *sampot*, worn by both men and women, is a length of cotton or silk up to 10 feet long and 1 yard in width worn wrapped around the waist, fastened in front and falling to mid-calf. The top of the remaining material is then passed between the legs and tucked into the waistband in back. The effect is to give the appearance, from the front, of loose trousers and, from the back, of a skirt. With the *sampot* women wear a blouse and shawl, whereas for formal occasions men wear a shirt, a high-necked tunic and long socks.

Women sometimes wear a sarong-type skirt which is suspended from above the breasts; an alternate costume for men includes a tailored vest, short trousers and a long-sleeved tunic. Loosely draped turban-like headgear is used by both sexes for protection against the sun. In the countryside men usually wear the *sampot* without a top and go barefoot. In remote rural areas women may also work in the fields naked above the waist.

In most of the rural areas children wear a more Western form of dress. Boys dress in shirts and shorts, and girls usually wear blouses and skirts or simple dresses. Increasingly, however, the garments of both boys and girls are in the process of regimentation by the establishment of prescribed designs and colors of dress as the uniforms of the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK), a paramilitary youth organization.

Other ethnic groups have their own traditional customs in dress. The Vietnamese of both sexes wear wide trousers and long robes, whereas the tribal Khmer Loeu often display nude torsos above breechcloths for men and short homespun skirts for women (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Although most people in the country have a few garments that are worn only on ceremonial or other special occasions—a sash-like dress scarf worn draped from one shoulder to the waist by Khmer women is an example—most clothing is simple and often made from cloth produced on the household loom. Consumer goods however, have become increasingly necessary, and their possession is a prestige symbol.

The traditional village home is inexpensively built with the help of relatives and neighbors. The typical house is rectangular in shape and 12 by 20 to 20 by 30 feet in size. Its wooden floor perches on wood or concrete piles as much as 10 feet high, the

height sometimes depending on the likelihood of flooding during the rainy season but more frequently reflecting the degree of prosperity of the owner. There is a sharply gabled thatch roof with overhanging eaves to protect the interior from monsoon rains. The matted thatch material may be of palm fronds or savanna grass, which is used widely in rural housing throughout Southeast Asia. Walls are constructed of overlapping thatch panels strung horizontally between posts supporting the roof.

Customarily, the house is without windows, but a space is left between the wall panels and the overhanging eaves to permit ventilation. Sometimes, however, there are apertures in the walls over which bamboo mats are lowered during heavy winds or rains. There may be several rooms, separated by partitions of dried palm fronds or other material, but the houses of the poor often have only a single room. The kitchen is usually a separate room or an adjacent shed, sometimes joined to the house by a ramp, but in some instances cooking is done beneath the house. Crowding is general, and privacy is minimal.

Most houses are constructed entirely of thatch except for the wooden floors, but some of the better dwellings are of masonry or wood with tile roofs. In recent years considerable housing construction has been accomplished by the government or with its assistance. It was estimated that a housing development planned by the government in 1967 for Khmer Krom refugees from South Vietnam would cost about 8,000 riels for each unit.

Furnishings may consist of several mats, cushions and chests containing one or two garments for each member of the family. Each family has its own statue of Buddha (see ch. 11, Religion). Festive platters and fruit dishes, which may be either of wood encrusted with mother-of-pearl or of copper and silver, are standard equipment for entertaining. Bowls of copper and silver are used to serve betel nuts, which figure prominently in most ceremonies.

The kitchen customarily is equipped with a portable oven made of baked clay, pots, a water pitcher, a jug, bowls and a rice ladle. Under the house, between the pilings, the family loom, cart, dug-out canoes and livestock are kept. The ladder or wooden staircase leading to the raised entrance, usually facing the east, must be protected ritually because it is believed to provide a route by which evil spirits may enter a house.

This form of building is in marked contrast to the well constructed new public buildings of frame or masonry which are being built in the countryside. These are the new administrative buildings, schools, hospitals and health centers. The thatch homes contrast also with residences in Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville and

a few of the main provincial towns, which are often solidly built structures of wood or masonry.

PATTERNS OF LIVING AND LEISURE

The society has two divergent patterns of living. The traditional one, evolved from an agricultural life, is followed in the rural areas. The new one, a part of the process of modernization, has become accepted in urban society even where the old pattern has not been completely discarded.

The country is predominantly agricultural, and sowing time and harvesting time are highly important. The proper moment for sowing rice, transplanting the tender shoots or bringing in the harvest is dictated by nature.

Use of Calendars

The Western calendar is used by the more sophisticated, by the government in its official transactions and by the educational and business institutions. Only rarely is the Buddhist day, month or year indicated beside the Western identification in an official government communication.

The formal calendar is a combination of both the lunar and the solar. The months are based on the movement of the moon, but the yearly cycle of months is corrected by the addition of intercalary days to bring them into accord with the movement of the sun.

The lunar months are also the basic units for the religious calendar, which has 12 months of 29 and 30 days, alternately; the first is known as female and the second as male. Marriages may conventionally be celebrated only during the female months.

The months of the religious calendar are divided into halves of 15 days each in the male months and 15 or 14 days in the female months. The days in each are numbered from 1 to 15 in the male months and from 1 to 15 or 1 to 14 in the female months. During the first half, in which the moon is waxing, the word "*kot*" (one who grows) is added to the number; during the second half, the word "*noc*" (one who destroys himself) indicates that the day is in the time of the waning moon.

Use is also made of a 12-year-cycle calendar of Chinese origin, which is used in neighboring South Vietnam. It carries the names of animals, followed by a numeral from 0 to 9. Each year is designated by a combination of the name of the proper animal of the year and of the proper numeral. It takes 60 years to complete the cycle of all possible number and animal combinations.

Certain days of the week are considered to have special significance. For example, some villagers refuse to lend money on Monday but gladly make purchases on that day. Saturday is considered a bad day throughout most of the country because it is liked by

demons and spirits; it is, however, a good day to appeal to inhabitants of the spirit world.

Holidays

The rhythm of life is strongly influenced by the alternation of wet and dry seasons which determine the times of sowing, transplanting and harvesting the rice crop. Certain days during these periods are the occasions for festivals and holidays, many of which are associated with the Buddhist religion. Among the most important are the Plowing of the Holy Furrow, which occurs in May at the beginning of the rainy season, and the Water Festival, which celebrates the reversal of the current in the Tonle Sap River (see ch. 2, Physical Environment). The Water Festival usually occurs in late October or early November and is specifically fixed by the full moon of the month of Kattik, within a few days of the actual reversal of the waters.

Both of these festivals are of the greatest traditional importance, but neither is an official holiday. Official holidays are numerous, however; they vary somewhat from year to year, and different days apply to different sectors of the population. The Ministry of Public Health and Labor publishes lists applicable to workers in commerce, industry and agriculture; the Council of Ministers publishes lists of days applicable to personnel in national service. In 1967 the lists for both categories totaled 14 holidays; the traditional days in the lunar calendar and those in the Western Gregorian calendar were included. These official holidays were granted with full pay to civil servants and employees of state and mixed industries; in practice, they also were granted to most employees of private companies.

The most widely observed of the official holidays is New Year's, which occurs on April 13 and continues through April 15. It is a time of cleansing. On the last day of the old year houses are cleaned. On New Year's day itself, Chaul Chhnam, the people go to the temple to spray the images with water and to pray for good fortune during the coming year. On the last day of the period, they make sand hills in and around the temples and insert in them colored paper flags as pleas for prosperity. Sporting events and all-night dances are regularly featured.

Two of the three official Buddhist holidays are not recognized as official holidays for foreigners in business enterprises. Both are of 2 days' duration but involve only a half day's release from work each day. The first of this series of two, occurring in January or February, is Meakha Bauja, which mourns Buddha's death. The second is Visa Bauja, which is in April or May; it is a triple anniversary of Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death.

The remaining official Buddhist ceremony, in September or

October, is Prachum, which lasts for 3 days during which offerings are made to the monks for the benefit of the dead. In addition to these formally designated national religious holidays, there is the October and November season of the Kathen. During this time, each monastery enjoys its own Kathen day on which villagers join in a procession bearing gifts to the monks (see ch. 11, Religion). Finally, Vietnamese are permitted two half days away from work to observe their own lunar New Year, Tet, which occurs in February.

Secular holidays are determined by the Gregorian calendar and are full holidays for both nationals and foreigners. These holidays include Labor Day on May 1, Constitution Day on May 6, United Nations Day on October 24, Independence Day on November 9 and Western New Year's Day on January 1.

Christmas, formerly an official holiday, was not so designated for 1967, but employers were instructed to adopt a liberal policy in releasing Catholics to attend mass that day and on other holy days. That year government employees were dismissed during the afternoon hours of November 17 to enjoy the Water Festival.

Days of special occasion, such as the departure or return from the country of the Chief of State or the arrival of a foreign delegation of particular importance, are frequently designated official holidays. Altogether, it has been estimated that 50 or 60 days a year are ordinarily taken as official or unofficial holidays.

Diversions

Holidays of all sorts are treasured. People have an acute sense of the dramatic, and their celebrations abound with costumes, lights, floats and parades. Shadow plays are popular; music and dancing are enjoyed; and fireworks are a feature of every festival. Festive occasions are closely related to the Buddhist religion, since most are, in fact, Buddhist days of observance and since the temple itself is often the scene of feasts and theatrical performances.

The pleasures of the people are simple ones. Motion pictures are well attended in urban areas but are not available to villagers. There are a few "bar dancings" in Phnom Penh—night clubs featuring taxi dancers—and people everywhere are devoted to spectator sports. Fishing is popular, but big-game hunting is prohibited by law. In general, enjoyment of leisure time is associated with festivals, but there are enough of these to provide plentiful diversion for all.

There are no important distinctively national games, but kite-flying contests, featuring elaborately painted kites shaped like dragons or birds, are enjoyed by adults and children, and races in huge pirogues propelled by 40 rowers are featured during the Water Festival. Both the government and the population at large,

however, are keenly interested in such international sports as soccer, bicycling, track and field events, swimming, basketball, volleyball and table tennis. This increasing interest in sports is strongest in, but not confined to, Phnom Penh. In the capital an extensive system of sports facilities, the National Sports Complex, was constructed during the early 1960's at a cost of over 420 million riels. Competition throughout the country is intense among groups representing schools, youth organizations and military units, and between provinces and districts.

Before 1955 sports competition at the international level was limited, but that year the country competed in the Southeast Asian Games, finishing next to last. In 1966 the new sports arena had been completed, and Cambodia was host to 16 other Middle and Far Eastern nations in the first meeting of members of Games of the New Emerging Forces and finished third. The country has received an invitation to participate in the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico City in 1968.

Cambodians are extremely fond of gambling. They find their only legal outlet for this taste in the state-operated national lottery. A clandestine lottery is said to exist also, however, and raids on illegal gambling houses are frequently reported in the press. Any public employee arrested for gambling is subject to dismissal, and the practice is forbidden to all Cambodians except on rare occasions when blanket exemptions are granted. For example, on New Year's Day in 1967 participation in games of chance was authorized during the 3-day holiday. That same year a gambling casino was opened at the mountain resort of Bokor, but it was built for the use of foreigners only.

Social Problems

Social problems are few (see ch. 25, Public Order and Safety). Murder and sex crimes are at a minimum, but petty theft is common. Habitual drunkenness and alcoholism are almost unknown, although various kinds of alcoholic beverages are produced, and a large amount of wine is consumed, usually during festivals and on social occasions.

Drug addiction is rare in rural areas but is widespread among the Chinese and Vietnamese in the cities. Opium has long been a government monopoly and the source of considerable revenue. In the mid-1960's, however, control of opium had become stringent. Importing, selling, stocking, buying or any other transaction involving the drug or poppies and poppyseed were all punishable, even as first offenses. Search without warrant on suspicion regarding drug violations was permitted any time of day or night. These measures suggested a fear of the spread of drug addiction and a determination on the part of the government to abolish it.

WELFARE PROGRAMS

In 1967 the welfare program applied different rules to civil servants, military forces and police; to workers in state-owned industrial and commercial establishments and mixed-ownership establishments in which the state was the majority stockholder; and to workers in private enterprises.

A retirement and disability pension system was provided only for the civil servants, military forces and police. It provided coverage to widows and minor orphans; widows received half of the pension. The system was funded by a 6-percent deduction from each employee's salary plus an annual government contribution equal to 14 percent of the total amount of government salaries in the national budget; this sum was to be paid into the Civil Pension Fund.

Pensions were paid from the Fund on retirement for age or disability. Since 1962 special survivor benefits had been paid to families of civil or military personnel killed by hostile action. Two months' salary was paid if death occurred while on leave and 1 year's if it occurred while on an official mission.

Some of the larger private companies had their own retirement plans, however, and in 1967 a government publication reported that pension plans were in effect for most of the state and mixed enterprises, although they were not required under the government's instructions.

Other social legislation concerned working hours, wages, family allowances and workmen's compensation. Here, too, there was considerable diversity. A schedule of paid sick leave applied only to civil servants, but temporary disability allowances resulting from on-the-job accidents and service-related illnesses applied to all workers.

Compensations in this area varied according to category of employment. Medical expenses usually were reimbursed directly to the head of the family at the rate of 100 percent for workers, 50 percent for their wives and children and 40 percent for their parents. All employers were required to grant pay advances under specified conditions.

For the working force, accident compensation was generally granted irrespective of fault. This payment took various forms, including medical care and compensation at government expense for civil servants and lesser benefits for other workers. Items covered under various circumstances included return to the place of employment and funeral expenses.

Benefits usually commenced after 4 days of absence from work for on-the-job injuries or professionally related ailments. One-half of daily wages were payable from the fifth day, the indemnity to include regular and supplementary payments, including

family benefits. These benefits were payable to the worker until the healing of the wound or recovery from the work-incurred ailment but were to depend on the percentage of disability and were not to exceed 1 year's salary.

The Inspectorate of Social Affairs, an entity of the Ministry of Public Health and Labor, had general responsibility for giving financial and material assistance to homeless victims of calamities, such as fires and floods. It also supervised the Preah Sihanouk Children's Protection Center—a boarding school for needy children—and the Chamcar Mon Lodging Center for aged and injured people and needy children. The Inspectorate of Farms and Manual Education Centers, another entity of the Ministry of Public Health and Labor, included among its responsibilities the resettlement of Khmer Krom refugees from South Vietnam.

A more generally directed public welfare service, the National Mutual Aid Association (Oeuvre Nationale d'Entr'aide—ONE), was created in 1949 to provide those in need with funds, food and clothing. Under the direction of Prince Sihanouk during 1967, its contributions in money and commodities to the victims of border hostilities or to the impoverished in villages were occasions for presentation ceremonies presided over by officials of the government and were accorded extensive press coverage.

Not in itself a welfare institution, the cooperative system performs important welfare functions. The Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) is described in the legislation which created it as an organization formed in the public interest. In 1967 the members of the cooperatives and their families included as much as one-fourth of the population, and the purchasing, vending and credit facilities had a substantial effect upon the welfare of the people. The most important services rendered were in connection with credit extended for the costs of planting and services in connection with marketing of the rice crop (see ch. 19, Agriculture; ch. 21, Labor Relations and Organization; ch. 24, Financial and Monetary System). In addition, legislation in force permits and prescribes rules for the establishment in business enterprises of mutual assistance funds.

Most of the private welfare organizations are of recent origin. The Women's Mutual Health Association was established in 1953 as a result of the efforts of a group of women, most of them American, to demonstrate the use of powdered milk. Encouraged by the Queen, it developed into an influential organization associated with the Preah Ket Mealea Hospital in Phnom Penh where it has concerned itself with prenatal and postnatal care and general child care. In 1962 the organization made a financial donation to the hospital's pediatric center. Also of importance is the Cambodian Red Cross Society, which was organized in 1951;

it was presided over in 1967 by a princess of the royal family and depended for its operation on contributions and an annual fund raising drive.

Other private welfare associations included the Society for the Assistance of Children, the Association of Cambodian Women, the Association of the Friends of Secondary and Technical National Education and the Medical Assistance Society for the Religious. There are also various welfare organizations sponsored by certain ethnic groups: the Association of Vietnamese in Cambodia operated a dispensary in Phnom Penh that was open to all, and the Chinese cared for the physical and monetary needs of their compatriots. The extent of welfare work of the Chinese community was presumably disturbed in mid-1967 by the government's action in dissolving the Khmer-Chinese Friendship Association, which had engaged in some welfare activities.

CHAPTER 9

EDUCATION

The growth of education during the 1960's made the country a leader among the developing nations which were establishing new educational programs. Education allocations in its austerity budgets have been enormous in comparison with those in other such essential fields as health and welfare. Statistics bear out the glowing accounts of educational progress which appear in government journals.

At independence the country inherited the educational system which had originated in France and had been transplanted intact to its colonies. Emphasis was on classical studies. French was taught as a second language and was often used as the principal language of instruction. Since that time the Cambodian Government has tried to bring about a reduction of outside influences on the country's institutions and values. Much more than a generalized idea, this has been a continuing program identified in official reports as "Khmerization." The educational system, however, was not appreciably affected by this program until the early 1960's. and in 1967 French influence was still strong.

Nevertheless, some steps had been taken, and more were planned, to reduce the French emphasis on classical studies in the public school curriculum and to reduce the use of the French language in the classroom. It was generally recognized that the classical curriculum was ill adapted to the needs of a developing country and that excessive emphasis on the use of French in education placed a heavy burden on students. The high rate of failures in the examinations given at the end of secondary school was largely attributed to the difficulties students had in mastering a foreign language.

In 1965 Prince Norodom Sihanouk had suggested the essentials of a basic change which he felt should be made in the Cambodian version of the French classical educational system. In 1967 the Higher Council of Royal Universities refined his suggestions into a concrete proposal under which both the cyclical system and the basic thrust of secondary education would be altered to meet the country's need for practical education. French was to be de-emphasized still further, and vocational education was to be stressed.

The revision of the school curriculum was to be accompanied by a deliberate avoidance of studies in scientific, technical and vocational fields of specialization that were too sophisticated to be of immediate practical value to the developing economy. The government planners were determined to develop an educational system which would produce a quantity of trained workers in balance with the number of trained supervisors and would produce both only in fields in which they were in short supply.

The changes desired by the government were not being accomplished easily. The fast growth of the school population has outpaced the great efforts to overcome a shortage of teachers. Because of this shortage, instruction methods suffer, and the teaching process continues to consist largely of much dictation, rote memorization and verbatim recitation of textbooks. There is often little comprehension on the student's part and little opportunity for him to ask questions or to participate in discussions.

The disadvantages deriving from the teacher shortage are compounded by a shortage of textbooks, both in titles and in numbers of copies. In many instances the only book available in a class is the one used by the teacher. The shortage of textbooks, particularly acute in the primary classes because of the overwhelming number of new students entering the first level, is aggravated by a shortage in the variety of titles available in Khmer on technical subjects. A 1967 resolution by the National Congress called for simple and understandable transliterations of technical terminology into Khmer until committees could designate and approve specific terminology to be used in translation (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

The new focus on the Khmer language and on practical courses of study had not found popular acceptance. Most parents and students continued to be interested in classical rather than vocational or professional studies, and most students with sufficient academic ability and good fortune to gain entrance to schools above the secondary level were studying to become teachers, physicians and lawyers. Few were interested in even the highest levels of technical education. Nevertheless, since the facilities for higher level classical instruction were still insufficient to absorb all of the candidates who applied, many were reluctantly accepting what they regarded as trade schools.

The government is determined that most young people will be trained as farmers or as skilled industrial technicians, but in the face of widespread opposition to these objectives, educational authorities sometimes seem uncertain as to how fast they should proceed. Announcements of progress in the transformation of the school system were often filled with assurances that there was no

intention of surrendering the benefits inherent in the French educational and cultural heritage.

In the mid-1960's young people were anxious to obtain an education, and parents were willing to make sacrifices so that they could obtain it. In this predominantly agricultural society there was little evidence of the reluctance, characteristic in much of Southeast Asia, of farming people to forgo their children's help so that they may obtain an education.

Popular support of the government's efforts is evidenced in many other ways. Parent-teacher associations are numerous and active, and civic groups and private individuals at all levels of society are reported to make substantial contributions of money and services in building schools. In rural areas schools are sometimes built by the contribution of labor furnished and funds subscribed by villages; the overall private contributions reportedly reach as much as 80 percent of the total costs. In urban areas large sums for school construction are sometimes subscribed by the more prosperous citizens. At the new Kompong Cham Technical University, two buildings have been gifts of wealthy individuals, and one building each has been donated by Chinese and Vietnamese communities.

In the past foreign aid to education was substantial. In 1967 the French Government was continuing to operate several schools and to furnish teachers at higher levels. West Germany, the Soviet Union and Communist China have furnished school buildings and equipment. Before the termination of its assistance program in 1963, the United States had made contributions to education in excess of \$4 million. In general, however, during the mid-1960's the rapid growth of the school system was essentially financed by the country itself.

The teaching profession holds a respected place in society, and teachers are among the best paid civil servants. The esteem in which careers in education is held is underlined by the fact that in 1965 more than a third of the enrollment in institutions of higher education consisted of persons studying to be teachers.

HISTORY

As early as the thirteenth century, there was an educational system under which young boys were sent to temple schools, where monks taught them to read and write Khmer and instructed them in the sacred writings of Buddhism (*sutras*) and in simple manual arts. The aim of the student was to learn Buddhist doctrine and to practice it in order to acquire merit. By the time the French protectorate was established in 1864, temple schools existed in most villages and provided virtually the only type of available education.

Modern education was introduced gradually. Three years after the establishment of the protectorate, King Norodom set up a school in which French was taught to children of the royal family. In 1873 the first French school was opened in Phnom Penh, within 20 years primary schools had been established in some provincial capitals.

Public education had its start in 1911 when King Sisowath issued the first decree on compulsory education and required parents to send their sons at the age of 8 to the temple schools to learn to read, write and count. This edict, however, was largely ignored. Shortly thereafter state schools—designated as Franco-Cambodian schools—began to be established. In theory, girls as well as boys could attend these schools, but in practice few girls did so.

In 1916 another royal edict, supplementing the first, was issued. It directed the parents living within 1½ miles of a Franco-Cambodian school—of which there were 29 in 9 provinces—to send their sons to school as soon as they reached 10 years of age. This edict also went largely unnoticed.

In 1918 the governor general of French Indochina approved a new plan aimed at establishing a permanent educational system in Cambodia as a part of the French educational system for all of Indochina. All previous regulations were abolished, and the director general of education in Hanoi was given responsibility for education in Indochina and was to administer it with the assistance of the heads of education of the member countries.

According to the 1918 plan, children were to have an education similar to that available in France. The system was to consist of 6 years of primary school, followed by 4 years of advanced primary school and then by 3 years of secondary school. At the end of the 13 years, students were to be given an examination. Upon their successful completion of the examination, the students would be permitted to enter universities in Indochina and France.

The new educational system was foreign to the Cambodian tradition, and many factors impeded its spread. Most people preferred to send their sons to the traditional temple schools rather than to the unfamiliar state schools. As a result, few attended the state schools, and, of those who did attend, few attended for more than 3 years.

In 1924 an experimental school was opened in Kampot Province with a view to reforming the temple schools by instructing monks in modern European teaching methods. By 1930 a few monk-teachers had been trained and sent to teach at certain local temples, which became known as modernized temple schools. The curriculum offered in such schools was basically the same as that of the state primary schools except that no French was

taught. The standard of teaching was satisfactory but not as high as that of the government schools.

The experiment was an immediate success. As an extension of the traditional system, the modernized temple school won the approval of many parents and students who had been reluctant to accept the state schools. The French authorities were also pleased to have modern education gaining a foothold in the country. Modernization of the temple schools spread rapidly; about 100 new ones opened every year.

Despite the success of the modernized temple schools, the French educators did not consider them to be the ultimate solution to the educational problem. One drawback was that girls were excluded from the schools. Another difficulty was that many monks left the monastic system after having received training to teach. Although the modernization process was continued the French authorities planned eventually to transform all modernized temple schools into state schools.

The nationalist movement, which developed during World War II and led to independence in 1953, was accompanied by an ever-increasing enthusiasm for education. It became evident that trained personnel would be needed to carry on the functions formerly performed by the French and Vietnamese brought in by the French to fill many civil service positions. Throngs of children flooded the schools, but the government remained financially unable to satisfy its people's demand for learning. In general, it attempted to continue and expand the French school system, and between 1947 and 1951 about 100 modernized temple schools were converted to state schools.

The growth in education in the 1950's and 1960's was phenomenal, and it reflected the amount of public money spent in this field. The 12.2 percent of the national budget allocated to schools in 1954 rose steadily to 19.2 percent in 1966. Only the national defense received consistently higher allocations. The 1967 draft budget reserved 1,445,953,000 riels (see Glossary) for national education. In contrast, public health and public works were to receive 339,872,000 and 234,828,000 riels, respectively.

The growth in educational opportunities at progressively higher levels has been accompanied by a shift in emphasis. During the first years after independence, emphasis was placed on the expansion of primary education. It was later shifted to general secondary schooling and, during the 1960's, toward higher education and technical studies at both secondary and higher levels. These shifts have been expensive. A comparative study by a United Nations agency concerning educational costs in various countries found that in 1962 the average cost per student in primary school for a year's study was 837 riels. For a student

in a general secondary school the cost was 3,158 riels; for a student in a technical school at the secondary level it was 5,852 riels.

Both in the past and in the present the educational system has been used as an instrument of social control. Traditionally, the Buddhist monks regarded their temple schools primarily as places for teaching the importance of gaining merit and of following Buddhist precepts and only secondarily as educational institutions. In the mid-1960's the government saw the schools as an appropriate place for the indoctrination of young people in the precepts of Khmer socialism. This was accomplished often by lectures to students, distribution of literature and an intensive school sports program which identified with national pride. More often, it was accomplished by the establishment in schools of units of the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK), a paramilitary uniformed organization for boys and girls which is devoted to furthering Khmer socialist goals and the nation's sense of identity.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the public school system, education is free at all levels. To proceed from one level of education to another, it is necessary only to pass the required examination and to find a place in an institution. Neither of these requirements is easy, however, since only a minority pass the difficult examinations, and qualified applicants for entrance in institutions greatly exceed vacancies.

Children are nominally required by law to attend school through the sixth grade, but in 1966 more than one-fourth of all children appeared to drop out at the end of the first grade, and there were five times as many first graders as sixth graders. These apparent dropout figures are misleading, however, since the extraordinary growth of the primary school system during recent years accounts in considerable part for the higher registrations in lower grades (see table 5). About half of the students completing the primary cycles in the mid-1960's were going on to some form of secondary education, a good record for a developing country.

Education for girls continues to lag, largely because girls were not permitted in the temple classes where most boys formerly received their education. A high school for girls was established in 1945, but girls' education did not receive legislative support until the enactment of a woman's rights law in 1955. Since that time, the schooling of girls has progressively closed the gap, and for every 100 boys who entered the first grade in 1966 there were 80 girls. The female proportions in more advanced classes were lower but were growing. Between 1950 and 1964 the per-

Table 5. Education in Cambodia, 1955, 1963 and 1967

	1955	1963	1967
<i>Primary Education</i>			
Public schools	2,481	3,616	3,884
Teachers	6,481	13,072	17,200
Students	278,000	596,320	908,000
Private schools	188	281	348
Students	17,421	32,348	39,000
<i>Secondary Education</i>			
Public <i>colléges</i> and <i>lycées</i>	8	63	108
Teachers	102	1,068	2,300
Students	4,200	33,021	83,000
Private <i>colléges</i> and <i>lycées</i>	4	144	45
Students	1,700	18,945	10,000
<i>Vocational Education*</i>			
Schools	5	7	47
Students	377	2,022	7,000
<i>University Education</i>			
Faculties and institutes	1	5	37
Teachers	17	156	725
Students	116	2,571	7,400

*The source material does not define "vocational education." Essentially, it is secondary education in technical specialties. It may include some education at the lower university level.

Source: Adapted from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, *Kingdom of Cambodia, Basic Statistics as of 1st January 1967*, January 1967, p. 4.

centage of girls in all primary and secondary schools rose from 9 to 34 percent, and in 1965 about 800 of the 6,000 students enrolled in schools at higher educational levels were female.

Administration

At the national level the operations of the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts are conducted by its Dependent Services, which consist of the National Office of Educational Planning and the directorates of Secondary Education, Primary Education, Physical Education, School Sanitation, Arts and Cultural Relations. In provinces and autonomous municipalities local educational directorates are responsible to the national directorates of secondary and primary education and exercise authority over the administration and inspection of public and private primary and secondary schools and other educational institutions not connected with the royal university system. The royal universities are autonomous, but the Higher Council of Royal Universities furnishes advice and guidance on policy for higher education and coordination of subjects taught at higher levels. In addition, the Cabinet-level Higher Council of National Education serves in an advisory capacity for the educational system as a whole.

Primary Schools

Primary education is divided into two cycles of 3 years each.

At the end of the first cycle—the elementary primary school—students may take the state examination for the *certificat d'études primaires élémentaires*. Those who successfully complete the second cycle—the complementary primary school—receive the *certificat d'études primaires complémentaires*.

Training is offered to boys in the modernized temple schools as well as in the state institutions, but it is limited to the first cycle, and the curriculum does not include French. In general, the quality of instruction is lower than that available in the state schools.

In state schools—which both boys and girls attend after they are 6 years old—the curriculum in the mid-1960's was composed of ethics, civics, history, arithmetic, geography, science and hygiene, Khmer and French languages, manual training, draftsmanship and physical training. Khmer is the language of instruction, and French is begun in the third year. An endeavor is made to impart practical and useful knowledge and to instill a liking for manual work. Educational authorities plan to simplify the course of study somewhat and to bring about a greater standardization of teaching methods.

Between 1955 and 1967 the number of students in state primary schools rose sharply from fewer than 280,000 to over 900,000 (see table 5). Some of these students were in the temple schools, which are considered part of the state primary system. During the 1955–67 period, however, the percentage enrolled in the temple establishments dropped from 30 percent to 10 percent of the total state primary enrollment.

The growth of primary schooling has been so great that in 1966 public or private primary education was available to almost all of the population of primary school age. In a few of the frontier areas, however, the population was so sparse and scattered that the government found it necessary to provide boarding facilities for some of the students.

Primary school facilities have not grown with sufficient rapidity to make possible a sufficient improvement in the quality of education. Unresolved problems include the insufficiency in number of schools, particularly at the primary level; shortage of books; and difficulty that children, especially those from the temple schools, have in passing the state examination at the end of the third year. The largest impediment is the acute teacher shortage. In some schools the teachers in 1966 were required to hold two sessions daily and, in some of these, to teach 60 or more students in a single class. The overall student-teacher ratio was 46 to 1 in 1955. The ratio remained the same during 1963, but in 1967 it had risen to 67 to 1.

General Secondary Schools

General secondary education is offered as a 7-year course divided into two main cycles of 4 and 3 years, respectively. A few schools offer both cycles, but the first (4 year) cycle is normally offered in institutions known as *collèges*, and the second (3 year) cycle is given in secondary schools called *lycées*.

At the end of the *collège* cycle, students are required to take a state examination. Successful candidates are awarded the *diplôme d'études secondaires du premier cycle*.

The *lycée* is also divided into two parts, the first of 2 years' duration and the second of 1 year. At the end of each part the students are again required to take state examinations. Those who pass the examination given upon completion of the first part are awarded the first *baccalauréat*; those who pass the second part are awarded the second *baccalauréat*. The first *baccalauréat* is generally regarded as being the approximate equivalent of a high school diploma in the United States, and the second *baccalauréat* is regarded by some authorities as being the equivalent of 1 year of United States college education and by others as the equivalent of 2 years of college.

State examinations for the first and second *baccalauréat* are given twice annually; students may make application to take them whenever they feel prepared. The examinations are regarded as extremely difficult, however, and many students who apply to take them fail to do so because when the moment comes they feel they need more time to prepare. In addition, some are unable to take the examination because they are not held in all schools. In 1966 they took place only in Phnom Penh and in a few provincial centers. During that year 7,467 attempted the first *baccalauréat*, and only 2,028 passed, whereas 561 of 1,366 candidates for the second *baccalauréat* were successful.

In 1967 there were 21 state *lycées* and 87 state *collèges*, which accommodated 83,000 students. This represents great achievement, for in 1955 there were only 4,200 students in the public secondary schools. The number of schools is still inadequate, however. Even though a substantial portion of those unable to gain admission to the state schools can be accommodated in the private schools—provided they can meet the expenses—others who desire further education are unable to obtain it because of the lack of facilities.

In 1967 the Higher Council of Royal Universities, acting on suggestions made earlier by Prince Sihanouk, made a proposal for revising the system of secondary education. Under the terms of this proposal, the first and second years of secondary school would observe a series of academic cycles new in content as well as in duration.

The first and second years of the reconstituted secondary in-

stitutions would become an observation period during which a council of teachers would determine the principal aptitudes of each student on the basis of a common course of studies pursued by all members of the class. The third and fourth years of secondary schools would then become an orientation period in which the student would be tentatively assigned to one of sections "A," "B" or "C." These sections would emphasize study in a particular field which would presumably be followed during the remainder of his academic life and direct him toward the line of work which he would pursue after his education. The three sections of specialization would be classical, technical and agricultural. Parents would be advised to enroll their children in the sections recommended by the teacher councils, but they would be permitted to select other sections that the students could enter only after passing an aptitude test provided for this purpose.

Students in the "A," or classical, section would ideally be destined for university level training following successful achievement of the second *baccalauréat*. Students in the technical and agricultural sections would continue their studies in *lycées* or vocational schools until completion of the first *baccalauréat*, at which time they would be prepared to enter the labor market, go on to higher studies in technical fields or continue secondary training for a second *baccalauréat* which would qualify them for university entrance.

These proposals represent a means of expanding secondary vocational education and of integrating it into the general school education pattern. Late in 1967 the proposals were under study by the Higher Council of Royal Universities with the objective of finding means of implementing them on a selective basis as early as the beginning of the 1968-69 school year.

Vocational Schools

The vocational training system is in the process of such rapid development that the manner in which it is administered, the courses of study emphasized and the number of schools and students involved have recently undergone radical change from year to year. In 1955 vocational training was offered by 5 specialized schools to a student body of less than 400. In 1967 some 7,000 students were enrolled in 47 schools. This rapid increase has occurred because the government has been determined to train more young people in practical skills.

The increase does not appear to have been a response to popular demand on the part of the students who, after completing primary school or even the first cycle of secondary school, would usually prefer to obtain further classical education and enjoy the prestige accompanying it. They have proved willing, however, to at-

tend a vocational school rather than accept premature termination of their school careers.

The regular state secondary school is being revised to place much greater weight on vocational studies, and vocational education at higher levels is being emphasized. Whereas the few students formerly in vocational institutions usually entered after completing both levels of primary school, in 1967 the completion of the first cycle of secondary school (10 years of schooling) was becoming the new standard for entry in specialized technical schools. At the higher education level, the availability of technical education in the royal university system was increasing rapidly.

In 1967 training in agronomy and related subjects at the secondary level was being offered by the National School of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forestry in Phnom Penh, the Prék Leap *lycée* in Kandal Province and the Chamcar Krauch *collège* in Kompong Cham. The Phnom Penh school recruited students from the tenth grade only; the *lycée* recruited from the tenth and the sixth grades; and the *collège* recruited from the sixth grade.

In addition, *collèges* in the frontier provinces were reported to be increasing their courses in agricultural and related subjects to meet the practical needs of these regions and retain on the farms young people who might otherwise migrate to towns to seek industrial or administrative positions for which they had no training.

The National School of Arts and Crafts was established in 1957 to meet the growing industries' need for trained workers. By 1962 it had over 700 students, and its ultimate planned enrollment was approximately 1,600. It recruits students over 18 years of age who have completed the 6 years of primary education. It is designed primarily to produce skilled workers in such fields as general mechanics, carpentry, electricity, radio and metalworking. In addition, a more advanced type of study at this school emphasizes science and mathematics in order to furnish preparation for university engineering studies.

The People's University is a vocational school which offers a more informal practical curriculum to young people and adults of both sexes. Training is furnished in radio, electricity, dressmaking, embroidery and other useful subjects. Evening courses are available for adults, and the school participates actively in the country's campaign to eradicate illiteracy. About 250 regular students were enrolled in 1967.

At the upper secondary level a series of small technical training centers is being established to give 3 years of specialized study in skilled trades to students who have completed the first

cycle of secondary training. The best example of this group of schools is a new center at Battambang. Built with West German assistance and with German instructors on its staff, it opened in 1966 with 60 students, which ultimately is to be increased to 100.

The same general kind of upper secondary level technical training is furnished in the royal university system. Some students enroll in technical universities for 3 years after completing the first cycle of secondary school. Thus, while actually completing secondary vocational study, they study within the university faculties under the same administrative and teaching system as the regular university student body.

Higher Education

Facilities for higher education are not extensive, and there has been keen competition for the few available openings in the state operated institutions. As at other levels of education, however, growth during recent years has been impressive. Enrollment at the university level increased from a reported 116 in 1955 to 2,571 in 1963 and to 7,400 at the beginning of 1967. The increase in enrollment presumably has reduced considerably the backlog of qualified students unable to find places in institutions of higher learning. By October 1965 it had been reported that since 1960 only 7,292 students had been accepted at universities and advanced technical training schools out of 15,340 candidates who had satisfactorily completed their *baccalauréat* examinations.

The *licence ès lettres* or the *licence ès science*, awarded after 4 years of university level study following the attainment of the second *baccalauréat* from secondary school, is the equivalent of the bachelor of arts or bachelor of science degree. Students with less secondary preparation, accepted by technical universities for shorter courses, are awarded the *brevet supérieure de technicien*, which usually represents 13 years of schooling and is roughly equivalent to a junior college diploma.

In 1967 the royal university system included the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the Royal University of Fine Arts and the Royal Technical University, all located in Phnom Penh. The Royal Technical University had several provincial branches. The buildings for a fourth element in the system, the Royal University of Agricultural Sciences, were under construction at Chamcar Daung, near Phnom Penh.

The largest and oldest of these establishments, the Royal University of Phnom Penh, was founded in 1956 as the National Institute of Legal and Economic Studies. In 1967 it consisted of faculties of law and economics, letters and humanities, sciences, medicine (including dentistry), pharmacy, commercial science and

pedagogy. Its 4,300 students, nearly half of whom were studying to be teachers, included some candidates for doctoral degrees.

The Royal University of Fine Arts had faculties of art and archaeology, architecture and urban studies, plastic arts, drama and choreography, and music. It also operated a preparatory institute of music and dancing, two conservatories and two technical training centers. Graduates were to follow careers in the performing arts or become skilled craftsmen. Its 500 students included both degree candidates and candidates for the *brevet* diploma.

The Royal Technical University in Phnom Penh offered training in civil and agricultural engineering, applied chemistry, electricity, mining, mechanics and textiles. About half of its students were *licence ès science* candidates, and the remainder were working for *brevet* diplomas. Branch technical universities were located in Kompong Cham, Battambang and the Takeo-Kampot area. The Kompong Cham school, inaugurated in 1964, offered training in mechanics, physical and mathematical science and tropical farming. The branches at Battambang and Takeo-Kampot were still under construction. As these new institutions open, they are expected to offer a limited variety of courses leading to *brevet* diplomas; later, they are to furnish full 4-year programs.

The Buddhist University in Phnom Penh, not a part of the royal university system, is devoted to the higher education of monks. It offers courses in Khmer civilization, religion, science and literature, Sanskrit, Pali, English and French. The Higher School of Pali gives instruction in history, geography, mathematics, sciences, and classical and modern languages. It is closely associated with the Buddhist Institute. The Royal School of Administration was founded in 1956 to prepare young people for civil service careers. The growth of the royal university system made it superfluous, however, and it was abolished early in 1967.

In the past the Cambodian Government has cooperated with the governments of other countries to provide extensive opportunities for qualified students to obtain higher education abroad. During the mid-1960's, however, the government had restricted this flow of students. Those graduating abroad had proved reluctant to return home after completing their foreign education, and those who did return often found it difficult to readjust to the way of life and standard of living in their homeland. Sometimes their acquired skills were too sophisticated to be readily adaptable to Cambodian needs.

Returning students believed that their education was superior to that of young people who had studied at home, and the ready availability of scholarships for study abroad militated against the growth of the country's university system. As a consequence,

an "educate at home" policy has been adopted by the government.

In 1962 about 549 Cambodian students were studying abroad. There were 242 in France, 141 in the United States and smaller numbers in other countries. In 1966 the overall number had dropped to 87. The students in the United States were gone. There were 31 in France, 15 each in East Germany and Communist China and 13 in the Soviet Union; the remainder were scattered in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, North Korea, Australia and Canada.

PRIVATE EDUCATION

Some private schools are operated by minority ethnic groups in order to make it possible for the children to study their own language and culture. Others provide an education to Cambodian children who are not able to gain admission to a public school. All private institutions must be licensed by the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts and formerly were supervised by the Directorate of Private Education. This entity has been abolished, however, and since 1966 private schools have been under the supervision of the Directorates of Public Primary and Public Secondary Education, which treat them in the same manner as state schools. The change was made to bring about tighter control over the quality and substance of private education.

The private school curriculum is generally similar to that offered in state schools and emphasizes classical education. The Khmer language must be taught at least 3 hours a week. As a whole, the private school system suffers a teacher shortage so acute that effective learning seems almost impossible. In 1965 the primary student-teacher ratio was over 100 to 1; at the secondary level it was nearly 80 to 1.

The components of the private educational system are the Chinese schools, belonging to the Chinese community; the denominational schools, most of them operated by French and Vietnamese Catholic priests; French schools; and Cambodian schools. Between 1963 and 1967 the private primary school enrollment increased from about 32,000 to 39,000, whereas that of private secondary schools dropped from about 19,000 to 10,000.

Until recent years, most of the private school population was Chinese. The Chinese schools, however, have been discouraged by a series of restrictions applied on the theory that they tend to segregate their ethnic minority enrollment from the Khmer majority and that they have been used by Communists for teaching subversive doctrine. Chinese schools above the primary level have been prohibited, but the Chinese are deeply attached to their language and culture and have attempted to evade this restriction by organizing extension programs. In addition, a Chinese *lycée*, operated by the Communist-oriented Ch'ao-Chou dialect group,

was reported functioning in Phnom Penh in the early 1960's.

For higher education, Chinese students formerly went abroad to South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Communist China, Nationalist China, France or Hong Kong. This activity has been curtailed, however, by a government ordinance which forbids the return of any Chinese or Vietnamese who has remained out of the country for more than 3 months.

In 1967 the press carried a series of complaints that Chinese schools were teaching Communist doctrine from imported textbooks instead of the Chinese classical subjects which had formerly been taught from textbooks printed in Cambodia. Since the students were permanent residents of the country and had no intention of returning to Communist China, the purpose of this change was described as clearly subversive. As a consequence, special regulations were issued concerning the opening, closing and operation of ethnic minority schools to ensure their political neutrality. Students were required to register the nationality of both parents, and textbooks used and records of work covered were made subject to government inspection and approval.

Vietnamese children make up a substantial part of the enrollment of the private schools. Some, operated by Vietnamese Catholic priests, are in effect Vietnamese schools to which the special regulations apply. Most Vietnamese children, however, attend state schools.

French schools, open to Cambodian children, are well run and well attended by children of the wealthier class. Cambodian schools, during recent years the largest element in the private system, play an increasingly important role in absorbing students who cannot be accommodated in the state schools. They rank far below the public schools in prestige, however, and their educational standards are considered to be lower.

TEACHING STAFF

In the late 1950's only about 5 percent of the teachers were "diploma" personnel with 13 years of primary and secondary schooling plus 1 year of teacher training. Most of the others had earned only the *certificat d'études primaires complémentaires*, awarded on the successful completion of both cycles of primary education. Elementary teaching was entrusted largely to Khmer assistant teachers (*moniteurs*) who were recruited from holders of the *certificat d'études primaires complémentaires*, monks with practical experience as teachers or as inspectors in a modernized temple school or holders of a diploma of higher Pali studies. Secondary school instruction was usually offered by teachers (*instituteurs*) who had at least 1 year's experience in primary school teaching, had a satisfactory rating on this experience and had successfully passed a qualifying examination.

In 1967 intensive efforts were being made to increase the size of the teaching corps and improve the quality of instruction. The size of the student body, however, was increasing so quickly that crash programs producing imperfectly trained teachers were still necessary, and classes were so large that even the best instructors were badly handicapped in their classroom efforts.

That the educational system had not collapsed altogether under the weight of new students was largely a consequence of the growing number of persons attracted to a career in education by the good salaries. Teachers were paid as much as or more than persons holding positions in other departments of the government. Skilled employees in other government agencies were supplementing their incomes with part-time teaching assignments.

In a country where teachers had formerly received only minimal training, an increasing number was being educated at the university level. It was the government's view that encouraging well-educated young people to become teachers would channel them into useful careers when, otherwise, they might swell the ranks of an intellectual elite with liberal educations too sophisticated to be of use in the country's developing economy.

In 1965 over 300 secondary school teachers, recruited by competitive examination among *baccalauréat* holders and former primary school teachers, completed a 1-year training course. Almost 1,000 teachers trained for primary and secondary school completed a 1-year course of study at the teacher training center at Phnom Penh or a 2-year course at the center in Kompong Kantuot. They had been recruited from holders of lower secondary diplomas. In addition, so-called "contractual" teachers holding lower secondary diplomas had been placed directly on the staffs of primary schools, where they received some on-the-job training. In 1965 about 500 teachers were given a 2-month training course at Kompong Kantuot during the school holidays.

The need to provide teachers in practical subjects for vocational schools and for the vocational tracks of study to be established in the general secondary system required the establishment of another emergency plan. The program, which was placed under a director of Practical Activities Studies in the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts, began in 1964 with the assignment of a few student teachers to the agricultural school at Prêk Leap for a short course in agriculture and livestock breeding.

By 1967 the program had been expanded to include training, for periods of 4 months to 1 year, to persons of both sexes who had at least lower secondary diplomas. The courses have been in agriculture and livestock breeding—emphasized as the most important to the country's economic life—domestic arts, woodwork-

ing, general mechanics and sheet-metal work. Many of the instructors for this program were recruited on a part-time basis from government specialists. It was hoped that by 1970 teachers for the practical activities program could be replenished on a continuing basis from graduates of the country's technical training schools and universities.

In 1967 foreign teachers, most of them French, continued to play an important part in education at higher levels. There were about 300 in the country, the majority engaged in teaching at the secondary level. They staffed the Lycée Descartes in Phnom Penh, were represented in the Royal University of Phnom Penh and taught in Khmer schools in Phnom Penh and in the provinces. Under a cultural agreement with France, these teachers were to serve for 1-year periods. The Cambodian Government was to provide accommodations, contribute to their salaries and pay the costs of their transportation between France and Cambodia. The cost of these teachers caused some resentment, and there was some disagreement between French and Cambodian authorities over the control of this teaching group. It was hoped gradually to improve the situation by training more Cambodian teachers for higher education.

Teaching remained primarily a man's profession, but the role of woman was increasingly becoming important. Between 1950 and 1964 the percentage of female teachers in primary schools rose from 9 to 34, and the percentage in secondary schools was raised from 14 to 16. In 1964 the number of female teachers in vocational schools and at the university level was negligible.

Participation of women in the teaching profession is continuing to increase. About half of the 540 students completing their courses in 1965 at the Kompong Kantuot teacher training center were women, as were one-fourth of all higher education students specializing in teaching. In addition, during the mid-1960's it was evident that the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts was making a conscious effort to encourage women to enter the field of education.

LITERACY AND ADULT EDUCATION

A remarkable reduction in illiteracy has been accomplished since the country became independent in 1953. An extensive 1958 sample survey indicated that 31.2 percent of the population over 15 years of age was literate. Among males the rate was 67.6 percent; among females it was 5.3 percent. There was no significant variation among age groupings for men, but illiteracy among women became more pronounced in direct proportion to age. In the 15- to 19-year age bracket, 14.7 percent were literate, but in the brackets of 35 years and over literacy dropped to 2 percent

or less. The disproportionately low rate of female literacy was a reflection of the fact that until recent years most primary education was furnished by the temple schools, which were open only to boys.

The explosive growth of education since 1958 has eroded illiteracy. In 1967 no current survey material was available, but widely varying statistical estimates indicated that illiteracy had dropped to 20 percent or lower and was continuing to decline rapidly. Nearly as many girls as boys were in the lower grades of public school, and it seemed that the school system eventually would virtually eliminate illiteracy.

The government, however, had determined that learning through primary education was too slow a means of achieving literacy for all the people. Prince Sihanouk announced the institution of the National Literacy Campaign in late 1964, and early the following year a law prescribing the rules of this campaign was enacted. Under it, citizens not able to demonstrate a basic knowledge of reading and writing by the end of 1965 would be subject to an annual fine of 50 riels. Resident aliens not meeting this requirement by the end of 1966 would be subject to the same fine.

Effective dates of the penalty elements in this legislation have since been postponed. In addition, it has been recognized that some people may prove incapable of learning to read and write. Accordingly, in 1967 it was suggested that those failing tests to demonstrate literacy be given certificates showing that an attempt had been made.

The minister of national education and fine arts is chairman of the Permanent Literacy Committee, which is composed of representatives of several entities of the central government. Under it, the Technical Literacy Committee directs, at the national and local levels, survey committees which supervise 6-month literacy courses leading to issuance of certificates of literacy. To receive these documents an applicant must be able to read, without too much hesitation and with reasonable comprehension, a 6- or 7-line paragraph concerning everyday life and be able to write 6 or 7 lines under dictation without making too many errors. In addition, he must be able to write correctly numbers expressing sums of money, weights and measures.

Courses leading to literacy certificates have been generally instituted, and the numerous volunteer teachers include civil servants, Buddhist monks and ordinary citizens who are literate. Persons between the ages of 10 and 50 are subject to the requirement of proving literacy, and all literate persons theoretically are required to volunteer their services to tutor the illiterate. At the end of 1966 well over 1 million persons were re-

ported to have attended literacy courses and about 270,000 to have been granted certificates. At that time, however, a considerable number presumably still were enrolled in courses and had not taken qualifying examinations.

Under the 1965 legislation the literacy requirements can be met only in the Khmer language. Initiation of the literacy campaign was attended by much publicity. Trial examinations and the first official examinations were recorded and broadcast by radio throughout the country, and the press was full of statements concerning its importance. It is not, however, an end within itself, and a literacy certificate confers no particular privilege other than freedom from the penalty imposed by the legislation. It has been proposed that, once universal literacy has been obtained, the mechanism established to achieve it be continued in furtherance of adult education in general. Plans are being made for the institution of courses throughout the country in general education, civics, information on farming, and hygiene in villages. In addition to regular adult education courses, radio talks, pamphlets and posters are to be used.

Although the overall adult education program has been substantially accelerated by the literacy campaign, its beginnings go back to the time of independence. In 1954 a basic training center for instructors of adults was established at Tonle Bati in Kandal Province. People trained there later settled in villages, where they combined teaching the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic to adults with instruction in such practical matters as farming and handicrafts. They have also been charged with generally broadening the horizons of villagers by circulating among them newspapers and other informational materials.

CHAPTER 10

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

The artistic and intellectual life of the modern state is overshadowed by its past. In 1967 the spirit which built the great stone temples of the Angkor period (802–1432) no longer existed. Craftsmanship was limited largely to the creation of tourist items. The learning of the Brahmans—whose poetry and prose were inscribed on walls and steles in ancient Kambuja—was neglected. At the court, however, a few of the descendants of the Brahmans still used some practical applications of ancient astronomy and mathematics in the preparation of the annual calendar.

Recently, however, there has been evidence of a new intellectual stirring. In 1964, on instructions from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, an academy was to be established in Phnom Penh to coordinate research and studies concerned with the national culture. The many authorities in language, literature, customs and folklore were to be coordinated in a central national institution to be known as the Royal Academy. Its charter indicated that its board of directors would be presided over by the president of the Council of Ministers and that it would be concerned with scientific research as well as with arts and culture.

The Academy was divided into four institutes: letters, fine arts and archaeology; social and political sciences; biological sciences; and physical and mathematical sciences. The first institute was further subdivided into five sections, including lexicography and grammar; language and literature; engraving, coins and medals; archaeology; and fine arts.

The governmental agency responsible for encouraging progress in art and literature was the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts. Budgetary allocations to this ministry were assigned primarily to the field of education, but some financial assistance was also allocated to the Cambodian Writers' Association, the Buddhist Institute, the Buddhist University in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian National Theater, the National School of Music, the School of Art and the Faculty of Letters and Humanities.

BACKGROUND

The height of Cambodia's artistic achievement was attained

during the Angkor period, when the Khmer kings had funerary temples erected. The temples, of extraordinary size and magnificence, were built to immortalize the spirits of the kings. Of the many magnificent temples still standing in 1967, the temple of Angkor Wat is the largest and most lavishly decorated. All are majestic, however, and it is for these architectural masterpieces that Cambodia's creative genius was best known throughout Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Although the ruins of Angkor were first discovered by Portuguese missionaries in 1570, they were revealed to Europeans by Henri Mouhot, a French naturalist who was subsidized by the English. Mouhot left London in April 1858 for a voyage to Southeast Asia. He visited Siam (Thailand) and then worked his way around the south coast to Cambodia and arrived in Battambang late in 1859. He learned from a French missionary of the existence of some ancient ruins which could be reached in a few days' march. In January 1860 he left for the site and finally arrived in the vicinity of present-day Siem Reap, where he found the Angkor Wat temple complex—partially covered by jungle growth. Angkor Wat and the nearby Bayon of Angkor Thom, with their water reservoirs, irrigation canals, temples and a planned city, represent the most magnificent construction program ever conceived in ancient Southeast Asia.

Cambodians for centuries had been living in the vicinity of the temple complex, and its history formed an integral part of their intellectual background. King Ang Duong, who reigned from 1846 until 1859, decreed that a silhouette of Angkor Wat be engraved on the coins of the era. He also decreed that it should appear on the national flag.

The Angkor inscriptions on the monuments, as well as the architectural remains, show the country's cultural debt to India, but there are also many signs of other foreign influences and native inspiration. In neither art nor literature were the Indian patterns slavishly copied. There was nothing in India comparable to the classic simplicity and unity of Angkor Wat or the Bayon of Angkor Thom.

Most Indian temples were dominated by multitudes of sculptured forms of human and animal figures. Similar figures may be found in the Cambodian structures, but they are usually limited to a purely decorative role, subordinate to the overall structure. The Naga (a seven-headed snake), which was the mythical ancestress of the Khmer peoples and a constantly recurring theme, was frequently reduced to a functional position, such as a railing on a bridge or a banister on a staircase.

Similarly, the literature, especially the poetry, surviving from the period displays a distinctly Cambodian character. The domi-

nant literary themes were derived from the Hindu epics, but many others were adapted from Khmer history and mythology. Especially important was the cult of the god-kings (*devarajas*), who were worshiped as reincarnations of Vishnu, Siva, Buddha or other Indian deities.

When the Thai conquered a large part of the Cambodian empire and established themselves within their present national boundaries during the fifteenth century, they absorbed much of the culture of the conquered population. This Cambodian influence was further fortified when Thai raiders carried off many of the best scholars, artists and craftsmen as slaves during the recurrent Thai-Cambodian wars. The culture never quite recovered from this setback.

LEGENDS, DRAMA AND DANCE

Legends have reinforced the cohesiveness of the people and formed a bond of common heritage and significance. History, for most Cambodians, is legend symbolizing the subjective experiences of their ancestors rather than the more-or-less factual record of events that is usual in the West. The recounting of old stories and legends, usually in poetry form, is popular among most of the people. These are usually taken from ancient Hindu epics, from their Cambodian counterparts or from mythical and legendary Cambodian history.

The stories abound with princesses in distress, princes in disguise, miraculous creatures, giants, magic and good or evil omens. Buddhist religious beliefs are strongly evident. People live in a world they cannot control. Their present lives, whether good or bad, are the result of their conduct in past reincarnations; what they do in the present will determine their life in future reincarnations. This theme of cause and effect runs through all Cambodian literature, ancient and modern, and is also frequently alluded to in ordinary conversation. Life itself should be accepted with placidity and resignation.

Ancient legends and stories provide themes for nearly all dramatic presentations, of which there are four main forms. Ranked in order of cultural importance, these are the Royal Ballet, the National Theater, the shadow plays and the popular or folk dramas. Traditional drama combines pantomime with singing and dancing. Roles are danced in pantomime and include traditional steps, postures and hand movements, while a chorus sings the story, accompanied by an orchestra.

The Royal Ballet, maintained by the court, is not a truly popular form of entertainment. The dancers wearing masks or white makeup and dressed in elaborate costumes, execute difficult but stylized steps, which are repeated in varying sequences for the different dramas. The repertoire of the Royal Ballet is limited

to about 30 dramas in the royal library; no new ones have been written for many years.

The place of origin of the Royal Ballet is debatable. In the fifteenth century, when Thai raiders carried off tens of thousands of Cambodia's best artists, scholars and craftsmen, the entire Royal Ballet was taken to Siam. This episode led to an intermingling of Cambodian and Thai features. Present-day Thai claim that the Royal Ballet is an adaptation of Thai ballet, and Cambodians claim that it was based on the ancient Angkor ballet as it was before the Thai captured the dancers.

The costumes and crowns used by the Cambodian palace dancers show an unmistakable Thai influence, but there is one notable exception. Every item of jewelry worn by the dancers is authentic. The bracelets and anklets are gold studded with precious stones, and the crowns for male roles are of beaten gold and weigh as much as 5 pounds. When not in use the costumes and jewelry are kept in a museum in the palace.

The Royal Ballet is an important tourist attraction, but it creates little local interest except in palace circles. From a historical point of view, however, it is of importance as it provides the only link between modern Cambodia and the magnificence of the ancient Khmer empire. Moreover, it still performs sacred dances for special occasions. In July 1967, in response to a request from farmers who were concerned about the persistent lack of rain in certain provinces, Prince Sihanouk and the Queen had two sacred dances performed in the palace throne room by members of the Royal Ballet. In a ceremony before the dance, Prince Sihanouk lighted the sacred candle and placed a crown of jasmine on the throne. At the foot of the throne was a table on which were placed offerings to the supernatural powers and the ghosts of departed sovereigns. These consisted of water, rice, areca nuts, betel nuts, fruits, meats and desserts. The dances were called *buong suong Tevoda* and were performed in an attempt to solicit assistance from supernatural powers in bringing the much-needed rain.

The National Theater was established after independence and—as illiteracy is rapidly disappearing—the Theater is appreciated by students, intellectuals and farmers, thereby playing a positive role in the cultural domain. The School of the National Theater was established in 1956. At the end of each year the students take an examination; and at the end of 4 years, a final examination. They receive a small monthly salary and are given instruction in the history of art and civilization, must study both Cambodian and French and are taught vocal and body expression, diction and elocution, miming, interpretation of plays, im-

provisation and the arrangement of dramatic works. Physical exercise and acrobatics are practiced every morning.

Popular plays performed by the National Theater are *Rithisen and Neang Kangrei* (adapted from the legend concerning the tragic death of Neang Kangrei); *Thmar Ram* (Dancing Stone), extolling the value of Khmer arts; and *Khleang Moeung* (War with Siam), which praises the resolute courage of the Khmer soldiers in fighting the Siamese.

The shadow play (*nang sbek*) is usually presented at temples during festivals and is a form of puppet show. Shadow pictures, made by holding a series of perforated panels between a light and a white screen, depict scenes of the drama while the story is recited from behind the screen. Some of these panels, traditionally made from leather, are complicated and often are jewel like; all designs are strictly traditional.

The popular or folk dramas are performed by wandering troupes and are greatly appreciated. These include farces and popularized versions of the classical ballet—making use of the national talent for improvising songs and for caricaturing persons in the contemporary scene, especially Chinese, Vietnamese, French and other foreigners.

Outside the theater, dancers are employed in certain ceremonies, such as weddings. One rustic ceremonial dance, the *leng trot*, performed occasionally by small troupes in the Siem Reap region, appears to be a survival of an ancient hunting rite. The two chief figures, the "hunters," are armed with imitation rifles, and the "prey" is represented by a man riding a sort of hobbyhorse with a stag's head on the front end and a tail with a bell on the other. While hunters and prey portray the hunt by various comic antics, a fourth figure executes dance steps resembling those of the Royal Ballet. A chorus accompanies the dance, keeping the beat with long poles at the top of which are crosspieces with bells. Whatever its original purpose, the *leng trot* is now danced as a magi crite to encourage the coming of the monsoon rains when they are late.

Popular dancing, which declined after the great days of Angkor, has been revived in the form of a dance imported from Thailand. This is the *lamthong*, and it is danced by both couples and groups. It combines the features of Western social dancing with the classical ballet. Couples dance together but do not touch each other. Footwork is less important than the graceful posturing of the hands in motions typical of the ballet or Indian dancing.

From the number and excellence of the items of Cambodian art and culture on display in the Musée Guimet in Paris, it is evident that the French were more concerned with the culture of that small country than that of any of their other possessions.

French scholars and archaeologists revealed to the modern world the wonders of the ancient Khmer civilization. During the days of the French protectorate a cultural adviser (*conseiller artistique*) was assigned to the Cambodian throne, and he did much to revive the ancient dances and instill renewed interest in the drama.

MUSIC

The most common form of artistic expression is the singing to traditional music of improvised lyrics about the familiar, traditional music of improvised lyrics about the familiar, traditional scene. The little boy tending the water buffalo, children playing together, young men and women courting and members of the wealthy and educated classes at social functions all find pleasure and relaxation in this pastime. Although the words may be improvised, the number of tunes is surprisingly limited. Some of these songs are undoubtedly very old and were handed down orally from one generation to another, as formerly there was no musical notation system.

An allied and perhaps equally common form of popular amusement is the playing of musical instruments. Both the making and the playing of musical instruments may be considered traditional arts. Western visitors are surprised at the rapidity with which Cambodians learn to play unfamiliar instruments without formal instruction. Most can play some instrument, and many make their own and ornament them with elaborate inlay work. There is likely to be music at almost every social and festive gathering, and one person may spontaneously improvise songs about other persons present. If instruments are available others will accompany him, or there will be rhythmic handclapping and group singing of traditional refrains.

Although Western instruments have been introduced (Prince Sihanouk plays the saxophone), native instruments are more popular. Among these are four types of violin, three types of plucked instrument, flutes, oboes and various types of drums, cymbals and gongs. Another typical Cambodian instrument is the *kong thom*. This is a wooden-framed horseshoe containing 16 suspended gongs. The player sits in the middle of the horseshoe and beats out the melody with two wooden mallets.

Music accompanies all festivals and celebrations. Almost all processions will be preceded by musicians playing drums and violins. Amateur orchestras are common in the villages, and families may perform impromptu private concerts after dinner.

CRAFTS

In the nineteenth century and earlier many artisans were employed to provide artistic luxuries for the numerous members

of the royalty and others who had achieved wealth. At that time silverwork and goldwork were of high quality, especially in making jewelry and the little boxes which hold the ingredients for betel nut chewing, at that time an important social ritual among all classes. In the twentieth century, however, the making of both jewelry and the little boxes had decreased, for the wealthy had abandoned the chewing of betel nut and turned to luxury manufactures of European origin. Early in the twentieth century craftsmanship was dying rapidly, and some special crafts, such as the making of niello ware, were already forgotten. Many crafts men had turned to farming to make a livelihood. A survey at that time showed only 132 artisans left, and most of them were no longer practicing their crafts.

Albert Surrault, the French governor general, attempted a revival of crafts with the approval of King Sisowath. Craftsmen were assembled in Phnom Penh in a school of fine arts operated in conjunction with a museum. They were employed as masters to train young craftsmen under the traditional apprenticeship system. The French did not interfere, hoping to exclude European influence and to prevent the frustration of native initiative.

A new generation of craftsmen was trained, but the results were generally uninspiring. Ancient themes were meticulously repeated for appeal to the tourist trade. Cambodians who could afford the products showed only polite interest and provided little patronage. Although some of the craftsmen put small individual touches to their designs, more often standardized designs originated by others were used. The craftsmen enjoyed little prestige. It was considered degrading for a member of an educated or a prosperous family to engage in such work.

The principal crafts now practiced are the working of silver and gold, the making of jewelry and the sculpture of ebony, colored hardwood and stone. Leather punching or carving is a specialty of artisans in Siem Reap Province. The silverwork and goldwork consist largely of cigarette boxes, sugar and cream sets and similar tourist-trade items; designs are based on the figures and floral patterns seen on the stone carvings of Angkor. The wood sculpture, similarly based on ancient models, consists of heads and buddhas. The best jewelry is probably made by Chinese craftsmen, but a few Cambodians are also skilled in this craft.

Stone sculpture and ivory carving are local household industries in some parts of the country, catering to local demands for buddhas. There is also some tortoise-shell work, but it is done chiefly by Vietnamese. In 1967 the Ministry of Tourism established a "crafts shop" in the waiting room of the Phnom Penh airport; it displays various items of local manufacture that are

for sale. These include silks; shawls; silver boxes; items carved from ivory, hardwood and stone; and gold and silver jewelry.

Household implements are practical but unadorned and are usually either of Chinese manufacture or copied from Chinese objects. Pottery making, a local industry in several areas, shows little artistic ability, even though the bowls and pots are attractive in shape. When a nicer dish is desired for use at the table, a decorated Chinese bowl is usually purchased. If wall decorations are desired in the more prosperous homes, Vietnamese lacquered pictures or European prints are used.

Some common objects, however, are often decorated—among them the oxcart, the pirogue (dugout canoe) and the rice-harvesting knife. These objects reflect pride in workmanship, but the amount of actual carving and decoration is usually scanty. Here, too, as in nearly all forms of Cambodian art, designs are traditional. Heads of dragons and Nagas are the most common themes, and some floral patterns probably are used.

One of the few folk arts in which all Cambodians take special pride is the making of the sarong-like national costume (*sampot*). *Sampot* weaving is a widely scattered local industry. At court, different colors are worn for different days of the week. The rectangular pieces of material that are used for the *sampot* can be given any one of an infinite number of designs. For the most common workaday use the weavers utilize inexpensive materials, usually imported from Japan, but for special occasions they prefer native handwoven materials.

Each *sampot* is woven separately by hand. Frequently, native vegetable dyes, available only in certain months, are specially mixed for each *sampot*, so that no two garments are the same. The simplest are made in linear or plaid patterns. One popular variety uses heavy silk threads of one color for the woof and another color for the warp to produce a shimmering effect in solid colors. The most complicated and original is the *holl*, in which the design is produced by pre-dyeing the threads with different colors along their length, a process requiring 3 months. More lavish is the *sampot* woven with gold or silver threads. The royal *sampots* and those of the ballet dancers have silver throughout the woof.

The new Royal Academy in Phnom Penh is intended to stimulate a revival of handicrafts. There is also in that city a museum which displays outstanding examples of native handicraft in the hope of instilling a spirit of competition among the provinces.

The articles made by the present-day craftsmen must conform to established patterns, and the artisan or sculptor must adhere to the conditions under which his predecessors worked. The artist or artisan, therefore, must observe and apply the established con-

cepts which tend to point to the Angkor period of the Khmer empire. There is little or no room for individual artistic expression on the part of the artisan himself.

VISUAL ARTS

Visual arts reveal the conservatism of the people. Little that is spontaneous or extemporaneous is seen. Ancient themes are preferred, and there is rarely any effort to improve them. Probably the nearest approach to an emotionally charged art is found in the temples. In the last half of the nineteenth century, a time of peace and relative prosperity, the people replaced their decaying stone temples with new wooden structures patterned after the old style. The pediments were lavishly painted or carved with traditional motifs drawn from legends and epic poems, and the points of the eaves curved upward in the shape of graceful Naga tails. The results were works of art which have been greatly admired by Western observers.

In recent decades, as these structures succumbed to humidity and insects, they frequently were replaced with concrete structures, which were more lasting and were also easier to build. Instead of individual carving, concrete molds were used repeatedly, creating a uniform temple decoration. Designs, which in wood could be deeply and intricately carved, had to be smooth, shallow and round to conform to the shape of the concrete molds. Formerly, villagers would donate labor and the use of free materials from the forest, saving money to pay for decoration; today, most of the money may go for construction, leaving little for decoration.

During the 1960's the government encouraged a revival of interest in painting. Until diplomatic relations with the United States were discontinued in 1965, the United States Information Service and the Asia Foundation provided financial support for the annual exhibitions in Phnom Penh at which paintings by contemporary artists were judged for the award of prizes.

LITERATURE

Most of the literature of the Angkor period was written on materials easily destroyed by conquering enemies or by the tropical climate and insects. From the inscriptions carved on the stone monuments, however, their high quality may be judged. They include the royal edicts, laws, records of victorious battles, hymns to the gods and records of donations to monasteries and hospitals.

In 1967 the literature was only beginning to reflect new currents of foreign influence. A new sense of dedication noted in the works of some authors could be seen in a few novels. Some

writers utilized legendary plots and ancient historical settings while introducing new social messages. One author used ancient Angkor for his setting and attempted to show that wealth and prestige could be gained by one's own conduct in this life and need not depend upon one's efforts in a former life. Merit should be achieved not only for a reward in a future life but in the present life as well.

Other novelists with a social message used the contemporary scene to attack present-day problems. The tendency of too many young people to seek employment in the government was dealt with in two novels: the hero of one went into the army as the best way to serve his country; the heroine of the other urged her fiancé to go into business to help save the country from the economic clutches of the Chinese and Vietnamese.

Such novels were the outpouring of a force which might become stronger in the future, but they have not received wide attention throughout the country. Not many books are published, and the periodicals which were published were government controlled. The periodicals that received the greatest distribution were two monthlies, *Le Sangkum* and *Kambuja*; a weekly, *Réalités Cambodgiennes*; and two dailies, *Contre-Gouvernement* and *Agence Khmère de Presse*.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Although France maintained a protectorate over the country for some 90 years, French culture had a remarkably small impact on the intellectual life of the people. Sheltered by the deep convictions of their religion and by their conservatism, the people remained essentially Cambodian, and there was no great intellectual life at the time the French arrived. The leaders received a French education, but it was tempered by their training in the temple.

Intellectual life was impeded by the lack of schools of higher learning. Under the French rule there was no university or school beyond the *lycée* level, and the schools in existence were too few and too small. It was, in addition, extremely difficult to obtain permission to go to France to study.

Resistance to Western culture was often a matter of national pride, but after the country achieved complete independence resistance was no longer considered essential. The people felt free to accept Western ideas and techniques, and it is possible that French culture will permeate the country more successfully than it did under the protectorate.

Modern intellectual life—a mixture of the old and the new—is in a transitional period, and new currents are unquestionably stirring. The country has formally adopted a modern democratic

government and has developed a modern educational system. These innovations, together with increased contacts with a great number of foreign nations, have lessened the dominance of old ideas. New influences have been at work, and the pace of cultural change will necessarily be much more rapid.

CHAPTER 11

RELIGION

Theravada or Hinayana Buddhism, one of the two forms of Buddhism, is practiced by at least 85 percent of the population. Theravada Buddhism is also the religion of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos and North and South Vietnam, but Cambodia has no official religious ties with any of those countries, other than being a member of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

The Constitution declares that Buddhism is the state religion, but it guarantees absolute freedom of religion. The king or Chief of State is the head of the Buddhist hierarchy and includes in his advisory council representatives of the two Buddhist monastic orders. A secretary of religious affairs directs religious activities and institutions, including the Buddhist Institute and the Higher School of Pali.

The great majority of the Khmer identify themselves as Theravada Buddhists, but Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and belief in spirits or supernatural beings have played a prominent role in the country's history, and they exert a strong influence on present-day religious practices. Many devout Buddhists perform rituals in connection with spirits, often with the cooperation and participation of the Buddhist monks. Hinduism no longer survives as an organized religious body within the country, but traces of it remain in court rituals, art, drama and various ceremonies.

Religious minorities total between 10 and 15 percent of the population. Most of those who choose to follow other religions are of foreign origin. Roman Catholics, many of them Vietnamese, number about 57,000. Most of the small Cham-Malay population is Moslem. Members of the Chinese and Vietnamese minorities often practice ancestor worship or Mahayana Buddhism. The Khmer Loeu, who inhabit the forested highland plateaus and intermountain valleys, have a wide variety of animistic beliefs and practices.

Almost every village supports at least one Buddhist temple, and yellow-robed monks are ever-present figures in scenes of daily life. Buddhism has a pervasive influence on all aspects of society. It is the dominant force which gives the people a positive set of

values and a normative code for their daily lives. Its cultural significance has become increasingly apparent, largely through the efforts of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. He has sought to inspire a sense of national identity and unity by rejuvenating old traditions and has provided the people with a common philosophy based on Buddhist values and attitudes.

THERAVADA BUDDHISM

Buddhism had its origins in the teaching of Siddharta Gautama, who lived in the sixth century B.C. in the northern Indian of Maghada. Born the son of a wealthy nobleman, Gautama became dissatisfied with his princely life and renounced it to become a wandering ascetic. He spent 6 years in meditation and the search for salvation and finally attained enlightenment while seated under a bo tree. Thereafter, he was known as Buddha, the Enlightened One.

After Buddha's death, the faith that he inspired was institutionalized for about 400 years in the monastic order founded by his disciples, and his teachings were orally transmitted by them. It is generally agreed that several centuries passed before the oral tradition appeared in manuscript.

Buddhism first spread throughout India and Ceylon and later was carried by monks to the countries of Southeast Asia, Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan. During the early centuries of Buddhism's growth as a religious movement, a major schism arose among the Indian Buddhists concerning the philosophical and spiritual teachings of Buddha. As a result of the schism, Buddhism has been divided for over 2,000 years into two major concepts—the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle and the Hinayana or Lesser Vehicle.

The form of Buddhism which eventually became established in Cambodia was Hinayana. Among its followers the preferred term is Theravada, the Way of the Elders. This is the system of beliefs recorded in the ancient Pali dialect, which is felt by its adherents, as well as by many scholars of Buddhism, to represent most faithfully the original ideas and intent of its founder.

The other form of Buddhism is the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle. These beliefs and practices are based on scriptures which were originally recorded in Sanskrit. It is no longer widely supported in India, but Mahayana Buddhism is practiced in Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan.

Details are lacking on the spread of Buddhism and Hinduism into Southeast Asia. It is certain, however, that Hinduism appeared first, introducing the worship of Siva and Vishnu and a host of other gods and eventually becoming the state religion of Fu-Nan, Champa and the Khmer kingdom in what is now

Cambodia. During the sixth century, Mahayana Buddhism seems to have flooded Southeast Asia, entering Cambodia from China by way of Vietnam. Hinayana or Theravada Buddhism arrived some time after this and eventually became dominant over Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, but it is not certain when or how it became the state religion (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

A Chinese envoy to Cambodia during the thirteenth century indicated in his writing that the first Theravada Buddhist king, a usurper to the throne, was ruling in Angkor Thom. It is probable that Theravada became the state religion at about this time, and Buddhism has remained the state religion since then.

Doctrine

Buddhism is a reaction against ancient Hindu doctrines, but some of the primary assumptions of Hinduism are vital to Buddhist theory. Initially, the Buddhist as well as the Hindu sees the universe and all forms of life as parts of a process of internal flux. The character of this flow is cyclical and recurrent. For the individual, this means that the present life is merely a phase in an endless progression of events, which neither ceases with death nor continues indefinitely in some heavenly afterlife. Life and death are merely alternate aspects of individual existence, marked by the transition points of birth and deanimation. The individual who follows this course is essentially one who is continually re-born in new guises, not all of them necessarily human. It is possible that his next existence will be that of a god or an animal. This endless cycle of rebirth in which all creatures are involved is known as *samsara* (wheel of life).

As existence proceeds, what the individual becomes is not determined by a creator god or by a capricious fate. One's future life is directly dependent on one's own conduct in this and in previous lives through the workings of an impersonal law of cause and effect called *karma*. The daily acts of the individual have inevitable consequences on an improved or impaired *karma* which will determine the character of his future existence.

The popular concept of merit is a modification of the theory of *karma*. Most people believe that the performance of good deeds and adherence to Buddha's teachings are means of earning religious merit. A favorable balance of merit will ensure an improved future existence.

Theoretically, through moral behavior and good deeds a sincere Buddhist can anticipate a constantly improving status, in social and material terms as well as in spiritual rewards. These are not the ultimate objectives of Buddhism, however, because the individual remains tied to the wheel of life in an endless round of existences. It is the complete escape from the tyranny of rebirth which is the essence of Buddha's message.

Self-emancipation in *nirvana*, the state of enlightenment and true wisdom, is the ultimate goal of conscientious Buddhists. *Nirvana* involves the negation of all that the individual experiences during the cycle of rebirth and is described by Buddhists as the extinction of greed, delusion and hate. The Buddhist continually strives to perfect himself through the many stages of his existence, conquering his worldly desires through concentration and meditation, in the effort to attain *nirvana*.

Monastic Organization

The Buddhist hierarchy in Cambodia is independently organized in accordance with regulations formulated in 1943 and later modified in 1948. The Chief of State is the head of the Buddhist clergy. He appoints the superiors (*sangneayuk*), the functioning heads of the monastic orders, and the monks who have been nominated to the highest ranks of the hierarchy.

There are two independent monastic orders: the Mohanikay (Great Congregation) and the Thommayut (Those Who Are Attached to the Doctrine). The Mohanikay is by far the older and the larger of the two, with over 90 percent of the permanent monks. It is the order which is more popular with the common people and is unchallenged in the rural areas.

The Thommayut order was introduced into the country in 1864 by a monk who had studied in Thailand. This group considers itself an orthodox reforming order in contrast to the more liberal Mohanikay. Despite its small number of adherents and its minor role among the common people, the Thommayut order is significant and holds great prestige because it has been adopted by most members of the royal family as well as by many important government officials.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of monks in Cambodia at any one time because of the relatively easy and continual entry and departure of men from the monasteries. All males traditionally enter the monkhood at some time in their lives. Many individuals enter the monkhood for only a short time and never intend to commit themselves for life. Those who take the monastic vows and become permanent members of a monastic order are in the minority. According to one estimate in the early 1960's there were 63,000 permanent monks in the country, of whom about 61,000 belonged to the Mohanikay order; of the 2,700 Buddhist temples over 2,500 were under Mohanikay control.

There appears to be no real doctrinal difference between the Thommayut and Mohanikay groups, but they disagree on certain details of behavior and on adherence to doctrine. The Thommayut group criticizes the Mohanikay monks for their less strict ob-

servance of Buddha's teaching and calls for a reevaluation of the sacred texts.

The more liberal Mohanikay order is beset by factionalism. Its orthodox wing, the Thommakay, sympathizes with the views of the Thommayut order. This faction has gained a considerable degree of control in the Mohanikay hierarchy. Leaders of the Thommakay faction have avoided any formal support of the effort of the Thommayut to dominate the Mohanikay, but it is possible that the Thommakay serves as an intermediate force in aiding the Thommayut attempts to revive orthodoxy in the Mohanikay order.

An additional source of conflict within the Mohanikay sect has developed through the introduction of certain monks to scientific and intellectual knowledge and especially to the writings of European scholars on the subject of Buddhism. This has stirred a critical spirit and led to reexamination of the Buddhist scriptures. These scholarly monks comprise the modernist faction. They are opposed by the traditionalists, who prefer a reversion to orthodoxy rather than an adjustment of doctrine to modern ways of life and thought.

Under constant pressure from their Thommayut rival, the internal discipline of the Mohanikay order has been greatly disorganized. The temple officials frequently must deal with opposing modernist and traditionalist cliques within the temple unit. The divisive effects of such factionalism have resulted in confusion and even anarchy in some temples.

The Buddhist hierarchy is formed from among the monks who have taken permanent monastic vows. In both orders there are two main high ranks of the clergy, Reachea Khanac and Thananouckram. Promotion to the higher of the two, Reachea Khanac, is made by the Chief of State on the recommendation of the superiors of each order and the secretary in charge of religion. Within this rank there are four subranks. A monk must serve 20 years in the priesthood to receive nomination to the lowest of these ranks. Elevation to Thananouckram, a rank below all four subranks of Reachea Khanac, is made by the superior of the order in agreement with the secretary in charge of religion. Many monks holding the lower offices in each of the orders have achieved this rank.

Each province forms a *kon* (diocese) which is divided into districts. The capital city of Phnom Penh constitutes a *kon* for both sects. The religious head of each *kon* is of the Reachea Khanac rank and is directly responsible to his superior and to the secretary in charge of religion. The religious head of each district is of Thananouckram rank and supervises the temples in his district.

Religious councils are of three types: the highest council assists the superior of each order; an executive assembly assists the head of each *kon*; and the lowest council assists the work of each district head. Each of these three religious councils is composed of members of Reachea Khanac rank, named by the Chief of State on the recommendation of the secretary in charge of religion. The secretaries of the councils are of Thananouckram rank.

Each temple is headed by a *chau-athikar* (chief monk). He is assisted in managing the temple and conducting the services by one or two other monks, the *kru sot*. The *achar* or *achaa* (lay assistant) serves as a temporal intermediary between the monks and laymen. He represents the monks in dealings with the government and leads the prayers and chants at ceremonies. The *chau-athikar* supervises the monks and novices and the students at the temple school, making certain that all conform to lay, as well as religious, standards. The *achar* and the *chau-athikar* are responsible for all temple grounds and buildings. It is also the duty of the *chau-athikar* to take the initiative in encouraging the intellectual and moral development of his subordinates.

THE MONKS

Buddhist monks are accorded great respect and deference as the living symbols of Buddhism. They are seen everywhere, plodding along the roads carrying yellow parasols, meditating in the forests or silently proffering their alms bowls in the villages. In wearing the yellow robe the monk signifies that he has forsaken secular concerns. His renunciation of the world and his observance of the strict monastic vows are evidence of his nearness to *nirvana*, the ultimate goal of all sincere Buddhists. It is his status in this regard that entitles him to the respect and support of the layman.

To become a permanent monk a man must be at least 21 years old and unmarried. He must have studied Buddhism and understood its principles. The decision to take the permanent monastic vows (which are actually not permanent because an individual may leave the priesthood at any time) is a personal one, made on the basis of desire and conviction.

The novice or temporary monk is usually under 21, but some older men enter the monkhood for short periods at various times during their lives. Traditionally, almost all young men spend at least a few months in the priesthood before launching into full adult life. The custom is still widespread, and most males over the age of 16 have served a term in the monastery. Fewer boys, however, now become novices than formerly chose to do so. The possession of material goods and a cash income seem to be gaining significance at the expense of this religious and social tradition.

The majority of those who enter the priesthood without intending to make it a permanent profession take temporary vows for a period of 6 months to 1 year. These temporary vows are one of the most readily available means for the layman to earn Buddhist merit and thereby improve his *karma*.

Before he can enter the priesthood as a temporary monk, a young man must have the consent of his parents or his wife if he is married. He cannot enter the priesthood if he has killed or stolen. A non-Buddhist may become a monk because the pronouncement of the initiation vows includes the implicit renunciation of his former religion.

The ordination ceremony is colorful and ritualistic. It is held before the beginning of Vassa, the monks' period of religious retreat which coincides with the rainy season. The young men who are entering the priesthood dress in their best clothes and mount richly decorated horses that are led by dancers and musicians. This elaborate procession is a symbol representing the circumstances in which Buddha renounced his luxurious life.

Life in the Temple

The monks come from every walk of life and are varied in character and motivation. Some act from motives of pure spiritual devotion; others desire only to conform to the traditions of their ancestors, and some aspire to Buddhahood.

Whatever his motives are, once the monk (temporary or permanent) becomes a member of the temple community, he is expected to observe the vows of poverty and chastity. All monks must adhere to the 10 Buddhist precepts which forbid the taking of life; stealing; sinning against virtue; telling a lie; consuming intoxicants; eating after midday; participating in any activity that excites the senses, such as dancing, singing or creating music; using any personal adornments; reclining on a raised bed; and handling money. These precepts are only a part of the 227 rules for priestly conduct contained in the Buddhist scriptures. Observance of the monastic discipline is a crucial part of the priest's role as a meritorious and spiritual figure.

Monks are outside the scope of legal action and are exempt from all public duties. They can neither witness a legal document nor give legal testimony. Monks do not vote, and they cannot be tried in an ordinary court of law without first being defrocked. The suspension or expulsion of a monk can be decided by the temple head, but only on the authority of the superior of the order.

The typical temple compound consists of a cluster of buildings located inside a walled enclosure. The entrance is usually from the east and often is guarded by grotesque figures in animal or

human form. The compound includes the temple proper, several other open halls, living quarters for the monks, several tombs and a few shrines for propitiation of the spirits. The monks' quarters are simple in structure and are divided into sparsely furnished cells.

The daily routine in the monastery is designed to encourage meditation and freedom from the cares of the secular world. All food and clothing are supplied by the lay community in which the temple is situated. These lay donors earn religious merit by their offerings.

The monks rise before dawn each day and spend the first waking hours in solitary meditation and prayer. Each monk then takes his begging bowl and leaves the temple to seek alms. In anticipation of a monk's early morning visit, each housewife usually prepares an extra portion of the family meal to put in his alms bowl. This offering may consist of a small amount of meat or fish in addition to rice and vegetables. Before noon the monks reassemble at the temple with their filled alms bowls. The meal, which is communal and the last one of the day, must be finished before noon. Thereafter, the monks must abstain from all food, but they may drink liquids.

During Vassa the monks refrain from going outside the temple compound and devote themselves to meditation and study of the sacred texts. Vassa occurs annually during the rainy season, conforming to the practice of religious retreat of Buddha, and hence is considered the most sacred time of the year. During this period the devout bring their food offerings to the temple.

Education

The monk has traditionally occupied a unique position in the transmission of Khmer culture and values. As a literate group versed in the Khmer language and in the Pali and Sanskrit scriptures, the monks acted as teachers in the monastic schools. All boys were sent to the school in their village for at least one term of religious instruction, either as lay students or as novices. In the past the temple schools were the sole means of education in the rural areas, but they are now being replaced by secular state schools. In the few modernized temple schools the monks must meet the same requirements as the teachers in the secular schools. In these schools the monks' role as instructors in religious precepts is almost totally subordinate to their function as teachers in secular subjects (see ch. 9, Education).

Life in the temple, in itself, is regarded as an opportunity for education. All those who enter it for any length of time are assumed to be seeking a greater understanding of Buddhism through intensive study and contemplation of Theravada prin-

ciples. The monks vary greatly in the quality and type of their educational backgrounds. Some are university graduates, and others can barely read the scriptures.

There are several Buddhist institutions which train monks for their work, prepare them for higher office and provide a number of other services. The Buddhist Lycée and the Buddhist University offer opportunities for higher education to the Buddhist clergy. The Higher School of Pali provides courses on the life of Buddha, in Buddhist prayers and in foreign languages. The Buddhist Institute is a center of Buddhist studies, designed to coordinate the efforts of Cambodian scholars at home and abroad. The Institute houses the library of Buddhist literature and Oriental studies. The Commission of the Tripitaka (the three-part collection of Buddhist scripture) is currently engaged in translating the Pali and Sanskrit scriptures into Khmer.

Relations With the Lay Community

The monks have a close and interdependent relationship with the laymen of their community, but there is a certain psychological distance between them. In abstaining from secular life the monk becomes an isolated and religious figure, who in many ways is removed from the layman's realm of experience. The priest depends for all of his material needs on the layman, who finds his best opportunity to earn merit regularly in the offering of goods and services to the monks. In addition, he is dependent on the ritual services of the monks for various ceremonies.

The monk is accorded great respect and, to most people, is above reproach. Laymen must observe a code of respectful behavior and a special honorific form of language in their relations with the monks. A monk must never be made to feel that he is an ordinary mortal. His person, especially his shaved head, is considered sacred.

Theravada Buddhism does not acknowledge the existence of a supreme being. Buddha is not a deity who may be called upon to intervene in human affairs. In this context the monk is not a religious intermediary but is concerned primarily with his own salvation. According to Theravada doctrine, the monk is not obligated to perform any duties with respect to laymen. In practice, however, most monks expound the scriptures on holy days, give advice on village matters and take part in many religious ceremonies. Some are teachers in the temple schools. They also console the sick and unfortunate and perform medical services that range from magic to genuine scientific therapy.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONY

The lives of the people are frequently punctuated by cere-

monial occasions and days with special religious significance. The temple is the center for community observance of the semi-monthly Buddhist holy days, the major Buddhist holidays and a number of local religious festivals. Many of the rituals performed in accordance with these occasions combine Buddhism and vestiges of Hindu and animist practices.

Most national holidays have a religious theme and are celebrated by special ceremonies in the temples. Among the most important are Prachum, a 3-day observance in honor of the dead; Meakha Bauja, a Buddhist holiday commemorating the death of Buddha; and Visa Bauja, commemorating Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death (see ch. 8, Living Conditions). The layman can earn a considerable amount of merit on these days by attending ceremonies, giving food or money to the monks and observing more than the usual number of precepts. Donations of money are placed in a receptacle inside the temple rather than given directly to the monks, who are forbidden to handle money.

Among the most popular religious celebrations are the community Kathen festivals held each year after the monks' rainy season retreat. Each monastery receives one Kathen festival from the members of the local lay community. All those who can afford it contribute gifts of money, food, clothing and other useful articles to the monks and the temple. Those who cannot afford to give these things may contribute their services as waiters at the festival or as laborers on temple building projects.

The Kathen festival usually attracts people from other villages, and its religious nature is combined with the atmosphere of a gay social event. It provides people with the opportunity to renew old acquaintances and to enjoy feasts, folk dancing and music. The individual or group organizing a Kathen earns great religious merit, and those who attend also receive merit, though a lesser amount. Other temple festivals are held throughout the year, but they do not have the universal significance of the Kathen.

Another periodically observed religious event is the Buddhist holy day, which occurs twice in a lunar month. Devout Buddhists refrain from working on holy days and visit the temple to hear the monks recite the scriptures. Some may stay all day, listening to sermons, prayers and recitations. Others spend the day in quiet retreat in their own homes. Older people may observe such ascetic disciplines as fasting after midday. Necessity often prevents those who are actively engaged in agriculture from regularly observing the holy days. Crops must be harvested and seedlings transplanted despite the occurrence of a holy day.

ROLE OF BUDDHISM IN CAMBODIAN LIFE

Children learn the outward forms of worship at an early age by observing and listening to their parents during temple ceremonies. Children who attend secular or temple schools from the age of 8 or 9 receive instruction in the Buddhist precepts and begin to accept them as moral guidelines. At adolescence children are considered religious adults in that they are expected to understand fully the basic principles of Buddhism, and they can begin to accumulate a store of merit.

Most people try to observe the five precepts which comprise the Cambodian moral code. These are to abstain from taking life, from stealing, from committing adultery, from telling a lie and from partaking of intoxicants.

The precept which is taken most seriously and is strictly observed is the first, which forbids killing. A devout Buddhist will not engage in an occupation which is directly or indirectly involved in the taking of life, such as the slaughter of animals for food. A man may give the task of killing a chicken to his child rather than do it himself, because children are not believed fully responsible for their sins. The slaughter of larger animals for food is done by Cham-Malay butchers. The proscription against killing does not extend to the eating of meat.

Religious piety and observance generally vary with sex and age. Women have a lower religious status than men and cannot hope to become equal in their present existence. They may not enter the priesthood and are prohibited from having close contact with monks. It is believed that devout and virtuous women may be reborn as men in the next incarnation. In order to achieve this goal and to compensate for the liability of their sex, women are usually more pious and attend more ceremonies than men.

Piety increases with age. Elderly persons of both sexes are more concerned with the next life and are usually free from the secular concerns of this one. Married children care for their aging parents and support their religious devotion just as they support the monks. During his last years a person spends most of his time in meditation and religious activities, accumulating great quantities of merit and earning the respect of all who admire his piety.

SPIRIT WORSHIP AND SORCERY

An indigenous system of animistic beliefs and practices existed in Cambodia long before the introduction of Hinduism and Buddhism. Some of these beliefs and practices have persisted and have blended with Buddhism and vestiges of Hinduism to form the sum of Cambodian religious behavior. Theravada doctrine offers a way to ultimate salvation in the distant future, but it

provides little comfort or aid for the more immediate dangers and emergencies of daily life.

In Cambodia and the other Theravada countries, security in daily affairs is sought through the propitiation of spirits, the practice of astrology and fortunetelling and the use of magical charms and spells. In rural villages, especially, people still seek the help of a sorcerer in placating the spirits, and at the same time they observe Buddhist beliefs and practices as related to their spiritual existence in the next life.

Spirits fall into several categories which include the *neak ta* (spirits of trees, stones, forests and villages), the house guardian spirits, a number of demonlike spirits and the guardian spirits of animals. Only the house guardian spirits are entirely benevolent; the others are said to possess an instinct for mischief and vengeance and may act mercilessly against those who fail to show proper respect. In order to secure the favor and forbearance of these vengeful spirits, the individual must perform the correct rituals and place offerings before the spirits' shrines.

The individual who wishes to influence the supernatural often seeks the aid of a *kru* (sorcerer). The *kru* is a magical practitioner who has a number of talents, which may include curing, finding lost objects, brewing love potions and making protective amulets.

The *kru* is believed to be able to inject supernatural power into an amulet by drawing on his secret magical formula. Once the amulet is imbued with the desired magical properties and ownership is ritually established, the owner takes exclusive possession, guarding and cherishing his link with the supernatural world.

Other specialists are recognized as having the ability to intervene with the spirits. The *achar* of the local Buddhist temple is sometimes such a specialist and has extensive knowledge of various rituals, particularly those concerned with magical curing. There is a belief that some illnesses are caused by offending a spirit or by not being a devout Buddhist. A specialist in curing "spiritual" illness may be called upon in this case to perform the necessary ceremonies and make offerings to the spirits.

In many villages there are people, usually women, who act as spirit mediums called *rup araks*. The *rup arak* occasionally becomes possessed by spirits and has the ability to speak for them. Villagers may call upon the *arak* to perform ceremonies at various times throughout the year and to communicate with the spirit world.

CHAPTER 12

SOCIAL VALUES

The social values represent a synthesis of indigenous and foreign traditions. The Khmer embraced the successive beliefs of Hinduism and Buddhism, combining them with their own distinctive type of spirit worship. Religious ideals have been shaped by the realities of Cambodian life, resulting in cultural beliefs and values unique to the Khmer people. An agricultural means of subsistence, a tropical environment and a territory threatened for centuries by aggressive neighboring countries have shaped the attitudes of the people.

Foreign influences during the last 50 years have prompted the modification of traditional values by some educated urban groups. Modern communications and the expanding system of secular education have introduced new ideas suggesting to the younger generation that traditional beliefs and institutions are not adequate to deal with the modern world. The conflict between old and new ways of thinking has grown with urbanization, but in 1967 traditional values continued to be dominant.

Most Khmer still live in rural villages and have had only limited contact with modern or foreign ideas. The average Khmer has been conditioned by Buddhist teachings to believe that this life is of less importance than the next one and that material goals are not as important as spiritual goals. The Buddhist precepts provide the means for attaining an improved rebirth and also form the guidelines of socially approved behavior. The individual ideally is free to conduct his life as he pleases, provided that his actions do not violate any of the precepts.

Most people accept the status into which they were born and are not ambitious or envious of those who have wealth or high social position. There is a general feeling that one should respect and obey authority and that all people deserve respect, regardless of their status. The Khmer greatly value their independence and individuality and do not feel that they should impose their will on others. Social relationships should be warm and congenial, based on the mutual restraint and respect of all persons involved.

Many of the objectives of the country's leadership are based on the assumption that it is possible to pursue social and eco-

conomic change while keeping traditional values intact. There is a deliberate effort on the part of educators and government leaders to retain these traditional values on the premise that they are deeply rooted in the Khmer culture and are essential to its continuation and stability.

TRADITIONAL VALUES

Social values have been strongly influenced by the ideals set forth in Buddhist teachings. Buddhist beliefs underlie the basic outlook on life of most people, guide their daily actions and influence their emotional reactions to given situations. Ideas about the nature of man, accepted goals in life and the concept of good and evil are expressed in Buddhist terms.

Buddhist monks have traditionally interpreted religious teachings and applied their principles to social institutions and behavior. Because of their role as educational leaders and often as the only literate persons in the community, the monks have been primarily responsible for the transmission and interpretation of Buddhist values. The temple schools have been the principal medium for the inculcation of values in each new generation. Since other means of communication were lacking until recently, the temple also served as the major means of disseminating ideas and information (see ch. 16, Public Information).

Buddhist ideals are influential in all aspects of secular life and affect not only popular behavior norms, but also the country's legal decisions. Cambodian society permits a considerable degree of individual choice in matters of personal behavior, but there are also definite limits for that which is considered normal and acceptable. Individuals who consistently and flagrantly violate the Buddhist precepts leave themselves open to the criticism of the community, and in extreme cases they may be considered outcasts or criminals. Some legal decisions have reflected the injunctions of Buddhist precepts. Such people as thieves, adulterers or drunkards, who openly and repeatedly violate one of the precepts, may legally be deprived of some of their rights.

Evidence of good character is seen in the ideal behavior of the individual who attends most temple ceremonies, obeys the Buddhist precepts and makes regular donations to the temple and the monks. The person who wishes to be accepted warmly by others in his community must at least approximate this behavior. Community judgments of good character are important in the election of local officials and in such personal acts as the selection of a suitable marriage partner.

Cambodians attach no particular value to work for its own sake. Hard work does not bring them social prestige in this life, nor will it assure salvation in the next. Attitudes toward the

relative merits of work and leisure must be judged against the background of the economic life. An abundance of arable land, a benevolent climate and a usually satisfactory annual harvest have protected the country from famine and extreme poverty.

The Khmer traditionally have owned their own land and have been able to grow an abundance of food with relative ease. They work hard when the need arises, such as the busy agricultural season. Most people, however, see no reason to do more than this and feel no pressure to try new farming methods or increase their crops. The average farmer is independent and individualistic and has no high ambitions or goals. His primary concern is to produce enough food to satisfy his family's needs. According to custom he sells any surplus to a local Chinese merchant and donates some of the money to the temple.

Manual labor traditionally has been the work of members of the lower classes—the coolie laborers and pedicab drivers. Government leaders and educators are attempting to change peoples' attitudes toward manual labor. Prince Norodom Sihanouk frequently participates in projects which involve physical labor, in order to persuade the Khmer that there is no disgrace in working with one's hands. One of the major problems of educators is to instill an appreciation for physical skills, and the success of many government projects depends on the willingness of trained personnel to apply and demonstrate their technical knowledge in practical situations.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The traditional social structure was based on Hindu principles and supported by Cambodian monks' interpretations of the scriptures. Buddhist teachings, as interpreted by the monks, have emphasized the importance of the next life and the acceptance in this one of one's status as determined at birth. Most people have tended to accept their respective roles in the society and to conform to what they feel is expected of them. There seems to be little feeling of jealousy or hostility toward those of higher social status. Most Khmer respect and obey authority and admire the man of aristocratic birth and good breeding. The ideal of submission to authority is complemented by a tradition of magnanimity to subordinates.

The tradition of order and submission has been largely unaffected by historical change. Most people accept the principle of the Khmer social system and have not challenged the validity of distinctions between royalty and commoners. Those of higher birth or greater wealth were believed to have accumulated large stores of merit in their previous existences. Prince Sihanouk is

honored as the symbol of the Khmer nation just as the kings of the ancient Khmer empire were honored.

Children are taught patterns of behavior appropriate to their class or status in society and are conditioned by their Buddhist beliefs to accept the existing social order.

Personal relationships are of great importance to the Khmer. Patterns of behavior learned within the family are extended to relationships in the larger society (see ch. 7, Family). In any social relationship, elder persons should be shown respect. Younger ones are indulged and guided, and people of approximately the same age treat each other in a courteous and friendly manner as befits equals. Ideally, each individual in a relationship respects the personality of the other. It is a congenial, warm exchange in which mutual respect exists between all persons, whatever their status.

The Buddhist precepts urge generous and congenial relationships with others—either with relatives or with those outside the family. Harmonious personal relationships following patterns learned in the family context are considered ideal. Family quarrels are believed by some people to be punished by the ancestral family spirits. Caution and restraint may prevent an argument between family members who fear that one of their number may be punished with illness or an accident sent by an ancestral spirit. Outside the family, individual conscience and community sanctions in the form of critical gossip encourage conformity to accepted ideas of proper, courteous and friendly behavior.

People prefer to have their social relations clearly defined, so that each person involved knows his relative status and the role he must play. The individual Khmer may experience considerable insecurity in an encounter if he and the other persons involved have not previously established an acquaintance and a mutual understanding of their relative positions. The rules of etiquette between persons of different status and rank are well defined, and the average person knows his appropriate and circumscribed role for every situation.

After the individual has ascertained the type of relationship and the appropriate formal courtesies have been exchanged, he may assume a more informal manner. The basic guidelines for behavior must still be observed, however. The Khmer usually cannot be comfortable in a relationship which develops from an initially personal basis. His insecurity in such a situation stems from his inability in the initial encounter to judge the status of the other person and to determine what his own role should be.

One of the individual Khmer's greatest anxieties is that he will be unable to perceive the nature of a situation and will not know

how to act or what to expect of others. He must be alert to cues, that will tell him what the situation is and what role he must adopt. These cues are sometimes revealed in such things as clothing, name or other outward symbols of rank. More frequently they are apparent in subtle clues in the course of social interaction itself, such as the manner of speech and action.

Should a person find that he has incorrectly interpreted the nature of a situation, he tries again to determine what the actual circumstances are so that he may adjust his role accordingly. Such adjustments must be made cautiously to avoid embarrassing himself and others. It is especially important to avoid giving the impression that he is overasserting himself to trying to bend the situation to suit himself.

The individual who is unable to understand the nature of a situation or is placed in a position where his role conflicts with his real status tends to withdraw completely. If he is unable to understand a social or political situation, he becomes passive, uncooperative and distant. If he feels that someone else is overstepping the boundaries of correct behavior, he may suddenly become withdrawn and taciturn as a warning to the other person that he has passed the limits of propriety. In a superior-subordinate relationship, if the superior exceeds what is considered proper authority the subordinate may simply fail to carry out the order. When abuses of authority are not repelled in this way the subordinate may show more active resentment by complaining.

The harmonious relationship is sought not by asserting one's own personality but by mutual personal restraint and submission. Great value is placed on secure and agreeable relationships in which each person maintains his dignity. This type of relationship is particularly important in the small, closely knit village community.

THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Buddhist teachings the individual is solely responsible for his own actions and controls his future through his own efforts. Buddhism stresses self-reliance and personal resolve. The actions of others are of minimal importance to one's own condition. The individual achievement of Buddhist merit and approved Buddhist behavior are the major determinants of personal status in the traditional rural society (see ch. 6, Social Structure).

Religious concepts of individual initiative form the basis of a unique Khmer individualism. Each person is theoretically free to follow or reject the prescribed paths set forth in the Buddhist precepts (see ch. 11, Religion). This individualism does not indi-

cate the ultimate right of self-assertion but is based on each person's right to seek an improved status in his own way in the next life.

Personal independence is highly valued. To the Khmer, independence connotes freedom from any obligation or commitment beyond the prescribed role of his present status and the immediate situation. Each person is expected to fulfill the requirements of the situation, but he is also free to change his status with changing situations.

Formal roles are rarely confused with informal personal roles. A formal public situation demands a formal role, which the individual must respond to properly. When such a situation ends, however, he is able and free to shift immediately to a different, more personal role performance. Every person keeps the formal and informal roles separate; he must not confuse the two and inject personal overtones into formal situations.

When these two roles are clear in the mind of the Khmer, there is generally a high tolerance of variations in personal behavior subject only to the admonitions of the Buddhist code of personal ethics. A high public official is aware of the role he is expected to fill in his official capacity, but his personal life is completely detached from this. Public officials are not judged for their private lives and are comparatively free to act as they please without fear of special censure. If a high official is censured for his private life, it is usually because he fails to observe the accepted standards of behavior for an ordinary person and not because he may bring disgrace on his office.

Most Khmer feel that the individual should be continually attuned to the Buddhist code of personal conduct. High value is placed on premarital chastity and marital fidelity, especially for women (see ch. 7, Family). Nonviolence is another important concept, and crimes of violence, such as assault, rape and murder, are rare. Temperance, diligence, thrift and self-control are emphasized. Children are taught to avoid lying, as it is incompatible with pride and Buddhist precepts.

Personal goals are conditioned by religious beliefs. The goals of the average Khmer are oriented toward spiritual enlightenment or an improved status in the next life rather than toward material success in this one. Standards of success in the rural community are not calculated in economic terms but in the degree of personal contentment with one's position in life. There is no social pressure to succeed or to accumulate material wealth. It is doubtful whether the average farmer in the traditional society had any prospect for improvement of any kind. In the past this fact of life may have more effectively repressed hopes for change than did the spiritual emphasis of Buddhism.

Any surplus that a man may have left after satisfying the needs of his family is not reinvested to improve his farm. Instead, it is donated to the temple and to the building of religious monuments. Most people appreciate the nonreligious advantages of having money, but they value it much more for religious spending. The possession of material wealth is important primarily because it can help one to earn religious merit. It is also important from a social standpoint to spend money for religious purposes because such acts are considered especially praiseworthy by other members of the community.

There apparently is a reciprocal relationship between wealth and religious merit. Ideally, merit is more to be desired than wealth, but the possession of wealth makes it much easier to obtain large quantities of merit. A wealthy person is often thought to be one who earned great merit in a previous existence and was therefore elevated to his present status.

Although the layman's greatest sources of merit are his donations to the temple, all acts of generosity, kindness and charity are considered admirable. The person who wishes to gain the affection and respect of his community must show a willingness to share ungrudgingly with others.

The Buddhist monk represents the traditional image of the ideal man, one who is detached from worldly affairs and whose life is devoted to the achievement of his own spiritual enlightenment. In secular life the ideal man is one who imitates as closely as possible the characteristics admired in the monk. The high value attached to the monastic life has traditionally inspired most men to enter the monkhood for at least one temporary period during their lives. Primary characteristics of the ideal man and also considered desirable for women are generosity, piety, tranquillity, patience, morality, wisdom, good intentions, proper behavior, sincerity and avoidance of anger and injustice.

INFLUENCES FOR CHANGE

Many Khmer have received their education in secular schools, and an increasing number has been exposed to foreign influences and modern ways of thought. Many of these people are seeking to improve their lives through personal initiative and education. Young people tend to believe that traditional values derived from the ideals of Theravada Buddhism inhibit progress and prevent the acceptance of new ideas.

Many urban Cambodians have seen that birth status need not limit personal objectives and that they may achieve their ambitions in any field. The Buddhist monk is still a highly esteemed figure, but in the cities he is not the sole ideal that all men seek

to emulate. The ideal of the educated urban Khmer may be a political leader or a successful businessman.

Since the country regained its independence in 1953, modernization has become a national objective, and the government has taken many steps toward achieving this goal. The efforts include industrialization, expansion of secular education, participation of all people in national affairs and improvement of living standards. A large number of Khmer are being affected by these developments and find in them the rationale for modification of their traditional value system.

Even rural villages far from any city are experiencing contact with modern ideas and institutions, but no substantial change has occurred in the rural value system. In 1967 the widest divergence in values and in general outlook on life existed between the worldly educated urban elite and the tradition oriented, less sophisticated farmers.

Traditional values are reinforced by what seems to be an inherent tendency of the Khmer to attribute supernatural causes to incomprehensible events. Truth is a subjective concept. Legend is truth; the old is truth; truth is expressed in allegories; and truth is symbolic. Scientifically demonstrable fact is less important than what one has been taught to believe.

The rural Khmer's view of the world has been limited by poor transportation and communication facilities. Traditionally, the farmer has had little contact with people in other parts of the country and has not been involved in social or political affairs beyond the village level. Most villagers retain an insular outlook on the world and view the residents of distant and unfamiliar places with suspicion and distrust.

The Cambodian Government has introduced into rural areas many new programs which have been at least partially successful in broadening the social and political horizons of the villagers. A number of farmers in 1967 belonged to cooperatives and had begun to raise their standard of living. Material possessions have become more readily attainable in some rural areas and are being accepted as the new symbols of prestige and worldly success. This change in values affects traditional patterns of spending and stimulates people to a greater interest in a cash income.

The tradition-oriented Khmer are not entirely disinterested in money, but their interest in it has been largely confined to spending for religious concerns. This type of investment is not conducive to economic growth; therefore, the government in 1967 was attempting to interest people in money for secular uses. Most urban homes and many rural ones have a transistor radio and a bicycle, both acquired in the last few years.

The Chief of State, Prince Sihanouk, has called for economic

and social reform, but he opposes the loss of traditional values. He has attempted to instill a sense of nationality and a common philosophy in the people by extolling the traditional Buddhist values of individualism and reverence for all life. The concept of self-sacrifice for the good of the community, inferred from Buddhist teachings, is a common theme in Prince Sihanouk's speeches.

One of the most significant new attitudes concerns the nation and its leadership. The king traditionally represented a divine authority who could not be approached or questioned. By his abdication Prince Sihanouk introduced a new concept of leadership. He is not viewed as a divine authority; however, the great majority of the people greatly revere him as their religious leader. Older people clamor to touch him when he visits a village, in the belief that some of the religious merit he holds in his person will be transferred to them.

He is neither psychologically nor physically distant from the people; he identifies himself as one of them and tells them that he is the leader whom they have chosen. The relationship is often likened to that of father and children; Prince Sihanouk is fondly called Samdech Euv (Venerable Father), and he terms all Khmer as "his children." He has repeatedly told the people that he works only for their benefit and that Cambodia is their nation, belonging to all of them. This approach seems to have succeeded in winning the loyalty of the great majority of the Khmer, and it has made them aware of belonging to a nation.

SECTION II. POLITICAL

CHAPTER 13

THE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

Cambodia is a constitutional monarchy dominated by its Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The Prince, who was King from 1941 until 1955, renounced the throne to enter politics and form his own party for the political unification of the country. He and his party have been successful in the pursuit of these goals, primarily because of three factors: the ability to counter political foes through legal constitutional means, the continued reverence and support the people give to their former King and the dominant position achieved by his political party.

Prince Sihanouk has controlled political life since 1955 through his party, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community, popularly known as the Sangkum). His power was further solidified in 1960 through an amendment to the Constitution which provided for—in the absence of a King—the election of a Chief of State to be invested with all powers granted the King. Prince Sihanouk was immediately elected Chief of State.

Under the Constitution, promulgated in 1947 and still in effect with minor changes in 1967, all power nominally emanates from the King—now Chief of State—but the exercise of executive, legislative and judicial powers is granted to specified institutions. The combination of traditional monarchical and constitutional legitimacy represents an evolution from hereditary kingship toward democratic constitutional rule. Prince Sihanouk, in practice, remains the source of power, and his popularity enables him to govern with authority approaching that of a king.

Since 1946 the monarchic pattern of authority has been changing, at least in form, to the practice of popular participation in government. This process, first exemplified in the creation and ratification of the Constitution, was extended through periodic elections and the creation of the National Congress—originally the forum of the Sangkum—in which citizens could freely participate. In 1966 Prince Sihanouk, dissatisfied with the conservative nature of the newly elected government, created a shadow Cabinet, the "Counter-Government," which had official standing as an ideological critic of the elected government.

The Constitution remains the basic document through which Prince Sihanouk and the small political elite rule. It provides legitimacy for the acts of government and defines the framework within which political decisions are reached.

CONSTITUTIONAL PRECEDENTS

The importance given the King in the Constitution derives from the history of the country, the oldest organized state of the Indochinese Peninsula. Its monarchs had an almost unbroken succession from the beginning of the Christian era to the crowning of King Sihanouk, and many ancient political concepts and practices persist to the present day (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The early belief in the divine nature of the King is reflected in the reverence toward the royal family still exhibited by most of the people. The early kings were worshiped as divine beings and, as such, were subject to no formal restrictions on their powers. Advising the King were the Royal Family Council, high-ranking monks and the court astrologer. These advisers, particularly the astrologer, often had a profound influence on the King's decisions, but all lawmaking and executive powers were actually in his hands.

Through the French-Cambodian Protectorate Treaty of 1863 and the subsequent Franco-Cambodian Convention of 1884, the French resident general acquired most of the lawmaking and administrative prerogatives of the King. No royal command could become law without the countersignature of the resident general who, as president of the Royal Council of Ministers, carried out the executive operations of government.

The King's powers were, in effect, limited to his spiritual role as head of all Buddhist religious activities and to the exercise of his traditional right of granting pardons. This right, however, was applied only to those who had committed offenses against Cambodian law and had been sentenced by a Cambodian court. The King's importance in the religious field remained undiminished throughout the entire colonial period and kept alive the allegiance of the people.

In 1913, under pressure from the French, King Sisowath enacted an ordinance providing for the establishment of the Consultative Assembly to be elected by restricted suffrage. Only Cambodian Government officials, retired or active, were eligible to vote for members or be elected to the Consultative Assembly. In addition, a certain number of members were appointed directly by the King. The Assembly's activities were limited to advising the King on economic and domestic matters. It did, however, provide an introduction to legislative processes and a training ground for future political leaders.

After World War II the government was given a measure of autonomy by the French and sought to consolidate it by basing it on a popularly elected government. In 1946 King Sihanouk promulgated an electoral law providing for the convening of the Constituent Assembly (elected by the direct vote of all Cambodian citizens) to consider a constitution presented by him and his advisers. The Assembly was elected in September 1946 without opposition by the French and without major incident. After several months of debate the Constitution was ratified and was promulgated by the King on May 6, 1947.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Constituent Assembly of 1946 was composed primarily of a rising middle class which wanted to protect its position. Its basic problem was that of incorporating a traditional monarchy into a constitutional democratic system. The result was a document providing for a policy of representative democracy and monarchic arbitration.

The Constitution, based on the French constitution of that time, provides for national representation, the election of a bicameral legislature (the National Assembly and the advisory Council of the Kingdom) and a change of government if two votes of no confidence are cast. The powers of the King are to be subordinate to the legislative and executive bodies, but he is granted the position of Chief of State and Chief of the Army.

The Council of Ministers is the strongest body, but it must have the cooperation of the National Assembly and the Chief of State to govern effectively. The judiciary is a subordinate branch of government; its officials are appointed by the Ministry of Justice or, in some cases, the Ministry of the Interior. The People's Tribunal is elected but always in accordance with the wishes of the Chief of State and the National Assembly.

Liberties, Rights and Duties

The Constitution provides for freedom from arbitrary arrest; freedom of expression; freedom of assembly; freedom of petition; protection of home and property; and protection against exile, of great importance because Cambodians feel that their religious life is connected with their homeland. Buddhism is established as the state religion, but freedom of religion is ensured. Certain of these rights may be suspended in time of national emergency, but only for 6 months.

The duties of citizens are to give loyalty to the King (at present, the Chief of State), respect the laws, defend the country and aid the government through the payment of taxes.

Amending the Constitution

Amendments may be initiated by the Chief of State, the President of the Council of Ministers and the Presidents of the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom. The latter two act after a favorable vote of the chamber over which they preside is made upon the request of at least one-fourth of its members. The rights reserved for the Chief of State under the Constitution and the provisions relating to the monarchical form of the state, the representative character of the government or the principles of liberty and equality may not be curtailed by amendments. Amendments become effective only upon approval by three-fourths of the National Assembly.

THE KING

The throne is inherited by the male descendants of King Ang Duong. The King is the supreme head of state, and his person is sacred and inviolable. He must, however, swear allegiance to the Constitution.

In 1960 a constitutional amendment enabled Prince Sihanouk to assume all rights granted the King. His father, King Sisowath Monivong, died that year, and the Crown Council could not agree on a successor other than Prince Sihanouk, who had sworn never to reassume the title of King. The problem was resolved by an amendment to the Constitution which allowed the legislature to entrust the powers of the King to an uncontested personality who would be entitled Chief of State. Prince Sihanouk was clearly that person. The symbol of the monarchy is maintained in the person of the Prince's mother, Queen Kossamak.

The Chief of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly must cooperate in order to govern effectively. All power emanates from the Chief of State, but legislative, executive and judicial powers are exercised in his name by designated bodies. The Chief of State selects the President of the Council of Ministers and appoints the ministers proposed by the Council after they have been confirmed by vote of the National Assembly. The Chief of State summons and dissolves the National Assembly upon the advice of his ministers. He may initiate legislation, but his acts must bear the countersignature of the President of the Council of Ministers.

The Chief of State appoints and accredits ambassadors and envoys extraordinary, and ambassadors and envoys from abroad are accredited to him. He signs the treaties and conventions negotiated by his government. He is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, and he creates and grants civil and military ranks. He has the authority, with the advice of the Crown Coun-

cil to name an heir to the throne and to cancel such a nomination. He appoints the magistrates and may pardon or commute sentences.

The Chief of State has another function, associated with both the legislative process and the judicial process, which is based on custom rather than the Constitution. This is to hold weekly Royal Audiences at which any citizen may present problems and petition for redress of grievances. The Royal Audience is the traditional means of popular expression that has existed throughout centuries of absolute monarchy; it has been continued by Prince Sihanouk as Chief of State. Problems and petitions are presented through the court officials to the ruler, who either pronounces judgment or orders investigation and appropriate redress.

The Royal Councils

The Chief of State is assisted by three royal councils—the Royal Family Council, the Crown Council and the High Council of the Throne—and the Royal Cabinet.

The Royal Family Council is composed of all the male members of the Chief of State's immediate family. It is an advisory and ceremonial body which controls royal titles but has no political function.

The Crown Council, as described in the Constitution, selects the successor to the throne. It is composed of the President of the Royal Family Council, the President of the National Assembly, the President of the Council of the Kingdom, the President of the Council of Ministers and the heads of the two major Buddhist sects. In case the designated heir is a minor, the Crown Council may appoint a regent from the Royal Family or, if the throne is vacant, a Council of Regency of three members, the president of which must be a member of the Royal Family. In 1960, upon the death of King Suramarit, a constitutional amendment allowed the legislature to appoint a Chief of State, and the throne has been vacant since that date.

The High Council of the Throne, though not mentioned in the Constitution, is a holdover from the days of the absolute monarchy when it functioned as an advisory body to the King. It is generally headed by a trusted member of the Royal Family, and its members are usually former officials appointed by the Chief of State and responsible to him. The High Council assists the Chief of State in dealing with the Council of Ministers and advises on ministerial decrees and regulations. The five-man High Council has often been little more than an honorary group, but the appointment of a powerful political personality to it in 1966 revealed that it could also be an influential body (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics).

In 1955 a ministerial decree provided the King with a Royal Cabinet to be in charge of the Royal Guard Battalions and the maintenance of the buildings of the Royal Family. The Royal Cabinet is also responsible for organizing receptions and audiences with the King and arranging for all of his trips.

EXECUTIVE POWER

The Council of Ministers

Executive power is exercised by the Council of Ministers, which constitutes the Royal Cambodian Government and is sometimes referred to as the Cabinet (see fig. 5). The Constitution limits the size of the Council to a maximum of 16 persons, including its President and the ministers who are sometimes referred to as secretaries of state.

The selection of Council members must meet the approval of the Chief of State, the President of the Council and the National Assembly. The Chief of State, after consulting with the President of the National Assembly, the president of the Council of the Kingdom and the heads of all political parties represented in the legislature, appoints the President of the Council of Ministers. The President, in turn, selects the ministers, who must be approved by a voice vote in the National Assembly before being officially appointed by the Chief of State. Members of the Council may be selected either from within or outside the National Assembly. When, as in 1967, the Chief of State also assumes the post of President of the Council, he names one of the ministers as First Minister.

The Council of Ministers discusses all problems relating to the state and the governmental machinery. It may initiate legislation. It executes the laws passed by the National Assembly through the promulgation of decrees (*kram*) and regulations (*kret*). It directs the National Bank of Cambodia, which supervises financial and economic policies, and the National Exchange Office, which determines foreign exchange policies.

The Council of Ministers is responsible to the National Assembly for the general policies of the administration. A vote of no confidence, disapproval or censure by the National Assembly brings about its collective resignation. In this case the outgoing Council continues to administer current affairs until a new one has been accepted by the National Assembly. If the Assembly is dissolved, the Council of Ministers, except for the President and the Minister of the Interior, remains in office to carry on the functions of government. The President of the National Assembly then becomes President of the Council of Ministers and selects a Minister of the Interior.

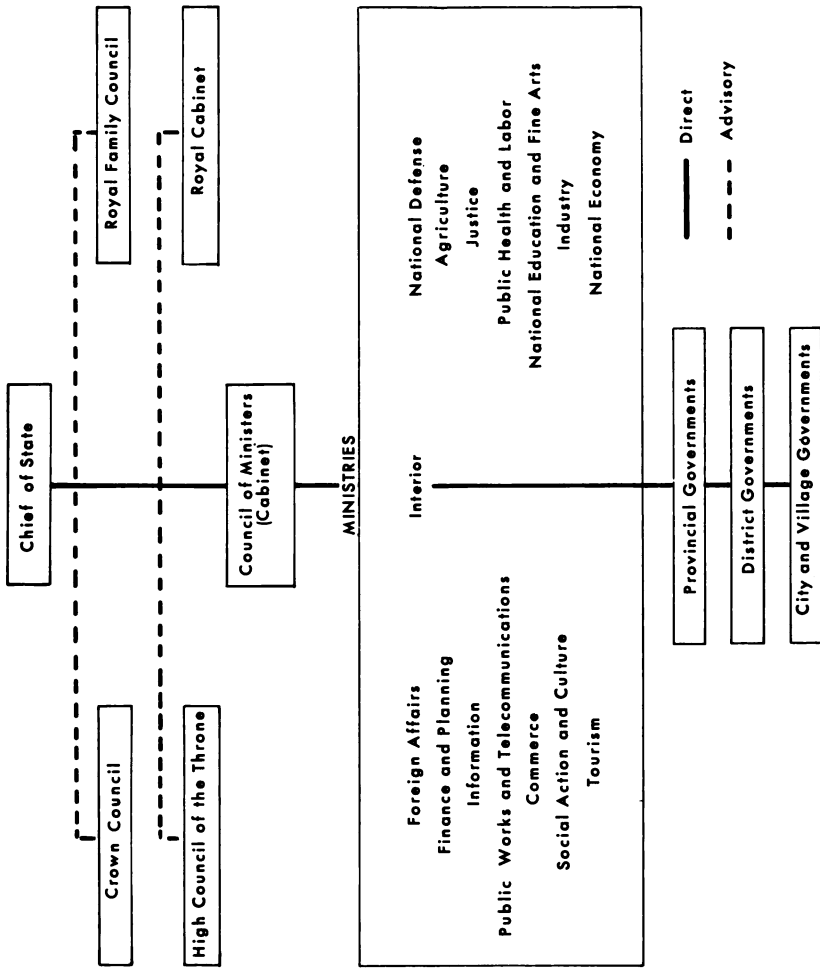


Figure 5. Executive Structure of the Cambodian Government, 1967

The ministers are responsible for their actions to the People's Tribunal. Furthermore, the Sangkum, to which all officeholders belong, has its own code of ethics for ministers. They must be honest, must not go to such places of pleasure as dancehalls and must participate in work projects.

Provincial and Local Government

The country is centrally administered through the Ministry of the Interior, which controls the internal government and administration of the country through the provincial governors and district administrators, who are its employees. The Ministry approves or disapproves of the appointment of most civil servants in the local administrations and exercises control over the national and provincial police forces.

Cambodia is divided into 19 provinces and the 4 autonomous municipalities of Phnom Penh, Kep, Sihanoukville and Bokor. Fourteen of the provinces and the municipalities are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, but Prince Sihanouk appoints their governors. The governors are responsible for the economy, law and order within their jurisdictions, and the employees are civil servants in the Ministry of the Interior.

The Ministry of National Defense administers five of the border provinces: Koh Kong, Stung Treng, Ratanakiri, Mondul-kiri and Oddar Meanchey. They are largely populated by mountain groups who are being resettled and assimilated under the special Civic Action Program. The military governors in charge of these areas are responsible for improving security in these sensitive areas and for opening up the country by building roads and bridges, speeding the development of the local economy and educating the indigenous population.

The provincial government is the major unit of lower level executive government. At this level most ministries and other important agencies of the central government have representatives who oversee the execution of government orders issued from the capital.

The provinces are divided into 110 districts, whose officials are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior on the recommendation of the provincial governor. District executive government is not as fully organized as the provincial and serves principally to transmit instructions from higher authority to the town and village group mayors, who are charged with the ultimate execution of government directives. The districts are divided into 1,178 town and village groups (*khum*), which elect their mayors through universal suffrage.

The Civil Service

The civil service is exceptionally important because it assim-

lates into government service an increasing number of educated Cambodians who otherwise might have shown a tendency to oppose the government, and it provides the skills essential to the operation of this highly centralized state.

In 1946, when Cambodia became an autonomous monarchy within the French Union, it was estimated that there were no more than 150 Cambodians capable of assuming responsibility in the government. Some, particularly at high levels, were trained in France, but the majority were trained on the job. As the country moved toward independence, administrative jobs were transferred from the French or their Vietnamese assistants to the Cambodians. In the higher levels of government, appointments were made by the King and his immediate entourage, a right which fell to the Democrat Party when it came to power. Most civil servants who were unsympathetic toward the governing party were replaced, and there was a consequent lowering of administrative standards.

In the past, government jobs were considered rewards for loyalty or service and sinecures from which the officeholder was expected to extract the maximum in benefits to supplement his modest salary. This situation is being corrected through the Purification Committee, under the personal direction of Prince Sihanouk, and the People's Tribunal; both of these bodies investigate and expose cases of misuse of office.

In 1967 the government announced the closing of the 11-year-old Royal School of Administration because the regular educational system was supplying a reservoir of educated persons to compete through open examinations for the civil service posts.

THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES

The Constitution provides for a bicameral national legislature. The lower house, which is the principal legislative body, is called the National Assembly. The upper house, whose function is primarily advisory, is called the Council of the Kingdom. In 1958 the National Congress—the forum of the Sangkum—was empowered by Constitutional amendment to recommend legislation. Provincial Assemblies were created in 1955, and although they were suspended in 1959 the constitutional statutes providing for their existence remain.

The National Assembly

Legislative power is granted to the National Assembly, the only fully elective national legislative body. All citizens, 20 years of age or more, except those who have been deprived of their civic rights, who are serving in the armed forces or who are Buddhist monks, are eligible to vote for its deputies. Candidates must be Cambodian citizens, have attained the age of 25 and be

qualified voters. Members are elected for 4 years, but seats vacant because of death, resignation or expulsion may be filled by off year elections.

Deputies are considered representatives of the whole nation and not only of the constituency from which elected. There is no restriction as to residence in the province from which elected, but a candidate cannot be a government employee while seeking the office of deputy.

The deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity and the privilege of freedom from investigation, prosecution or arrest for the opinions or votes expressed by them in the execution of their office. The removal of a deputy may be requested by the Chief of State or the Council of Ministers, however, or a deputy may be accused of criminal acts. In either case the National Assembly rules on the question, but further action toward trial or removal depends on confirmation by the Council of the Kingdom. Deputies may also be tried before the People's Tribunal.

The National Assembly is vested with all lawmaking power. Its bills must be sent to the Council of the Kingdom for approval, but it may override any objections of the Council by a majority vote. Its right to initiate legislation is shared with the Chief of State, the Council of the Kingdom and the Council of Ministers.

The National Assembly votes on the national budget and the administrative account. Under the Constitution it consulted the Provincial Assemblies on these economic matters until the Assemblies were dissolved in 1959. The National Assembly has no authority to discuss funds set aside for the exclusive use of the Chief of State.

The National Assembly meets at least twice a year, each time for a minimum of 3 months. The Chief of State issues the call for meetings and may either address the Assembly or communicate with it by messages or through his ministers. The ministers have the right to be heard on their own recognizance. Debates in the Assembly are public and are subsequently published in the *Journal Officiel du Cambodge*, the official organ of the government. Secret sessions, although legal, are rare.

The Chief of State has the right to dissolve the Assembly upon the advice of the Council of Ministers. It is automatically dissolved if it votes against the government twice within 18 months; new elections then must be held within 2 months. In practice, members of the National Assembly have tended to avoid making decisions; in effect, this gives their powers to the Council of Ministers.

The Council of the Kingdom

The upper house of the national legislature, the Council of the Kingdom, is convened and sits at the same time as the National Assembly. It is composed of elected and appointed members, 24 in all, who serve 4-year terms. All members must be at least 40 years of age. Two are chosen from the Royal Family and appointed by the Chief of State; two are elected by the National Assembly but may not be members of that body; seven are chosen by the Provincial Assemblies of the 14 provinces administered by the Ministry of the Interior; one is chosen from the municipality of Phnom Penh; eight members are elected by the various professions, trades, industries and agricultural workers; and four are elected from the civil service.

The powers of the Council are mostly advisory, but it may initiate legislation. It must study and review proposed legislation and may suggest changes, though only the National Assembly can vote laws into existence. Since its members are considered elder statesmen and some are members of the Royal Family, their opinions command respect and their influence on the Chief of State may be great.

The National Congress

The National Congress was created in 1955 as the forum of the Sangkum. As the Sangkum eliminated the other political parties, the National Congress became a national political institution, and it was made a constitutional body through an amendment passed in 1958 (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics).

The National Congress is an expression of direct democracy that is limited to questions of national interest. Any citizen may attend and vote; the Sangkum statutes provide a formula for choosing delegates. The Congress may discuss and recommend, and although it does not have expressly implied power, its voice is almost law as the repository of popular will.

The Congress meets twice a year, under the leadership of the Supreme Councilor of the Sangkum and the Chief of State, Prince Sihanouk. The 15-man Central Committee of the Sangkum receives copies of all questions to be discussed and presents them to the Supreme Councilor who determines the order of business. Prince Sihanouk delivers an opening statement and presides over all meetings of the Congress. The Congress determines, by a hand vote, the resolutions it wishes submitted to the National Assembly.

The National Congress is a consultative body, which by its nature cannot deal with complex problems. Nevertheless, it provides the people with a direct voice in matters of immediate concern and permits them to be directly informed about national

affairs. In December 1966 the Congress dealt with the misuse of office functions, wages, the teaching of French in the schools and the creation of the shadow Cabinet. During the July 1967 session the Congress discussed the repair of riverbanks, the digging of canals and the creation of a scientific research institute.

The Provincial Assemblies

In the 1955 election campaign the Sangkum was elected on a platform of granting to the people greater participation in government. As a result, the Constitution was amended to provide for elected Provincial Assemblies to meet twice annually in 3-month sessions. The powers of the Provincial Assemblies, as stated in the Constitution, are to vote on the provincial, municipal or village budgets, to approve the administrative accounts, to determine the rate of taxation and to be consulted on the national budget.

The Assemblies, created in 1955, were dissolved in 1959 on the direction of Prince Sihanouk and by the vote of the National Congress and the National Assembly. It was felt that the Assemblies had interfered in an irresponsible manner with the work of the provincial and local governments. The provisions for the Assemblies remain in the Constitution, but their activities were still suspended in 1967. Consequently, their constitutional functions in acting on the budgets and of electing eight members of the Council of the Kingdom remain unfulfilled.

THE JUDICIARY

Under the French protectorate the administration of law was divided between French courts and the Cambodian judicial system. Cambodians who perpetrated crimes against fellow citizens or who committed other violations of Cambodian law were tried by Cambodian courts. Cambodians—and all foreigners—who violated French laws or committed crimes against non-Cambodian nationals were tried by French courts under French law.

After full independence was achieved, the French courts were abolished, and all foreign nationals were brought within the jurisdiction of the Cambodian courts. Extraterritoriality had been particularly annoying to the Cambodians because the Chinese, Vietnamese and Indian inhabitants of Cambodia—as well as the Europeans—had enjoyed almost complete immunity from Cambodian law.

The Court System

At the lowest level there are local courts (*sala lahouk*) which are presided over by conciliatory justices who may have jurisdiction over a group of villages, a municipality or, in some cases, one or more districts (*strok*). In a few places, where the popula-

tion is sparsely distributed, the district chief (*chavaysrok*) simultaneously handles the duties of the conciliatory justice. In Phnom Penh the Chief of the Municipal Police presides over the local court. The authority of the local court is very limited and in many ways is comparable to that of the United States justice of the peace. The presiding official may impose only small fines and brief prison sentences, and even these may be appealed to higher authority. He also acts as sheriff. He makes inquiries and searches and effects seizures and arrests for higher authority if the accused is located within his jurisdiction (see ch. 25, Public Order and Safety).

At the next higher level are the provincial tribunals of the first instance (*sala dambaung*), presided over by three magistrates appointed by the national government. The magistrates have jurisdiction over all criminal and civil cases. In 1962 a six-man jury system was introduced into these courts.

Serious crimes are referred to a criminal court (*sala okret*) for trial. In 1962 the number of such courts was increased from one in Phnom Penh to eight, which are distributed throughout the country. Three magistrates and six jurymen judge cases brought before this court.

The court of appeals (*sala outor*) has appeal jurisdiction in civil cases. The court of review (*sala vinichhay*) is, in effect, the supreme court for all criminal and civil action. Its authority is particularly important when judgments are contested on charges of procedural error. The court examines the facts and determines whether or not the statutes have been properly adhered to.

The Constitution provides for the High Council of Magistracy to guarantee the discipline and independence of the judges in conformity with the law. It is essentially a disciplinary court, dealing especially with offenses of members of the court system. The Council, presided over by the Chief of State, is composed of the Minister of Justice, two members appointed by the Chief of State, two members elected by the National Assembly and two members elected by the magistrates.

In the case of crimes affecting the security of the state, the accused—even a civilian—may be tried by specially constituted military tribunals.

The People's Tribunal

In 1963, at the sixteenth National Congress, Prince Sihanouk proposed the creation of the People's Tribunal to replace the High Court of Justice which had proved ineffective in dealing with corrupt officials. The National Congress approved this suggestion, and it became law after approval by the National Assem-

bly in January 1964. The law was written into the Constitution as Articles 110, 111 and 112.

The People's Tribunal has a president and two vice presidents, selected by the National Assembly from a list approved by the Chief of State. These three men, who must be lawyers, direct and assist the popularly elected assessors, who may be laymen. The 40 assessors are elected by universal suffrage from the provinces and the independent municipalities of Phnom Penh, Kep and Sihanoukville. The provinces of Oddar Meanchey and Preah Vihear and the municipality of Bokor are not represented. Each province submits a list of no less than 5 or more than 20 names to the Council of Ministers. The list is compiled by mayors and local authorities and consists of individuals with reputations for honesty. The Council of Ministers selects three from each list, and the people then elect two of the three by popular vote.

The People's Tribunal is brought into action by the Council of Ministers, a majority vote of the National Assembly or a majority vote of the assessors themselves. In a complex case the assessors may form a commission of instruction of four to six members. The Tribunal may judge all persons without distinction, and ministers may be held penally responsible for their work. Formerly, the ministers were held responsible to the High Court of Justice.

CHAPTER 14

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Political power was largely exercised in 1967 by Prince Norodom Sihanouk or, when held by others, usually derived from him. He was Chief of State, a position granting him all rights allowed the King under the Constitution. He was also Supreme Councilor of his party, the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum, usually referred to as Sangkum), to which all persons who wish to participate in political life should belong. He was also President of the Council of Ministers, or chief executive, and President of the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK), which organizes and leads the nation's young people. His strength was further legitimized by his former position as King, a factor which, combined with his paternal rule, made him an object of reverence.

From 1947 through 1955 political parties competed for power in periodic elections, but the situation was altered by the gradual consolidation of power by Prince Sihanouk, first as King and, after 1955, as Supreme Councilor of the Sangkum. He overwhelmed his opponents, obtained for his adherents the primary political offices and concurrently won the reverence and allegiance of the majority of citizens.

Such exclusive political control finds its origins in the country's long history of absolute monarchy, which was only slightly altered by short periods of foreign domination. The contemporary pattern of periodic elections and representative government is supported by a majority of the citizens. Its principal opponents are a small group of younger, French-educated citizens who feel that more democracy should be permitted. Lacking any base of power and split by internal rivalries, they represent little threat to the system as it existed through 1967.

POLITICAL STABILITY

Prince Sihanouk, who represents the connecting link between traditional and modernizing forces, is the dominant element in the political dynamics of the country. He seeks to preserve the monarchy and the Buddhist values of the nation, but he also rigorously favors a program emphasizing education and state

enterprise. Thus, he preserves the position and belief of the traditional leadership while actively pursuing goals also sought by the members of the young elite who have had a Western-type of education.

In 1966 two focal points of opposition to the Prince's policies emerged in the National Assembly: a pro-Communist China leftist group and a moderate group that believes in a stricter adherence to neutralism. The conflict resulted in a number of Cabinet changes under the direction of the Prince who, through 1967, successfully balanced the opposing forces in the party and the government.

There is little opposition to the government from outside the political sphere. No economic group is sufficiently organized to oppose the Prince. Theravada Buddhism, the state religion, is practiced by approximately 85 percent of the people and has not been a source of conflict. The ethnic minorities are in no position to challenge the government, and the Vietnamese and Chinese, though influential in the economic field, are denied citizenship.

Each of the three basic social classes supports the Prince. The upper class, which consists of the Royal Family, the related aristocracy and the highest ranking officials in governmental, religious and military institutions, derives its power through prestige, wealth and, sometimes, education. The middle class, comprised of teachers, civil servants, politicians, professionals and military officers, is loyal to the Sangkum. The positions of this class, in fact, may depend upon this loyalty, but other than those active in politics most have no strong political orientation. The farmers and unskilled laborers who comprise approximately 80 percent of the population and make up the lower class strongly support their national leader and former king. Their source of public information is controlled by the government, and the countryside is sufficiently rich to satisfy their basic needs.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Nationalism became a strong force only after World War II because Cambodians realized that the French protectorate had safeguarded their independence from two powerful neighbors and the French had respected Khmer traditions. Nationalism, first articulated by the Buddhist monks, was abetted by the political instability that occurred during World War II.

The groundwork for the independence struggle and the political disputes which occurred between 1946 and 1955 was laid in 1945 when the Japanese were forced to relinquish control over Cambodia. Son Ngoc Thanh, an anti-French nationalist who was installed as prime minister by the Japanese, was determined that Cambodia should be independent at the end of the war. Conse-

quently, just before the Japanese capitulation, he arrested all the pro-French ministers in the Cabinet and asked King Sihanouk to proclaim independence, which he did. Within months the French returned, arrested and deported Son Ngoc Thanh and attempted to resume their prewar administration.

In 1946 the French granted Cambodia internal autonomy within the French Union. From then until 1955 domestic political issues were largely concerned with the differences of opinion between the followers of Son Ngoc Thanh who demanded immediate independence and King Sihanouk who, supported by the Royal Family and the traditional leadership in the country, chose a policy of gradual evolution toward independence through negotiation. The militant nationalists formed the Democrat Party to function within the legal political framework, but they also maintained contact in the northern provinces with a group of rebel bands known as the Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia). Both looked to the exiled Son Ngoc Thanh for leadership.

Also in 1946 King Sihanouk promulgated an electoral law for the convening of a consultative assembly to consider a constitution to be presented by him and his advisers. Delegates to the Assembly were selected in the first national election, won by the Democrats who gained 50 of the 69 seats. The ratified Constitution represented a compromise between the Democrats, who advocated a government run by a popularly elected legislature, and the king and the royal family, who wanted to retain many of the powers of the monarchy. Legislative power was given to an elected legislature, but this power was checked by an advisory upper body and a requirement which empowered the King to approve the Council of Ministers, the executive branch of the government (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

In 1947 the first elections to the legislature were held, and the Democrats gained 55 of the 75 seats. They repeated their victory in the 1951 elections and won 54 of the 78 seats. Victory was deceptive, however, because the Democrats, who should have been able to achieve their legislative goals, accomplished little.

The Democrat Party was composed of a young French-educated elite that was supported by the civil servants, rising middle-class townspeople, bureaucrats and teachers and part of the Buddhist clergy. They struggled more for personal power than to represent any particular constituency. Factionalism and the exploitation of the functions of their office for personal gain rendered them ineffective. Twenty-two Cabinets fell between 1947 and 1953.

Faced with an inept legislature, increased activity by the Khmer Issarak and invasion by the Viet Minh (an illegal Vietnamese group), King Sihanouk dissolved the National Assembly, placed the operation of government in the hands of trusted ad-

visers and left for France in March 1953 on a mission to negotiate independence. By November he had succeeded, and at the 1954 Geneva Conference his ministers obtained an agreement calling for the withdrawal of the Viet Minh. By 1955 the Khmer Issarak had been reduced to impotence.

In 1955 King Sihanouk called for a national referendum to approve or disapprove of his period of government since 1953. A 99.8-percent affirmative vote confirmed his popularity. Fearing a return to anarchy in the party, he decided to abdicate, form his own political party and enter politics. The Sangkum, designed as a political movement without party affiliation, was formed.

THE SANGKUM

Entry into the political system meant membership in Prince Sihanouk's political movement—the Sangkum. Its first members were high officials and colleagues of the Prince in the independence struggles, dissident Democrats and, after the 1955 election, most of the civil servants. The majority of the population joined, expressing their confidence in the leadership of the Prince. Initially, the Democrat leaders did not join, but on seeing their power eroded away they became members, and by 1957 their party was no longer a political force.

The Sangkum has served as the principal political instrument of Prince Sihanouk. Its name has become practically synonymous with that of the country, making opposition to the movement equivalent to opposition to the nation. It operates outside the framework of the Constitution, yet it upholds democratic ideals. Political differences are tolerated, but only within the Party. Prince Sihanouk has permitted his critics to assume positions of importance within the party and the government if they have proven capabilities.

The Sangkum is looked upon by the Prince as the embodiment of the will of the "little people" as well as their guide and initiator into national life. He makes a great effort to explain his policies to the people and tries to stimulate their feelings of loyalty to the nation. Decisions are made at the highest level of government, but a unique institution, the National Congress, permits all citizens to present their views to the country's leaders and have them voted upon (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

The stayed objectives of the Sangkum are to unify the country, to instill patriotism and loyalty to the Khmer tradition, to inspire opposition toward injustice, bribery and corruption, to develop a regard for the little people and to maintain loyalty to the monarchy or Buddhism—both considered essential for the achievement of the party's goals.

The Sangkum is organized into the Central Committee, Units,

the Provincial Congress and the National Congress. The Central Committee is composed of 16 members: the Supreme Councilor, Prince Sihanouk, whose role is to lead the movement and maintain cohesion; the secretary general, who serves as chief administrator; and 14 councilors.

Units are organized on the provincial, district, town and village level. Theoretically, Unit officers are elected each year, but this provision has seldom been followed. Provincial governors and government officials usually serve as Unit chiefs. Under the Unit chief is an elected committee director and bureau.

The Provincial Congress, whose delegates are members of the provincial Units, meets three times a year to discuss the orientation of the Units and to confirm candidates for election to office in the Sangkum. The National Congress, which is open to all citizens, meets twice a year to raise questions of domestic policy. Its status has been confirmed by the Constitution, and it is now considered a national legislative body (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

To become a member of the Sangkum an individual cannot belong to another political party or have been deprived of any of his civic rights. He must agree to work to achieve the goals of the movement and be disciplined and devoted to the people. In 1967 over 2 million persons were members, and nearly a million more belonged to the JSRK, a youth group affiliated with the Sangkum.

THE ROYAL KHMER SOCIALIST YOUTH

The Sangkum created the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère—JSRK) in 1957 to channel the energies of Cambodian youth into constructive national projects and to develop a sense of duty and national social solidarity. The JSRK teaches independence, neutrality, nationalism and loyalty to the throne, and its principal activities include sports, paramilitary and civic action training and social welfare projects. Legally, it has no political power, but a membership comprising virtually all the nation's youth and many of the younger working people makes it an important national force.

The JSRK is established by government statute and sponsored by Queen Kossamak, the Prince's mother. Its president, Prince Sihanouk, determines policy with 10 other officers. Financial control is exercised by the Council of Ministers. A committee director, assisted by a general commissariat, constitutes the executive organ. The committee director is required to attend all meetings and participate in all decisions. Each JSRK branch is organized into a team, group, company and sector.

POLITICAL COMPETITION, 1955-67

Since 1955 the Sangkum has won all the seats in the National Assembly and controlled every political office in the country. Ministers of state and students must participate in work projects; the armed forces and the JSRK are engaged in social welfare and public works; mass literacy programs have been inaugurated; and the citizens are allowed to participate directly in their government through the National Congress. These programs are strongly supported by the majority of the people and have contributed to national stability.

Discontent has come primarily from within the government itself; 20 governments fell between 1955 and 1966. Contributing problems were personal and class rivalries, competition for positions in the Prince's entourage and lack of a dominant personality in the National Assembly. The basic issue, however, has increasingly become foreign policy.

The principal points of dispute within the government are based upon differing positions of foreign policy, which have led to the formation of opposing groups at the highest levels of government. One of the Prince's principal efforts has been to reduce the area of disagreement between these groups and to eliminate any power they have because he feels that national unity is essential for the preservation of the nation's neutrality and independence. In his view loyalty to the nation means loyalty to his policy of neutralism, and anyone who deviates too far from it weakens the country.

The two poles of dissenting opinion on foreign policy are identified by Prince Sihanouk as the Blues and the Reds. The Blues are a moderate group, which is skeptical of Communist China and favors a strict adherence to neutralism. The Prince criticizes this group, which includes some top-ranking military officers and government officials, whenever he feels they assert themselves too much.

The Reds are radical leftist socialists who are pro-Communist China. Most are young and French-educated and maintain close ties with the farming community. Members of the Faculty of Law and Economics at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the Association G n rales des Etudiants Khmers and some delegates to the National Assembly share these views. The most influential person of the radical left is Chau Seng, who in 1967 was rector of the Buddhist University, secretary of the JSRK, secretary of the Sangkum, president of one of the major state enterprises and editor of various government periodicals as well as his own newspaper.

The conflict between the Blues and the Reds was fought openly after the 1966 elections, in which competition within the Sang-

kum was permitted. The new National Assembly, the most conservative elected by the Sangkum, selected Lon Nol, long-term Minister of National Defense and Chief of Staff of the Royal Army, as President of the Council of Ministers. The new Cabinet, although approved by Prince Sihanouk, was considered by him to be too conservative, so he agreed, on the urging of Chau Seng and the other leftists, to create a shadow Cabinet which would serve as an ideological critic of the government. This accomplishment did not satisfy the leftists who feared the attitudes and influence of the Lon Nol government.

In the spring of 1967 a rebellion broke out in Battambang Province, and Lon Nol was persuaded to resign. Prince Sihanouk implicated five leftists in the rebellion and then appointed two of them, including Chau Seng, to an emergency Cabinet which he formed. Six months later he dismissed the two men for their strong support of Communist China. He then threatened to resign and turn over the government to the armed forces, which he said would turn to the West for help. Outside observers considered the threat to be a tactic to keep the government balanced.

CHAPTER 15

FOREIGN RELATIONS

In 1967 Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who is responsible for foreign policy and implements foreign relations, continued his announced policy of neutralism and independence which was originally adopted in 1954.

The Prince's interpretation of these principles was manifested in 1967 by his continuing relations with Communist China (formally recognized by Cambodia in 1958), despite his allegations of Peking-instigated subversion in Cambodia, while making little effort to restore relations with the United States. Moreover, the Cambodian Government not only recognized and exchanged ambassadors with Communist North Vietnam but also recognized the so-called "National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam," the political arm of the Viet Cong, the Communist military force in South Vietnam, as the "legitimate government" of South Vietnam.

The Prince maintained that his government's foreign policy was justified by political conditions in the whole of Southeast Asia. He said that he viewed three factors as basic determinants—Cambodia's military weakness in relation to other nations; the presence of nations, which he considered unfriendly, on his country's borders; and his conviction that Communist China would become the future dominant power in Southeast Asia. Since the most important of the nations he considered unfriendly were South Vietnam and Thailand, a fourth factor was an even more important determinant—opposition to the military presence of the United States in the area. He openly expressed support for the military activities of the Viet Cong and North Vietnam.

Prince Sihanouk maintained that the basic goal of foreign policy and foreign relations was the survival of his country as an independent nation, and the consistent efforts of Cambodian diplomacy were directed toward obtaining international legal guarantees of neutrality. The policy of neutralism, adopted in 1954, continues to be espoused by Sihanouk as the means for safeguarding Cambodia's independence and non-involvement in the Vietnam conflict. By 1967 he had set aside his quest for formal inter-

national guarantees of the legal status of neutrality and sought to obtain recognition of Cambodia's borders from all nations.

At the end of 1967, however, the neighboring nations had not given Prince Sihanouk the satisfaction he desired. The Soviet Union, Communist China, North Vietnam, North Korea, the so-called political "Front" of the Viet Cong Communists in South Vietnam, France and a few African and other Asian nations announced that they would respect his country's territorial integrity. The government of South Vietnam, the United States and the countries joining it in resisting aggression in South Vietnam, with the exception of the Philippines and Australia, did not grant such guarantees.

THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

The conduct of foreign relations is the formal responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1967 the minister of foreign affairs, Norodom Phurissara, assumed increasing prominence because he made frequent trips to visit other foreign ministers, particularly in the Communist nations. However, Prince Sihanouk remained the major source of policy, and at times his personal relations with leaders of other nations have assumed major importance.

Cambodian neutralism, designed to permit satisfactory relations with foreign powers without involvement in their conflicts, became the central theme of foreign policy in 1954. In the 1960's it was coupled with the quest for the status in international law of national neutrality in the hope it would provide a deterrent to being drawn into the Vietnam War.

In 1953 and 1954 Cambodia unsuccessfully sought guarantees from France and the United States that they would come to its defense in case of aggression. Membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was precluded under the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The agreement stipulated that the states of Indochina would not maintain foreign military alliances. Subsequently, Cambodia was included under a protocol of the SEATO treaty that afforded a degree of collective security, and in 1955 a military assistance program was signed with the United States.

In late 1954 a major reorientation of policy occurred after a visit to Phnom Penh by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, at that time the leading exponent of neutralism. In December 1954 Cambodia first announced its policy of neutralism, and Prince Sihanouk later acknowledged his indebtedness to the opinions of Prime Minister Nehru. Aid agreements with France

and the United States were continued, however, and the SEATO protocol remained in effect.

Neutralism became more pronounced after the 1955 Bandung Conference, at which Communist China and North Vietnam were represented by their foreign ministers. Chou En-lai personally persuaded the Prince that Communist China was willing to pursue a policy of peace and friendship, and the North Vietnamese foreign minister, Pham Van Dong, pledged respect for Cambodia's independence and sovereignty.

These assurances led to Cambodia's adherence to the Panch Shila, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which had been agreed upon the year before by Communist China, India and Burma. The Five Principles were: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The Panch Shila was referred to consistently as the basis of Cambodian-Communist Chinese relations between 1955 and 1967.

In 1957 the National Congress, at the Prince's suggestion, voted to have neutrality written into the Constitution as law. The text states that:

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a neutral country. It abstains from any military or ideological alliance with foreign countries. It will not undertake aggression against any foreign country.

Although the text was not, in fact, written into the Constitution, the principles it embodies are frequently cited as the basis of foreign policy.

In 1959 the conflict in South Vietnam and Laos intensified until the presumed neutrality of Laos seemed questionable to Prince Sihanouk. He viewed the possibility of the alliance of Laos with a Communist nation as a threat to Cambodian neutralism; he feared most the conquest of South Vietnam and the creation of a unified Communist Vietnam on Cambodia's borders.

The Prince sought support for a new Geneva conference to guarantee the neutrality of Laos. The parties involved believed they could achieve their respective goals without a conference, but they finally went to the conference table. The Geneva Conference on Laos, which negotiated intermittently in 1961 and 1962, finally agreed to neutralize Laos; North Vietnam violated this agreement within a few months.

The Prince believed that the situation would remain threatening unless Cambodian neutrality was formally recognized by major foreign powers as well as by neighboring states. A letter was sent to the Geneva participants requesting the recognition of boundaries and the guarantee of Cambodian neutrality and

territorial integrity, but it was impossible to obtain unanimous agreement (see ch. 2, Physical Environment).

In 1963 the Prince again attempted unsuccessfully to initiate a conference. After 1964 a Communist Chinese-inspired provision, agreed to by Cambodia, that the government in Saigon could not represent South Vietnam at any conference to discuss Indochinese problems, blocked hopes for a new conference.

In July 1967 Prince Sihanouk announced that he would "freeze" diplomatic relations with all nations that did not recognize his nation's borders by September. This did not denote a break in diplomatic relations but a Cambodian withdrawal of its diplomatic personnel from countries that did not comply. The Prince has stated that recognition is a useful indicator of nations which want to pursue friendly relations with Cambodia and those which do not.

The Communist countries, France, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Cuba, Indonesia, Burma and the United Arab Republic recognized the borders. The United States and its allies in South Vietnam, South Korea and Thailand (except the Philippines and Australia) did not recognize the borders. West Germany and Japan satisfied Cambodian demands by recognizing nonaggression at the border. The split between those who recognized the borders and those who did not followed closely those who opposed United States involvement in Vietnam and those who did not, and the result was to align Cambodia more closely with the Communist nations.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

North Vietnam

In 1967 Cambodia formally granted de jure recognition to North Vietnam, and the two countries exchanged ambassadors. In the mid-1960's relations with Communist North Vietnam had been characterized more by friendly gestures than by substantive acts. North Vietnam repeatedly expressed peaceful intentions toward Cambodia; formal greetings were sent on special occasions; and sports teams were exchanged. In 1967 a token present of rice was sent to Hanoi, and the Cambodian press commented favorably.

National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam

The evolution of the Vietnam War transformed the so-called National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, the political arm of the Viet Cong, from a military threat into a diplomatic ally. In 1960 Prince Sihanouk expressed concern about the Viet Cong and sent troops to the border to prevent incursions into Cambodian territory. He did not deal with the "Front" until he

was notified by North Vietnam in 1964 that any discussion concerning the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border would have to be held with the "Front."

In 1965 Cambodia invited the "Front" to send representatives to the Indochinese People's Conference, designed to gain support for a plan to neutralize Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. The "Front," supported by North Vietnam and Communist China, prevailed upon Prince Sihanouk to refrain from presenting his plan.

In 1966 Cambodian and "Front" representatives met to negotiate a border settlement, but no agreement was reached because the "Front" refused to meet Cambodian demands, to ensure governmental representation of the 500,000 Khmer in South Vietnam or to recognize the Paris Accords of 1954.

In June 1967, after a similar act by the Soviet Union, the "Front" recognized Cambodia's borders and declared respect for its territorial integrity. Immediately thereafter, Cambodia raised the "Front" mission in Phnom Penh to the "official" level.

Official friendliness with the "Front" existed in November 1967, but in fact an unpublicized competition was being conducted along the mountainous part of the border to gain the loyalty of the Khmer Loeu and the mountain tribesmen. The mountain peoples, led by the Rhade ethnic group, had created an autonomous national movement called the Front for the Relief of the Oppressed Races (Front Unifié pour la Libération des Races Opprimées—FULRO). Its loyalty was sought by Cambodia, and it was also a target of the propaganda of the Viet Cong "Front," which had created a High Plateau Autonomy Movement Committee avowedly to set up an autonomous minority zone in the South Vietnamese highlands.

South Vietnam

Cambodia's relations with South Vietnam have been affected by longstanding and deep-seated ethnic and cultural differences and a history of competition for the lands of the Mekong Delta. The Vietnamese are of Sino-Malay origin and are indebted to China for their ancient culture, whereas the Cambodians are Mon-Khmer and have a cultural tradition heavily influenced by India and Theravada Buddhism. The two peoples fought for control of the Mekong Delta from the fifteenth century until the late nineteenth century, when the French assumed control of the area (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Since 1954 the traditional distrust between the two peoples has manifested itself in disputes over navigation rights on the Mekong, Vietnamese blocking of funds claimed by Cambodia, rival claims to offshore islands, the alleged implication of a Viet-

namese official in a plot to overthrow the Cambodian Government and what the Cambodians called violations of its borders.

Diplomatic relations were broken by Cambodia in 1963 over alleged border violations by the South Vietnamese and alleged repression of the Buddhists and the Khmer in South Vietnam. Economic relations have never been broken, however, and Cambodians used the Mekong River for transportation. In November 1967, however, the South Vietnamese Government required river traffic bound for Phnom Penh to go in convoys.

Thailand

Thai-Cambodian relations in 1967 were determined by the opposing positions each had taken concerning the struggle in Southeast Asia and the distrust existing between the two countries. Diplomatic relations were broken in 1961 after a name-calling incident between Prince Sihanouk and Premier Sarit Thanarat, which had resulted from Cambodian charges that Thailand had violated Cambodia's borders, intervened in its internal affairs and laid claim to a Cambodian temple located on the Thai-Cambodian border.

The tensions between Cambodia and Thailand are based more on recent occurrences than on traditional enmity. The Japanese cession of Cambodian territory to the Thai during World War II was regarded more as an incident involving the Thai and the French than one in which Cambodians were concerned intimately. Relations were relatively friendly between the end of World War II and independence. Culturally, the Thai were considered kinsmen, and until recently Cambodia's Buddhist monks looked to Thailand for higher Buddhist education.

Laos

In the late 1950's Laos was becoming a battlefield between the Laotian Government and the Communist-supported Pathet Lao. Prince Sihanouk appealed for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference in order to make Laos a neutral buffer state. The Soviet Union and France supported the proposal, and it was accepted by the United States in 1961. The conference, which Prince Sihanouk initiated, arranged a cease-fire and created a tripartite government to be headed by the neutralist Laotian Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, and to include representatives of the Pathet Lao and right-wing factions. Diplomatic relations between Cambodia and Laos were established, and Prince Sihanouk, who maintained cordial relations with Prince Souvanna Phouma, assured him of Cambodian support for Laotian neutrality.

By 1967, however, the Pathet Lao leader, Prince Souphanouvong, and Prince Sihanouk exchanged letters of congratulation on their respective anti-imperialist stands, and the Cambodian press

adopted an unfavorable attitude toward the neutralist government of Prince Sihanouk Phouma. Cambodian-Laotian diplomatic relations were lowered from ambassadorial to chargé d'affaires level.

OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES

Communist China

Communist China, recognized in 1958, often has been referred to by Prince Sihanouk as Cambodia's "number one friend." It has provided a large amount of economic aid, and each year since 1963 Cambodia has been one of China's sponsors for admission to the United Nations. In September 1967 Chinese Communist activities in Cambodia brought a sharp reaction from Prince Sihanouk, but by November relations appeared to have been restored despite persistent suspicions.

Between 1953 and 1955 Cambodia, seeking alignment with the West, made no attempt to establish diplomatic relations with Communist China. Cambodian fears of Communist Chinese intentions were eased at a dinner given by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai for Prince Sihanouk during the 1955 Bandung Conference, at which the Communist Chinese Foreign Minister stated that his country had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Cambodia. The good relations established between Chou En-lai and the Prince were important factors in the maintenance of friendship between the two nations from 1955 through 1967.

In 1956 Prince Sihanouk visited Peking, where he publicly renounced SEATO's protection of Cambodia. He returned with praise for Communist China's achievements and with the draft of an economic assistance treaty. He clearly indicated, however, that his country would not benefit from instituting the Chinese Communist example, which he described as being incompatible with Buddhism and giving little importance to human life.

Diplomatic relations were established in 1958, but in 1961 Prince Sihanouk stated that his confidence in Communist China was limited to the same degree that one should limit one's confidence in all powers larger than Cambodia. He stated later that he was aware that if the United States did not maintain its presence in Southeast Asia the Communists would have no more reason to woo him—they would simply swallow him.

Cambodia has sought consistently to attain good relations with Communist China through official statements and treaties. In 1955 both nations accepted the Panch Shila, and the following year a Cambodian-Communist China communique was released requesting all Chinese in Cambodia to respect the nation, abide

by its laws and refrain from political activity. It also reconfirmed the observance of the principle of peaceful coexistence. In 1960 the two nations signed a treaty of friendship and nonaggression, and in 1967 Communist China officially recognized Cambodia's borders.

Events in the fall of 1967 shattered the harmonious relations between the two nations. Chinese students in Cambodia displayed Maoist badges and publicly shouted Maoist slogans, and Sihanouk denounced a statement from Peking to the disbanded Sino-Cambodian Friendship Association as evidence of subversive intent. Prince Sihanouk threatened to resign and turn his government over to the army which, he said, would turn to the West for help. He also recalled his diplomatic mission from Communist China on the grounds that foreign personnel were not safe in Peking and stated that he would not tolerate activities which would split the nation.

Communist Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a personal note of apology, promised that the events would not recur and reiterated his nation's adherence to the Panch Shila with regard to Cambodia. In November 1967 the diplomatic mission was still in Peking, but the Prince discontinued his statements of warm regard for China and instead issued warnings against all powers which tried to interfere in Cambodia's internal affairs.

India

Indian cultural influence, nationalism and neutralism are common bonds underlying the friendly relations with Cambodia. India recognized Cambodia immediately after independence, and an exchange of visits between the heads of state in the subsequent 18 months influenced the Prince in the development of his policy of neutralism. In 1955 a joint statement cited the historical and cultural affinity between the two nations and proclaimed their support of the Panch Shila and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Relations were strained by Communist China's military penetration of India's frontier in 1962. Prince Sihanouk avoided taking sides in the dispute, and at the Colombo Conference, called to stop the border conflict, he played an active role in shaping the decision of the Conference to issue a mildly worded communique that urged both sides to stop fighting and negotiate. Prince Sihanouk visited India in January 1963, but again he did not issue any statement critical of Communist China.

In 1965 Prince Sihanouk, at a dedication ceremony naming a road for Nehru, noted India's respect for democratic principles and the following year sent a gift of 100 tons of rice to counter

the famine there to demonstrate the solidarity between the two nations. In late 1967 relations, although limited, were friendly.

Japan

Hostility to the Japanese presence during World War II was offset by Japan's help for Cambodia's declaration of independence from France. At the 1951 peace conference held in San Francisco, Cambodia protested the imposition of severe conditions on Japan and waived its rights to reparations.

Diplomatic relations were established after independence, and an exchange of visits between the heads of state in 1955 and 1956 led to cultural and economic agreements. Relations in the 1960's were primarily economic. Japan extended the equivalent of \$4.2 million in economic aid between 1959 and 1966 and was one of Cambodia's most important trading partners through 1967 (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations).

Friendly relations were jeopardized in October 1967 when Cambodia threatened to cut off all trade if Japan did not recognize its borders. Japan's premier canceled a proposed visit but stated that his nation would respect Cambodia's borders. Prince Sihanouk replied that he wanted recognition, not just respect, but he accepted a declaration that Japan would recognize non-aggression at the border.

Other Asian Countries

Until 1967 Cambodia's relations with the Philippines were cool because of the participation of the Philippines in SEATO. Prince Sihanouk visited the Philippines in 1956 but reacted adversely to alleged attempts to persuade him to join SEATO. Diplomatic relations were established in 1963, and in 1967 the Philippines recognized Cambodia's borders, which elicited a statement of praise from the Prince.

Burma, like Cambodia, is a Theravada Buddhist nation, an adherent of neutralism and a supporter of the Panch Shila. Relations, although limited, have been uniformly friendly. In August 1967 the Khmer-Chinese Friendship Association criticized Burma, which elicited a pointed response from Prince Sihanouk that it was a friendly nation.

Cambodia's relations with Indonesia have been friendly. Both countries participated in the Bandung Conference; in 1962 a declaration of mutual friendship and support was issued; and in 1967 Indonesia recognized Cambodian borders.

Cambodia maintains cordial relations with Singapore, which was the first nation to recognize Cambodia's borders, and it participated at Phnom Penh in the 1966 Games of the New Emerging Forces, an athletic association created to compete with Western associations.

Diplomatic relations with North Korea were established in 1964. The action was accompanied by a joint proposal for economic cooperation and criticism by both countries of United States involvement in Indochina. North Korea was one of the first nations to recognize Cambodia's borders, and Cambodia subsequently stated its support for North Korea's proposal to reunify Korea.

South Korea broke consular relations with Cambodia in 1966.

THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Cambodia established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1956 and subsequently recognized the Communist nations of Europe. Prince Sihanouk's relations with these countries have consistently improved since that date. In 1967 approximately half of the Cambodian students abroad studied in these countries; trade was increasing; and economic and military aid was received from them.

Soviet-Cambodian relations have improved despite Soviet-Communist Chinese differences. The Soviet Union was the first nation to respond to Prince Sihanouk's June 1967 plea for border recognition; this prompted the Prince to deliver a speech calling the Soviet Union and France the best friends of Cambodia. During the Communist Chinese-Cambodian dispute in the fall of 1967, Prince Sihanouk suggested that if Communist China's aid were cut off he would have to turn to the Soviet Union and France for more help.

THE UNITED STATES

Cambodian-United States relations, which began in a spirit of cooperation, have become strained. Cambodia unilaterally renounced United States military and economic aid in November 1963, and broke diplomatic relations with the United States in May 1965. In late 1967 the United States, Thailand and South Vietnam were cooperating in resisting Communist aggression, whereas Cambodia was pursuing a policy of accommodation to the Communists. Moreover, the failure of the United States to recognize Cambodia's borders in 1967 and its charges that Cambodia was used as a sanctuary for Viet Cong troops intensified the differences of opinion.

Charge and countercharge, however, have not completely alienated the two. Communist Chinese interference in internal affairs in late 1967 prompted the Prince to state that if the unfriendly activity were continued he would be forced to take action which would result in asking the United States for assistance. Prince Sihanouk stated that if the United States would recognize his country's borders he would send an ambassador to Washington immediately.

AUSTRALIA

Cambodian-Australian relations reached their zenith in the spring of 1967 when Prime Minister Harold Holt, after a week's visit in Cambodia, expressed his admiration for the nation and his understanding of its foreign policy position. Six months later a threatened break in relations occurred over the failure of Australia to issue a border declaration acceptable to Sihanouk, plus an incident in which the Australian foreign minister protested a letter from Prince Sihanouk to an Australian student organization sympathizing with the Viet Cong. Cambodia recalled its Ambassador at Canberra in November 1967.

FRANCE

France has maintained excellent relations with Cambodia. French rule in Cambodia was not oppressive, and during the period of the protectorate as well as after independence the French showed their admiration for Khmer culture and contributed to its study and preservation. French education, long the key to social and political advancement, remains important; French culture is admired; and the support of the newly independent nations by President Charles de Gaulle strengthens the close feelings between the two nations.

France materially assists Cambodia, and similarities in policy with regard to Southeast Asia provide moral support. It provided Cambodia with a military mission after independence and helped fill the gap left by the discontinuance of United States economic aid in 1963. A French mission of approximately 400 men continued in 1967 to provide military assistance and training and was the only foreign military mission in the country. In 1966 a visit by President de Gaulle and his addresses were enthusiastically received.

OTHER NATIONS

Diplomatic relations with Great Britain deteriorated during the 1960's because its government did not accept Prince Sihanouk's demand that it guarantee Cambodia's neutrality. In November 1967 Prince Sihanouk declared that he would "freeze" diplomatic relations with Great Britain if border recognition were not granted by the end of January 1968.

West Germany, which established diplomatic relations with Cambodia in November 1967, is its sixth most important trading partner.

Diplomatic relations are maintained with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

In the fall of 1967 Senegal, Mauritania and Guinea recognized Cambodia's borders and proposed an exchange of ambassadors.

The president of Mauritania visited Cambodia in November 1967, and Prince Sihanouk accepted an invitation to return the visit.

Diplomatic relations are maintained with the United Arab Republic, which recognized Cambodia's borders in 1967.

In 1967 the visit of the Israeli foreign minister was welcomed as an example of Cambodian neutrality, and Israel recognized Cambodia's borders.

Cuba signed a trade agreement with Cambodia in 1962 and recognized its borders and sent an ambassador in 1967. In 1966 the First Tri-Continental Congress, held in Cuba, declared its support of Cambodian neutrality.

MULTINATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Cambodia was admitted to the United Nations in 1955 under a compromise 16-nation package agreement accepted by the Soviet Union and the United States. It is a member of most of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and of the International Red Cross Society. It is a participant in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development, which seeks to arrange more favorable trading terms between the developing countries and the industrialized nations.

Attitudes toward regional organizations are principally determined by security considerations. In 1965, after 6 years of attempted negotiations had failed to obtain international guarantees of neutrality, Cambodia proposed an eight-point program for peace in Asia. The points were: Asia should unite to eliminate all imperialist forces in the area; powerful Asian powers should not differentiate between small and large states; force should not be used to solve border problems; Asian leaders should hold periodic conferences; an Organization of Asian Nations should be created; only nonindigenous governments would be denied membership; disputes would be settled in the International Court of Justice; and an Organization of Asian Nations police force should be created. The proposal failed to elicit a response from other Asian nations.

By November 1967 membership in regional organizations (Asian Solidarity Association and the Association of Southeast Asia Nations) had been rejected on the grounds that they were Western inspired. The Mekong River project in Cambodia had come to a standstill because of differences between the four riparian members of the Mekong Coordination Committee, and membership in the Asian Development Bank was withdrawn in October 1967. At that time the Prince stated that his nation did not care to participate in regional organizations.

CHAPTER 16

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The principal exponent of the direct dissemination of information is Prince Sihanouk, and his views are shared, with some reservations, by the political elite. The government leaders believe they need to give their views to the people if they are to achieve their goals of unity, neutrality and development.

An effort was constantly made in 1967, through personal appearances and the mass media, to present government policy to the people and to convince them of its correctness. There were 13 daily newspapers and 1 radio station, which was government owned and an important source of news information. A function of the communications channels was to explain government programs and policies, and the effect created between the Cambodian people and their leaders a marked similarity of views.

Unity of opinion is strengthened by the character of the communications network. Radio, television and the Khmer Press Agency (Agence Khmère de Presse—AKP), the national news agency, are operated by the Ministry of Information. Most directors of the privately owned Khmer- and French-language newspapers are government officials or have previously held high-level government positions. All publications must be officially licensed, and films are censored. Only the Communist press dared question Prince Nordon Sihanouk; it was subsequently closed.

The generally accepted range of opinion has well-defined limits. Foreign policy in regard to Cambodia's relationships with particular countries or organizations is sometimes questioned, but never the policy of neutrality.

Two other factors affect the information made available to the Cambodian: the influence of the French and the Vietnam war. French citizens hold influential positions on newspapers and periodicals, in the Ministry of Information and as advisers to Prince Sihanouk. Most releases from foreign news services that are used are those of Agence France-Presse, and its reporting of the Vietnam War often serves to strengthen the pro-Liberation Front, anti-United States position of the Cambodian Government (see ch. 15, Foreign Relations). This view is reinforced by Radio Peking and Radio Hanoi, which beam over 4 hours

daily of anti-United States propaganda into Cambodia. The Vietnam War is extensively reported, but entirely from the point of view of opposition to United States involvement.

COMMUNICATIONS PATTERNS

Under the French protectorate public education was extremely limited; newspapers were rare; and few people owned radios. Since independence, education and public information have developed. The government has spent almost 25 percent of its yearly budget for education and foresees that illiteracy, estimated at almost 69 percent in 1958, will be eliminated by 1968. Newspaper circulation has tripled; television has been introduced; and radio, now found in almost every home, has become an important opinion maker.

In 1967 the voice of Prince Sihanouk and his printed dissertations were heard or read through all communications media. His speeches sometimes take up as much as one-third of daily broadcast time, and his activities receive front page coverage in all newspapers. As the highest authority of the people, he is listened to with reverence and belief.

In spite of such innovations as radio, however, word-of-mouth communication—once the principal method of informing and persuading—continues to play an important role. The monks are the interpreters of the news, and for the rural worker information may be of no consequence until it has been explained by the revered ecclesiastic whose advice is constantly sought. The traditional pattern of religious instruction for all boys serves to establish the influence of the monks in later life since close personal ties tend to be formed during this period.

The temple, as the focal point of community activity, is a key point in the transmission of information. People gather there to read the bulletin boards, books and newspapers and to converse with the monks. It thus serves as a link between the community and the nation, just as it serves as a bridge between the community and the world of the spirit.

Information is easily carried from one community to another by visiting government officials, schoolteachers, truckdrivers, boatmen and drivers of pedicabs. Cambodians move freely within the country, aided by extensive waterways and an expanding road network.

The Chinese restaurants and sidewalk cafes in the cities are popular spots for casual conversation. Most villages have a Chinese-operated store which, equipped with a few stools and a table or two, is also a restaurant and a center where information is exchanged. Every village has its market, which is ideal for the

exchange of information. The upper strata of society meet and talk at their sports clubs.

Cambodians like to be reasoned with and to hear discussions. Before accepting a particular action or idea, they want to be convinced that it is to their advantage and in line with their basic philosophy and religion. Moral correctness, in terms of Buddhist standards, is extremely important and constitutes a strong, unifying force.

Cambodians relish information but tend to be suspicious of propaganda. Their confidence can be gained by strict honesty about facts and about limitations of knowledge, but not by a pretense of knowledge. If a proverb is cited inaptly, for instance, a Cambodian will categorize the speaker or writer as pretentious and unqualified.

The subtlety and consequent flexibility of the Cambodian language is such that there may be a dozen ways of expressing a particular thought, and the Cambodian chooses his words according to his judgment of the social status of those addressed. Context and knowledge of the personality of the speaker provide clues to the listener in his perception of the intended meaning. Allusions to symbols and legends that are commonly known by Cambodians also enrich the hidden understanding. Prince Sihanouk often refers to legends and uses allegories in his speeches.

Communications between people of one status and those of another are often a matter of nuances to be interpreted by both the speaker and the listener. Cambodians talk frankly and openly only within their particular social stratum. In discussions with people of superior status they are affable but discreet (see ch. 5, *Ethnic Groups and Languages*).

GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

Prince Sihanouk's Role

Prince Sihanouk takes his message to the people wherever and whenever possible. He travels constantly, often visiting remote villages and towns by helicopter, by automobile and on foot. His royal background, his campaign for independence and unity, his demonstrated interest in the people and his infectious enthusiasm make him the nation's most effective originator and medium of information.

Basically, he stresses the continued identity and independence of the country and its neutrality in foreign affairs. Corollary ideas are loyalty to the nation, the government, the throne and the religion of the country.

Government Agencies

Public opinion is largely molded through the personal guidance

of Prince Sihanouk with the support of his ministers and the agencies of his national movement, the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum) (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics).

The Ministry of the Interior, which controls the internal government and administration of the country and, except in time of war, the national and provincial police forces, informs and influences opinion. Government laws and decrees are principally transmitted and applied through its agents. The Ministry of Religion, now a part of the Ministry of the Interior, reaches a large segment of the population through the medium of the Buddhist monks.

The Ministry of National Defense, which administers five frontier provinces, and the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts, through the school system, influence important segments of the population through their authority and policies. Since 1962 the Ministry of National Defense has assumed responsibility for sports, an increasingly popular activity.

The Ministry of Information is officially responsible for publicizing government programs and policies. Information halls in every provincial capital are generally maintained by local employees of the Ministry. In the smaller towns and villages this effort is normally limited to a billboard, located near the town-hall, on which posters and official communications are posted by the mayor.

Government Publications

The government issues various official publications and influences all nongovernmental publishing. There is no official censorship, but every publication, whether or not printed in the country, must be licensed by the Ministry of Information. The Ministry may withdraw such a license at will, and there is little chance of appeal (see table 6).

The *Journal Officiel du Cambodge*, issued in both French and Khmer editions, is the official organ of the government. All laws, decrees and other official government acts are published in it.

Foremost among the other social publications is the *Agence Khmère de Presse*, the daily 60-page mimeographed press bulletin of the AKP, the official Cambodian news agency. It was created as an autonomous corporation to be operated by the Ministry of Information. The AKP distributes 5,000 words in French each day to eight newspapers and to the government-owned radio and television stations. It has exchange agreements with the TASS (Soviet Union), TanYug (Yugoslavia), New China News Agency (Communist China) and ADN (East Germany) news services, and it subscribes to the Reuters (Great Britain) and Agence France-Presse (France) news services.

Table 6. Government-Directed Publications in Cambodia, 1967

Name	Type	Circulation n. a.	Language	Remarks
<i>Journal Officiel du Cambodge</i>	Daily	—do—	French Khmer	Official organ of the government.
<i>Agence Khmère de Presse</i> (Khmer Press Agency)	—do—	2,000	French	Press bulletin of Agence Khmère de Presse, the official news agency. Source of news for most other newspapers.
<i>Contre-Gouvernement</i>	—do—	2,500	French	Represents the position of Prince Sihanouk.
(Countergovernment)	—do—	1,500	Khmer	Published by the Central Committee of Sangkum.*
<i>Neak Chit Niyum</i>	Weekly	8,000	Khmer	Official organ of Sangkum. Published by Sangkum.
(The Nationalist)				
<i>Réalités Cambodgiennes</i>	—do—	4,500	French	Semiofficial journal. A French citizen holds an influential editorial position.
<i>Kambuja</i>	—do—	20,000	French	Directed at foreign readers. Features pictures and general policy statements.
.....	—do—	10,000	English	
<i>Le Sangkum</i>	—do—	5,000	French	An illustrated political review. Written for French consumption.
<i>Phseng-Phseng</i>	—do—	25,000	Khmer	A satirical review. Is extremely popular.

*Sangkum Beastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community). Prince Sihanouk's party.

The *Agence Khmère de Presse* has approximately 2,000 subscribers, mostly members of the diplomatic corps and civil servants. It covers Prince Sihanouk's activities in detail; his speeches, after being edited, are printed as official textbooks. Over 60 items of foreign news appear daily, many related to the Vietnam War and most bearing an AKP byline. Government news is printed almost as straight press releases and includes little or no editorial comment. Public notices and entertainment schedules appear daily, but there is no advertising.

Contre-Gouvernement (Countergovernment) was created in 1966 by Prince Sihanouk to serve as a critic of the newly elected Lon Nol government, which the Prince considered too conservative. It is published by the Central Committee of the Sangkum; its contributors are high-level members of that body and sometimes Prince Sihanouk himself. Its 20 to 30 mimeographed pages are distributed to 4,000 persons, 2,500 of whom receive the French-language version and 1,500 who receive the Khmer-language edition.

Contre-Gouvernement reflects the position of the government at the highest level, Prince Sihanouk. It turned its criticisms to domestic problems and corruption in the government as the Lon Nol government was shifted out of power. In mid-1967, concurrent with the government's lessening of relations with Communist China, one of its editors, a strong pro-Communist China advocate, was removed.

Neak Chit Niyum (The Nationalist), a Khmer-language weekly, is the official organ of the Sangkum. Most articles are written by Sangkum members for the rural-oriented subscribers. A summary of news and of Prince Sihanouk's activities accompanies discussions of agricultural science, crop care and rice production. There are 8,000 paid subscriptions, but more copies are distributed through the local Sangkum headquarters.

Réalités Cambodgiennes, a French-language weekly news magazine, is partially subsidized by the government. It is a semiofficial journal containing policy editorials, news and commentary. The director is a top-level government official, but the supervisor of policy is a French citizen, who is also the AFP correspondent in Phnom Penh. Of its 4,500 subscriptions, 3,000 are from other countries.

Three monthly magazines, all directed by Prince Sihanouk, are published by the government. *Kambuja* and *Le Sangkum*, printed for foreign consumption, are both edited by Chau Seng, the leftist editor of the daily newspaper *La Nouvelle Dépêche*. *Kambuja* is similar to *Life* magazine in size, use of pictures and layout. It contains statements of Cambodian policy and a large number of political cartoons. It is directed at a foreign audience

and emphasizes Cambodia's accomplishments and tourist attractions. Its circulation is 20,000 copies in French and 10,000 in English. *Le Sangkum* is an illustrated political review and features official statements, editorials, news and political cartoons. It is printed in French and has a circulation of 5,000.

Phseng-Phseng, also directed by Prince Sihanouk, is a monthly satirical review that is popular with Cambodians. Its 25,000 subscribers make it the only financially profitable magazine in the country. It is published in Khmer and features caricatures, political cartoons and numerous photographs.

NEWSPAPERS

There are 13 daily newspapers, published in four languages: Khmer, Chinese, Vietnamese and French. All are printed in Phnom Penh, where over half of the 65,000 subscribers are found. There are 27,000 subscribers to the five Khmer-language and 25,200 to the five Chinese-language newspapers. The one Vietnamese-language newspaper has a circulation of 6,000, which equals that of the two French-language newspapers (see table 7).

A 1951 law gave everyone the right to print and publish in Khmer or any other language, if notice were given to the Ministry of Information. Early in 1957 the government passed a law which guaranteed the right to disseminate and defend any idea, political or religious. In practice, newspapers have on occasion been suppressed, but publications suppressed under one name often continue by merely changing to another name.

The five Khmer-language dailies are designed more to entertain than to inform. *Souchivathor* (Civilization) has 11,000 subscriptions, the highest number for any daily in the country. It concentrates on crime, scandal in government and the Vietnam War. *Meatophum* (Motherland) prints four to six pages daily and has a circulation of 7,000. It contains stories, lengthy articles and crime reports. Prince Sihanouk referred to both of these newspapers as "Khmer red" in a 1967 speech.

Souvannuphum (Golden Country) was established in 1964 by a young, experienced editor. Its lively stories concentrate on domestic scandal, which is what the editor says his 2,000 readers prefer. *Soriya* (Morning) is a pro-Chinese Communist newspaper which, at times, has discreetly criticized Prince Sihanouk in its praise of Communist China.

Khmer Eichorii (Khmer Independent), the most influential Khmer-language daily, began publication in 1967. Its editor, Sim Var, is a respected and influential political figure.

The five Chinese-language dailies are oriented toward Communist China. The Chinese press is in a better financial position than the other newspapers because the Chinese merchants ad-

Table 7. Daily Newspapers in Cambodia, 1967

Name	Circulation	Publisher	Remarks
Khmer Language			
<i>Souchavathor</i> (Civilization)	11,000	n. a.*	Concentrates on scandal and Vietnam war. Leftist.
<i>Meatophum</i> (Motherland)	7,000	—do—	Leftist.
<i>Souvannaphum</i> (Golden Country)	2,000	—do—	Concentrates on domestic scandal.
<i>Soriya</i> (Morning)	n. a.	—do—	Pro-Communist China.
<i>Khmer Eichorri</i> (Khmer Independent)	—do—	Sim Var	Anti-Communist China. Advocates some free enterprise. Influential.
Chinese Language			
<i>Mekong Yat Pao</i> (Morning News)	7,200	n. a.	Once pro-Nationalist China.
<i>Cong Thuong Pao</i> (Journal of Trade and Commerce)	6,000	—do—	Most influential Chinese daily. Subsidized by Communist China.
<i>Mien Hao Yat Pao</i> (Khmer-China Daily)	6,000	—do—	Subsidized by Communist China.
<i>Sanh Hao Ou Pao</i> (Life Evening News)	4,500	—do—	Afternoon newspaper.
<i>Kwai Po</i> (Quick News)	3,500	—do—	Afternoon newspaper.
Vietnamese Language			
<i>Trung Lap</i> (The Neutral)	6,000	Du Cam Long	Organ of Vietnamese Communists. Full coverage of local news.
French Language			
<i>La Nouvelle Dépêche</i> (The New Dispatch)	4,000	Chau Seng	Editor is pro-Communist China, anti-United States.
<i>Phnom Penh Presse</i>	2,000	Duoc Rasy	Moderate, independent. Supported Lon Nol government in 1966-67.

*n.a.—not available.

vertise heavily in them. The Chinese also own most of the buses and trucks, and they ensure that their newspapers are distributed throughout the country.

The *Mekong Yat Pao* (Morning News), is the oldest (15 years) and the largest (7,200 circulation) Chinese-language daily.

The *Cong Thuong Pao* (Journal of Trade and Commerce), is an eight-page daily and has 6,000 subscribers. It carries industrial and commercial news and is the most influential of the Chinese dailies. The *Mien Hao Yat Pao* (Khmer-China Daily) has 6,000 subscribers. Both of these newspapers are reportedly subsidized by Communist China.

There are two small afternoon newspapers, *Sanh Hao Ou Pao* (Life Evening News) and *Kwai Po* (Quick News). *Sanh Hao* has a circulation of 4,500; and *Kwai Po*, 3,500.

Trung Lap (The Neutral), founded in 1959, is the only Vietnamese-language newspaper. Its circulation climbed from 4,000 in 1959 to over 6,000 in 1967. It has its own reporters, who cover the major news stories, but the newspaper carries no commentary on domestic events or events in Communist China. Over half of its space is devoted to news of Vietnam. The same staff publishes a weekly, *Trung Lap Chu Nat*, which has a circulation of 2,500.

The two French-language dailies are distributed primarily to the better educated elite who live in the capital. *La Dépêche du Cambodge* was founded in 1957 as a semiofficial organ of the Sangkum. In 1966 Chau Seng, its editor, gained complete control of the newspaper and changed its name to *La Nouvelle Dépêche* (The New Dispatch). The editor's views are reflected in the editorials and news stories, particularly those about Vietnam, which occasionally cover half of the front page. Regular contributors are Prince Sihanouk, the editor of *Contre-Gouvernement* and other influential politicians.

The semiofficial, leftist *La Nouvelle Dépêche* is countered by the moderate, independent *Phnom Penh Presse*. Duoc Rasy, the editor, is an economist of note and the minister of finance and planning. Of the 2,000 copies circulated daily, only 1,200 go to paying subscribers, which indicates heavy subsidization. It reprints political articles from French newspapers and AKP news stories. In 1966 Sim Var, editor of *Khmer Eichorii*, joined Duoc Rasy in an attack on Chau Seng. The war of words became so vituperative that Prince Sihanouk intervened.

A number of newspapers in all languages have shut down since 1960. Three Khmer-language Communist newspapers deserve special mention. *Pracheachon*, the official organ of the Pracheachon party, was closed by the government. *Preah Vihear* and *Damneng Thmei*, both Communist oriented, were closed in

1966 after Prince Sihanouk publicly denounced their editors at a session of the National Congress for implying that the Viet Minh and not Prince Sihanouk had won Cambodian independence. The government will not permit an openly Communist newspaper to operate.

RADIO

The availability of the cheap transistor radio has made the medium an important influence on opinion. There were estimated to be 400,000 receivers in 1967 as compared to 20,000 in 1957. Virtually all village homes and most rural homes have their own sets, which are played at top volume much of the day. Radio is an important source of news and information and serves as a national unifier by broadcasting the speeches of Prince Sihanouk, whose voice occupies up to 25 percent of broadcast time per week.

The one radio station, Khmer National Radio (Radiodiffusion Nationale Khmère—RNK), is operated in Phnom Penh by the Ministry of Information. Its 20-kilowatt mediumwave transmitter and 15- and 50-kilowatt shortwave transmitters, all gifts of Communist China, permit it to broadcast over all of Southeast Asia. RNK provides a domestic service in Khmer, a shortwave international service in French and English and a shortwave experimental service in various Asian languages.

RNK domestic service broadcasts news and music, at 49 and 213 meters, from 6 until 9 a.m., 11 a.m. until 3 p.m. and 4 until 11 p.m. daily. Fifteen to 30 minutes of news, supplies almost exclusively by AKP, are heard every day at 6 a.m., 12 noon, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. Ten minutes of civic education are given daily at 6 p.m. followed by 15 minutes of instruction in Russian or English. At 7:45 p.m. there is a daily 15-minute program entitled, "Our Citizens Answer Our Foreign Detractors." The government limits advertising to 3 percent of broadcast time.

RNK international service broadcasts music and news in French and English, at 61 and 405 meters, from 6:15 to 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. daily. RNK's shortwave experimental station broadcasts, at 31 meters, a few minutes daily in three Chinese dialects, Laotian, Thai, Vietnamese, Hindi and Japanese.

TELEVISION

In 1961, with the aid of Japan, a television station was set up. Experimental service started in 1962 with 6 hours of telecasting a week. There was no live transmission, and there were only 300 sets in the capital. In 1967 there were 7,000 sets receiving approximately 10 hours of local programs a week. The

fact that the programs were of poor quality was recognized by the government.

FILMS

Filmgoing, which is becoming increasingly popular, is largely limited to Phnom Penh. There were 40 theaters, with a combined seating capacity of 24,000 in 1965. Attendance rose from 1.9 million in 1955 to 3.2 million in 1960. Some 800 feature films a year are imported under strict government censorship, mostly from India, the United States, Communist China and France.

Indian films, generally modern representations of old religious legends or swashbuckling adventure stories, are popular. Chinese films, which are well done, invariably carry a propaganda message. United States "Westerns" are liked for their sweep of action and scenery, and American comedies and the Tarzan series are well received.

Outside of Phnom Penh and the provincial capitals, there are few theaters. Nevertheless, mobile projection vehicles enable newsreels and documentaries to reach village audiences. The Ministry of Information produces newsreels and educational films, and the government imports some 700 newsreels and documentaries a year.

The Cambodian film industry, which initially produced entertainment films of the love story and thriller type, is becoming more sophisticated. Prince Sihanouk has produced a number of films portraying the beauties of Cambodia, which have been shown internationally. Seventy-two feature films were produced in 1960.

FOREIGN INFORMATION

France has the only sizable information program in Cambodia, but radio broadcasts can be picked up from all neighboring countries. Magazines and propaganda materials are available despite a currency restriction which permits only magazines printed in France to be imported. Five publications have been specifically banned by the Ministry of Information: *Time*, *Newsweek* and the French *Candide*, *L'Aurore* and *L'Express*.

United States Activities

The United States, which had an extensive United States Information Service and Agency for International Development program before 1963, now limits its activities to its Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts. VOA transmits 1 hour a day of news, music and discussion. State Department policy statements relating to Cambodia are included to keep the record as clear as possible. The Khmer Serei, a group opposed to the policies of the

government, operates a clandestine radio transmitter in Thailand; some Cambodians believe that its activities are supported by the United States.

French Activities

French cultural activities are welcomed, particularly in the capital, where most of the young people live who studied in France. The Alliance Francaise maintains in Phnom Penh a cultural center containing a library, lecture halls and exhibition space. French films are frequently shown at the French Embassy. About 300 French teachers serve in Cambodian schools every year, and French citizens hold influential positions on the staffs of newspapers and in the Ministry of Information. *Paris Match*, which sells 600 copies a week, and the French edition of the *Reader's Digest*, which distributes 550 issues a month, are the largest selling foreign periodicals.

The French approach to influencing Cambodians avoids the attempt to "explain" or "sell" France. The French Information Service often sponsors exhibits of specific interest to Cambodians, such as picture displays concerning special Cambodian ceremonies, religious holidays and royal activities. These seem to be received favorably. French economic aid and trade relations are also emphasized.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Domestic Communist propaganda lost much of its strength after the gaining of independence and the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreement. The national government could no longer be called a French puppet, and the subsequent general elections eliminated the other major line of the Communists, lack of true democracy. Prince Sihanouk's abdication in 1955 and his insistence on a foreign policy based on neutrality and peaceful co-existence further blunted their opposition. In 1967 the Communists attempted to identify themselves with Prince Sihanouk because of his popularity. They attacked his real and imagined opponents under the general theme of "American imperialists and their lackeys" (see ch. 14, Political Dynamics).

The Vietnamese and the Chinese residing in Cambodia are the special targets of Communist propaganda. Pressures may be exerted on them by actions or threats of action against relatives in Communist-controlled North Vietnam and Communist China.

CHAPTER 17

POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Cambodian society is exceptionally homogeneous. The interests and attitudes of the people revolve around Buddhism and the seasonal cycle of planting and harvesting, not national politics, which for them consists largely of reverence for their national leader whom they consider the personification of Khmer civilization. Since independence political awareness has sharply increased as the result of the ritual of voting, literacy programs and government propaganda, but a provincial outlook is still dominant.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk attempts to stimulate and guide the citizens by promoting ideas and activities intended to extend their horizon from the village to the national level. Most Cambodians now think of themselves as citizens of a nation, but their political views are limited to a reflection of the opinions set forth by the government-controlled news media. Basically, they accept the paternal authoritarianism of the Prince and support his programs and policies. Few persons oppose government policy, and their activities are carried out within the framework of the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum).

THE GOVERNMENT

The government has consistently attempted to instill in the people the values of Buddhism, nationalism, neutralism, independence and the monarchy. It believes that Khmer civilization and the nation can best be preserved if the people are imbued with these values and unified behind these goals. The Prince and the government leaders write, speak and work constantly on these themes, which they consider vital and above debate. Freedom of speech, a right guaranteed in the Constitution, is not officially interpreted as to permit questioning such values and concepts.

The Monarchy

The leaders viewed the monarchy as an essential element of the continuity of Khmer civilization and culture and a source of political stability. For the people it retained its status as the protector of Buddhism and personification of the nation. In 1967 Queen Kossamak represented the monarchy, but her son, Prince

Sihanouk, in the eyes of many, retained his former status as king. Regardless of incumbent, the monarchy is retained for its symbolic value as a national unifier.

Buddhism

Buddhism is the most influential factor in the daily lives of the people. Instruction from childhood by Buddhist monks, a period served by most males as monks and the close relationship between family life and the local temple ensure a thorough indoctrination and acceptance of the Buddhist precepts which permeate many facets of daily activity.

Buddhists believe that they live in a reincarnation which is justly imposed upon them as a result of their previous existence. Resistance and struggle are not only wrong but are of no benefit; the deserving will be rewarded in the next life.

The government fosters a dynamic rather than a fatalistic interpretation of Buddhist belief. Officially, the nation is embarked on an attempt to create a community built upon Buddhist socialism. As defined by the Prince, Buddhist socialism means the abolition of suffering through energy, intelligence and far-sightedness. It includes the virtues of compassion and respect for others. By correctly understanding these things the nation will work toward the improvement of the individual's well-being while respecting his rights.

Socialism is not equated with Marxism which has been rejected as a solution for national problems. Prince Sihanouk asserts that Marxist regimes are too harsh and would destroy the joy of life which is a distinguishing element of the country's society. Buddhism teaches that those with authority must develop the sentiments of goodness and compassion, respecting those over whom they rule, thereby gaining merit and also removing the necessity of revolt. Prince Sihanouk interprets this as meaning that he should make every effort to improve the lot of the "little people" in a compassionate manner and that they in turn should respect their leaders.

The Nation

Nationalism is most evident in the loyalty and affection the people demonstrate toward their national leader. He stresses the equality of all citizens and the effort they must make together to build the nation. Civil servants and even Cabinet ministers are required to work 2 weeks each year with villagers in their social welfare projects.

Nationalism is supported by the people's love of the land. A Cambodian believes that permanent separation from his homeland may affect his reincarnation. There is a genuine dread of exile, a form of punishment prohibited by the Constitution.

Independence and Neutralism

No citizen may question the validity of national independence and neutralism. Neutralism is the strategy for the maintenance of independence and noninvolvement in the Vietnam war, and, although the Prince's tactics may often appear less than neutralist, his basic strategy has remained the same. The Prince has often stated that Communist China or the United States could swallow his country but that the strict maintenance of nonalignment has averted this danger. Moreover, neutralism, he believes, permits concentration on domestic problems rather than overinvolvement in external affairs about which little can be done.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

Traditionally, the Cambodians have been responsive to the leadership of their rulers. Prince Sihanouk has fully exploited this loyalty, successfully uniting his countrymen in a program of gradual economic, cultural and political change as well as winning support for his foreign policy. His efforts have been strengthened by incorporating his policies with the traditions and beliefs of the people. Programs are designed to better the nation without challenging its traditions.

The persons who have manifested opposition to the paternal authoritarianism of Prince Sihanouk are those with a higher education. They are not opposed to the Prince's goals, but they believe that more democracy should be allowed, that authority should be more widely distributed and that the opportunity to gain power should be more open. These desires are not represented in the form of any organization, but they indicate that, as the educational level of the population rapidly improves, the Prince's ability to control may diminish.

THE BUDDHIST CLERGY

Members of the Buddhist clergy have great influence in national life. The temple is still the focal point of village activity, and it is important for a villager to be recognized as a good Buddhist in order to be elected to local office. Much of the material support for the Buddhist hierarchy comes from the royal family, and Prince Sihanouk seeks its favor by asking its members to officiate at state ceremonies, participate in the dedication of new buildings in the provinces and interest themselves in education and community welfare projects. The Constitution denies them the right to vote, and their belief has prohibited them from participating in politics.

Most monks see their country as the repository of Buddhist values which must be protected and preserved. They also are foremost in defending Cambodian traditions and customs. They are attempting to accommodate nationalism, industrialization,

scientific inquiry and the objective of progress within the philosophy of Buddhism. Change challenges their position, and there is criticism from some intellectuals who feel that 60,000 to 70,000 unproductive monks are far too many, in purely economic terms, for the rest of the population to support.

FOREIGN MINORITIES

Foreign ethnic minorities look upon the country as a land of economic opportunity and, for the most part, do not consider themselves Cambodian. Their loyalties are either nonexistent or directed toward their native lands. They tend to scorn the Cambodians for their lack of commercial aptitude.

The Chinese

The Chinese are both resented and admired for their economic success and position. Heretofore they have stayed out of politics, avoiding anything that might offend government officials. In general, relations between the Chinese and Cambodians have been amicable, and they have respected each other's traditions. The Chinese are regarded as good marriage partners, and intermarriage is frequent.

In 1954 the government, which previously had sought to exclude the Chinese from citizenship, passed a law making eligible for citizenship anyone who had one Cambodian parent. Meanwhile, the government policy of strictly limiting Chinese immigration continued. The combination of these two policies has reduced the percentage of Chinese citizens in Cambodia from 10.8 percent in 1949 to 6.5 percent in 1966 (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Approximately 90 percent of the merchants, who constitute an economic middle class, are Chinese. They have become Sino-Cambodian in attitude and have contributed to Chinese schools and hospitals; in recent years they have become more involved in national affairs. A number of important government officials are of Chinese extraction, and many more became state employees after the nationalization of the export-import and credit institutions which they previously had monopolized. The nine richest men in Cambodia are of Chinese origin.

The Chinese admire Communist China, but they would not like to live there. The younger Chinese may feel more affinity for Communist China than for Nationalist China because of the Cambodian Government's established relations with Peking and the illegal teaching of the principles of Mao Tse-tung and other forms of propaganda in Chinese schools. In 1967 the government cracked down upon Maoist agitation and activities in the schools and greatly curtailed the propaganda activities of the Chinese

Embassy in order to prevent a Burma-type eruption of Maoist violence in Cambodia.

The Vietnamese

The Vietnamese are generally disliked. Prince Sihanouk has written that, although Cambodians and Chinese can intermarry and become Sino-Cambodian, unions of this nature between Cambodians and Vietnamese are improbable. Prejudice, occasionally involving racial conflict, has been demonstrated in the past, and in 1963 the National Congress voted to refuse naturalization to the Vietnamese on the principle that they were unassimilable (see ch. 5, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

ETHNIC MINORITIES

The Khmer Loeu (upper Khmer) are being assimilated into the national culture through a civic action program. There is growing indication of conflict between them and the Khmer, despite the generally tolerant nature of both peoples. The lowland Khmer tend to look down upon the Khmer Loeu; the term "phong," used to describe these tribal peoples, means "slaves."

The Cham-Malays, a cohesive Moslem minority numbering 73,000 in 1963, have always demonstrated loyalty to the nation. Their supreme chief is appointed by the Chief of State and is considered equal in rank to members of the royal court. In the early 1950's they were the objects of an intensive Viet Minh propaganda campaign which was completely unsuccessful.

OTHER NATIONALS

Most Cambodians have extremely vague ideas about other countries, except neighboring ones, and about the world in general. Their attitude toward world politics was expressed by Prince Sihanouk when he recommended that Cambodian policy toward the Big Powers be that of an ant standing aside while the elephants fight.

Cambodians hold great esteem for France. The French are admired for their culture and for a foreign policy which has made France the champion of small nations. Intellectuals believe that French intervention saved Cambodia from being seized by Thailand or Vietnam and that the French took the first important steps toward bringing Cambodia abreast of contemporary thought and action. Some of Prince Sihanouk's closest advisers are French. There is also residual esteem for India as the source of many local customs, the homeland of Buddhism and a holy place.

The attitude of the government toward the Asian nations and peoples depends on its current foreign policy considerations. More basically, the Vietnamese are distrusted because part of present-

day Vietnam includes territory which formerly belonged to the Khmer empire. The Thai, Laotians and Burmese are considered similar on the basis of a common adherence to Theravada Buddhism.

Americans were little known until after World War II when they maintained a number of missions in the country. Personal relations at that time were often friendly, but since the break in diplomatic relations they have often been the object of criticism by the Prince.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

The royal palace signifies the religious center of the world and the pivot of the universe. The city of Phnom Penh is considered to be a microcosm, and at his coronation the King makes a "cosmic procession" by going in turn toward the "four cardinal points," wearing the costume and crown of each particular point as he does so.

The seven-storied parasol over the Kings's throne symbolizes his power and represents the stages of the world around the central pivot. According to legend the parasol is inhabited by a powerful spirit who wisely counsels the King. The Sacred Sword (Preah Khan) is revered as the safeguard of the kingdom.

The national flag has a wide horizontal band of red with narrower bands of blue at the top and bottom. A white representation of the Angkor Wat is shown on the red band.

The national anthem is titled "Nokareach," a combination of two words that mean country and reign.

May Heaven protect our King
And give him happiness and glory;
May he reign over our hearts and our destinies.
He who—heir to the builder Monarchs—
Governs the proud and old Kingdom.

The temples sleep in the forest
Recalling the grandeur of the Moha Nokar.
The Khmer race is as eternal as the rocks.
Let us have confidence in the faith of Kampuchea
The Empire which defies the years.

Songs rise in the pagodas
To the glory of the holy Buddhist faith.
Let us be faithful to the creed of our ancestors
So that Heaven may reward us
Of the old Khmer country of the Moha Nokar.

SECTION III. ECONOMIC

CHAPTER 18

CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

Like the society it serves, the economy is fundamentally agrarian. Producing units, whether in farming, fishing, forestry or industry, are for the most part small, and both goods and services are habitually acquired by barter. The preponderant agricultural sector comprises an export component of two staple cash crops, rice and rubber, superimposed upon an extensive subsistence base, including handicraft industry, which is only slowly succumbing to the process of monetization.

Prime factors controlling the structure and the year to year performance of this economy are climate and topography. The whole country lies within the zone of the monsoon and embraces the broad, moderately contoured river basin of the Mekong and its tributaries, including the Tonle Sap. This subtropical environment, combined with the comparatively low population density of even the flat central savannas which are best for ricegrowing, ensures general self-sufficiency in foodstuffs at the cost of relatively small inputs of labor or fertilizer.

Although half the total land surface is covered by virgin tropical hardwood, another quarter is under cultivation, and over 80 percent of this arable acreage is devoted to rice, the people's chief staple. In the purchase of tillage requirements and in the sale of surplus rice, state-sponsored cooperatives and other governmental agencies have begun to emancipate the rural operator from middlemen speculators and village usurers.

Corn covers the second largest crop acreage and provides the second largest contribution to food supply. In addition, not only is it fed to livestock, it is also exported. For both crops, small owner-farmed holdings remain the characteristic unit of production; 60 percent of these holdings occupy under 2 acres apiece. Large stands of timber, too, are freely exploited by local residents. In rubber, on the other hand, the large French-managed estates have preserved their preeminence, and sizable land concessions

have accompanied the introduction of coconut, hemp, silk, cotton, oilseeds, beans, tobacco, tea, pineapple and sugar palm.

Vagaries of the weather, especially failure of the monsoon, and related aberrant behavior of the Mekong-Tonle Sap floodwater constantly threaten the agricultural basis of the economy, but since the demographic pressure upon the cultivated acreage is very light, an adverse turn of events in one season is likely to engender, not a famine, but a shortfall in the exportable surplus of rice. Though such a shortfall is the lesser catastrophe, it does have the wider consequence of deterioration in the national balance of payments.

Lacking a good supply of internally generated capital and, therefore, relying heavily upon the foreign exchange earned on world markets by export staples, Cambodia has suffered since World War II both from weather abnormalities and from the fall of rubber export prices and the rise of industrial import prices. In addition, an almost total absence of fossil fuels and of metalliferous minerals is only partly compensated by potentially large resources of waterpower and by some good deposits of basic materials essential in construction.

Governmental policy since independence has sought to strengthen the agricultural base through modernization and crop diversification and, at the same time, to diminish the dependence on foreign sources for manufactured products which can be produced domestically. Under the guidance of the Chief of State, efforts on many fronts have given flexibility and growth to the economy. These efforts have been seconded by considerable foreign support, financial and technical, both from the West and from the Communist world.

The main effort of national planning—to build up the economic infrastructure—has been impeded by administrative difficulties, but the outcome of the first Five-Year Plan, from 1960 through 1964, appears to have been moderately successful, in terms of industrial plants constructed and initial outputs generated. The 5-year growth in the gross national product from 1959 through 1963 measured at 1967 prices amounted to approximately 22 percent. The constituent increases for the major areas of economic activity were: extractive industries, 16 percent; manufacturing and construction, 35 percent; and services, 23 percent.

Notwithstanding much-advertised training programs, manpower supply at the technical, as distinct from the professional, level remains problematic, for traditional Khmer aversion to manual and blue-collar pursuits has proved difficult to overcome, and managerial talent of top quality is still largely confined to the Chinese and the French. Despite reiterated commitments to

private enterprise in official pronouncements, nationalization of insurance, commercial finance and foreign trade in 1964 greatly enlarged the scope of governmental activity. "Mixed-economy" enterprises, melding private capital with public, have grown considerably. Yet, all in all, state participation in production seems to be grounded in pragmatic rather than in ideological motivation.

Significant evidence of inflation includes a persistent disparity between official and unofficial rates of foreign exchange. Practical self-sufficiency in basic food requirements at the village level, however, more or less immunizes the rural population from the hazards of the monetized part of the economy, and average standards of living have suffered only minimally from the economic strains which the diversion of resources to industrialization imposes.

A second Five-Year Plan, originally scheduled to follow immediately after the first and to run, therefore, from 1965 through 1969, was deferred to 1967-71. There were indications in 1967 that its primary objective would be the further strengthening and diversification of the agricultural sector, rather than further amplification of the other elements of the economy. That way, the process of industrialization could come to depend less and less upon outside assistance. In the early stage of industrialization this policy entails a rate of growth slower than the maximum possible. The pace of economic development is largely controlled by political circumstances, which remain unpredictable.

STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

Before Independence

During the period of the French protectorate there was no general reshaping of the economy. A major contribution to it, however, was the introduction of rubber culture. Other than this, the principal French influence on the economy was the considerable degree of commercial integration with the economies of the other countries forming the Indochinese Union, mainly in monetary, customs and foreign economic affairs (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Through customs controls, emphasis was placed on the export of raw materials to areas in the French zones of influence and on the purchase of consumer goods from French areas of special political and economic interest. Cambodia was developed as a colonial extension of a metropolitan power; its economy was oriented to the growing of primary products; and its business classes, both foreign and indigenous, devoted their energies and talents toward commerce. There was, therefore, no special emphasis on the expansion and diversification of industry.

During this period, however, there was a major change in the composition of the population which continued to have great economic significance. This was the coming of the Vietnamese and, more importantly, of the Chinese. The Vietnamese came largely because of French influence. They came as laborers on the rubber plantations and as administrative and clerical workers in the government; with the growth of their numbers, they also gradually began to play a significant part in the economy as fishermen and operators of small businesses. The Chinese movement into Cambodia, on the other hand, was only one aspect of the nineteenth century mass migration of Chinese into all South-east Asia. Since the Chinese were especially skillful in trade and commerce, the influence of this movement permeated the whole fabric of commercial and industrial life, from international banking and international trade down to the marketplaces in the smallest villages.

The extensive business activities of the Chinese contributed greatly to the commercial objectives of the French and to the advancement of economic growth. During the period of the protectorate, for example, fishing and lumbering concessions were provided for, and, because rather large-scale operations were involved, these concession rights were usually acquired by the Chinese, since only they had accumulated funds of the magnitude required for the exploitation of these resources. Other economic functions performed by the Chinese involved the purchase and collection of rice in the rural areas.

Recent Years

Despite the contributions of the French and the Chinese, Cambodia entered upon independence with an exceedingly underdeveloped economy. The new government was confronted with many factors favoring economic growth and also many which retarded that growth.

Among the natural factors which favored further economic development were an abundance of good, arable cropland, a surplus of agricultural produce for export and an enormous water-power potential. Rural society had developed an equitable distribution of farmland, which excluded any traditional landed aristocracy. The country was already skillfully producing a fairly wide variety of the simpler types of industrial products and enjoyed, in territories under French control, dependable trade outlets for rubber as well as for the rice, corn, peppers, fish, lumber and livestock surpluses (see ch. 20, Industry).

A factor which contributed greatly to the developing economy, but which could not begin to operate before development got

seriously started, was the introduction of a great diversity of consumer and capital goods from both free world and Communist countries under foreign aid programs. Especially significant because of its size was the Commodity Import Program of the United States Government. Under that and similar programs, almost every type of consumer and producer goods, including textiles, paper, machinery, vehicles and parts, chemicals and food products, has entered the country. As Cambodians become familiar with the goods and their uses, it becomes possible, through experimentation and duplication, to advance the timetable of industrial progress.

Offsetting these advantages were the problems of scarcity of funds for capital investment; insufficiently trained personnel to implement government plans; a low per capita income; and inadequate power, transport and communications facilities. Furthermore, there were no significant deposits of coal, iron or petroleum (see ch. 20, Industry).

Private investment capital continues to be in short supply and its rate of accumulation low. The government, therefore, remains the only possible source of funds and entrepreneurship for large projects, including pioneer large-scale manufacture, and the main source of financial assistance to small businessmen, farmers and even corporations.

Some private capital was, and still is, invested in the country, maintaining a link with foreign sources which were dominant in colonial times. Much of it is French, chiefly invested in rubber plantations. Chinese capital, formerly concentrated in industry, fishing and lumber, continues to be important for smaller industrial firms. Industry has, in fact, been by far the largest outlet for Chinese investment funds. In spite of the criticisms of usurious Chinese moneylending to small borrowers, the wages and prices prevailing for Chinese-financed enterprises do not reflect any excessive rate of return.

Taking stock of its position after independence, the government set out to make a systematic plan for an attack on its economic problems. These efforts culminated in the formulation of the Two-Year Plan for 1956 and 1957, which placed emphasis on an expansion of health, education, communications and transport facilities; the building of irrigation and flood-control systems; the development of small private enterprises; and community development.

Of the 3,500 million riel (see Glossary) expenditure planned for the 2-year period, only 2,455 million riels, or 70 percent, were actually spent during that time. Of the amount spent, 1,581 million riels (over 62 percent) came from United States aid, 404 million came from French aid, 62 million from Commu-

nist China, 29 million from the Colombo Plan (see Glossary) countries and 22 million from the Soviet Union. Funds supplied by the Cambodian Government amounted to 407 million riels, or between 16 and 17 percent; of this sum, 238 million came from the Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) and from the National Development Bank (Caisse Nationale d'Équipement—CNE), and the remainder came from the national and municipal budgets (see ch. 24, Financial and Monetary System).

Since the objectives of the Two-Year Plan were not attained in the allotted time, the plan was extended through 1958 and 1959. It continued to depend to an important degree on foreign aid, but more and more reliance was placed on funds of indigenous origin. The 4-year period was a transition between complete financial dependence upon France and the financial autonomy of an independent state.

At the outset of 1960 development entered upon a more elaborate stage, with the inauguration of a Five-Year Plan. The closer relationship which it achieved between planned objectives and actual achievement reflected the experience gained under the Two-Year Plan. On the other hand, official concern with irregularities and the postponement of the second Five-Year Plan showed that there were bottlenecks and shortfalls.

The prime objective of the first Five-Year Plan was an annual enlargement of the gross national product amounting to 3 percent per capita, or an aggregate of 4 billion riels over the entire 5-year period, assuming a population growth rate of 2 percent per annum and starting from a 1959 gross national product of 15.2 billion riels at current prices. A capital to output ratio of 3 to 1 was adopted, requiring a total capital outlay on the order of 12 billion riels, two-thirds of which would be financed from budgetary resources and foreign aid, the remainder from the private sector.

Actually, the population grew at least one-tenth faster than the projected flat rate of 2 percent—between 2.2 and 2.6 percent. The gross national product increase therefore looked better in the aggregate than from the per capita standpoint: between 1959 and 1964, the annual average rate of growth of gross national product appears to have been about 5 percent on an aggregate basis, but only between 2.5 and 2.8 percent on the per capita basis.

Included in the governmental quota of 8 billion riels for investment were foreign aid funds of 2.5 billion riels, which were expected to decline from about 650 million riels in 1960 to about 350 million riels in 1964. The fraction of budgeted costs finally

obtained from domestic resources, however, was about 74 percent instead of the projected 69 percent.

The contrasts between planned government expenditures and actual outlays in major economic activities, under the first Five-Year Plan, showed the difficulty of controlling the outcome of any complicated and protracted economic undertaking. Production—including agriculture, industry and mining—absorbed only 35 percent of eventual outlays, against 40 percent originally planned. Infrastructure took 33 percent, against 28 percent planned. Social overhead, such as expenditure on education, public health and general welfare, received 22 percent, against 24½ percent planned, and administration absorbed 10 percent, against 7½ percent planned.

Available data on government expenditures under the Plan could only be imperfectly reflected in national income accounts for the period during which the Plan was current (see table 8). Nevertheless, the manufacturing sector appears to be growing considerably while the much larger primary sector (agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mining) is shrinking, and within the manufacturing sector the more basic (infrastructural) component is growing faster than the output of salable industrial commodities. Overall stability within the service sector, construed comprehensively to include not only transport, commerce and miscellaneous services but also administrative and financial activity, masks an incipient expansion of services at the apparent expense of manufacturing. Each of these tendencies would be appropriate in an early stage of economic development.

Table 8. Composition of National Produce of Cambodia—Industry Groups as Percentages of Annual Totals at Current Prices, 1959-63

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Extractive industries	43.7	45.7	44.6	41.1	41.5
Secondary industries	15.9	15.3	15.1	17.4	17.6
All services*	40.4	39.0	40.3	41.5	40.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Including administrative and financial institutions, along with service industries proper.

Since agriculture, including forestry and fisheries, constituted the mainstay of the economy, an organized national effort was made to increase and diversify the supply of basic industrial raw materials drawn from it. This involved the use of improved seed varieties, cultural practices and marketing methods; control of water through irrigation and flood-control works; and development of new land not yet in agricultural use. All of the activities were being carried on with the technical assistance of agricultural specialists and other professionals from the staffs of the Ministries of Agriculture and National Education and Fine Arts and from various foreign countries (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

A serious difficulty of industrial significance was the absence of known deposits of coal, iron and petroleum. Exploratory surveys were undertaken in this field during the existence of the Five-Year Plan, without result. A start has therefore been made with the planned exploitation of the country's enormous water-power potential.

MEKONG RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT

The development of the resources of the Mekong Basin could be a major contribution to long-range economic growth. The project was initiated by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in 1951. To remedy the almost complete lack of detailed basic data regarding the characteristics of the river and its tributaries in relation to the economy of the basin as a whole, the Committee for Investigation of the Lower Mekong was established in Bangkok under ECAFE auspices, and a preliminary report was submitted.

Ten years after the appointment of the Committee for Investigation, however, financial contributions from a variety of sources, public and private, amounted to no more than 80 or 90 million riels—sufficient to cover the costs of preparatory ground-work, such as geological and soil surveys, mineral searches, hydrographic investigations and aerial site photography.

The breadth and magnitude of the proposed undertakings and their potential contributions to the economy are difficult to comprehend. Electric power potential alone is estimated at over 20 million kilowatts from the proposed 10 mainstream projects and 39 tributary projects. Equally important for the economy of the four riparian countries (Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam) will be the availability of water for irrigation.

The first tangible results are not expected to derive from the mainstream projects, however, for some years, and obviously the success of the plan calls for cooperation of the highest order among the countries involved.

CHAPTER 19

AGRICULTURE

The country is fortunate in the nature and extent of its agricultural resources, including woodlands and fisheries. In 1967 only about 5 million of the more than 15 million cultivable acres were actually cultivated, reflecting a relatively light pressure of population upon the food supply and also a comparatively low level of farming efficiency. Agriculture is, nevertheless, the mainstay of the nation's economy, and at least 80 percent of the male population is engaged in it. The fact that they turn out only about 38 or 40 percent of the gross national product again reflects the conditions of general underpopulation and low productivity per worker.

Agricultural soils are very fertile; the climate is suited to the intensive growing of a wide and widening range of crops, vegetables and fruits; the lakes and streams breed fish in profusion; and the forests are rich in valuable timber. The bulk of the agricultural output is produced in four regions: the Mekong-Bassac-Tonle Sap river confluence area; the southeastern dry field district; the redlands, lying immediately to the north of this district; and the western wet-field region.

In terms of acreage planted, the principal crops were rice, corn, rubber, beans, green vegetables, fruits, peanuts and tobacco. Livestock and fisheries jointly contributed about one-fifth of total agricultural values; the most important livestock were cattle, buffalo, poultry and hogs.

For the most part, these crops are grown on small landholdings tended by independent farmers whose tenure is virtually absolute, and the main outlet for the harvests is the subsistence of the rural household rather than the market. Significant surpluses of rice and corn are usually produced, however, and rice ranks with rubber as a major item of export and, therefore, is a principal contributor to the normally favorable balance of merchandise trade. Rubber is grown on large plantations owned by foreign corporations; the trees are tapped by a wage-earning labor force, formerly Vietnamese but more recently Cambodian. Production is sold in foreign markets that were established during the period of the French protectorate.

Agricultural productivity continues to be generally low, largely because of the lack of modern techniques of cultivation and the prevalence of one-crop systems of land use, especially for rice. The seasonal flooding of the Mekong River, its tributaries and the Tonle Sap, however, together with an abundance of inland and offshore fish, makes an acceptable livelihood relatively easy for the rural family to obtain, even when the southwest monsoon starts late or finishes early.

Government policy recognizes farming as the basis of the national economy, and strenuous efforts have been made to improve productivity in the major foodstuffs, rice and corn, by spreading an understanding of the use of mechanical implements and chemical fertilizers. Several institutes for training specialists, both in crop raising and in animal husbandry, have been set up, and government offices in the provinces have been staffed with agricultural experts. The government has also sponsored and financed a farm cooperative organization for supplying the farmers with farm necessities at reasonable prices and marketing surplus produce without the intervention of middlemen. Modern drainage and irrigation works have also been the responsibility of the government, but it has participated little in the international scheme for developing agricultural and other resources of the Mekong River basin. Finally, to strengthen the country's self-sufficiency in food supply, the government has fostered the development of indigenous sugar planting, both palm and cane, through grants of land and of credit.

LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT

A tropical location, the extent of the lowland "Cambodian saucer" and the seasonal changes of the Mekong River, its confluents and lakes are the fundamental factors governing land use. Countrywide, the growing season exceeds 9 months, and an average annual rainfall of 85 inches normally provides enough water for agriculture. Some 60 to 65 inches, however, are concentrated in the southwest monsoon season between May and October. Flooding, therefore, must be controlled, and the surplus water must be conserved for later irrigation. Most vulnerable to irregularities in the date of arrival or departure of the wet monsoon are the rice, corn, cotton and oleaginous crops.

Well over half of the country is wooded. Two-thirds of this forest land is considered exploitable, but some tracts have already been overexploited. Much of the country, especially in the northern interior, is entirely uninhabited, and no cadastral or systematic land-use surveys have been attempted.

Cultivable acreage is liberally distributed around the shores of the Tonle Sap and along the Mekong between Stung Treng

and the Vietnamese frontier. These are the tracts of densest population; the villages normally comprise from 100 to 300 people. Of the unforested surface the cultivated area represents about 60 percent, and half the remainder is savanna lowland, much of it irrigable. Extension of the tilled acreage is, therefore, a practicable alternative to multiple cropping, which is seldom to be found even in districts where soil and climate would readily permit it.

A less intensive usage, both of land and of labor (by comparison with other countries in the Asian "rice bowl"), is reflected not only in the absence of multiple cropping, but also in the growing importance both of draft livestock and of vegetable and fruit farming. By working an average holding of 1.2 acres (1.48 acres if the urban minority in the population is discounted), the farmer is able to spare some land for the fodder crops required by work animals or for noncereal produce to enrich the family diet or to sell in the town market.

About 80 percent of the male population is engaged in farming, and except for the big rubber and pepper plantations, which utilize wageworkers, the typical unit of agricultural production is the single-family subsistence enterprise, whose participants usually supplement their income by part-time fishing and handicraft work.

Much progress was achieved between 1956 and 1966 in extending the acreage planted to particular crops and in enlarging the output (see table 9). Methods of cultivation for most crops, however, remained primitive until recently, and efforts to improve agricultural productivity under the first Five-Year Plan had not proved notably successful by 1967. Evidently the growth of population, adverse climatic circumstances or both had obstructed any uptrend in productivity which better agricultural techniques—seed selection, selective breeding, disease control, heavier fertilization and mechanical tillage—might have stimulated. Rice yields, expressed in tons per hectare (1 hectare equals 2.471 acres) were 0.974 and 0.984 for 1956 and 1966, respectively. Corresponding corn yields were 1.491 and 1.016 tons per hectare.

Including livestock and fisheries with cultivated crops, the agricultural component of the gross national product during the 1960's has generally ranged between 38 and 40 percent, and of this total the joint contribution of livestock and fisheries has amounted to one-fifth or slightly less; the fisheries values have been more stable than the livestock values.

Notwithstanding their great extent—over half of the whole country—the forests contribute no more than 2 or 3 percent of the gross national product. Rubber plantations contribute about

Table 9. Agricultural Production in Cambodia by Acreage and Output, 1956 and 1966

	Acreage (in thousands of acres)		Output (in thousands of metric tons)	
	1956	1966	1956	1966
Rice	4,840	5,985	1,789	2,376
Corn	175	330	104	186
Rubber	75	146	32	49
Beans	90	117	14	19
Green vegetables	70	106	279	480
Fruit	59	74	190	160
Peanuts	14	60	5.5	24.1
Tobacco	21	48	5.2	10.5
Sesame	12	30	3.2	8
Copra	15	27	2.4	5.6
Kapok	14	24	4	7
Soybeans	24	19	7.5	9.1
Cotton	1	15	0.4	5.1
Cane sugar	7.7	10.6	24	34
Sweet potatoes	5.2	4	17	18
Jute	2.5	3.7	1	1.5
Cassava	1.4	2.7	9	19
Pepper	1.2	1.6	1.2	1.5
Coffee	-----	1.1	-----	.45
Tea	-----	0.088	-----	-----

Source: Adapted from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, *Basic Statistics at of 1st January 1967*, p. 9.

the same percentage, but they are much more important than the timberlands as earners of foreign exchange, accounting for 22 percent of total foreign receipts in 1964.

LAND TENURE

Cultivated land is typically farmer owned; 60 percent of the individual holdings in 1967 were under 2½ acres; and only 2 percent exceeded 25 acres. Farm tenancy is practically unknown. By custom, uncultivated land becomes the property of the farmer who brings it into use, as does previously cultivated land left in prolonged disuse by an absentee. To give ownership a firmer legal status, the Board of Surveys is continuing the land survey begun by the French in the late nineteenth century. A title is registered in favor of an individual farmer on proof of ownership. An incontestable title is particularly important to the rice farmer, who must constantly invest in improvements in order to make efficient use of flood and irrigation water. Under the extensive land reclamation and irrigation development undertaken with foreign help since the late 1950's, it has become even more important to be able to prove ownership to land.

Plantations of cash crops, such as rubber and pepper, where the optimal size of the operating unit is large, are organized on the basis of land granted by the state to corporations. The au-

thorities expect the concessionary principle to prevail in the further development of sugar palm plantations.

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF FARMS

Farms are smallest in the vegetable-growing districts in the vicinity of Phnom Penh and largest in the province of Battambang, where cultivation is by more extensive methods including broadcast planting of rice. The farmer lives as close to his holding as he can, within limits set by seasonal floodwaters. In addition to rice, he raises garden vegetables, fruits and tobacco for his own consumption and perhaps cotton for home spinning and weaving. Upon his own or other accessible ground he also raises enough sugar palms to supply his needs.

Along the streams there are permanent village settlements whose inhabitants combine fishing with the production of food crops for self-subsistence. Scattered groups of seminomadic tribal people, the Khmer Loeu, live by the slash-and-burn technique, or "shifting agriculture," clearing a patch of woodland or savanna, planting and replanting it until its fertility is exhausted and then moving on to repeat the process elsewhere. In addition, the elephant, tiger, panther, leopard, civet cat, boar, buffalo, antelope, monkey and wild ox are hunted.

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

There are four major agricultural regions in the country: the Mekong-Bassac-Tonle Sap river confluence area, the southeastern dry-field district, the redlands and the western wet-field region. Many aspects of agricultural production and practice, including the predominance of rice cultivation, hand technique and barter, are common to the four regions; but there are important variations, based mainly on differences of soil, topography, rainfall pattern, floodwater supply, irrigation development, market distance and ethnic influences. A fifth region, the maritime, is to be developed.

Mekong-Bassac-Tonle Sap River Confluence

Lying chiefly in the province of Kandal, the Mekong-Bassac Tonle Sap river confluence region is perhaps the oldest zone of agricultural usage. Its prime distinctive feature is the annual flooding of ricelands by the seasonal rise of the Mekong. Fluctuation in the volume and timing of monsoon rainfall and the amount of snow and rain in the upper reaches of the Mekong govern the rise and fall of the Mekong. These, in turn, dictate the times of planting and harvesting.

Integral with and immediately behind the riverbanks are natural levees built up through silt deposition on the adjacent flood plain during the seasonal overflow of floodwater. The levees

first appear in the vicinity of Kompong Cham and widen downstream to between 3 and 5 miles. A strip of marshland (*beng*), between 2 and 3 miles wide, lies behind the levees. Beyond this, the ricefields extend for 20 miles or more into the back country, shading into dry uplands that are unsuited to rice cultivation.

In profile, the levees rise steeply from the riverbed, then slope off gradually toward the marshland. Where the levels extend unbroken for long distances, the river must cross their crest before inundating the ricelands beyond. Elsewhere, however, numerous *prek* (openings), some natural, some manmade, afford the necessary access, and as the level of the Mekong falls during the dry season these *prek* lead the water back into the main river channel. Kandal Province alone has more than 100 such channel openings.

Levee lands are characteristically fertile and easy to till and have a high absorptive and retentive capacity for water. In places they have been built up over the centuries to a height above the present reach of the Mekong floodwater. Such localities, not subject to flooding, are among the most densely populated farmlands in the country.

The unique feature of levee land from the standpoint of agricultural utilization is its adaptability to a wide range of crops and cropping practices. Levees in the Phnom Penh area are devoted principally to commercial vegetable gardening to meet the varied and expanding requirements of the capital's cosmopolitan population. Most of the commercial gardeners are either Chinese or Vietnamese. Levee land not planted to vegetable crops is usually given over to field crops, predominantly corn, beans, tobacco, peanuts, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, soybeans, cotton, sesame and castor beans, and sometimes to various fruits.

Levee land above flood level usually produces excellent crops from the summer rains alone. In the flooded levee zone, on the other hand, as the floodwaters recede after the summer rains, freshly fertilized land becomes available for planting. A continual cycle of planting and harvesting, therefore, characterizes these flooded levees until the onset of the next flood season.

The narrow strip of marshland lying behind the levee is usually deeply flooded and is used primarily for raising floating rice. Corn is sometimes grown there before the flooding. Beyond the marshlands stretch the broad ricefields, the source of sustenance for thousands of farm families, which are clustered in villages. Most of the rice here is produced under floodwater conditions; as the farmer depends almost entirely on the flooding and the monsoonal rainfall, he makes no attempt to irrigate.

Southeastern Dry-Field District

The southeastern dry-field district, which mostly coincides with the provinces of Prey Veng and Svay Rieng, has an agricultural landscape that is quite different from that of the neighboring Mekong flood zone. The distinguishing feature is the farmer's dependence on direct rainfall instead of river overflow. Various diking and drainage techniques serve to impound and channel the runoff. The water level is thus controlled more effectively than is possible in the Mekong-Bassac-Tonle Sap river system. Along the western edge of the region, in the immediate vicinity of the Mekong, some flooding does occur.

The Redlands

The redlands, fertile red topsoil of volcanic origin, compose the upland terrain lying immediately to the north of the southeastern dry-field region and centered predominantly in Kompong Cham Province (see ch. 2, Physical Environment). This environment is particularly well suited to the growing of rubber, tobacco, cotton and corn. Of these crops, rubber is the most important, and the rubber plantations are the outstanding feature of the rural landscape.

Western Wet-Field Region

The principal natural feature of the western wet-field region is the Tonle Sap, the lake-filled depression which constitutes the center of the "Cambodian saucer." As the southwest monsoon progresses, the floodwaters of the Mekong get higher and higher and eventually back up into the channel of the Tonle Sap River. This reverses the flow of the river and raises the level of the lake, with the result that 400,000 acres of the surrounding flood plain are inundated. Both upland (dry) and floating rice are cultivable where the floodwaters are not too deep—the upland varieties in the shallowest parts. When they recede, the floodwaters leave behind rich new deposits of alluvial soil, as well as shallow waters teeming with fish (see ch. 2, Physical Environment).

Two bands of settlement ring the Tonle Sap concentrically. One band, clustered at the low-water margin of the lake, comprises professional fishermen who build their homes on high piles or on rafts. The second band, located just above high-water level, includes rice farmers who devote much of their time to fishing during the recession of the floodwaters.

During high waters, the flooded zone spreads out beyond the Tonle Sap flood plain across the surrounding provinces, each of which grows sizable rice crops. Partly because of the influence of the Mongkol Borey River, one of the principal tributaries of

the Tonle Sap, production in Battambang Province is much the largest. When it overflows its banks, the Mongkol Borey floods the contiguous terrain and covers it with fertile silt.

The Battambang area is the largest rice-producing district in the country, and is likely to remain so. Cultivation there is relatively new; the soils are fertile; and large, unused acreages suited to rice remain available. A considerable degree of mechanization has proved feasible because the farms are larger than those commonly found elsewhere in the country.

Maritime Region

The maritime region of the country by 1967 had not achieved the character of a distinctive agricultural area. Potentially, however, it had the capability of becoming one, and the government had begun to develop the prospects. The area consists of the narrow littoral of the province of Koh Kong, broadening somewhat around the Bay of Kompong Som and limited inland by the semicircular mountain barrier of the Elephant Range and the Cardamomes Range. This section of the country climatically is characterized by heavy rainfall, a short dry season and high humidity. Vegetable oil plants, whose demands on soils are not exacting, do unusually well in these climatic conditions. The government appeared in 1967 to be contemplating the reservation of the limited coastal districts for oleaginous crops, such as oil palm and coconut, except for such acreage as might be needed for subsistence rice. Oil palm and coconut provide ingredients used as domestic food supply, as sources of primary industrial materials and as earners of foreign exchange in the international vegetable oil markets.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Rice

The application of scientific methods since World War II has contributed to diversity in the national diet, but rice is still the basic foodstuff. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, both the area planted to rice and the annual harvests have grown considerably, though not uninterruptedly. Area planted reached more than 500,000 acres in 1900 and 1.5 million acres in 1980.

Rice is grown in every province, the level central area of the Mekong River valley and the Tonle Sap being physiographically as well as climatically ideal. Acreage planted and per acre yield, however, are prone to vary. Average yield countrywide, about one-half ton per acre, has advanced little since the beginning of the century and is low in comparison with yields in other countries of the Asian "rice bowl." Year-to-year differences in yields

can be sizable and contribute importantly to the variations of the exportable surplus.

Despite extensive flooding, the 1966-67 harvest exceeded the preceding one by 10 percent, and the average yield per acre increased 13 percent. Reasons for low yield included the primitive methods of cultivation, scanty use of fertilizer and prevalence of plant disease. In 1965 rice exports were valued at 1,985 million riels (see Glossary) and represented 52 percent of the total value of all agricultural exports.

Varieties

Almost all Cambodian rice is the nonglutinous or "wet" type, which is best suited to the subtropical monsoonal lowland environment. Some "dry" rice is grown in the upland country, chiefly under irrigation. About 10 percent of the total crop is "floating" wet rice cultivated on land subject to deep flooding in the marshes behind the levees and on the fringes of the Tonle Sap. Plowing, harrowing and broadcast sowing are done before the flood, and the crop is often harvested by boat if the rice ripens before the flood recedes.

Thousands of rice varieties have resulted from the farmer's practice, pursued over the centuries, of utilizing seed culled from his own previous planting. The milling apparatus, however, cannot be adjusted to great diversity in the size of kernels, and the resulting high percentage of broken kernels weakens Cambodian rice in competition abroad. This problem is serious because rice is the source of almost 50 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. The government is solving the problem by standardizing the varieties planted, and by 1962 improved varieties comprised an estimated 20 percent of the total crop.

Cropping Practices

The agricultural year follows the rhythm of the monsoon and the subsequent rise and fall of the rivers. Plowing, harrowing, sowing and transplanting occupy the months between May and August. Harvesting takes place in the dry season from November through January or February. Both the wet season and the dry season may arrive irregularly, however, and the farmer must alter his timing accordingly. A significant departure from the climatic norm is likely to curtail yield substantially, though not to the point of total loss of crop.

Most rice is grown during the wet season and is planted either by broadcasting before the onset of the monsoon or by transplanting from nursery beds. The growing crop is watered by impounding the day-to-day rainfall or by flooding with river overflow.

Irrigation depends on the nature of the water supply and whether it lies above or below the level of the ricefield. Confluents of the Mekong and the Tonle Sap, as well as much flood-water and day-to-day rainfall, feed by gravity directly into the fields or into storage basins. For lower level water sources, small gasoline-powered pumps have begun to supplant water wheels, hand scoops and buckets. On soil of good water-holding capacity, some of the crop can be left to root, after the flood recedes, to engender another crop during the ensuing dry season.

Rice is threshed by hand-operated machine or by trampling with oxen or buffaloes. Village mills hull the rice to be consumed by the farmer grower—amounting to an average of about 60 percent of the harvest. Any surplus is either sold unhulled to local Chinese buyers as agents of urban merchants or to committees for the local cooperative. By 1965 the cooperatives were expected to market about 10 percent of the rice crop.

Along with the cooperatives, the Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) directly controls the Rice Purchasing, Processing and Reconditioning Service (Service d'Achat de Transformation et de Reconditionnement du Riz—SATRAR), which has the mission of buying rice from the cooperatives, processing it and selling it for export through the National Import-Export Corporation (Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation—SONEXIM).

Corn

Both as a staple foodstuff and in the acreage devoted to it, corn is the second most important crop—as in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Laos. Grown originally in only small quantities as a supplementary food crop, it developed under French promotion as livestock food for export to France. In recent years the output has generally expanded—from 120,000 tons in 1960 to about 175,000 tons in 1964. Per acre yields, however, have been only about three-fourths of a ton. A flinty type of yellow corn is the dominant variety, grown chiefly for export to Japan and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Garden types of sweet corn have begun to displace the white corn which in the past was grown for domestic consumption. Experiments have begun with higher yielding yellow corn.

Corn is grown extensively on levees and, to some extent, on the better drained adjacent lowlands. Another notable corn tract is the redlands around Kompong Cham. Chief producing provinces are Kandal, Kompong Cham and Takeo. Among the Khmer Loeu, on some of the higher plateaus, corn replaces rice as the dietary staple.

Sugar

The indigenous sugar palm, of great historic, aesthetic and economic importance, grows throughout the country but thrives best on rich, well-drained soil. A mature tree yields between 50 and 60 pounds of sugar annually, but collecting and cooking the sap requires much labor from the 40,000 families whose livelihood depends partly on the crop. Trees numbered 1.2 million by 1956, 1.8 million by 1964 and 2.3 million by 1966—60 percent of them belonging to small estates.

The government is attempting to reduce the national sugar deficit by promoting local growth of both palm and cane sugar trees. A state-owned sugar refining plant, located at Kompong Tram in the province of Kompong Speu, which started producing in the spring of 1965, can accommodate the cooked liquids from the 44 palm sugar cooperatives, along with raw cane and beet sugar. The quantity of cooked palm sugar liquids collected by the new factory, however, was insufficient in 1967 to keep it working the year round, and consumption was rising by 10 percent per annum. The refinery, which produced 13,000 tons of refined sugar in 1966 and probably 15,000 tons in 1967, was eventually to become capable of producing 22,000 tons after planned enlargements were effected. The total domestic requirement of refined sugar by 1972, however, was projected in 1967 at 24,000 tons.

It is to be expected, therefore, that the country will continue to depend on foreign sources for cane sugar for some time. In the early 1960's, when some 25,000 to 30,000 tons of refined palm sugar were being produced annually, the cane sugar deficit usually amounted to about 12,000 tons. The government later proposed the introduction of cane sugar on fertile ground in the province of Battambang and also another refinery. A plan being worked out in 1967 would result, by 1975, in the planting of some 8,600 acres of sugarcane concessions, which would yield 9,000 tons of raw cane sugar. This plan presumably would end the reliance on foreign supplies of cane sugar. Although palm sugar output doubled between crop years 1956 and 1966 to 50,000 tons, production difficulties are expected to prevent much further extension of the plantations, and the estimated raw output ceiling is 60,000 tons. Cane sugar could ultimately become an important item of export because of the favorable climatic and soil conditions.

Supplementary Food Crops

Secondary food crops are important contributions to village self-sufficiency and to diversity in diet, as well as to the export trade. They are usually cultivated on a family basis, and they

serve as alternative crops when flood or drought curtails the rice crop. Their volume, therefore, fluctuates considerably from year to year. Cultivated in family garden plots or gathered from the forest are small quantities of tea, coffee, cocoa, cinnamon, mulberry, areca, manioc, banana, mango, citrus fruits and medicinal plants, such as anise, benzoin, cardamom and nux vomica. Three tea gardens were established through governmental promotion between 1964 and 1965, and by 1967 the acreage had expanded from 32 to 53. By 1966 coffee production, mainly from Battambang, Kampot and Kompong Cham Provinces, covered three-quarters of domestic consumption requirements. Oleaginous crops, including soybeans, mung beans, castor beans, sesame, peanuts and coconuts, derive special significance because animal fats are not used in the country. Microclimatologic experiments have yielded encouraging results for avocados, cantaloupes, onions and grapes. Grapes have produced well in small plantings on the brown soils of the province of Battambang, which is rich in limestone and phosphate.

Fiber Crops

Ramie, kapok, kenaf, jute and cotton are the chief textile crops; silk production is an ancient but declining industry, usually carried on within the family. Ramie is grown in small patches along levees and is used for fish netting. Kapok, which flourishes on the levee knolls, especially in the provinces of Kompong Cham and Kandal, is used as insulation and for pillow filler and similar purposes; about one-third is exported. Production has expanded steadily from about 2,500 tons in 1949 to 7,000 tons in 1966. Kenaf production has just started. Jute production, which is a labor-intensive but not a soil-exhausting type of culture, is just beginning, and fiber yield is about 1 ton per 2½ acres. Subsidized by a state agency, Sokjute, to the equivalent of at least 25 percent of the eventual value of the crop, over 4,000 farmers had contracted to plant 17,600 acres of jute in the *srok* (districts) of Mongkol Borei and Battambang by 1967, an average planting of slightly more than 4½ acres. Additional jute is grown in the provinces of Kompong Cham and Kandal. The record of production, however, has been disappointing.

Cotton became an "industrial crop" when textile mills were established under the first Five-Year Plan. It has been cultivated throughout the country, but the main crops are found along the Mekong and Bassac Rivers and in the provinces of Kompong Cham and Battambang. In the red soils of Kompong Cham, however, where annual cropping has brought soil erosion and laterization, cotton has been rapidly losing ground to such tree crops as rubber and banana. No system of crop rotation, which might halt

the retreat of cotton, has yet been devised, and another threat to cotton culture is competition from the soybean, which sometimes affords the farmer a higher income. On the other hand, out of some 15,000 acres of black soil in the Andeuk Hep district of Battambang, over 6,000 acres are well suited to cotton cultivation; here there is potential competition from cane sugar.

Cotton is planted toward the end of the wet season, grown during the dry season and harvested in February and March. In line with the government objective of greater self-sufficiency, cotton acreage was expanded from under 1,100 acres in 1955-56 to over 14,500 acres in 1965-66. There has been no export surplus.

Tobacco

Like jute, tobacco is grown throughout the country, but the best tobacco ground lies along the banks of the Mekong and in the redlands around Kompong Cham. Production—mostly family style and used entirely for domestic consumption—rose from 5,200 tons of leaf tobacco in 1955-56 to 10,500 tons in both 1965-66 and 1966-67. National cigarette output averaged 2,567 million per month in 1963 and 2,435 million in 1964; the proportion of local to imported tobacco climbed from about 7 to 1 in 1963 to about 11 to 1 in 1964.

Rubber

The first Cambodian rubber plantation, established in 1921 on the Chup Plateau, has become the world's largest rubber plantation under single ownership, covering approximately 50,000 acres. In 1967 the country ranked eighth among the world's producers of natural rubber. Rapid expansion increased the rubber acreage from about 75,000 acres in 1952 to 145,000 or 150,000 acres by 1966 and the accompanying production from 16,500 to some 50,000 tons. About 55 percent of the trees have been in the tapping stage in recent years. Well-drained reddish-brown upland soils in the province of Kompong Cham are best for the rubber tree, and the continuously high yields are jointly attributable to soil fertility and the use of the most modern methods of exploitation. Recent changes include the replacement of Vietnamese plantation workers by Cambodians and the development, with government loans and technical help, of family-size holdings and some state-owned plantations.

The output of rubber increased consistently, both in quantity and value, between 1959 and 1966, and most of the product was exported, principally in the form of smoked or dried sheet, crepe and latex. The United States usually has bought about two-thirds of Cambodian rubber exports.

Pepper

Conditions of soil and climate particularly favor pepper planting on the seaward slopes of the Elephant Range chain in the provinces of Kampot and Takeo. Both as workers and as owners the Chinese are dominant, reflecting the cohesion of Chinese communities abroad and the aptitude of the Chinese laborer for the meticulous attention which pepper production requires. Most of the crop is exported, but the market is uncertain because the quality of the output is mediocre, as a result of plant diseases and inadequate fertilization. A government effort has been made to improve productivity by grafting, but this has not been very successful. Between 1956 and 1966, though acreage under pepper expanded by one-third from about 1,200 to about 1,600 acres, output tonnage expanded by only one-fourth, from about 1,200 to about 1,500 tons. In 1930, by contrast, there had been 3,000 acres planted to pepper, but destruction and abandonment during World War II reduced the acreage to only 1,000 by 1948. Outputs in 1966 and 1967 amounted to 1,500 and 1,600 tons, respectively.

Fisheries

Fish is the third most important product after rice and corn and is the chief source of protein in the farmer's diet. Since most villages are located either on or near rivers or on the shores of the Tonle Sap, practically all of the farm population engages in part-time fishing. The Tonle Sap, the largest fresh water lake in the Indochinese Peninsula, provides at least 50,000 tons of fish each year; this is more than half the total fresh water catch. The lake supports both subsistence and commercial fishing enterprises, and half of the product is exported to other Southeast Asian countries. Other principal fishing grounds are the Mekong river system and the Gulf of Siam; from all of these areas there is some exporting.

The controlling physical circumstances affecting fish life in the Tonle Sap-Mekong River complex is the reversal of the Tonle Sap River current with the rising floodwaters of the Mekong. As the Tonle Sap rises from the backing up of the Mekong and floods the surrounding lake plain, inundated woodlands, with their special flora, provide ideal breeding and feeding grounds for the fish—predominantly of the *Cyprinidae*, or carp, family.

Of the two general types of fishery, the protected and the classified, the classified type is reserved to concessionaires, usually Chinese, by government grant. All fisheries not in the classified domain are protected; that is, subject to general regulation as to seasons, sizes and species taken, and methods of catching. Family subsistence fishing is permitted year-round in the protected domain and during the July to October off-season in the classified

type. Most of the fishing is done between November and April as the waters recede and the breeding season closes. It thus alternates conveniently with rice growing, which has its heaviest labor requirements during the wet season and time of rising waters.

A possible additional marine enterprise that had not been undertaken in late 1967 was fishing for pearl oysters. After a cursory survey an expert Japanese mission suggested that further investigation, both along the seacoast and around the Tonle Sap, should prove worthwhile.

Livestock

Livestock raising, as a primary economic enterprise, does not exist. Most farm families keep some cattle or water buffaloes for transportation and farmwork and poultry and hogs for domestic consumption. A small group of Cham-Malay farmers residing near Phnom Penh raise cattle commercially for the domestic market and for export. During 1966 over 1,000 live cattle and 1,500 buffaloes were exported. Over a 7-year period the value received in millions of dollars from cattle exports was: 1959, 1.9; 1960, 2.02; 1961, 4.3; 1962, 0.9; 1963, 1.2; 1964, 0.45; and 1965, 0.7. Livestock production in cattle, buffaloes and hogs has been increasing gradually but not as fast as poultry production.

The people are not forbidden to eat meat, as are Buddhists in many other countries, but they are prohibited from slaughtering the animals themselves. Abattoir functions are performed by non-Buddhists in village and urban marketplaces. It is fish, however, rather than meat, which supplies most of the protein in the diet.

An exceptionally favorable land-to-man ratio suggests that much more livestock could be raised, notably in the open forests and savannas west of the Mekong and in sparsely populated sections of Battambang, Pursat and Siem Reap, but expansion must wait for improved disease control and breeding practices. Rinderpest has been brought under effective control, and vaccines for its continued control are being produced in adequate quantities.

Forestry

Virgin forest covers half of the country and includes a wide variety of hardwoods and softwoods suitable for paper, plywood, cabinet work, heavy construction and numerous other purposes, but much of the better timber is not readily accessible (see ch. 2, Physical Environment). Teak lumbering is particularly important.

Almost all the forested land is government owned, and 9.4 million acres, or 28 percent of the total, is reserved for award to concessionaires. Timber cutting concessions, acquired usually by Chinese and occasionally by Vietnamese, are granted either for classified or for unclassified domain. A classified concession is granted after public auction and prescribes species, sizes and methods of cutting. In the unclassified domain, cutting is authorized by lease, the government receiving a fixed percentage of the timber values realized and exercising control through the lease of the method and extent of cutting. Inadequate conservation practices prevail, however, and some timberlands have been seriously overexploited. Inundated timberlands on the margins of the Tonle Sap have been extensively deforested in the interests of illicit exporters in collusion with local officials.

About 5 million cubic meters of timber are cut annually; this is sufficient for internal consumption and allows an export of between 100,000 and 120,000 cubic meters. Criticism of the quality and uniformity of export shipments led the Ministry of Agriculture in 1964 to instruct the Forestry Service to standardize consignments of timber destined for abroad.

ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The government expresses great concern for agricultural development, since the country's wealth lies primarily in its agricultural resources. Both the Two-Year Plan of 1956-57 (extended eventually to 1959) and the first Five-Year Plan of 1960-64 called for substantial expenditures in all phases of agricultural activity—particularly in education, irrigation and flood control, fisheries, forestry and agricultural finance and marketing. All these activities were supported from 1951 through 1963 with funds, materials and specialists by the United States Agency for International Development (AID) and, in some aspects of the program, the French Government and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Economic assistance from Communist countries has generally been limited to the industrial phases of the country's development programs (see ch. 20, Industry).

Both through research and through popular education the government has sought energetically to diversify and intensify agriculture and also to extend the cultivated upland area. These measures tend to promote internal migration, to bring about an equilibrium between needs and resources, to expand exports, to curtail or even eliminate agricultural imports and to meet the raw material requirements of the infant industries.

Government efforts are being directed to expanding the production of rice, rubber, corn and pepper for export and of other crops, including cotton, jute, cane sugar, copra and mulberry, for

domestic usage. Fisheries have been modernized, and selective livestock breeding has been more extensively practiced. Forest resources are to be more effectively organized through the development of virgin forest tracts, access being afforded by the building of new forest roads. The use of small pumping equipment for farm irrigation is being extended. Large-scale systems of irrigation and drainage are to be further developed, and land settlement in the provinces of Kratie, Stung Treng, Ratanakiri and Koh Kong is to be further expanded. Finally, certain new districts of fertile ground in Kompong Speu and Battambang Provinces have been designated for "industrial farming" of cotton, jute and sugarcane.

Agricultural Education

Well aware that the achievement of long-term objectives depended basically on the supply of trained leaders and on the broad dissemination of technical knowledge, the government has given high priority to agricultural education. Schools to provide extensive specialized training have been established, and information on modern techniques has been brought directly to the farmers from agricultural experimental stations, by agricultural agents and through community education centers.

The Ministry of Agriculture administers two principal agricultural schools. At the Prék Leap School of Agriculture, near Phnom Penh, qualified students from secondary schools undergo a 2-year course in vocational agricultural training in preparation for careers in staff positions in the provincial offices of the Ministry.

The National School of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forestry, located in the capital city, has provided advanced agricultural education at the secondary level, but it is anticipated that the school will later offer professional education in agriculture at the university level. From 1951 to 1963 the AID contributed funds and specialists for the school's improvement program.

In collaboration with the Prék Leap School of Agriculture and the National School of Agriculture, several agricultural experimental stations function in the provinces under the administration of the Ministry of Agriculture. Foremost among the stations are the Agronomy Service Station at Kok Patry, the Stung Keo Livestock Station at Kampot and the four regional agricultural stations in the provinces of Battambang, Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng and Siem Reap. The Ministry also maintains agricultural specialists in each of the provinces for the purpose of bringing advances in agricultural knowledge directly to the farmers.

An important institution for agricultural adult education is the Tonle Bati Community Education Center, which was estab-

lished and formerly maintained in large measure with funds from the AID. Administered by the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts, this school gives 75 to 100 young graduates of secondary schools 1 year of instruction in health, sanitation, nutrition, gardening, home economics and village improvement. They are then sent out to work with the adult population in rural districts. Many adult education programs are conducted in provincial meeting centers that were constructed in 14 provinces with funds from the AID. Equipped with motion picture projectors and small libraries, these centers serve as central meeting places for community educational and social activities.

Irrigation and Flood Control

Monsoonal flooding of rivers and lakes provides vast quantities of water for the agricultural areas during the rainy season, greatly benefiting the land with a new deposit of rich alluvial soil. Since 85 percent of the rain falls during the May to October monsoon season and only 15 percent during the dry season, the problem is to bring the water under control so that it can be used efficiently. Because of the high level of the Mekong during floodtime, much water is available by gravitation methods at relatively low cost. Studies show that a considerable increase in the level of agricultural production could be achieved, however, by improved methods of irrigation, including the extension of dike and levee construction to prevent excessive flooding and the establishment of better systems of impounding and distributing surplus water.

United States financial and technical support between 1951 and 1963 contributed significantly toward restoring old Cambodian and French irrigation facilities, which had fallen into disrepair or had been damaged in war, and also toward building new flood-control works. Approximately 200,000 acres have been brought under some system of irrigation or systematic flood control. Nine principal projects have been completed in seven different provinces with the use of heavy construction machinery and earthmoving equipment furnished by the United States.

Resource Development Programs

With the aid of technicians supplied by France and formerly by the United States, the government has been conducting a number of programs aimed at improving both the quality and the quantity of the important crops. These programs cover introducing improved rice varieties to enhance yield and to secure greater uniformity in kernel size, grafting high-yielding strains into original pepper stock, importing long-staple cotton varieties and expanding the cotton acreage in the hope of achieving self-

sufficiency in domestic cotton requirements, and popularizing the use of both organic and chemical fertilizer through "volunteer agricultural action groups." Special programs of forest conservation, fisheries management and corn and livestock production have also been launched.

Forestry Conservation and Utilization

A comprehensive forest inventory has been pushed to an advanced stage, so that long-range timber development can be planned on the basis of estimates of forest growth and usage which could serve as guides for policy in the granting of concessions. Beginnings have been made in constructing access roads and forest guard headquarters, improving leasehold practices, installing fire-control systems, instituting forest experimentation and training administrative personnel.

Cooperation with the government in its forest conservation and utilization program constituted one of the major activities of the AID. Its funds and forestry specialists assisted in the construction of firebreaks and access roads in important forest reserves and carried on an extensive program of public education in fire prevention and fire control.

Fisheries Development Programs

Inequities resulting from Chinese control of the fresh water fisheries led the government in the early 1940's to establish the Fresh-Water Fishing Cooperative to improve the marketing mechanism in the interest of the fisherman. Initially, the position of the fisherman improved, but in the confused aftermath of World War II the Cooperative encountered difficulty in collecting old loans. Loss of capital, therefore, weakened the Cooperative, and the Chinese merchants resumed their role in the supply of credit and the purchase of fish.

Fisheries legislation is comprehensive and aims, in principle, at conservation. In practice, however, administration by the National Fisheries Service in the Ministry of Agriculture operates to maximize government revenue through adjudication of fishing rights and through the sale of fishing concessions, to the detriment of conservation.

The United States contributed generously to the program of fisheries research, providing funds, technical personnel and equipment for aiding law enforcement. Difficulty in developing popular interest in a broad program of fisheries conservation has been because of the abundance of fish, the ability of large operators to find ingenious ways of evading the law and the official tendency to overlook infractions by the numerous small subsistence fishermen.

Corn and Livestock Development Projects

Corn contributes importantly to export earnings, but the government prefers to use it as feed in order to enlarge the export of livestock. This program of substituting cattle for corn in the export trade, launched in 1958, included the introduction of higher yielding corn varieties and the improvement of livestock feeding practices.

One aim of the first Five-Year Plan was an annual increase of 4 percent in the numbers of cattle, buffaloes and hogs, and these objectives were attained. Projects completed under the Plan included several livestock experimental stations, modern slaughtering and cold-storage facilities in Phnom Penh and Kompong Som and improvements in the provincial slaughtering establishments. By 1966 three state livestock stations were conducting experiments in animal husbandry, training cattlemen, perfecting stock-raising practices and developing stud cattle.

Agricultural Marketing and Finance

The shortage of rural credit on reasonable terms has been a perennial problem in Cambodian agriculture, and it compels the farmer to rely heavily upon the Chinese moneylender, who is usually also the rice buyer and local merchant. By setting the price for both the surplus rice he buys and the farm supplies he sells, the merchant is able to protect his loan investment at the expense of the farmer.

Starting in 1956 the government sought to stimulate agricultural cooperatives, so as to give the farmer low-interest loans and higher prices for crops. Administering the program is the OROC; its original allocation of 200 million riels in capital funds was later supplemented by 42 million riels from the AID. The farm cooperatives are multipurpose, offering credit provision at a reasonable cost; higher prices for marketed produce; and lower procurement prices for seed, fertilizer, tools, clothing and other necessities. The OROC, however, has not been outstandingly successful in these objectives. By the end of 1965, 398 cooperatives, comprising 277,000 farmer members, had reportedly been established, and the annual turnover totaled 466 million riels; one-third of this sum related to consumer and producer goods, two-thirds to the marketing of agricultural produce. Cooperatives in 1965 handled 15 percent of the rice exported, approximately 50 percent of the agricultural products delivered to industry and the entire cotton crop. By the end of June 1966 there were 512 credit-granting cooperatives, 390 multipurpose farm cooperatives, 14 specialized production cooperatives, 55 cooperatives supplying goods for local consumption and 40 school cooperatives in rural areas.

CHAPTER 20

INDUSTRY

Industry included no large-scale modern manufacturing plant in 1967, but the number of smaller units was perceptibly increasing and so was the variety of their output. Processing of local food crops, especially rice, remained paramount. Fish products, textile fibers and forest products were next in importance. There were also some small tanneries, several brick and tile kilns and miscellaneous metal-fabricating plants.

Having expanded at an average rate, in terms of current prices, of no more than 3 percent from 1957 through 1960, the gross national product remained virtually unchanged during 1961, but rose 9 percent in 1962, 8 percent in 1963 and then 3 percent in 1964. Industry, however, still contributes only about one-eighth of the total, about the same as in 1957, or well below one-third as much output as agriculture.

Per capita gross national product in 1963-64 stood somewhere between 3,500 and 4,200 riels (see Glossary), of which no more than 425 riels could represent industrial production. The basically nonindustrial character of the economy is reflected in the small number of full-time workers, only 100,000, engaged in industry and handicraft. Those engaged in strictly Western-type industry number only 6,000, including 4,000 employed in state undertakings.

Industrial progress has lagged behind that of many Asian nations for four principal reasons: lack of essential raw materials, poorly developed indigenous fuel supply, insufficient numbers of skilled managerial, professional or technical personnel because of the absence of systematic apprenticeship or vocational training in colonial times and the relegation of the country during the protectorate to the role of supplier of primary commodities for processing elsewhere. Governmental efforts since independence to speed up industrialization have been considerably impeded by an unstable financial structure and by heavy inflationary pressure arising out of the developmental process itself.

Diversification of manufacture during the past decade has taken several forms, including more and better equipped plants for working up the established staples of farm and forest, for supplying the requirements of the incipient construction indus-

try, for turning out minor consumer items and for equipping the public service industries, which are expanding, particularly in urbanized districts.

With the exception of rubber production and, to a lesser extent, commercial fisheries and rice milling, the industries are for the most part organized along simple lines, but while the majority of industrial undertakings are privately operated, an important and growing proportion of the economy is administered by the state. This includes communications, hospitals, hotels, railroads, port facilities and certain enterprises set up with foreign aid, notably a paper mill at Chhlong, a plywood plant at Dey Eth, a cement factory at Chakrey Tiug and textile mills at Kompong Cham and at Battambang, all constructed with the help of Communist China. Alcohol distillation, banking and foreign trade were nationalized in 1963-64. A 2-year equipment plan, intended to cover 1956-57 but not actually fulfilled until the end of 1959, set the stage for a Five-Year Plan of comprehensive economic development. Originally scheduled to start in 1958 but eventually launched in 1960, the plan established several other state-owned industrial undertakings, including a rubber tire plant, a jute bag mill, a palm sugar refinery, a cotton-ginning plant, a brewery, building supply works, glass works, a seafood cannery, a rice mill, a truck and tractor assembly plant and a general mechanical factory.

Cambodia has willingly accepted aid from countries representing both the Eastern and Western blocs, but industry has probably been helped most by Communist China, which has provided plants for the manufacture of textiles, plywood, cement and paper.

PROCESSING

Food Crops

Rice

The conversion of unhusked rice into polished rice is the main food-processing industry. Domestic needs have long been met by about 1,000 small mills scattered throughout the country, each serving a local farmer clientele with a capacity of 2 to 4 tons.

Rough rice destined for export is bought by rice merchants and milled in the larger central markets. Before 1953 most of the rough rice was shipped to Saigon in South Vietnam for milling, but soon after the achievement of independence, mills with a daily capacity of 50 to 60 tons were established in each of the major rice-producing areas of Cambodia. These mills are owned or controlled mainly by Chinese or Sino-Cambodians. By 1961 there were 104 of these larger mills—40 in the Battambang

-Pursat area, 20 in the Kompong Thom-Siem Reap area, 15 in Svay Rieng, 13 in Phnom Penh and 16 in various other places. These large mills are believed to be capable of processing all of the rice destined for export. A joint state-private enterprise, the Khmer Produce Collecting Company, was formed at Battambang in 1964 to purchase and mill rice for export. The corporation plans to extend its operations to the entire country.

By modern standards the recovery of whole, unbroken rice is low because the growing of innumerable varieties with variable-sized kernels make milling difficult, poor threshing and drying methods are used on the farm and poor milling practices are generally employed. These factors combine to produce a high percentage of broken kernels and a high ratio of rice bran to milled rice.

Alcohol

The conversion of rice into rice alcohol is another important food-processing industry. Ten of the country's 12 distilleries use rice as their raw material, although by far the largest ones use corn and the second largest, palm sugar. Most distilleries have been operated by Chinese proprietors long established in the country and together with the Khmer Distilling Company (an enterprise formerly owned jointly by the state and by private interests) have produced about 2.5 million gallons annually over the past 15 years. Nationalization of the private distilleries began in 1963.

Palm Sugar

Until recently there were some 75 palm sugar factories producing between 25,000 and 30,000 tons of sugar annually. This amount is insufficient to meet the domestic requirements of the country, and attempts are being made to increase production. Certain characteristics of the industry, which is organized along simple lines, make the problem of large-scale expansion difficult, and perhaps impossible, of solution. One problem is the rapid transformation of the sugar in the sap to glucose which cannot be refined into table sugar. This requires the refinery to be located in close proximity to the source of the sap. The second problem is the collection and transport of the relatively large quantities of fuel wood needed in reducing the sap to sugar.

A technical committee under the administration of the Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) has undertaken a program of experimentation designed to overcome these two difficulties. It has found improved techniques for delaying the transformation of the sugar to glucose and has developed a centrifugal machine (which can be used locally) that

will increase considerably the yield of sugar from a given amount of sap. Furthermore, a pilot project at the village of Anlong Romiet has demonstrated how, through the community use of tractors and trailers, fuel wood can be assembled cooperatively at appreciable savings.

A modern Czechoslovakian-equipped refinery, utilizing a special low-cost process and capable of handling both cane and palm sugar, began turning out 13,000 tons of refined sugar annually in 1966. Despite these advances, however, it is probable that the long-term sugar needs of the country will have to be met by the large-scale cultivation of sugarcane, for which much of the country is well suited (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

Fisheries Products

Fish, second in importance to rice as food, is the chief source of protein in the diet. Almost all of the 100,000 tons caught annually is fresh-water carp, half of which comes from the Tonle Sap, one of the most extensive inland fishing zones in the Indochinese Peninsula.

Inland fishing areas are of two general types: protected and classified. Family (or subsistence) fishing, engaged in mainly by the Khmer farm population, is permitted on a year-round basis in the protected domain and during the out-of-season period (July–October) in the classified domain (see ch. 19, Agriculture). Small-scale commercial fishermen (*pêche artisanale*), mainly Vietnamese operating with Chinese financial backing, are permitted to fish only in the protected domain and only during the open season.

The marine fisheries are situated along the Gulf of Siam and are still economically underdeveloped. Because of limited scientific investigation, little is known definitely about their potential. Since equipment is limited, fishing is carried on only near the shore. The catch consists mainly of chub mackerel.

Various ingenious means have been developed for transporting fresh fish to market. These include tank containers, floating enclosures and boats with cage-like bottoms open to the water through which the boat travels. Open-bottom boats of this type are used mainly in inland waters. Within the country fresh fish are also transported under refrigeration by rail, to a limited but increasing extent. Nevertheless, since fish products are consumed the year around, most of the fish caught must be processed in one way or another. About 60 percent of the catch is processed into dried fish. The production of fish paste (*prahoc*) and fish sauce (*tuk-trey*) is also highly important. Valuable byproducts are fish oil, used as lamp fuel and in the manufacture of paint, soap,

medicine and for the tanning of hides and skins, and fish meal, used in livestock feeding and as farm fertilizer.

Dried Fish

The drying of fish consists of slight fermentation in tanks of water, salting and drying. After drying, the product is then placed in sacks of 130 pounds each for transport.

Prahoc

The processing of fish into *prahoc* is one of the traditional methods of preserving fish, and the product is one of the main protein components of the diet. It is a fish paste produced by fermentation of a fish homogenate. The fish is obtained in a semiprocessed state from the commercial fishermen, and final processing is usually done in the home as a family activity.

Tuk-Trey

Tuk-trey, a fish sauce known to the Vietnamese as *nuoc-mam*, is another of the principal sources of protein in the Cambodian diet. It is produced by autolysis of the whole fish, regardless of size but mainly small. These are salted, placed in wooden vats and subjected to controlled decomposition and liquefaction. The production of 1 quart of *tuk-trey* of first quality requires about 6 pounds of fish.

Tuk-trey is prepared in small- to medium-sized plants located in the immediate vicinity of the fishing grounds. These produce about 2 million quarts annually, but it is estimated that the quantity could be increased to 20 million quarts annually. There is a good demand for the product throughout Southeast Asia.

Byproducts

Fish oil is made from small fish and leftover parts from the processing of dried fish, *prahoc* and *tuk-trey*. The fish oil is prepared by means of a crude heating apparatus for boiling the fish set up on the bank of the lake or stream where the fish are caught. This crude process permits recovery of only about one-half of the oil content of the fish. Improved processes, in an advanced experimental stage, are expected to give much better results.

Fish oil is used mainly for lighting, but it is useful also for other purposes, including the production of paints, soaps and medicines. After processing the oil there is a residue containing a high content of nitrogen and phosphorus, which is used in the production of oil meal for livestock feed or as a fertilizer.

Livestock Products

Processed livestock products are mainly beef, water buffalo,

pork and poultry, almost all being consumed domestically. Since livestock is raised in excess of domestic needs whether for meat or for draft animals, limited quantities of draft animals and water buffalo hides are exported, principally to Hong Kong.

Buddhist precepts, which forbid Buddhists to kill animals, do not formally prohibit the consumption of meat, and more is being eaten each year, particularly in Phnom Penh and other urban areas. This results in part from the improved methods of processing, including cold storage facilities, which are now available in the larger cities, but it also reflects a rising standard of urban living. In the rural areas some meat and fowl are eaten, but fish supply most of the protein in the diet.

The Buddhist ban on killing animals has a marked effect on the pattern of livestock raising and slaughtering. Beef cattle are raised for commercial processing and sale mainly by the Cham-Malays (who are Moslems). Water buffalo are raised in the rural areas as work animals and are rarely used for food on the farms; eventually, however, many are sent to city processing centers to be slaughtered. Hogs are raised by farmers generally, but the Chinese handle their slaughtering and processing almost exclusively. Individual farmers are allowed to kill poultry for their own use, but they are forbidden to take part in religious services for a time after they have done so (see ch. 11, Religion).

Textile Fiber Products

Cotton

Although cotton has been grown since ancient times, its production diminished greatly during the period of the French protectorate because of the large imports of cotton materials from French sources (see ch. 19, Agriculture). In recent years the government has undertaken to reverse this process, hoping to provide ultimately for all of the country's needs with respect to both cotton and cotton textiles.

To process the cotton a modern textile mill, with an annual consumption capacity of about 2,500 tons of cotton fiber, was built near Kompong Cham in 1962 with aid from Communist China. In addition to the ordinary operations of carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing, the plant has its own gin, extensive warehouse facilities and a laboratory for quality control. At capacity production the plant employs about 250 workers in the spinning department and around 340 workers in the weaving department. The spinning department, with about 1,200 spindles, is said to have an annual production capacity of 1,500 tons of cotton thread. The weaving department, equipped with about 210

looms, has a total annual weaving capacity of nearly 5 million yards of cloth.

At the outset serious problems, involving the coordination of cotton acreage, transportation, storage, ginning, manufacturing, merchandising the textile products and processing the cotton seed, were encountered. A second mill constructed at Battambang began production in 1966.

Other Textiles

Other textile products of importance in the economy are silk, ramie, jute, hemp and kapok (see ch. 19, Agriculture). Silk has probably been the most important historically, but with the availability of inexpensive substitute textiles from abroad its importance is lessening.

Because of the development of industry and the increasing need for bags and bagging, jute and hemp are now growing steadily in importance. Ramie is used mostly for fish netting. Each of these products is manufactured in small plants, largely by hand methods, though the Five-Year Plan of 1960-64 provided for an up-to-date jute bag plant, which opened in 1966 and is expected to turn out 2½ million sacks in 1967 and 5½ million in 1968.

Forestry Products

In 1960 there were 82 power-operated sawmills and 253 hand-operated mills. The milled products are used as lumber for furniture manufacture and for innumerable minor products. Production of lumber, mainly softwood, amounted (in thousands of cubic meters) to 248 in 1954, 100 in 1956, 250 in 1960 and 214 in 1962. Much of the unmilled and waste lumber is used as industrial fuel and for charcoal manufacture, the latter amounting (in metric tons) to 24,000 in 1954, 12,000 in 1956, 15,000 in 1960 and 13,000 in 1962.

A new plywood plant was built with aid from Communist China in 1962 at Dey Eth in Kandal Province; it has an annual planned capacity of about 1 million board feet.

Paper Manufacture

Paper manufacturing, an ancient industry of the country, is now being modernized and expanded. A new, modern paper mill was recently built in the city of Chlong on the Mekong River under the aid program of Communist China. The site is accessible to large areas of bamboo which with rice straw will supply the raw material for paper processing for a time. As the requirements of the industry increase, forest products will be used to supplement bamboo and straw as raw materials.

The mill and its service facilities cover an area of 17 acres.

It is equipped to produce annually 1,800 tons of writing paper, 100 tons of fine paper, 1,000 tons of wrapping paper and 1,400 tons of cardboard. Approximately 700 workers are employed. Production difficulties encountered during the initial stages of its operations included lack of uniformity in the supply of raw materials, mechanical problems associated with the adjustment of the machinery and lack of experience on the part of the personnel.

Rubber

Accounting for 6½ to 8½ percent of total primary production, rubber planting is still conducted by private enterprise. Virtually all of the output is exported—principally as smoked, crepe sole, other crepe and latex—since a vulcanization plant is very expensive. Production in 1954 was 24,000 long tons, and this was increased to 52,000 long tons in 1967. The rubber trees are tapped each day, and the contents of the collecting cups are brought to the central tank, work involving very intensive use of labor. Latex, not exported as such, is then filtered, coagulated by formic acid and finally either rolled and dried, or rolled and smoked.

MINING

The Five-Year Plan of 1960–64 provided for surveys of mineral resources, but the mining sector of the economy is not yet significant. Nonmetallic deposits—chiefly phosphate rock, limestone, semiprecious stones and salt—are the chief minerals extracted. In 1963, 150 tons of phosphate, chiefly from the provinces of Battambang and Kampot, were processed for fertilizer. Primitive methods, practiced in Strung Treng and Battambang provinces, yield zircon, sapphire and ruby. Basalt, red brick, clay and sand are found in Kompong Cham and Kompong Speu.

In 1966 the state-owned cement plant located at Chakrey Ting, near Kampot (supplied by Communist China), turned out 59,000 tons; largest tonnage had originally been 50,000 tons, and on the basis of planned expansion the output is projected to 150,000 tons for 1967 and thereafter. Along the shores of the Tonle Sap and the Gulf of Siam salt is produced by evaporation in sufficient quantities for local use. Granite deposits exist in the provinces of Kompong Speu.

Discounting petroleum, traces of coal, lead, copper, tin, molybdenum, manganese and antimony have also been discovered, and the ferrous ores of Kampong Thom, though resurveyed under the Five-Year Plan, do not appear to offer much hope for an indigenous iron industry. Gold production is very slight since even the once relatively rich mine at Phnom Long in Kompong Thom province is now practically exhausted.

FUEL AND POWER

Fossil Fuels

Although the known petroleum resources are negligible, underground surveys to date have perhaps not disclosed the full potential. A 600 million riel petroleum refinery at Sihanoukville, expected to become productive in late 1967, is scheduled for an annual output of 300,000 tons by 1969 and 600,000 tons by 1973. Consumption of petroleum products expanded at an annual rate of over 15 percent between 1959 and 1963.

The lack of coal, petroleum and gas is offset by the huge water-power resources which should begin to be exploited in 1968 when two hydroelectric dams, one at Kirirom and the other at Kamchay, reach completion. Phnom Penh Water Works treated 22.8 million cubic meters of water in 1966 and is expected to treat 29 million later in 1967.

Electric Power

Owing to the growth both of industry and of population, consumption of electricity grew rapidly from 29 million kilowatt-hours in 1955 to 85 million kilowatt-hours in 1963, while generating capacity, despite sizable extra plants added under the Five-Year Plan, barely kept pace, rising from 11,055 to 31,504 kilowatts. Installed capacity in the vicinity of Phnom Penh totals 24,000 kilowatts, but effective generating capacity for the capital is believed to be only 19,000 kilowatts. At Chak Angre to the south of the city, however, work began in 1966 on another (thermal) plant capable of 18,000 kilowatts. Some 15 or 20 percent of the present energy supply is generated in the provinces, chiefly by diesel but including hydroelectric; some big rubber enterprises operate their own powerplants. Hydroelectric projects under construction are expected to lift generating capacity from the 1967 level of 45,000 kilowatts to 88,000 kilowatts by 1969, while new thermal plants, both steam and diesel, should raise the country's total energy capacity to 170,000 kilowatts.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

Turning out a wide variety of consumer and producer goods are many small manufacturing plants, some employing factory methods in rudimentary degree, such as the Citroen automobile assembly plant in Phnom Penh, owned jointly by French and local interests and capable of assembling 300 vehicles per year. Other plants, generally smaller, produce brick, tile, hardware, ice, soap, lime, leather, paint, glass, pottery, sandals, drugs, matches and cigarettes (there are now three cigarette-manufacturing companies).

Cottage handicrafts, utilizing local raw materials for basketry, cloth weaving, pottery, leatherwork and carpentry, remain a major source of employment throughout the country. Numerous small-scale repair and mechanical facilities service electric, radio, automotive and agricultural equipment.

Major army workshops are located at Longvek, Kandal, Kirirom and Kompong Speu, turning out batteries, cartridges, sports goods and small arms, as well as repairing ordnance.

The introduction of machine-made imports led to a decline in the handicrafts which once supplied almost all of Cambodia's consumer goods, but many craftsmen can still be found in the villages and towns of the country. Their total output continues to form an important segment of the domestic industrial production. Many of the traditional crafts of an artistic nature, once carried on with exquisite skill, are disappearing or are being continued mainly for tourist trade on an imitative rather than a creative basis (see ch. 10, Artistic and Intellectual Expression).

On the other hand, such utilitarian crafts as pottery, tilemaking, fish-net making, basketry, woodworking, metalworking, soap manufacturing, tanning and glass work are vigorously productive and may be expected to expand as greater numbers of small power tools are brought into the country. This trend is also being favored by the emphasis which the government is placing on technical training and vocational skills. It appears likely that the role of the utilitarian craftsman will continue to expand for many years to come, and then he will play a significant part in the transition from a handicraft economy to one in which industry may be expected to play a predominant role.

OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

Chinese merchants have long occupied a commanding position in industrial life. They seem to have a special aptitude for recognizing profitmaking opportunities and the entrepreneurial talents required for their exploitation, and through their long experience in industry and commerce they have well-established financial connections with the powerful Chinese international banking institutions throughout the Orient. Family, clan and occupational guild (*bang*) ties also contribute to the strength of their position in industry.

During the period of the French protectorate most commerce and industry were controlled by the Chinese, the French and the Vietnamese. The Chinese were traders primarily, but they also invested heavily in rice mills, various kinds of factories, fisheries, water and highway transport and market gardening. The French were the economic and political elite, owning and managing

banks and rubber plantations and serving as administrators of government agencies.

Since the close of World War II, reflecting the rise in commercial consciousness which accompanied the growth of nationalism, many Cambodians have entered commercial and industrial occupations on a full-time basis. In recent years the government has sought to restrict the business activities of the Chinese and to enlarge the influence of Cambodians in this sector.

These measures include legislation which specified that 70 percent of the employees of a firm must be of Cambodian citizenship, legislation which provided for joint Cambodian and foreign investment in industry and the development of loan programs designed to lessen dependence on Chinese financing. The state has established technological, engineering and vocational training for Cambodian youth and requires that industrial establishments provide apprentice training. In all state-owned and -administered industrial enterprises the government gives preference to the employment of Cambodian citizens. There are 18 trades and professions which, by law, may be practiced only by Cambodians. By 1962 they were competing actively with the Chinese and Vietnamese for industrial leadership and control. Nevertheless, because of their superior financial resources, the Chinese appear likely to continue to maintain their predominant influence over industry and trade for some time to come.

Although government policy does not, in general, encourage foreign investment, immunity for 15 years from nationalization is guaranteed for selected industries, including automobile assembly, petroleum refining, food processing, condensed milk, fertilizer, fish flour, paper and textiles. Public policy is directed toward getting private enterprise away from real estate and commerce, into agriculture and industry. Multiplication, however, of certain types of output, where local production is considered adequate, is prohibited. These include rice, alcohol, matches, nails, sterilized cotton and gauze, carbonated beverages, dry cells, pharmaceuticals, jute bags, rubber sandals, soap, fish nets, galvanized iron sheet, bicycle tires and tubes and recapped tires.

Several products are manufactured by one producer only, and in the case of alcohol the monopolist is the state-owned Khmer Distilling Company, headquartered at Russey Keo near Phnom Penh. Total foreign investment since 1959 amounts to approximately \$2 million, excluding reinvested earnings, and more than half is French capital invested in rubber plantations. Private United States investment, confined mainly to petroleum distribution, is limited and declining; the United States Agency for In-

ternational Development (AID) investment guarantees do not apply in Cambodia.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Since independence the government has both stressed the need for more industry and vigorously promoted it, supplying private firms with both financial and technical help, as well as itself engaging in direct management of state-owned enterprises. Numerous international organizations and foreign countries, particularly the United States through the year 1963, have supported these efforts. Such aid has taken the form of direct financing, contributions of materials and services of technical personnel (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations).

The government's most important role in industrializing the economy is the formulation of long-range policy, as set forth originally in the Two-Year Plan (1956-57) for reequipment, then extended in the Five-Year Plan for comprehensive economic development. This ran from the start of 1960 through 1964 and was resumed in a second Five-Year Plan (1967-71). Utilizing these guidelines the government has influenced the distribution of resources among the several sectors of the economy (see ch. 18, Character and Structure of the Economy). Particularly important have been infrastructural improvements, including waterways, highways, railroads, ports, airports and powerplants.

An important auxiliary area of government action has been the provision of technical training facilities for engineering, agriculture, business, and medicine and of vocational training in selected secondary schools (see ch. 9, Education).

CHAPTER 21

LABOR RELATIONS AND ORGANIZATION

The labor movement in 1967 was not a significant factor in the life of the country, and there was little to indicate that it would become one in the near future. Most of the economically active members of the population were small independent farmers who were scarcely aware that organized labor existed, although many belonged to rural cooperatives, which afforded them the opportunity to act in groups for their collective benefit. The number of workers engaged in nonagricultural occupations was small; only a negligible minority of them were organized; and the few unions in existence were largely ineffective. Labor as a collective force was inarticulate, and the public showed little concern over its problems.

Speaking in Paris in 1961, the Cambodian ambassador to France had defined his government's social system as one in which the state assumed direction of the national economy, protected the citizen from exploitation of his labor, assured his existence and dignity and tried to give him the material means to find happiness.

The statement might have been made with equal validity in 1967. The paternalistic government was profoundly concerned with the welfare of workers, but it felt that they were not yet capable of helping themselves and that, as a consequence, they must be protected by the state. The legal framework within which protection had been furnished was largely one inherited from the French protectorate, but since independence numerous steps had been taken on the working man's behalf. Facilities for technical education had been expanded at a rapid rate. Legislation had been enacted which drastically reduced the number of nonagricultural positions open to the Chinese and Vietnamese, who formerly had almost monopolized commerce and industry, and some measures had been taken to improve conditions of employment.

It was the individual laborer rather than the labor union, however, who had been the object of the government's solicitude. Unions had been tolerated rather than encouraged, and on several occasions Prince Norodom Sihanouk had made clear his po-

sition that union members should not because of their membership enjoy privileges denied to workers who were not members. The unions were not permitted to act as collective bargaining agents and were virtually prohibited by law from participating in strikes.

Civil service appointments and employment in state-owned and mixed-ownership business enterprises were sought after both because conditions of employment were generally favorable compared to those prevailing in private business and because laws and regulations protecting workers were more likely to be observed. Workers in the rapidly expanding public sector were, however, particularly dependent on the paternal benevolence of the government and, therefore, were unlikely to give much support to a forceful and independent labor movement if one should emerge at some future date. In practice, strikes were unknown, and the few worker grievances that were brought before the government for settlement were individual rather than collective ones. The relationship between labor and government was illustrated by the fact that aggrieved workers could appeal personally to the palace or to the National Congress.

Conditions of employment were decided almost entirely by the employer on the basis of a few labor laws and regulations which were observed in varying degree in direct proportion to the size of the firm and the accessibility of its location to government labor inspectors. By 1967, however, the rapid growth of the civil service, coupled with the nationalization of many of the larger business firms, had made the government the employer of a large part of the nonagricultural labor force.

GOVERNMENTAL PROVISIONS FOR LABOR

Legislation in 1957 created the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs under the direction of a Cabinet officer who had the title of secretary of state for labor and social affairs and exercised primary responsibility for all labor and social matters. In August 1967 responsibility for social affairs was transferred to the combined Ministry of Public Health and Labor.

Within the Ministry, the principal functions with respect to labor are performed by the Inspectorate of Labor and Manpower. It is responsible for applying all labor laws, for furnishing counsel to higher authority on measures for improving working conditions, for developing a social insurance system and for initiating the settlement of industrial disputes through a conciliation process. It has authority to inspect all business establishments and to administer the Inter-Occupational Fund for Payment of Family Allowances.

The bulk of the labor legislation—and orders and decrees with the force of law—in effect during 1967 had been carried over either intact or in modified form from the period of the French protectorate. Postindependence legislation had altered or replaced the French system in matters concerning leave and holidays, family allowances, professional associations, industrial records and reports and employment of foreigners.

The most significant change has been that concerning the employment of foreigners and has been directed toward the goal of giving citizens greater opportunity to find in the nonagricultural fields employment which previously had been almost monopolized by Vietnamese and Chinese. Legislation has been enacted reserving certain occupations for Cambodian citizens and requiring that 70 percent of the employees of all business enterprises be Cambodian.

In general, the employment of foreigners in the civil service or in state-owned and mixed-ownership business enterprises has been prohibited. Provision has been made for the waiving of these restrictions in the numerous instances where qualified citizens cannot be found to fill specific positions, but the principal goal of the intensive public education program in progress during the mid-1960's was to prepare citizens to provide the personnel for the nonagricultural labor force (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force; ch. 9, Education).

Efforts have been made to combine this body of law and regulation into a labor code. The first step in this connection had been taken in 1959 when an International Labor Organization (ILO) expert had visited the country, at the government's request, to study the legal status of labor. He recommended the adoption of a labor code, and the following year one was developed by the Secretariat of State for Labor. In late 1967, however, it had not been enacted into law.

By 1967 the government had emerged as the country's most important employer of nonagricultural labor. More than 50,000 persons were civilian employees of the government. The armed forces included more than 30,000 uniformed personnel who devoted a considerable portion of their time to such nonmilitary pursuits as roadbuilding. The largest industrial employers were about 25 state-owned and 5 mixed-ownership establishments. Foreign commerce was dominated by a state organization that controlled the export and import trade, and a mixed-ownership entity controlled the distribution of basic imported goods (see ch. 22, Domestic Trade). Several thousand private industrial and commercial entities remained, but a majority of these were small establishments, and none employed as many as 1,000 workers.

As a protectorate of France the country in 1937 adhered to the ILO conventions concerning nightwork by women and children and the use of lead in paints. In 1964 the country indicated an intention to become a member of the ILO, but in 1967 it remained one of the few independent nations which had not taken up membership. It appeared that too many of the international conventions were not readily applicable to domestic labor conditions.

The country, however, has participated in several regional ILO conferences and has availed itself of the organization's technical advice. In 1963 an ILO statistician assembled data on such matters as wages, employment, consumer price indexes and family budgets.

CONDITIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT

Preemployment information about a job applicant's background is usually available through an individual employment record, a workbook, which is required of every employed person over 18 years of age, including domestics, but optional for seasonal agricultural employees. This book lists each period of employment, length and nature of employment and method of payment. Data concerning circumstances of termination of employment are not included in the workbook but may sometimes be obtained directly from the previous employer.

References are usually asked of white-collar and skilled workers, depending on the size of the employing business and the importance of the position offered. Domestic workers provide themselves with previous employment references as a matter of course. Applicants usually carry with them records of educational background and technical training. When they do not, the information may be obtained after some delay through the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts.

There is no well-developed public employment service, but since 1961 the Placement Bureau has been in operation within the General Inspectorate of Labor and Manpower. The number of persons registering with it was small during its initial years, but it has increased substantially since 1963 with what appears to have been an increase in the incidence of unemployment (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force).

Government agencies rarely use the Placement Bureau, as individual ministries usually recruit their own workers. Both public and private employers recruit in the provinces through the local officials. Construction and engineering employers in the Phnom Penh area easily recruit workers from the large number of underemployed farmers in nearby villages.

Similarly, most of the larger of the remaining private firms prefer to hire directly. Those seeking to fill vacancies involving special skills insert job opening notices in the Phnom Penh French-language press and send notices of vacancies to the directors of technical educational institutions.

In areas other than the capital and the major provincial towns, some jobs are still found through labor contractors (*cais*). These contractors, who may also serve as foremen, usually receive lump-sum payments from employers which cover both their own fees and all wages of workers they supply. This traditional means of recruitment, once customary throughout Indochina, has been on the decline for more than a generation.

Compliance with the labor laws and regulations which serve as bases for the conditions of employment set by the individual employers is much more strict in the state-owned and mixed-ownership enterprises than in private businesses. Among the private businesses, the degree of compliance varies with the size and location of the entity. Large firms are more likely to be financially able to meet their legal obligations and find it more in their interests to do so. Because the number of labor inspectors is limited, inspection of firms can be conducted systematically only in Phnom Penh and in the larger provincial capitals. Elsewhere, employer practices are virtually uncontrolled.

Despite the lack of strict regulation over conditions of employment, certain standards are usually maintained, particularly with respect to working hours and holidays. The maximum regular working day for nonagricultural labor in the mid-1960's was 8 hours, and the workweek consisted of a maximum of 48 hours, including 1 weekly day of rest which usually, but not necessarily, fell on Sunday. Most workers were granted at least 12 days of paid vacation each year as well as a varying number, usually about 14, of national holidays. Maternity leave was also customarily granted. In practice, workweeks varied between 38 and 48 hours, but work in excess of 48 hours was permitted in certain categories, such as that of night watchman, and temporary exceptions might be granted on application to the Inspectorate of Labor and Manpower (see ch. 8, Living Conditions).

There was little or no control over employment conditions of temporary agricultural workers. All permanent workers on farms not covered by a written contract were afforded nominal protection under a French order of 1942 which established minimum standards for health, safety and other employment conditions. Most contract workers were employed by the rubber plantations and covered by a 1927 order designed originally to regulate recruitment of Vietnamese workers. It established minimum food

and housing standards, including provisions to safeguard health and welfare. It also established special provisions regarding termination or renewal of contracts and provisions for enforced savings to provide sufficient funds for the return to Vietnam.

Rules of employment in state-owned and mixed-ownership enterprises, as issued by the Ministry of Industry in late 1967, prescribed that an applicant for employment must be at least 18 years of age, be of Cambodian nationality, be qualified physically and professionally for performing his job and have neither a criminal record nor a record of having been deprived of his civil rights.

Each enterprise was to establish a table of organization dividing the positions on the employment roll into the three categories of supervisor, technician and administrator, and worker. The first two categories would consist of a maximum of four grades; the third category, of six grades. Within each grade there were to be 25 salary steps. The regular promotion rate was to be one step per year, but two steps might be granted to meritorious employees not to exceed 10 percent of the personnel in each of the three categories. Before attaining regular status, the new worker was to undergo a 1- to 3-month period of probation.

In June 1953 the country's basic civil service law was enacted prescribing rules for grades, recruitment, appointment, promotion, discipline and pensions. Other legislation later in the same year concerned the establishment of a central administrative system, wage classifications and provisions for vacations and sick leave.

In the mid-1960's the career civil service was divided into the six categories of administration, health, education, technical, finance and diplomacy. Admission to a career category required a 2-year probationary period after passing an entrance examination. Applicants were required to be citizens and to have completed at least 12 years of schooling. On completing the probationary period another examination was required before permanent status was accorded. University graduates, however, were eligible for regular appointments without probation.

In 1957 the position of director of the Civil Service was established under the direction of the president of the Council of Ministers in order to bring about centralized control over the organization. The director was to review all legislation proposed by the various interested ministries for transmission with his recommendations to the Council of Ministers. He also was required to initiate regulations concerning employment conditions and to coordinate personnel policies. In the mid-1960's, however, the system was still decentralized, and inequities existed between

ministries that continued to maintain separate employment policies and personnel systems.

Below the level of the regular civil servants were workers employed by the government under contract and regularly hired dayworkers.

The terms of employment of the contract workers were written into each individual contract, whereas those of the dayworkers were contained in a 1951 decree. In addition, dayworkers benefited from such general rights of workers as family allowances and paid days of leave.

A final category of public service personnel had none of these prerogatives. Temporary workers recruited for manual labor were not eligible for fringe benefits and were subject to discharge at any time without written notice, even though their temporary employment in some cases had lasted for as long as 10 years.

FORCED LABOR

During the early period of the Khmer Empire, use was made of a slave labor force composed of both mountain people and natives of neighboring countries; the Khmer later fell prey to conquest and subsequent bondage as the power of their kingdom waned. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Angkor was captured and looted a number of times, and thousands of scholars and artists were carried away to slavery. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were dominated by the rivalry of Siam and Vietnam for possession of the country, both its land and its people. In many cases during this period people were placed in slavery; those who escaped this fate suffered a different kind of forced labor—rendering unprecedented labor services to their own overlords who sought to avoid foreign encroachment. Serfdom became an integral part of the Cambodian economy. Before the penetration of the French, every able-bodied male between the ages of 21 and 50 owed the government up to 90 days a year of free labor service.

A second form of slavery was debt slavery—the enslavement of Cambodians by other Cambodians. This had its origins in the ransom paid by prisoners of war to escape perpetual slavery for themselves and their descendants. It carried with it much of the debasement of status and personality formerly connected with conquest and captivity. Debtors served not only their master, but also the king. The creditor or master was often obliged to have the debtor serve a given portion of his time on public works.

The French abolished these forms of slavery—a step resisted by the country's rulers at the time—in 1884, and decrees issued during 1936 and 1937 specifically prohibited forced labor. The French, however, were responsible for a system of contract labor

which, in practice, incorporated many of the features of forced labor. Workers recruited in northern and central Vietnam to work on the rubber plantations enjoyed few of the rights commonly associated with the status of free labor, and they were openly exploited by plantation owners.

Legislation of the past generation has corrected the major abuses of the contract labor system, and the workers on the rubber plantations, in particular, enjoy better working conditions than most other labor groups. In the mid-1960's, however, the former system of requiring debtors to serve a portion of their time on public works found its counterpart in the requirement that all civil and military servants of the government spend a portion of their time on public construction projects and in the continuing tradition that villagers contribute some labor without remuneration to public building undertakings in their locality (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force).

In 1967 abuses of the contract labor system had largely been corrected, and workers on the rubber plantations enjoyed labor conditions as good as or better than those of any other labor group. Debt servitude had been outlawed under the civil code, as set forth in a ministerial decree issued in 1944. It also was specifically to be prohibited under terms of the draft labor code, but forced labor had been instituted in another form. The reluctance of much of the economically active portion of the population to accept unattractive manual labor jobs was the apparent reason for the passage in 1964 of legislation making punishable by imprisonment the refusal on the part of unemployed persons who had registered for employment to accept suitable positions that were offered them by the government. There was no evidence, however, that this law had been enforced (see ch. 4, Population and Labor Force).

WAGES AND BENEFITS

Wages and living costs have increased radically in recent years, but the rise in cost of living has far outstripped the rise in wages. For example, in the period between 1954 and 1960, the cost of living increased by 40 percent, whereas wages remained stationary. The rate of the cost of living increase subsequently was somewhat less rapid. Figures for Phnom Penh alone showed an increase of about 20 percent between 1960 and 1966. The rice farmer suffered less from the rise in the cost of living than the wage earner, both because he received more for his rice crop and because he lived on the edges of a money economy.

In terms of purchasing power, industrial employment pays relatively low wages in comparison with other forms of non-

agricultural employment. Although industrial wages frequently exceed those received on the rubber plantations, the fringe benefits on the plantations far outweigh the additional money paid industrial workers.

There is much variation in industrial wage rates, depending on the skill, sex and age of the worker. A skilled worker receives almost twice as much as one who is unskilled, a situation resulting partly because farmers or agricultural workers often willingly accept work in the cities at exceptionally low wages during the off-season. Women's wages average more than 25 percent less than the wages paid men in the same positions; wages received by children are even lower. Although there are no exact statistics, it has been estimated that workers engaged in transportation and commercial pursuits receive the highest wages, and those engaged in the processing of agricultural goods, the lowest. It is possible, however, that workers engaged in the processing industries receive greater benefits in kind, which compensate them to some extent for their low money earnings.

Wages vary greatly throughout the national economic structure. In 1962 the estimated per capita income, according to a United States Department of State summary, was about the equivalent of \$80 annually. In 1966, however, the Prime Minister of Australia on a visit to Cambodia estimated the average at about the equivalent of \$130 annually. During the mid-1960's a few trained technicians and highly placed civil servants were paid salaries comparable to those received in the more highly developed economies. A university-trained civil servant might have received as much as \$1,500 per year for his starting salary, but the average government civilian employee earned about \$800 per year. An unskilled or semiskilled worker averaged about \$300 per year, whereas the cash earnings of an entire average rice-farming family usually amounted to less than \$100.

Except for rubber plantations—which were subject to separate legislation—the labor force was not covered by minimum wage laws, although an article in a 1967 government publication referred to the setting of minimum salaries by local administrations at the regional level. Legislation concerning the establishment of a minimum wage was proposed by the Ministry of Public Health and Labor, but it was never enacted into law. The failure of the proposed legislation did not, however, prevent the establishment of a system of wage scales. The system, designed initially to facilitate the determination of family allotments, became the basis for regulating wages.

Various forms of fringe benefits contribute significantly to the income of workers. Food, lodging, medical and educational bene-

fits are received by the rubber plantation workers, and most nonagricultural workers receive similar advantages, though on a smaller scale and not as systematically. Payment in kind is not common in nonagricultural employment, but in times of stress nonagricultural employees have received part of their wages in rice.

Farmworkers receive some pay in money, but a portion of their pay is customarily in kind. Hired workers usually live in the village where they are employed and return to their homes after the day's work. These workers receive a substantial noonday meal in the fields as part of their pay. Itinerant workers are provided meals and lodging, usually in the home of the employer.

The system of family allotments, introduced by the French in all of Indochina in 1948 and established as a national institution by Cambodia in 1955, is of great importance. Under this system, which covers industrial and commercial employment and the armed forces and the civil service as well, employers are obliged to contribute to the welfare of the worker's family. Employers contribute monthly to the Inter-Occupational Fund for Payment of Family Allowances, whose governing body (Administrative Council) is composed of the labor inspector, a representative of the responsible ministry, a representative of the employers and a representative of labor. The Mixed Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture selects the employers' representative, whereas the Administrative Council is authorized to select the workers' representative from a list of three names submitted by the labor inspector. Workers' and employers' representatives are chosen for a 3-year period and are eligible for reelection.

Payments from the Fund are made in the form of allowances for the worker's wife and children. These are on the following basis, regardless of the worker's salary: 15 percent of the base salary for his wife and 5 percent of the base salary for each of his first 10 children.

GRIEVANCE AND DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES

Grievances, which customarily concern wages and hours, are usually handled informally within business firms either by the employer or supervisor or, in large firms, by the personnel manager. Chinese workers employed by Chinese enterprises generally have sought satisfaction through internal procedures within their own guilds.

The few grievances brought before the government as disputes are classified as collective or individual. A collective dispute is one which has caused a work stoppage in all or part of a plant and involves an employer and at least 10 salaried or wage earning

workers who represent not less than one-fourth of the employees engaged in the same or similar work in a single plant. Any dispute not falling within this definition is considered an individual dispute.

For either kind of dispute the first step consists of conciliation by a labor inspector. The inspector, at the request either of the parties involved or of the chief administrative officer of the area, visits the establishment, where he conducts a hearing in an endeavor to bring the parties together. If he should prove unsuccessful, the individual dispute is brought before a council of magistrates of courts of the first instance.

For settlement of a collective dispute, a 1937 decree calls for arbitration by mixed commissions made up of employers and workers. In practice, however, the few arbitrated labor disputes have fallen in the individual dispute category. Between 1954 and 1960 the 305 cases reported all involved individual disputes. Of these, 257 were settled amicably by the labor inspectorate, and awards totaled the modest sum of 175,000 riels (see Glossary).

As an alternative to the conciliation and arbitration procedure, workers in state-owned enterprises may present grievances, of any nature, at the semiannual meetings of the National Congress or at the weekly royal audience of Prince Sihanouk. Finally, complaints of aggrieved state workers have appeared in *Le Contre-Gouvernement*, an influential publication of the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum—usually called Sangkum) initiated in 1966 (see ch. 16, Public Information).

No disputes are known to have resulted in strikes, although in 1961 a strike was threatened by the Railway Workers Association. In commenting on the threat, the government announced that it did not have a policy against strikes but that it reserved the right to dismiss anyone striking against a public enterprise.

In practice, strikes are almost impossible. The labor movement is too small and too poorly developed to act forcefully, and the government appears to have consistently taken the position that work stoppages are an affront to national unity and must be avoided wherever possible.

Under a 1927 Royal Ordinance, unions were prohibited from acting together to bring about a raising or lowering of wages or, under pain of dissolution, from giving financial or other assistance to striking workers. In addition, the application of a 1932 decree and certain provisions of the penal code appears to give the government the power to break a strike of workers in any service type of occupation. Strikes by public utility service workers are prohibited, and the government has the authority to declare any service a public utility. Finally, no public employees are permitted to strike.

Serious violations of employment rules are defined as theft, embezzlement, breach of trust, fraud, disclosure of trade secrets, sabotage, refusal to obey orders and endangerment of the health or safety of fellow employees. These are considered cause for dismissal, and there is no specific requirement that workers in either the public or the private sector who are dismissed for cause be given notice or severance pay. Disciplinary rules and rules relating to termination of employment are established by each public and private enterprise and must be posted in all workshops, warehouses and offices.

Disciplinary steps against civil servants are decided by a three-man board appointed by the ministry responsible for the activity. In the case of state-owned and mixed-ownership enterprises, dismissals for cause must be reported to the Ministry of Public Health and Labor, to the ministry responsible for the enterprise and to all other state-owned and mixed-ownership business organizations. Since these state and mixed entities are the major industrial and commercial employers, the system of cross-notification is an effective means of blacklisting the unsatisfactory worker.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Beginning in 1920 the French sponsored the formation of artisan organizations which came to be known as Cambodian guilds. All local craftsmen were organized into one of the five major guilds. Each guild appointed one of its members to represent it on a committee empowered to discuss quality standards, wages and other questions with the government. The guild did not, however, enjoy any of the prerogatives of a labor union. Its primary function was to improve the quality of Cambodian handicraft production and to facilitate the marketing of the goods produced.

A Royal Ordinance of 1926 made provisions for the establishment of labor associations but stipulated that such entities include employers as well as employees. They were, accordingly, envisioned as meeting grounds between management and labor rather than as instruments for social conflict.

Rules governing labor associations were liberalized by a 1956 law which is generally recognized as the basic legislation authorizing their establishment. Even though it did not abrogate the restrictive provision of the 1926 ordinance, no organizations are known to have included both employers and workers in its membership.

The 1956 enactment limited the number of unions, defined as professional or labor associations, to one for each category of

employment within a single province. Each association was to appoint an officer to direct its activities and to represent it in discussions with employers and with the government.

Under the legislation a labor association's major responsibilities are to secure employment for its members, propose price and wage scales and make certain that workers comply with decisions reached in negotiations with employers and the government. There is little information available on this subject, but there is reason to believe that labor associations are considered more a part of the government's apparatus to facilitate its dealings with an increasingly important segment of the population than independent organizations free to act to improve the working conditions of their members.

The exclusion of all foreign nationals from official positions may provide a clue to a secondary objective. Because of the dominant influence of foreigners—the French, Chinese and Vietnamese—in the industrial and commercial life of the country, the government may well look upon labor associations as one method of counterbalancing “foreign” economic control, by “Cambodianizing” the labor organizations and supporting their demands in any future dispute with foreign entrepreneurs.

A labor association attains legal status when its charter is approved by the government. Because of the various restrictions placed on them, however, the associations are not capable of performing the functions of labor unions as they are understood in the West.

Early in 1964 there were three of these entities, all located in Phnom Penh; their total membership was less than 1,500. The Dock Workers Association and the Railway Workers Association each had a membership of about 700, and the Transport Workers Association had about 50 members. Of the three, the Dock Workers Association appeared to be the most active. It was the only labor organization to have been officially recognized by the government and was reported to have a small staff to secure stevedoring contracts and to supply labor for handling cargo in Phnom Penh. It had also received a government subsidy for the erection of union offices, but it has denied being under government control.

The 1956 law prohibited the formation of associations of public employees, but since the Railway Workers Association is composed of government employees, it appears that the prohibition has not been enforced. Although it has not received formal authorization, no effort has been made to terminate its de facto existence.

For rural dwellers the cooperative movement represented a

kind of labor organization. Initiated by the Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) in 1956, a decade later its membership was estimated to include the heads of families representing about one-fourth of the country's population. The categories of cooperatives included rural credit, multipurpose, consumption, school and specialized production. Although the cooperative system cannot strictly be described as a labor movement, it provides a means for farmers to unite to improve their lot through collective action. By 1966, in fact, the cooperatives in Battambang, Takeo and Prey Veng Provinces had been federated into cooperative unions.

The largest and oldest of the management associations is the Mixed Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, formed in 1922 under an order issued by the governor general of Cambodia. All firms are eligible for membership. Its principal function during the mid-1960's was to advise its membership concerning such matters of general interest to businessmen as foreign trade and price controls, shipping, license fees, taxes, trade promotion and tourism. Its board of directors was made up of members named by the government, which thus was able to maintain close supervision over its activities.

In addition, there formerly were several associations of exporters and importers. These included the Association of Cambodian Exporters of Cereals, the Association of Cambodian Rubber Producers, and two importers' associations, one made up largely of officials of French-owned firms and one whose members were drawn from firms owned by Cambodian citizens. The importers' associations were disbanded after the nationalization of foreign trade in 1964 and replaced by 13 new importers' associations, each concerned with the distribution of a specific range of goods imported by the government (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations). In 1967 about 170 firms were members of these associations.

The numerous Chinese owners of small businesses of all kinds were organized into guilds which circulated trade information, advised their members on business policy matters and provided a wide range of mutual aid services. These guilds were unobtrusive, and little was known about them, but they appeared to play a significant part in the business as well as in the social life of the Chinese community.

CHAPTER 22

DOMESTIC TRADE

Domestic trade in 1967 continued to reflect the interaction of diverse but related influences—historical, geographic, cultural and traditional. Among the more important were the predominance of agriculture, the large proportion of the population living in village communities in a subsistence economy, the extent and characteristics of the small but growing domestic manufacturing sector, the increasing use of forms of transportation other than water, the still strong influence of the Chinese in commercial affairs, the attitude of the Khmer ethnic population toward industrial and business vocations and the rising general level of education.

Since independence, a money-credit economy has very gradually begun to replace the bartering which was the prevalent method of trading in the villages in preindependence days. Phnom Penh has continued to be an exception, and virtually every type of transaction could be completed there with cash or credit. Commercial banking facilities were, however, still completely lacking in the villages and rarely found even in the provincial capitals.

It was estimated that wholesale and retail trade accounted for 21 percent of the gross domestic product in 1964, the latest available year for which estimates had been made. This compared with an identified 41 percent for agriculture, forestry and fishing, 13 percent for public administration and defense, 9 percent for manufacturing, 6 percent for construction, 3 percent for electricity, gas and water and 2 percent for transportation, storage and administration.

The government's important role in domestic commerce through the operation of numerous government-owned enterprises and the regulation of trade continued to increase. The government performed the usual functions, such as the registration and inspection of local business firms, the promulgation and enforcement of weights, measures and quality standards, price controls, warehousing and storage regulations, sanitary regulations in the public markets, registration of trademarks and the collection and publication of domestic trade statistics. Addition-

ally, the government moved in recent years to directly manage commercial banking, insurance, foreign trade through the state trading agency, the National Import-Export Cooperation (Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation—SONEXIM) and the distribution of basic imported goods through a joint state-private corporation, the National Import Distribution Cooperation (Société Nationale de Distribution de Produits Importés—SONAPRIM).

One of the principal arms of the government involved in domestic trade continued to be the marketing machinery under the Royal Office of Coopération (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC). The overall objective of the OROC remained to narrow the price margins between retail and wholesale prices; to shift control, ownership and administration of domestic trade to Cambodian nationals from Chinese merchants; and to lower the level of interest rates commonly charged by private lenders. The mechanism for achieving these objectives was centered in the credit, consumer and producer cooperatives. Through the development of the cooperative movement, the government helped to maintain its persistent effort to build a Khmer-controlled national system of domestic trade.

The standard of living continued to rise, though slowly, at least in most parts of the country, and conventional notions of living necessities had broadened. The cash income of rural families available for the purchase of goods outside their communities remained small, but a portion was used for the purchase of goods that would not ordinarily be thought of as strictly essential.

Commerce and industry remained primarily the processing of agricultural raw materials, fish, vegetable oils, sugar products and forestry operations, plus the native handicraft industries. There were also some small manufacturing operations. A wide range of consumer goods needed in the daily life of the population continued to be produced and sold locally (see ch. 20. Industry).

DIRECTION AND COMPOSITION OF DOMESTIC TRADE

Over 80 percent of the people live in rural areas or village communities, and the bulk of their living is from agriculture, forestry, fishing or some combination of these occupations. Almost everywhere throughout the rural areas there is a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. Individual families produce a large part of what they consume, and community self-sufficiency is increased by internal exchange.

Although the rural communities consumed much or most of what they produce, there was, nevertheless, a surplus of certain

basic foodstuffs available for urban use and for export. Of these products the most important are rice, corn, soybeans, dry edible beans, palm sugar, beef, pork and poultry. In the larger cities, especially Phnom Penh, there is an extensive trade in the products of the commercial truck-gardeners.

The transportation routes—water, rail and highway—extend in a north-south direction, pivoting from Phnom Penh. For several reasons, mainly historical and geographic, Phnom Penh is the strategic center of commerce for the urban areas, both to the north and to the south. Its position at the “four arms” of the river system has determined the direction of flow of surplus raw materials from the hinterlands, and its access to the South China Sea has made it the major port of entry and distribution center for goods brought into the country from abroad.

Because of its access to the raw materials from the hinterlands, Phnom Penh developed into the major center for the production of the country’s manufactured goods. Thus, as the hub of commerce, it performs two economic functions of special importance to the rural areas; it processes their surplus products—rice, corn, lumber and livestock—for export or for consumption in Phnom Penh, and it manufactures many kinds of consumer goods for distribution in the provinces.

THE TRADING COMMUNITY

The Chinese still occupy a dominant position in commerce, both domestic and foreign, but they do not hold any monopoly privilege in this field. On the contrary, it is the policy of the government to bring about a transfer in the control over trade, shifting it from the Chinese to Cambodian citizens, particularly those of Khmer descent. Cambodian firms are favored by the government in both domestic commerce and in the controls over foreign trade, and numerous restrictions are placed on the commercial activities of noncitizens, a category to which Chinese are by law regulated. The Vietnamese, the Cham-Malays and the Indians also participate in commerce, frequently specializing in certain areas, but their role is a relatively minor one.

The Chinese

Although the Chinese first came to the country centuries ago, the major movement took place during the past 100 years. Initially they settled in Phnom Penh, working at whatever occupations were available until they had accumulated enough capital to start their own business enterprises. Some roamed the countryside as itinerant peddlers and eventually established small stores in the rural areas. The majority, however, continue to live in Phnom Penh.

The Chinese are not permitted to become citizens and, as aliens, their business activities are restricted in numerous ways. Frequently, however, the Chinese intermarry, and the children of such marriages, the Sino-Cambodians, are permitted to become citizens. These Sino-Cambodians often engage in commerce, where they are able to operate without the hampering restrictions placed on pure Chinese.

The Cambodians (Khmer)

Traditionally, the Cambodians looked disparagingly on business and commerce, preferring to engage in the vocations which had greater prestige, such as farming, religion and government service. Since the close of World War II, however, as a reflection of rising commercial consciousness accompanying the growth of nationalism, a considerable number entered commercial and industrial occupations on a full-time basis, and the government has sought in every possible way to encourage this trend. Laws have been passed which require foreign-owned firms to hire a high percentage of Cambodian nationals and to train apprentices for the assumption of technical and administrative responsibilities. As more apprentices are trained, the provisions of these laws are being more and more stringently enforced.

In addition, Cambodians who do enter business are being favored in many ways. The capital made available by the government through the Royal Office of Cooperation constitutes one mechanism for enlarging direct Cambodian participation in domestic trade and for freeing the local consumer and producer from dependence on Chinese and Vietnamese middlemen. Nevertheless, the traditional resistance to participation in commerce is proving difficult to overcome completely, and the Cambodians do not as yet play a dominant part in domestic trade.

To the extent that the government itself is entering into the trading community as it does through its ownership of the railroads, the telephone and telegraph systems, the banks, the insurance companies, hotels and certain productive industries—the Khmer are playing an important role.

Other Ethnic Trading Groups

Other ethnic groups in the trading community are the Vietnamese, the Cham-Malays and the Indians. Their influence on the pattern of trade is small in comparison to that of the Chinese and the Sino-Cambodians, but it is nevertheless significant. The Vietnamese, like the Chinese, are barred from citizenship and function as small shopkeepers in service vocations, such as electrical repairing and tailoring. They handle a large part of

the internal trade in fish (under Chinese financing) and also engage extensively in market gardening in the vicinity of Phnom Penh, disposing of their produce in the city's public markets. The Cham-Malays deal largely in livestock products, raising beef for urban consumption as well as for export. The Indians deal in many of the same goods as the Chinese, but with more emphasis on textiles and jewelry.

TRADE STRUCTURE

Small-scale manufacturing is common, and production, wholesaling and retailing are frequently combined in a single business enterprise. Nevertheless, wholesale and retail functions are rather well differentiated. While the wholesalers may make direct sales at their central places of business, very few of them established branch retail outlets of their own, and the bulk of their selling is to retailers.

Wholesale Trade

Most wholesaling is done in Phnom Penh, the center where almost all goods from abroad are received and where processed raw materials destined for export are gathered. The larger commercial firms in the area consist mainly of exporting and importing houses. Most of the importing houses dispose of their goods primarily at wholesale. The Phnom Penh wholesalers, who are mostly Chinese, maintain close working relationships, not only with the Chinese commercial houses in Saigon, Hong Kong and Singapore but also with the many Chinese merchants in the Cambodian interior, especially those in the provincial capitals.

The provincial capitals have had, in varying degrees, an independent existence as centers of provincial administration and small-scale industry, and they often derive much of their importance as staging and distribution points for goods on their way to and from Phnom Penh. Here the differentiation between wholesalers and retailers is less distinct than in Phnom Penh. Wholesalers act as retailers and also sell in job lots to local retailers and village merchants in the smaller communities. They also act as intermediaries for the assembly of local products, such as rice, palm sugar, lumber and related goods for sale to the wholesale, retail and export trade in Phnom Penh.

The rice that reaches Phnom Penh, for example, typically moves from the local rice mills into the hands of the provincial wholesalers, who, in turn, dispose of it to the Phnom Penh trade. In some cases, the wholesaling step is missing. Large restaurants, for example, often buy their rice directly from mills in bulk quantities at wholesale prices, and in the provinces the rice miller may sell directly to the retail merchant.

Wholesalers are almost always involved in the ownership of storage warehouses and in transportation. In addition, they often finance elements of the trade with which, in one way or another, their wholesaling operations are identified.

Retail Trade

Retailing is carried on almost entirely in small establishments operated by individual proprietors, by stallholders in the urban and village markets and by street vendors. The exception is Phnom Penh, where there are retail establishments of considerable size and complexity.

Every village and city has its open-air market place. Each vendor who sets up a stand pays the local government a tax for the privilege. In the larger cities the open-air market is also the commercial hub of the Western-type retail shops. The sale of agricultural produce in the open markets is mainly conducted by the farmers who produce it, but for products that are one or more steps removed from the source of production—textiles, for example—the vendors are, as a rule, Chinese, Sino-Cambodians, Vietnamese or Indians.

The typical Cambodian village is made up of 200 to 300 persons (see ch. 2, Physical Environment). Each supports from one to four stores, at least one of which is a small Chinese retail shop where simple farm implements, home necessities and provisions may be obtained. The store buildings are sometimes two stories in height with family quarters on the second floor, but more often they are a one-storied construction with a room or two set aside from the family living area for the exchange of goods.

Nearly all the farmer's basic needs are satisfied within the confines of the village, but occasionally he leaves the village for a brief journey to town, usually the provincial capital, to sell farm produce or to exchange it for goods not locally available. These trips often last for several days, and many diverse modes of transportation are on the roads at about the same time. Folklore is replete with embellishments of the wonders of these trips, reflecting the cultural variation between rural and urban life. The cool season, beginning in December, is a special time for travel.

In the marketplace full-scale bargaining is the universal practice. When a merchant quotes a price, it is merely an opening price, and any customer offer is to be regarded only as an opening offer. In the urban marketplaces bargaining is most often in the Vietnamese language, less often in Khmer.

Price markups are high. Many of the products are under price control, but the ceilings are difficult to enforce and are often evaded. The normal administrative problems characteristic of

price control or retail are compounded by the inadequacy of enforcement personnel. Wholesale prices are more easily controlled; this is especially true of imported goods.

TRADE PROMOTION

Trade Associations

There are Chinese, French and Cambodian commercial associations representing varied commercial interests engaged in trade promotion and in business affairs of mutual self-interest. The Chinese belong to their own associations and, in some cases, to those that are not specifically Chinese.

There are two import-export trade associations: the Association of Cambodian Exporters of Cereals and the Cambodian Association of Rubber Planters (Association des Planteurs de Caoutchouc au Cambodge). Their interest is primarily in the promotion of foreign trade, but members are also concerned with the purchase, transport and forwarding of Cambodian products.

Advertising

Sales promotion through newspaper advertising is generally practiced and is growing in importance. Some use is also made of billboard advertising. Advertising is employed in the motion picture houses and to some extent in the radio broadcasts.

TRANSPORTATION

Consumer goods are moved by water, road, rail and air from Phnom Penh into the interior, and by the same routes rice, fish, rubber and other agricultural products are transported to the capital city for processing or export. The transportation facilities are also of major importance in moving people to and from the urban centers for the transaction of their business affairs.

Water Transport

The inland waterways play an extremely important role in the country's domestic commerce since they provide access to most of the villages of the great central plain which are located along the banks of the numerous navigable rivers and lakes. The Mekong River is the principal waterway; its navigability varies, but even in the dry season it is navigable for small transport vessels for a considerable distance from Phnom Penh. The Tonle Sap, used primarily for transporting rice and fish, is by far the most important tributary in terms of its influence on commerce.

Several types of vessels are employed on the waterways. Most numerous are the junks and motor-driven sampans, and their

use is increasing. The junks are usually wind propelled. The use of barges has also been increasing; some are self-propelled, but most of them are towed by tugs. Automotive barges are used mostly for special purposes.

A hindrance to the ease of handling goods in commerce is the extent of the tidal range and the large seasonal variation in the levels of the Mekong, which require that the loading facilities at all of the inland waterway ports be built on floating wharves, from which the goods are stevedored by ramp to the riverbank receiving docks.

Since the port of Sihanoukville was opened in April 1960, tonnage handled by the new port has increased by nearly eight-fold (see table 10).

Rail Transport

In 1967 Cambodia had one major railroad, a single track line about 240 miles extending from Phnom Penh to Poipet on the Thailand border. The line has played an important role in the economy by regularizing the flow of rice and other agricultural products southward out of the Battambang Province.

Table 10. Traffic at the Ports of Phnom Penh and Sihanoukville, 1961-65

Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage		
		Imports	Exports	Total
<i>Port of Phnom Penh</i>				
1961	525	361,000	380,000	741,000
1962	625	487,000	411,000	898,000
1963	624	528,450	424,950	953,400
1964	490	325,600	382,200	707,800
1965	391	282,300	313,100	595,400
<i>Port of Sihanoukville</i>				
1961	89	35,084	60,401	95,485
1962	125	88,421	77,918	166,339
1963	154	143,122	226,436	369,558
1964	250	186,834	527,999	714,833
1965	226	265,095	489,463	754,558

Source: Adapted from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, *Basic Statistics as of 1st January, 1967*, p. 8.

Construction of a railroad between Phnom Penh and the new port of Sihanoukville is under way, and in 1967 it had been completed as far as Kampot, 104 miles from Phnom Penh; 70 miles remained to be completed.

Road Transport

The seasonal character of navigation has given special emphasis to the development of roads. The network of major highways comprises about 2,400 miles of national and 700 miles of

provincial roads. Although some are usable only during the dry season, most are in relatively good repair and are usable the year around. All are of great importance to the internal distribution of imports and domestic manufactures.

The basic highway system was designed by the French to connect all of the productive regions in the Thai, Cambodian and Laotian hinterlands with the port of Saigon in Vietnam as an integral part of the land transport pattern of the Indochinese Peninsula. The three national highways forming the framework of Cambodia's internal road system continue across the country's international borders to tie in with the road networks of Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.

Although most of the main roads run north and south, the recent trend is toward a radial pattern, with Phnom Penh as the focal point. The roads are used by large numbers of people, and the vehicles they use are of every sort, ranging from ox-carts, bicycles and the most modern trucks and cars. Although the number of motor vehicles on the highways is not great, their importance as an adjunct of domestic trades is probably more significant than their numbers would indicate. Where urban trading centers are rather widely separated and are located on highways that can be used throughout the year, any form of automotive transport is likely to be put to rather intensive use (see table 11).

Air Transport

The relative isolation of some of the major settlement areas has stimulated the development of air travel. The air routes are used primarily for passenger service, but they also carry a considerable tonnage of freight, much of which originates within the country.

Table 11. *Vehicle Registration in Cambodia, 1955 and 1966*

Kind of Vehicle	Year	
	1955	1966
Automobiles	2,766	18,893
Trucks	3,657	8,738
Buses	520	1,324
Motorcycles and scooters	1,180	11,822
Motor bicycles	n.a.	58,529
n.a.—not available.		

Source: Adapted from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, *Basic Statistics* as of 1st January, 1967, p. 8.

The three international airports in Cambodia are located at Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Sihanoukville, each with customs facilities. There are about 20 small airfields scattered throughout

the country at various points of strategic commercial importance. Many of the airfields permit loadings of light planes only, and some only in the dry season.

Royal Air Cambodge, the national airline, began operating in June 1964. In the latter part of 1967 the airline was providing service between Phnom Penh and Singapore, Canton and Hong Kong in addition to daily flights between Phnom Penh and Siem Reap.

CHAPTER 23

FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Foreign trade in 1967 continued to rest largely upon the processing of agricultural resources, especially rice, rubber, forest products and fish. Since the nationalization of foreign trade in 1964 trade with the Communist countries has grown markedly, and France's role as the greatest single supplier of imports has been challenged by sharp increases in the purchase of products from Japan and Communist China.

From the beginning of economic independence in 1954, exports and imports have shown a steady growth. In terms of foreign exchange, imports have consistently exceeded exports. The difference was covered mainly through aid funds from the United States through 1963 and, to a lesser extent, by aid from France and Communist countries and by drawing on accumulated foreign exchange reserves and current foreign exchange earnings. Transfer payments to the central government, comprising foreign aid grants, and assets of the commercial banks fell drastically after the termination of United States economic assistance in 1963 (see table 12).

All import and export transactions were carried out by the National Import-Export Corporation (*Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation—SONEXIM*). The government attempted to establish an annual equilibrium between foreign exchange earnings from exports and foreign exchange expenditures for imports, primarily through an annual import quota program which was based on estimated export possibilities for Cambodian products over the same period.

Growth of trade with Communist China accounted for half of the marked rise in trade with Communist countries, from the equivalent of about \$10 million in 1961 to over \$44 million in 1965.

Foreign aid has been received from several sources since independence was achieved in 1953. The United States had been the major donor, providing a total of \$267 million in economic and technical assistance from June 1955 to November 1963. Other foreign aid included the equivalent of about \$60 million from France, about \$50 million from Communist China, about

Table 12. Cambodia's Balance of Payments, 1964 and 1965¹
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	1964		1965	
	Credits	Debits	Credits	Debits
Goods and services				
Exports, f.o.b. ² -----	85	---	88	---
Imports, c.i.f. ² -----	---	104	---	97
Transportation and insurance -----	---	3	---	2
Foreign travel -----	---	(⁴)	(⁴)	---
Investment income -----	---	2	---	1
Government (not included elsewhere) -----	(⁴)	---	1	---
Other services -----	---	3	---	3
Transfer payments				
Central government -----	25	---	6	---
Private -----	---	---	1	---
Capital and monetary gold				
Nonmonetary sectors				
Private -----	---	(⁴)	3	---
Central government -----	(⁴)	---	10	---
Monetary sectors				
Commercial bank assets -----	---	13	2	---
National Bank of Cambodia -----	1	---	---	3
Errors and omissions -----	14	---	---	5

¹ The figures are derived from official estimates, which are based on the exchange record and which are published by the National Bank of Cambodia in *balance des paiements*. Supplementary information has been obtained from other sources. Cambodia has a multiple exchange system, and the figures, therefore, are not given in riels but have been converted by the International Monetary Fund staff into U.S. dollars for the Yearbook tables.

² Free on board.

³ Cost, insurance and freight.

⁴ Less than \$500,000.

Source: Adapted from *Balance of Payments Yearbook, 1961-65* (International Monetary Fund), July 1967.

\$25 million from the Soviet Union, about \$5 million from Eastern European countries, about \$4.2 million from Japan and miscellaneous assistance from other countries.

Most import duties were imposed for revenue purposes, but certain protective tariffs had been established to assist the growth of certain industries felt to be important to economic development. The country participated in the work of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) under special arrangements which allow GATT Contracting Parties to apply the agreement provisionally to their trade with Cambodia. Bilateral trade and payments agreements with Communist countries supplemented these multilateral trading relationships.

HISTORICAL TRADE PATTERNS

Before the establishment of the capital at Phnom Penh in 1434, internal and external trade was extremely small. Each

local community was, in effect, a self-contained economic unit, growing and producing its own necessities of life. Only as much land was cultivated as was needed to supply the local population with enough food to last until the new harvest; a small surplus was allowed for festive occasions and for bartering purposes. The national economy comprised hundreds of these localized subsistence units.

An important reason for the choice of Phnom Penh as the new capital was its extremely favorable site for trade, situated at the junction of three navigable rivers, and the choice signified an essential change in the nature of the society, from an almost self-sufficient economy to one dependent on foreign trade. The change arose from the increase in trade between Europe and Southeast Asia, notably in spices. Growing demand in China for goods from Southeast Asia stimulated trade in that direction also. The burgeoning of trade coincided with the entry of substantial numbers of foreign traders. The traders were largely Chinese, but there were also Japanese, Malays, Siamese and Indians.

Phnom Penh remained the only trading port until the advent of larger steam-powered ocean vessels. By the middle of the nineteenth century, at the beginning of French political influence, almost all sea trade was transhipped from river junks and steamers to ocean freighters at Cho Lon, which had become the center of Chinese trade with all of Indóchina.

In 1863 King Norodom signed a treaty with the French, and a protectorate was proclaimed in April 1864. In 1887 Cambodia became part of the Indochinese Union (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Between 1887 and 1940, the period during which the French developed their economic interests in Cambodia, the country became an important exporter of raw materials for processing abroad. During this period the French built roads and railroads, constructed and enlarged port facilities, initiated the construction of irrigation works, established a number of small industries to process a portion of the raw materials and organized trading houses and banks to handle and finance internal and foreign commerce.

An important phase of the economic development was rice acreage which formerly had been sufficient only for local needs. It was increased to such an extent that by the beginning of World War II Cambodia was among the world's three largest exporters of rice. The cultivation of rubber, begun in the early 1900's, by 1940 had made Cambodia the fifth largest rubber-producing country.

After the dissolution in 1955 of the Associated States Cus-

toms Union with Laos and Vietnam, Cambodia became less dependent upon France and South Vietnam as a source of imports and increasingly dependent on various Asian and United States sources of supply.

In recent years the country's foreign trade with Communist countries has grown markedly, from the equivalent of about \$10 million in 1961 to over \$44 million in 1965 (see table 13). Of this rise, the growth of trade with Communist China accounted for half. In 1966 trade with Communist countries reached an annual rate of over \$47 million, of which trade with Communist China provided over \$25 million.

*Table 13. Cambodian Trade With Communist Countries, 1963-65**
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	1963	1964	1965
Imports from Communist countries	20.0	19.7	29.7
Exports to Communist countries	13.6	13.3	14.7
Balance	- 6.4	- 6.4	-15.0
Imports from the Soviet Union	3.2	1.8	2.9
Exports to the Soviet Union	2.1	0.8	1.2
Balance	- 1.1	- 1.0	- 1.7
Imports from Eastern Europe	5.6	6.2	10.7
Exports to Eastern Europe	9.4	5.1	4.8
Balance	+ 3.8	- 1.1	- 5.9
Imports from Communist China	9.8	10.4	14.1
Exports to Communist China	1.5	6.2	6.5
Balance	- 8.3	- 4.2	- 7.6

*Total figures include trade with North Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia.

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, *Communist Governments and Developing Nations: Economic Aid and Trade*, July 1967, pp. 14 and 18.

BALANCE OF TRADE

Exports

Export commodities are largely primary products; rubber and rice constitute over four-fifths of the total (see table 14). The exports of both of these products reached record levels in recent years; in 1964 rice shipments rose to 493,196 tons valued at 2,002,483,000 riels (see Glossary); the following year rubber shipments reached a new high of 68,697 tons valued at 1,228,344,000 riels. The export of corn, timber products, pepper and pimento, kapok and livestock is also substantial (see ch. 19, Agriculture; ch. 20, Industry).

In order of importance the principal export destinations for 1965 were: France, 19 percent; Singapore, 15 percent; former French West Africa, 13 percent; Hong Kong, 8 percent; Communist China, 6 percent; the Philippines, 5 percent; Japan, 5

percent; the Federal Republic of Germany, 3 percent; and all other countries, over 25 percent (see table 15).

Table 14. *Cambodian Exports, 1964 and 1965*

Commodity	1964		1965	
	Quantity (in metric tons)	Value (in thousands of riels*)	Quantity (in metric tons)	Value (in thousands of riels*)
Rice and rice products	493,196	2,002,843	473,405	1,816,528
Rubber	41,124	755,768	68,697	1,228,344
Corn	148,502	283,918	81,564	178,084
Timber products	71,300	39,025	—n.a.—	—n.a.—
Pepper and pimento	836	26,213	1,805	69,668
Kapok	3,205	32,284	3,650	36,743
Livestock	3,359	15,585	4,548	24,479
Fish	866	5,684	—n.a.—	—n.a.—
Miscellaneous	-----	205,971	-----	336,168
TOTAL	-----	<u><u>3,367,291</u></u>	-----	<u><u>3,690,014</u></u>

*85 riels equal US\$1.

Source: Adapted from *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1965* (United Nations), p. 135.

Table 15. *Destinations of Cambodian Exports, 1964 and 1965*
(in thousands of riels*)

Country	1964	1965
France	679,820	709,492
Singapore	353,039	541,299
Former French West Africa	425,032	479,283
Hong Kong	270,798	276,905
Communist China	217,751	227,757
Philippines	28,430	199,334
Japan	137,552	192,031
Federal Republic of Germany	92,808	125,784
India	127,469	107,822
United States	85,873	106,253
North Vietnam	41,597	75,625
Yugoslavia	42,885	65,845
Soviet Union	27,519	42,171
South Vietnam	9,845	14,727
Other	826,873	525,686
TOTAL	<u><u>3,367,291</u></u>	<u><u>3,690,014</u></u>

*85 riels equal US\$1.

Source: Adapted from *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1965* (United Nations), p. 131.

The principal markets for rice and rice products are France and the franc area, Hong Kong and Communist China. The rubber exports are sent predominantly to France, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Singapore and Hong Kong are the principal markets for corn. The export trade

in timber products is almost entirely with Communist China. Pepper is exported mainly to France.

Imports

Imports comprise a wide variety of manufactured and processed commodities. The major import categories in 1965 were textiles, 17 percent; automotive equipment, 13 percent; chemicals, 12 percent; machinery, 10 percent; iron and steel products, 9 percent; petroleum products, 7 percent; pharmaceuticals, 6 percent; and all others, 26 percent, including food products, cement, paper and paper products, agricultural materials, glassware and pottery, alcoholic beverages and miscellaneous products (see table 16).

In a shift from the trading pattern that prevailed until recently, though France remains the country's greatest single supplier of imports, other sources have become increasingly important (see table 17). In 1965 Japan was second in importance with 17 percent; the previous year its share of imports had reached 21 percent, which exceeded France's 15 percent. Trade with Communist China has grown markedly in recent years, and in 1965 its share of imports was 14 percent.

Import trade in 1965 was divided among France, 20 percent; Communist countries, 28 percent; non-Communist Asian countries, 27 percent; and miscellaneous other countries, 25 percent. This division reflected changes in the nation's trading pattern which had been developing steadily between 1961 and 1965.

TRADE CHANNELS

Phnom Penh, with a reported 1965 population of 550,000, is the commercial center of the country. It serves as the collection point for most of the exports as well as the principal distribution center for the imports. The new port city of Sihanoukville, on the Gulf of Siam, is connected with Phnom Penh by a new road, and a railroad is being constructed. Since the port was opened in April 1960, tonnage handled by the new port has increased by nearly eightfold (see ch. 22, Domestic Trade).

Cambodia nationalized its foreign trade on March 1, 1964, and a state trading agency, SONEXIM, was created to replace private foreign trade firms. All import and export transactions are effected by SONEXIM. Its announced purpose is to give Cambodian nationals a greater role in the country's trading activities, to eliminate middlemen and to conserve foreign exchange through restrictions on imports of unnecessary or luxury items.

Thirteen Professional Associations, affiliated with SONEXIM,

Table 16. Imports of Cambodia by Commodity Group, 1964 and 1965
(in thousands of riels*)

Commodity	1964	1965
Textiles		
Cotton cloth	188,764	288,583
Thread	55,256	61,180
Other textiles	253,345	252,283
Total	497,365	602,046
Automotive equipment		
Engines	53,339	107,387
Rubber tires and tubes	75,103	110,866
Cycles and parts	44,943	94,969
Passenger cars	59,667	74,918
Trucks	33,281	67,487
Total	266,333	455,627
Chemicals	350,167	443,954
Machinery		
Industrial	81,541	106,975
Electrical and equipment	218,923	263,393
Total	300,464	370,368
Iron and steel products	198,221	338,443
Petroleum products	226,593	241,111
Pharmaceuticals	202,263	226,632
Food products		
Milk and cream	68,737	56,882
Other dairy products	8,954	8,141
Flour	59,327	25,778
Sugar	21,974	25,542
Total	158,992	116,343
Cement	83,727	89,476
Paper and paper products	59,302	88,830
Agricultural materials		
Agricultural machinery	60,830	23,223
Tractors	45,232	22,498
Fertilizers	16,725	10,273
Total	122,787	55,994
Glassware and pottery	31,125	35,106
Alcoholic beverages	24,270	32,862
Miscellaneous	341,461	505,858
TOTAL	2,863,070	3,602,650

*85 riels equal US\$1.

Source: Adapted from *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1965*
(United Nations), pp. 133, 134.

comprise a total of 168 trading firms that sell imported goods. Each of these deals with a specific range of goods, and some trading firms are members of several associations in order to handle different types of goods.

Table 17. Country Sources of Cambodian Imports, 1964 and 1965
(in thousands of riels*)

	1964	1965
France	430,334	723,412
Japan	592,200	611,364
Communist China	364,544	492,265
United Kingdom	121,274	182,791
Czechoslovakia	126,695	180,756
Federal Republic of Germany	110,543	156,957
Singapore	30,997	133,424
Indonesia	206,325	121,756
India	147,004	121,420
United States	140,147	109,084
Soviet Union	69,114	90,156
Poland	41,036	87,095
North Vietnam	44,302	69,272
Hong Kong	117,475	68,247
South Vietnam	3,343	7,441
Other	317,737	447,210
TOTAL	<u>2,863,070</u>	<u>3,602,650</u>

*35 riels equal US\$1.

Source: Adapted from *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1965* (United Nations), p. 131.

In November 1964 a joint state-private corporation, the National Import Distribution Corporation (Société Nationale de Distribution de Produits Importés—SONAPRIM), was formed by the Ministry of Commerce to wholesale and retail imported products “of prime necessity” and, through its operation, to help stabilize prices. In addition, private firms that are members of the Professional Associations may be authorized by the government to act as wholesalers for essential goods imported by SONEXIM.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID

From the beginning of its independence Cambodia has received foreign economic aid from several sources. Skills and capital far beyond its own resources have been contributed to assist in the economic development of the country.

France

The total amount of aid received from France from 1956 through 1961—expressed in United States dollars—amounted to approximately \$60 million. These funds have been variously used for, among other purposes, the construction of the port of Sihanoukville, the construction of the main runway and terminal buildings at Pochentong airport at Phnom Penh, the construction of the Phnom Penh-Sihanoukville railroad and expansion of the

port of Sihanoukville. French aid also provided a modern hotel adjoining the Faculty of Medicine of the Royal Khmer University and is helping to build a new *lycée*, a high school of agriculture and another of engineering.

Communist China

Aid supplied by Communist China from 1954 through 1966 totaled approximately \$50 million. The first Chinese aid program, totaling 800 million riels, was initiated in 1956 and was used almost exclusively for the construction of a paper factory, a plywood factory, a textile factory and a cement plant (see ch. 20, Industry). The second aid program, comprising a promised 400 million riels, began functioning in 1962 and, after some revisions, included building a second textile mill and a glass plant, expanding the cement plant and first textile mill and enlarging the airstrip at Siem Reap.

The Soviet Union

Aid from the Soviet Union has included the construction of a modern 500-bed hospital in Phnom Penh, construction and equipment of a technical high school and construction of a dam and a 50,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant at Kamchay. The value of Soviet Union aid from 1954 through 1966 was the equivalent of approximately \$25 million, including a grant of \$4 million extended in 1966.

Eastern Europe

The total amount of aid supplied from Eastern European sources from 1954 through 1966 was the equivalent of approximately \$5 million. This included aid from Yugoslavia for the construction of three minor dams and a 3,000-kilowatt thermal-power plant in the Kirirom highlands and machinery from Czechoslovakia for a palm-sugar refinery, a tire plant and an assembly line for tractors.

Japan

An aid agreement between Japan and Cambodia concluded in mid-1959 provided for total grant assistance of 1,500 million yen (\$4.2 million at the rate of 360 yen equal US\$1). The agreement was terminated in July 1966. Grant aid under the agreement was used to construct and operate technical cooperation centers for agriculture and for medicine and a center for animal stock breeding.

Other

In 1966 the Federal Republic of Germany initiated an aid

program which was to comprise the construction of a technical school, a railroad terminal at Sihanoukville and a modern slaughterhouse and the delivery of railroad rolling stock. Aid has been received from Australia, Canada and New Zealand under the Colombo Plan (see Glossary).

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The rate structure of the new import tariff adopted in August 1959 is designed mainly to produce revenue. Protective rates have been established, however, for some agricultural products and certain manufactured articles produced locally as a means of stimulating their production.

Cambodia has a dual-column tariff system with minimum and general rates; the general rate is three times the minimum tariff. The minimum rates apply to the GATT Contracting Parties and to countries which have special agreements with Cambodia. The general tariff applies to all remaining countries. In 1962 the tariff rate structure was modified somewhat, and some commodities became subject to tariff rates which are between the minimum and general rates. These intermediate tariffs can be applied to non-GATT countries that give preferential treatment to Cambodian products.

In April 1962 Cambodia concluded with the GATT Contracting Parties and with the European Economic Community (EEC) a protocol providing for the accession of Cambodia to GATT and the provisional application of certain parts of the General Agreement to trade between Cambodia and the other nations. The protocol was approved by the GATT Contracting Parties, acting jointly, in June 1962. In October 1964 Cambodia informed the executive secretary of the GATT Contracting Parties that its government did not envisage accepting the protocol for its accession to the GATT. A decision of November 1958 allowing GATT Contracting Parties to apply de facto the GATT to their relations with Cambodia has therefore been continued. In March 1967 the country was one of two listed by the GATT Information Office as those "which participate in the work of the Contracting Parties under special arrangements."

Government controls are applicable to all imports and exports. An annual import program is prepared by the Ministry of Commerce. Twice a year the National Bank of Cambodia places at the disposal of the Ministry a specific amount of foreign exchange to pay for the programmed imports. The import program for each year is based on export possibilities for Cambodian products over the same period; the objective is equilibrium between foreign exchange earnings from exports and foreign exchange expenditures for imports. For calendar year 1966

the import program envisaged total imports valued at 3 billion riels; on July 1 of that year the revised import program reduced the total value of anticipated imports by 10 percent, or 300 million riels.

All exports are effected by SONEXIM in accordance with the annual export program prepared by the Ministry of Commerce. Export proceeds are surrendered to the National Exchange Office.

CHAPTER 24

FINANCIAL AND MONETARY SYSTEM

In 1967 the country continued to rely on controlled but persistent deficit financing. Since independence massive budget deficits had been financed largely by advances from the National Bank of Cambodia, and this practice had accelerated after the termination of United States aid in 1963. The probability of suppressed inflation was indicated by fragmentary data, but the predominantly subsistence character of the economy served to mask or restrain the inflationary pressures arising from the government's fiscal policies. There had been a recorded rise in the cost of living, but the increases in consumer prices were felt primarily by middle-class householders, and particularly by the remaining Europeans.

In 1964 the government nationalized the eight existing private commercial banks and created two new state commercial banks to take over their functions and absorb their assets. This step greatly increased the government's penetration and control of the financial community and was accompanied by a corresponding stagnation in the activities of privately owned enterprises. At the same time the government fostered a slowdown in economic development by allowing a 2-year period (1965-66) in which major projects that had been started in the last years of the first Five-Year Plan (1960-64) would be completed but no new ones would be initiated. It explained this policy as necessary because the country's entire technical and financial executive capacity was temporarily fully engaged.

BUDGET AND FISCAL POLICY

Government expenditures have been persistently higher than government revenues since 1957. The budget deficit has been covered by current foreign aid and by National Bank financing (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations). National Bank contributions rose to a new record total of over 1 billion riels (see Glossary) in 1966. The fragmentary data available in the 1967 budget estimates indicate that the government hopes to reduce the budget deficit and the consequent advance from the National Bank, but the success of the government's efforts hinges upon

obtaining a 10-percent increase in revenues above the 1966 total of 4.9 billion riels and reducing expenditures by about 5 percent from the 1966 level to 6.7 billion riels. Despite this modest attempt at fiscal austerity, however, there is little evidence that the government plans to modify significantly its past fiscal policies.

Estimated government expenditures rose 9 percent between 1963 and 1965, compared to a 1-percent fall in revenues from domestic sources in the same period (see table 18). During this period, expenditures on defense rose only 6 percent, whereas current outlays on civil account rose 34 percent. Expenditures on education rose approximately 8 percent during the 1963-65 period and were budgeted to continue their increase during the subsequent 2 years. In accordance with the government's intention to allow an intermediate period for the completion of large projects started during the first Five-Year Plan, capital outlays for new development were eliminated from the budgets of 1965 and 1966.

The most recent governmental statement available claimed that the major projects included in the first Five-Year Plan "had absorbed all the [nation's] executive capacity, technical and financial" (see ch. 18, Character and Structure of the Economy).

After the termination of United States assistance in 1963, the government turned to loans from other foreign sources to finance investment in economic infrastructure (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations). The reduced pace of economic development caused by this change and the enforced "pause" in the development process because of the country's allegedly having reached the limit of its economic absorptive capacity might temporarily reduce inflationary pressures below the rate of the 1960-64 period when the cost-of-living index of the working class population of Phnom Penh rose by about 20 percent. The continued resort to deficit financing, however, must inevitably lead to "social discontent as a result of the decrease in the purchasing power of the currency," as the National Bank's governor publicly emphasized in 1966.

Major taxes are levied on imports and on the sale of goods within the country. Tax collections on income and profits—paid largely by national and foreign companies, civil servants and professionals—have fallen slightly since 1963, reflecting the economic nationalization measures announced late in that year, and are now almost one-quarter of the total of customs duties and indirect taxes. Farmer cultivators pay few taxes on their agricultural transactions, and low-income salaried personnel in com-

Table 18. Revenue and Expenditures of the Cambodian Government, 1963-65
(in millions of riels*)

	1963	1964	1965
Revenues			
Tax revenues			
Direct	525	511	515
Indirect	1,182	1,284	1,393
Customs duties	1,223	996	932
Other taxes	295	637	734
Other revenues	959	1,044	556
Total revenues	<u>4,184</u>	<u>4,472</u>	<u>4,130</u>
Expenditures			
Defense	1,384	1,550	1,470
Current civil expenditures			
Agriculture	203	237	238
Industries	10	18	341
Transport and communications	260	297	865
Education	1,114	1,173	1,208
Health	340	351	335
Other administrative and miscellaneous ..	1,489	1,566	1,643
Capital outlay for development	800	1,050	-----
Total expenditures	<u>5,600</u>	<u>6,242</u>	<u>6,100</u>
Deficit			
United States military aid	350	-----	-----
Advances to treasury	300	820	680
Internal and external borrowing	383	600	1,030
Deposits and various accounts	383	350	260
Total deficit	<u>1,416</u>	<u>1,770</u>	<u>1,970</u>

*35 riels equal US\$1.

Source: Adapted from *Colombo Plan Fourteenth Annual Report*, November 1966, pp. 76, 77, 89, 90; and United Nations, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1966*, March 1967, pp. 278, 280.

panies, on plantations and in the government are also lightly taxed.

Revenue from duties had risen when the volume and value of imports increased, but its future growth will be restrained by the necessity to limit imports to the anticipated level of exports (see ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations). The stage of economic development in 1967 and the probable rate of economic growth support the supposition that sales taxes on readily identifiable consumer goods will continue to be a major source or revenue.

CURRENCY SYSTEM AND THE NATIONAL BANK

Cambodia established its own central bank and independent currency system after the Paris Accords were signed on December 24, 1954. These Accords established the terms of transfer of the

monetary institutions of the Associated States—Cambodia, North and South Vietnam and Laos—and dissolved the joint Bank of Issue of the Associated States which had been organized in 1949 to serve as the area's currency authority. When the National Bank was created in 1955, the country adopted its present currency system. The currency unit, called the riel, has the official rate of 35 riels to the United States dollar.

The National Bank is the exclusive bank of issue for the country, the depository for government funds and foreign exchange reserves and the rediscounting agency for commercial paper. In July 1964 the Council of Ministers enacted a fundamental revision of the Bank's 1954 statute; this followed a preliminary government decree of December 16, 1963 (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

The Bank's new statute amended the 1954 law to give the Bank functions beyond those traditionally associated with central banks. In addition to its exclusive rights as the bank of issue, the National Bank was also made responsible for the stability of the currency and of the nation's foreign exchange reserves and the "distribution of credit in a manner to favor the full development of economic activity."

The 1964 statute placed the National Bank directly under the Chief of State and gave him the power to appoint its governor and one or two deputy governors. The Bank's capital was increased from 100 million riels to 150 million riels, and the previous provision for 25 percent participation by private capital was deleted.

The new statute continued to provide for a board of directors—called the Council of Administration—but drastically altered the composition of the Council. The earlier provisions for a director representing private shareholders and three directors representing private banking, trade, industry and agriculture were deleted. The Ministry of Finance continued to have the right to appoint one director, and the following ministries or agencies were authorized to name one director each: Plan, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC), National Development Bank (Caisse Nationale d'Équipement—(CNE) and Khmer Bank of Commerce (Banque Khmer pour le Commerce—BKC).

The National Bank was authorized to grant advances to the treasury, but these may not exceed 25 percent of the revenue of the government for the preceding fiscal year. The Bank was also required to maintain reserves in gold or foreign exchange equal to at least 33 percent of the money in circulation. Both of these provisions were unchanged from the previous statute. In practice, the gold and foreign exchange backing of the currency has been

considerably in excess of the statutory requirement. In April 1966, the latest date available, foreign exchange and gold reserves were the equivalent of US\$100.8 million, or 3.78 billion riels. This total was nearly half of the money supply at the end of 1965.

Despite the wide margin of foreign exchange backing of the currency, the riel has sold at discount in free markets in Asia. At the end of 1964 the Hong Kong free market rate had moved to 113 to the United States dollar from the late 1963 figure of 96 riels to the dollar, thus reflecting the economic and financial difficulties encountered in 1964 immediately after the termination of United States economic assistance. During 1965 the rate steadied and was quoted at an average of 88 riels in December of that year. By September 1966, the latest date available, the average rate quoted in the Hong Kong free market was 84 riels to the United States dollar.

The National Bank, by the terms of its 1964 statute, might issue new currency in an amount equal to its temporary advances to the treasury and the credit operations the Bank was authorized to conduct. It could participate without limit in the capital of all financial or banking institutions created domestically or abroad to assist in the development of Cambodian agriculture, handicrafts, industry or commerce. Previously, participation was limited to 10 percent of the capital of any such institution.

The Bank might advance loans for periods up to 90 days, rediscount or purchase commercial paper for foreign or domestic trade up to 180 days and extend credit for general, commercial or production purposes up to 300 days.

The previous statutory directive to the National Bank to vary the volume of its credit to the agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors in response to their needs was continued by the 1964 statute. In addition, the Bank was instructed to prevent or modify inflationary or deflationary tendencies harmful to the economic growth of the nation. If the volume of monetary circulation increases or decreases in an "abnormal" manner, the Bank's governor must present to the Chief of State a detailed report on the causes and possible consequences of the change of production and employment levels, prices and general economic activity. The report was to include recommendations for measures to restore monetary and economic equilibrium. Formerly, a report was required whenever money in circulation changed by 15 percent in comparison with the same month a year earlier.

The National Bank was unable to undertake open market operations to influence the economy in the manner directed by the statutes because of the lack of a market for commercial paper or treasury bonds and the absence of publicly held debt. The Bank

was also limited in its flexibility by the recurring need to advance large sums to the treasury to finance the persistent budget deficits.

THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

The National Development Bank (Caisse Nationale d'Équipement—CNE) was established on January 14, 1956, to finance the national development program. It received from the government an initial budgetary allocation of 100 million riels for projects under public ownership and management. Further allocations of 400 million riels were lent to small borrowers in agriculture and industry. Its interest rates vary from 3 percent for medium-term crop loans to the agricultural sector to 5 percent for long-term loans to the industrial sector.

THE ROYAL OFFICE OF COOPERATION

The Royal Office of Cooperation (Office Royale de Coopération—OROC) was created in June 1956 as an autonomous agency of the government to help create and assist agricultural cooperatives. It succeeded a number of earlier government-created loan institutions, all devoted to providing credit at lower than market rates. It is administered by a board headed by the president of the Council of Ministers and including the ministers of the economics departments, the governor of the National Bank and delegates from affiliated cooperatives.

A major reason for the creation of the OROC was the traditional reliance of farmers on moneylenders for short-term borrowings, including the rates allegedly charged by moneylenders (largely Chinese merchants), ranging from 35 to 225 percent a year. The OROC was conceived as a means for breaking the hold of the moneylenders and at the same time financing a rationalization of farmer holdings (see ch. 19, Agriculture).

The OROC was endowed with a capital of 200 million riels; half was subscribed by the government and half by the existing cooperatives. Subsequently, additional funds have been advanced to the OROC by the National Bank at interest charges of 5 to 7 percent. The total credit advanced by the OROC was reportedly 158 million riels at the end of 1964.

The OROC provides funds to village cooperatives which, in turn, grant loans to their members or to producer cooperatives. Its interest charges in 1967 were 12 percent for short-term loans and 9 percent for loans of 1 to 5 years.

In the second quarter of 1964, the OROC formed a dependent organization known as the Rice Purchasing, Processing and Reconditioning Service (Service d'Achat de Transformation et de Réconditionnement du Riz—SATRAR) to purchase rice from

farmers and process it for later resale to the National Import-Export Corporation (Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation—SONEXIM) (see ch. 19, Agriculture; ch. 23, Foreign Economic Relations).

STATE COMMERCIAL BANKS

All of the eight private banks were nationalized on July 1, 1964. Concurrently with the announcement of this move in mid-November 1963, the government purchased the private Cambodian-owned Banque Khmer (Khmer Bank) and converted it into a state commercial bank known as the Khmer Bank of Commerce (Banque Khmer pour le Commerce—BKC). Before this step the Khmer Bank had reportedly functioned as the commercial arm of the National Bank. The capital of 100 million riels is held entirely by the National Bank.

The BKC is limited to financing import and export transactions for the SONEXIM and controlling foreign exchange allocations made by the National Exchange Office of the National Bank.

In late June 1964, just before the nationalization of all private banks, the National Assembly created another state commercial bank, the National Credit Bank (Crédit National). This bank is focused on the promotion of industrial development. The National Credit Bank was initially capitalized at 100 million riels. In addition to its headquarters office in Phnom Penh, the National Credit Bank has branch offices in Kompong Cham, Sihanoukville and Svay Rieng.

The staffs of two French-owned banks, the Franco-Chinese Bank and the National Bank of Commerce and Industry assisted the new state commercial banks during the transition.

MONEY SUPPLY

The total money supply remained almost steady in the early 1960's, rising only 100 million riels, from 7.6 billion riels in 1962 to 7.7 billion riels in 1965. Demand deposits fell from 4.3 billion riels in 1962 to 2.9 billion riels in 1965. In contrast, currency in circulation rose from 3.3 billion riels in 1962 to 4.8 billion riels in 1965.

This total monetary stability was largely because of the nationalization of commercial banks in 1964 and the consequent decline in the proportion of production moving in commercial channels. Countervailing forces were a small rise in the volume of economic activity and continued recourse to deficit financing by the government.

SECTION IV. NATIONAL SECURITY

CHAPTER 25

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

Cambodians are, by and large, an orderly and law-abiding people. Because of a high code of personal morality rooted in Buddhist ethics, they adhere, for the most part, to the disciplines imposed by family and social group. The long, violent years of the Indochina War disrupted the tranquility that had prevailed in the country for almost 100 years, and gave lawless elements the opportunity to gain an ascendancy that required a major national effort to suppress.

During the first few years of independence banditry and dissident guerrilla activity became a serious problem, but a vigorous campaign by combined army and police forces succeeded in restoring order to the country. In April, 1967 insurgent activity broke out in Battambang Province and dissident activity also erupted in northeastern Cambodia among the tribal peoples. Because of the threat to the country's security the army took command of the military, paramilitary and police units in various sectors.

Statistics on the incidence of crime are incomplete and cannot be confirmed, but the limited records available indicated a relatively low rate for the area. Violations of administrative regulations, such as health, antinoise or licensing ordinances, were the most prevalent types of offenses, while theft was at a lower level, and crimes of violence, from assault to homicide, were extremely rare. There was no evidence of organized banditry, and life and property were generally secure throughout the country.

Penal codes and codes of criminal procedures introduced during the colonial regime were still the country's basic criminal law in 1967. The government had made some revisions in the courts and judicial system, but the changes were not radical and did not depart from familiar French precedents. Courts were generally equitable, and justice tended to be lenient rather than harsh or oppressive.

Law enforcement is in the hands of the Royal Khmer Police, a loosely centralized force under the Secretary of State for Surface Defense, a subordinate activity of the Ministry of the In-

terior (see ch. 13, The Governmental System; ch. 26, The Armed Forces). It was given its present designation in 1959 as a result of a reorganization that brought under one authority all of the country's law enforcement activities. It includes rural and municipal police organizations, as well as the paramilitary Surface Defense Force comprising the Provincial Guard and the Chivapol.

The scattered distribution pattern of the country's population in thousands of small villages and few urban centers makes it difficult for any level of government to operate an efficient police system. In small settlements of 300 or less which cannot afford to maintain a police force, the problem is even further aggravated. In spite of this, however, the country's police force, combining professional and volunteer forces, has been able to achieve a noteworthy record of maintaining law and order and ensuring a high degree of internal security.

SOCIAL CONTROLS

Respect for constituted authority is traditional in Cambodian society, and the influence of family and kinship group has created an attitude and outlook responsive to an ordered and disciplined code of behavior. Ingrained loyalty to the king, now transferred to the Chief of State, has served as a restraining influence in governing individual conduct, and the traditional hierarchy of authority is recognized and accepted. Religion has also had an important role in conditioning the people, and pacific Buddhist doctrines have fostered a degree of tranquility and nonaggressiveness.

After the arrival of the French in the nineteenth century, the colonial regime introduced a modern judicial and police framework patterned after France. This was new in form, but not radically different in principle or concept, since it conformed generally to accepted attitudes toward crime and punishment. Acceptance was further facilitated by the retention of many traditional forms and usages and their incorporation into the new codes. In general the people had no difficulty in adjusting to the new patterns of behavior, and for years the French found Cambodia one of the more tractable territories in their colonial empire.

Urbanization has been slow throughout the country, although Phnom Penh has had a marked growth since World War II. Other than the capital, there are only 10 towns with populations ranging from 10,000 to 45,000. As a consequence social and economic change has been gradual, and the country has escaped most of the modern categories of crime associated with burgeoning cities.

Throughout the countryside the concept of public order based

on national law is generally accepted without question, and the modern courts are the instruments of official authority. The restraints instilled by family and group ties continue to exert their influence, but the control mechanism of the country is considerably more modern than traditional.

Title II of the Constitution—Liberties, Rights and Duties of Cambodians—is designed as a bill of rights to protect the individual and ensure the equitable administration of justice. Among the principles outlined are equality under the law, the assumption of innocence until guilt is proved, freedom from arbitrary search and arrest and the opportunity for an adequate defense. The Constitution further ensures freedom of the press, freedom of religion, movement and assembly and the right of peaceful demonstration. Title V is concerned with the judiciary and prescribes the jurisdiction, structure and composition of the major tribunals.

The public attitude toward the police has varied over the years, from respect to fear. The use of foreigners, especially Vietnamese, as policemen did much to alienate the police from the people, and the emphasis on enforcing compliance with alien French laws and regulations fomented an attitude of prejudice and distrust. Since independence the public's image of the police has improved. By the early 1960's there were no foreigners on the force, better training refined and improved police performance and methods, and the continuing emphasis was to establish the police as the friends and protectors of the community.

Other than a thin veneer of police supervision, the citizen is confronted with few mechanical controls or repressions. The police control the issuance of passports, and foreign travel is carefully regulated. Ordinances affecting the economy, such as price controls and marking requirements, are strictly enforced, and hotel registers must be submitted periodically for official inspection. There are, however, no indications of a national identity card program of the kind that exists in many other former French colonies, and in general the law-abiding citizen meets with little police intrusion into his daily life.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The judicial system is based on French juridical principles but incorporates, to an extent, traditional forms and practices that have been adapted to conform to modern French legal codes. The first modern penal code was introduced by the French shortly after the establishment of the protectorate. It was periodically revised over the years, the latest revision being 1956, and it is that edition which was in force in 1967.

The extraterritorial system of separate jurisdictions for Cambodians and non-Cambodians in effect during the colonial era was done away with immediately after independence, and all residents of the country are not subject to trial by Cambodian courts. Although all French courts were abolished at that time, the court structure remains essentially the one built upon the framework established by the French and patterned closely along Western lines.

The Constitution states that the principle of separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers of government is alien to Cambodian tradition. It provides that judicial power is exercised in the name of the king by the various tribunals according to their degree of jurisdiction. In practice, except for the executive powers granted to the king, or, in 1967 the Chief of State, separation does exist, and one of the principal responsibilities of the High Council of the Magistracy is to ensure the independence of judges (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

The judicial mechanism does not, however, provide checks to executive or legislative power, and it is frequently vulnerable to outside influences and pressures. Further, it does not have the power to interpret the Constitution, a prerogative which is assigned, without appeal, to the National Assembly. Nevertheless, the combination of traditional and Western concepts of jurisprudence has resulted in a system that has generally provided both individual safeguards and clear functional delineations.

Police officers are empowered to act as a summary court and may fine offenders on the spot for traffic violations or minor police regulations. When fines cannot be paid, prison terms may be imposed. This is a practice that often led to abuses and harassment of the people and in recent years has brought strong corrective action by the Chief of State.

An anticorruption committee headed by Prince Sihanouk has been active since 1962 and has slowly been effecting needed reforms. Several high police officials have been dismissed, and the range of penalties that could be imposed directly has been drastically reduced. Maximum fines for simple infractions at the misdemeanor level have been reduced from 10,000 to 500 riels (see Glossary), and prison terms for these offenses reduced from 2 years to 5 days.

Penalties imposed by the courts are classified in two basic categories: criminal or correctional punishment. Within each category there are three degrees, ranging in severity from first up to third. Criminal punishment involves felonies and serious offenses, and the maximum category, criminal punishment of the third degree, carries the death penalty or life imprisonment. First degree criminal penalties entail imprisonment ranging from 6 to

10 years; second degree ranges from 6 years to any maximum, excluding a life term. Correctional imprisonment is applied in cases of lesser offenses where a sentence may not exceed 5 years of imprisonment. Correctional penalties of the first degree range from 6 days to 1 month, second degree from 1 month to 1 year and third degree from 1 to 5 years. The limits of allowable punishment generally determine the level of court to which a case is referred.

Criminal Court Structure

The court structure is fundamentally a continuation of the French system of the colonial era, although some changes have been effected since independence. Article 113 of the 1956 revision of the Constitution states that the organization of the judiciary is regulated by a special law and that conformance with the provisions of this law will be ensured by the High Council of the Magistracy. Titled *The Judicial Organization of Cambodia*, the law prescribes in general terms the types of courts authorized and outlines their composition and limits of jurisdiction.

The court structure in 1967 comprised four types of tribunals concerned with criminal matters; the local courts, courts of first instance, criminal courts and the Court of Review. The one Court of Review was similar in function to the French Court of Cassation (*Cour de Cassation*) and was the final court of appeal in criminal matters. Although there was a court designated the Court of Appeal in the judicial framework, its jurisdiction was limited to civil cases.

The competence of the various types of trial court was generally determined by the levels of criminal offenses recognized by the penal code. Thus misdemeanors (*contraventions de police*) are referred to a local court; the lesser criminal offenses (*délits*) are tried by a court of first instance; and felonies (*crimes*) are assigned to a criminal court. In certain special cases, appeals from the findings of local courts could be carried directly to the Court of Review on questions of law, but the normal channel was to the court of first instance in the area. Decisions of these latter courts were appealed to the criminal court, and the criminal court's findings were in turn appealed to the Court of Review, which in any case reviewed their legal rulings on a routine basis.

Local courts were summary in nature, and a single magistrate functioned in a manner similar to an American justice of the peace, conducting all aspects of a trial. Courts of first instance, presided over by three magistrates and employing a jury of six men, were found in each of the provinces. Eight criminal courts, operating in a similar manner, were distributed throughout various parts of the country.

There were numerous other types of courts, but these had specialized and limited functions and were not part of the normal criminal court hierarchy. There were commercial courts for civil arbitration and special military tribunals, which not only tried military personnel, but also civilians charged with treason or attempting to overthrow the government by force. The High Council of the Magistracy was essentially a disciplinary court to deal with offenses committed by members of the judiciary. The People's Tribunal, an elected body which replaced the former High Court of Justice, had jurisdiction over corruption or offenses committed in office by members of the Council of Ministers (see ch. 13, The Governmental System).

Criminal Court Procedures

Criminal matters are governed by the procedural section of the penal code of 1956, which has its roots in the colonial system of jurisprudence. Numerous laws and ordinances promulgated since independence have effected a variety of changes to better adapt the code to current needs that have been relatively minor in nature, and criminal procedures continue to follow a definitely traditional French pattern. The code for the most part provides general guidance rather than specific instruction, but it does prescribe the jurisdictions of the various types of court, the responsibilities of judicial officials, and the conduct of preliminary proceedings and trials.

The criminal procedures in force in 1967 to an extent eliminate some of the inequities that had caused dissatisfaction during the colonial era. Regulations are set forth governing rules of custody, conduct of preliminary investigations and imposition of punishments, as well as limiting precautionary arrest and pretrial detention. Though still based on French sources, the code departs sufficiently from French law to give it a national character, and it attempts to accelerate the process of justice while reconciling the requirements of public order with the rights of the individual.

As in the French system the prosecutor is the key figure in criminal procedure. Offenses reported by a civil or police official are submitted to the prosecutor, who determines disposition, jurisdiction and venue in the case. He is not concerned with misdemeanors, which are handled independently by the local courts, but with more serious offenses. He may refer a case directly to a lower court or submit it to an examining magistrate for review. Under the supervision of the prosecutor, the examining judge makes a judicial investigation of the case, collects evidence and interviews witnesses. As a result of his recommendation the case may be dismissed, referred to a lower court or returned to the

prosecutor for arraignment of the offender before a higher court.

The conduct of trials closely parallels French procedure, and the law specifies an open and public court. The procedure followed in a multiple-judge trial, as in a criminal court, follows a rigidly prescribed routine; after selection of the jury, which functions like a jury under Anglo-Saxon law, the trial opens with a reading of the charges by the prosecutor. The accused is then identified and sworn in. The charges are explained by the presiding judge, who is the senior magistrate, and then the accused enters his pleas. He may elect to make a statement at this time giving a brief explanation of his side of the case.

After opening statements by the prosecution and the defense, the presiding magistrate begins interrogation of the accused. Witnesses are then examined and cross-examined, after which both sides make their closing arguments; the defense follows the prosecution. The jury then retires to reach its findings, and upon completion of its deliberations, the court is reconvened and the verdict announced. If found not guilty the accused is immediately released; if found guilty, court is again adjourned while the judges confer to determine the sentence. The court then reconvenes, and the sentence is announced.

There are few curbs or restrictions regarding admissibility of evidence, and such matters as hearsay and leading questions are evaluated by the judges on their own merits. Bail is provided for but is not often used, and the right of a hearing on a writ of habeas corpus, which is a relatively recent concept in French jurisprudence, is still a somewhat unfamiliar novelty in Cambodian law. The procedures prescribed by the code are frequently circumvented in actual practice, and leniency or sympathy on the part of the judges reportedly make for frequent liberties with prescribed guidelines, more often than not in favor of the accused.

NATIONAL POLICE SERVICE

The Royal Khmer Police consists of the National Police, the Municipal Police (of Phnom Penh), the Town Police and the Surface Defense Force. This last is a paramilitary force which is under police jurisdiction during normal times but reverts to control under the Ministry of National Defense in times of emergency or hostilities. The mission of the police force is to maintain law and order, preserve the peace, protect life and property, prevent and detect crime and bring offenders to justice. In addition to their normal law enforcement duties, the police are charged with internal security and have the primary responsibility for patrolling and guarding the country's borders.

Headquarters of the Royal Khmer Police is at Phnom Penh, from where it determines policy, supervises operations and directs the activities of subordinate units. In practice, outlying units enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy, as shortages of supervisory personnel, distance from the capital and limited communications preclude very close or frequent contacts with Phnom Penh. The headquarters is headed by a Director of Royal Police, who is directly responsible to the Secretary of State for Surface Defense under the Ministry of the Interior.

The Municipal Police and the Town Police are uniformed forces operating entirely in urban areas. The National Police operates in plainclothes, and its responsibilities cover the entire country. The Surface Defense Force wears army-type uniforms distinguished by a distinctive shoulder board which bears the police device of a stylized pyramid capped with a small rayed sunburst. The Surface Defense Force uses army ranks and insignia, but the police elements have their own police grade structure.

Police ranks include only three officer grades, which ascend from inspector to chief and commissioner. There is, however, a wide range of noncommissioned levels, starting with policemen and moving up through "brigadier" or corporal, to sergeant and sergeant superior class. Each level incorporates an in-grade promotion system of classes that moves a man up from third to first class. Above sergeant first class there are three senior grades, sergeant at large, special sergeant at large, and sergeant superior class.

Uniforms closely resemble those of the army and are basically khaki, but a white uniform is authorized for ceremony and dress. Policemen and noncommissioned officer grades are indicated by bars or chevrons worn on the shoulder board. Only a policeman trainee has no insignia of rank and wears a plain shoulder board. A policeman 3d class is indicated by one green bar, 2d class by two and 1st class by one silver chevron. "Brigadiers" use silver chevrons, 3d class starting with two, 2d class adding a thin silver chevron and 1st class a gold one. A sergeant 3d class uses three silver chevrons, adds a thin gold one for 2d class, and is marked by two silver bars for 1st. Sergeant at large has one gold and one silver stripe. The two top grades are indicated by one gold bar, special sergeant at large adding a bank of silver leaves across the shoulder board, and superior class using gold leaves.

The Royal Khmer Police has a total strength of approximately 14,000 men and women. This does not include the Surface Defense Force, with its Provincial Guard and Chivapol. These latter, however, are part-time auxiliaries who are not professional members of the force. Police recruiting is done on a local basis, and candidates are selected through public competitive examina-

tions, which are held periodically in the major cities. Applicants must hold a secondary school diploma or its equivalent and must be between 18 and 25 years of age. Police pay compares favorably with army compensation, and there are usually enough applicants to insure a wide field of selection. Higher police officials are appointed by the Minister of the Interior on recommendation from the Secretary of State for Surface Defense.

The National Police

The National Police is patterned after the Sûreté forces which were maintained in the country under French rule. Sometimes called secret police, the National Police more properly constitutes a bureau of investigation and political surveillance. Some of its activities are clandestine, and as a result, little is publicized regarding its operations. Although occupied with subversion and internal security, it has a wide range of other responsibilities, and the greater part of its efforts are probably devoted to the more prosaic police functions concerned with conventional non-political crime. In 1967 it numbered some 1,500 men.

National Police Headquarters at Phnom Penh is organized into five principal sections: criminal, economic, immigration, administrative and special police. The administrative section, in addition to handling personnel, pay, records and the like, has the responsibility for all matters concerned with traffic. It is charged with maintaining order on the highways, controls the issue of licenses and conducts accident investigations. The special police operates in the more sensitive areas of police activities and is mainly concerned with subversion and threats to the stability of the government. It investigates possible sources of dissidence and is charged with the security of government officials and installations. It operates in a covert manner, and its activities are classified as secret.

The criminal section, in effect the criminal investigation department of the Royal Khmer Police, is responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals. It operates much like the detective force of any Western law enforcement agency, has charge of fingerprints and criminal files and maintains a detection laboratory.

The economic section is concerned with the enforcement of government regulations affecting trade, commerce and other aspects of the economy. These include price controls, marking of merchandise, honest weights and hoarding and extend to smuggling and illegal arms traffic. The immigration section handles such matters as passports and visas, travel controls, residence permits, alien restrictions and questions of citizenship. Most of its activi-

ties are of a routine nature, with much of its efforts going into guarding the borders against illegal entry into the country.

Municipal and Town Police

Cities and towns have their own urban police establishments which operate within their limits and immediate environs. The police force of the capital is called the Municipal Police, and the organized forces of the other cities and towns are known as Town Police. Some of the smaller towns use members of the Provincial Guard of the Surface Defense Force, in which case they are also considered urban, or Town Police. It is estimated that 2,500 provincial guardsmen are assigned to this type of duty. In the more densely populated areas the police and military forces operate effectively together when needed. In less accessible areas, however, such as the remote border regions, distance and difficulty of mobility make such cooperation considerably less effective.

The Municipal Police is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Phnom Penh. Except for offenses that come within the province of the National Police, as those where national security is involved or where provincial boundaries have been crossed, it has sole jurisdiction over all law enforcement activities in the capital. It is generally conceded to be an efficient and effective force and is considered locally to be the most important instrument of public order in the country.

This force, with a strength of 1,500, is headed by a commissioner designated Chief of the Municipal Police. He is directly responsible to the Royal Delegate to the Municipality of Phnom Penh, but in technical matters he is under the Secretary of State for Surface Defense. In addition to his regular police duties, the chief presides over the local court of Phnom Penh and is also responsible for the Royal Police Academy, the principal training facility for all components of the Royal Khmer Police.

Police headquarters is organized into two principal operational elements, the criminal police section and the public order and traffic section. The criminal section is charged with the protection of persons and property and the suppression and investigation of crime, and its members serve as patrolmen on the beat and as city detectives. The section maintains an extensive crime laboratory, which is manned by veteran police specialists trained in modern criminology. The traffic section is charged with the many traffic regulatory functions within the city.

The city has six precincts, each with its own commissioner. There are six police stations dispersed throughout the city at key locations where they afford centralized coverage for their areas. For the most part, each precinct operates independently within

its own jurisdiction, but coordinates with headquarters when necessary, and may either assist or ask for assistance, if needed, from the other precincts. Manpower is allotted as dictated by the density of population or by the importance of the area, but in general, the six areas are not particularly disparate in assigned strengths. The city is well equipped with police transportation, and there are adequate quantities of trucks, sedans and motorcycles.

The Town Police constitute the individual forces supported by the various cities and towns throughout the country. They are found mostly in provincial capitals and are a completely decentralized force, their only area of contact being their mutual subordination to Royal Khmer Police Headquarters at Phnom Penh. Indirectly they come within the province of the Secretary of State for Surface Defense, but normally they operate entirely independently, with possibly infrequent policy guidance from the secretary's office.

The Surface Defense Force

What little police protection or attention is given to the villages is provided by the Surface Defense Force. Formed originally in 1952 as the Territorial Defense Force, it was organized as a military force to support the army in its suppression of insurgency. Upon the pacification of the country in 1955, the force was assigned to police duties, and since 1960 has been used principally as a constabulary.

The Surface Defense Force consists of the Provincial Guard and the Chivapol. The Provincial Guard is the professional element of the force, and its members are the only personnel on full-time active duty. Numbering over 10,000 men, its mission is the maintenance of law and order in the provinces and the remote border areas. In many towns that do not have the resources to maintain their own municipal force, guardsmen act as urban police, and the 2,500 who are assigned to this type of duty are detailed to the Town Police. The great majority of guardsmen, however, exercise their police duties in their home villages. Here, backed by the nominal authority of the Royal Khmer Police, they are usually the sole representatives of government law enforcement.

The Chivapol is a local, part-time volunteer militia designed to assist other police elements in case of need. It is estimated to total approximately 50,000 men and women, but strength reports are unreliable, as many of its members are entirely inactive. It was organized in 1954 to back the Provincial Guard when the sudden Communist Viet Minh invasion of northeastern Cambodia

created a threatening situation. It was, in effect, a general mobilization for the defense of the country, and over 100,000 were enrolled. The organization was retained after the crisis passed and continues its limited activities in support of the regular police somewhat in the manner of sheriff's deputies in the United States.

TRAINING

The Royal Police Academy in Phnom Penh is the principal institution for training police personnel. It was built and equipped under the United States Agency for International Development (AID) program and opened its doors in 1960 to develop police officers trained in modern methods and techniques. It offers 250 students basic training for new recruits and conducts a variety of advanced professional courses for officers and noncommissioned officers. Its broad curriculum, which is available to all components of the Royal Khmer Police, is taught by French and Cambodian police specialists.

The most advanced study offered by the academy is a 2-year course for inspectors, a course largely devoted to staff work and theoretical and practical management. Other courses range from 3 months to a year and cover such fields as criminal law, scientific methods, investigative procedures and highway traffic control. There are basic courses in police duties and public relations, where classroom work combines with field trips and practical application of techniques. At all levels considerable emphasis is given to the use of weapons and self-defense, and all students are given practical training in judo and other means of protection.

In addition to the academy, there is a Basic Training Center for Police at Kompong Chhnang, some 50 miles north of the capital. This institution, established in 1953, was the country's sole police training facility until the formation of the academy. Since 1960 it has been used almost exclusively for the Provincial Guard. Its capacity is 350 students, and it handles basic and advanced training for members of the guard and for occasional selected students from the Chivapol. Both training center and academy have modern, efficient plants, with adequate classrooms, dormitories and laboratory facilities. The quality of training meets a high standard and has shown steady progress and improvement over the years.

In the past it had been customary to send a number of police officers abroad each year for specialized courses in foreign schools. Many attended courses in French and other European institutions, and a few were enrolled in police courses in the United States. When the academy opened, the number sent abroad was sharply reduced as the local school enlarged and improved the

scope of its instruction. The country's emphasis on self-sufficiency starting in the early 1960's further limited overseas training, and in 1967 there were apparently no police students being trained outside the country.

PRISONS

The country's prison system is rudimentary and conceded to be inadequate, particularly if measured by Western standards. It still suffers from a system that was for all of Indochina. It had been French practice to move their prisoners around to any institution in the entire area; as the number of criminal cases in the country was insignificant during the colonial era, the major detention facilities were located outside of Cambodian territory, mostly in what is now Vietnam.

Information on present-day facilities is extremely limited, and what there is available is vague and unreliable. Some of the better, more modern prisons are known to be located in Phnom Penh as well as some of the provincial capitals. These are frame buildings with reasonably secure arrangements, in contrast to the average village jail, which is often a temporary bamboo cage set between the stilts of the chief's hut. Except for the few permanent structures in the larger towns, facilities for incarceration are fragile and insecure; any but the most unimaginative prisoner could break out at will, yet very few do. Among the larger penal facilities are the Central Prison in the capital and a prison camp on the island of Antay, just off Kep near the eastern end of the coast. This latter accommodates over 1,000 inmates.

The prison system is under a Director of Prisons who is subordinate to the Minister of the Interior. The directors for the past 10 years have been generally enlightened in their outlook and progressive in their administration. Many reforms have been instituted, including liberalization of prison procedures, providing trade schools and language classes and making newspapers and other reading material available to inmates. A parole system has been established and appears to be working with marked success. Many deficiencies remain, however, as prisons are generally overcrowded and uncomfortable and sanitary facilities even in the capital's Central Prison are inadequate or nonexistent. In most of the smaller jails prisoners must rely on family or friends to supply their food and other basic needs.

CHAPTER 26

THE ARMED FORCES

The Royal Khmer Armed Forces (Forces Armées Royales Khmères—FARK) consist of the army, the navy and the air force. The navy and air force are subordinate to the army, which is by far the dominant component of the military establishment, and are directly under the jurisdiction of the Chief of the General Staff, who is the army commander. In late 1967 total military strength amounted to over 35,000 men, some 32,000 of whom were in the ground forces. Cambodia had one of the smallest national military force among the countries in Southeast Asia.

In addition to the regular establishment, there was a sizable paramilitary element designated the Surface Defense Force. This comprised the Provincial Guard of some 11,000 men, a volunteer reserve force called the Chivapol, which numbered 50,000, and the National Police. The Surface Defense Force was an auxiliary force under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, but it reverted to the control of the Ministry of National Defense in the event of hostilities (see ch. 25, Public Order and Safety).

The Cambodian armed forces have maintained a noteworthy record of avoiding involvement in politics. They have remained largely aloof from the political scene and have exercised no significant influence on the government. In addition, they are able to occupy much of their time in civic action programs which promote security in remote border areas, accomplish needed public works and contribute to bolstering the national economy.

Cambodians are not an aggressive or militaristic people and their sociological and religious background is not one to foster the development of an effective modern army. Nevertheless, during the later years of colonial rule the French instilled in the people a sense of pride in the armed forces that carried over and was, in fact, stimulated in independence. French rule in the country was not harsh, and, as a result of the generally satisfactory relationship, French influence remains a significant factor, particularly in the armed forces. After 15 years of autonomy, the armed forces still retain the atmosphere and appearance of a French colonial establishment.

The serviceman as an individual is in a favored segment of the

society, and his environment and conditions of service meet a high local standard. The soldier's daily routine is not too strenuous or demanding. He has status, relative security and many amenities and advantages that would be difficult to attain in civilian life. The armed forces are recognized as an integral and essential part of the social structure, and the military are a familiar and accepted facet of the national scene.

Military strength is maintained almost entirely on a volunteer basis. There is a conscription law, promulgated in 1954, which provides for compulsory military service by all qualified males between the ages of 21 and 35. The government has rarely had to resort to conscription, however, as voluntary enlistments have maintained the forces at desired levels with no difficulty. The benefits and relatively high pay offered by a military career generally serve to attract more volunteers than can normally be absorbed by the services, and, as a result, the draft law has only been applied in a few isolated instances involving needed specialists.

The country is almost entirely dependent on outside aid for its armament, equipment and materiel, as well as for much of its military training. The military forces are small, and their armament is limited and unsophisticated, but they are reasonably well trained and competent. Their dependence on outside sources, however, seriously limits their independence of action, and deficiencies are most evident in the materiel field. Logistic support facilities are barely adequate for peacetime needs, and the system would be hard pressed to cope with operations of any extent or scope in the event of hostilities.

THE MILITARY TRADITION IN NATIONAL LIFE

The country's modest military tradition combines aspects of its ancient monarchical heritage with the French doctrines and techniques of its more recent colonial tutelage. Cambodia's history is filled with reports of wars of rival kingdoms and dynastic strife; as the Khmer people see the glories of Angkor Wat reflected in present-day Cambodia, so the military exploits of an earlier age serve as an inspirational legacy to the present heirs of its ancient tradition. The twelfth century bas-reliefs of the ruined citadels of the past depicted the battles of the Khmer against their invaders, and ancient chronicles were filled with their warlike deeds at a period when they dominated the area.

The martial spirit was not long lived, however. As the people became converted to Theravada Buddhism the pacific nature of the new creed gradually supplanted the aggressive drive that had marked the earlier years. For several hundred years, beginning in the fifteenth century, the country was relatively peaceful and

submissive, and the result was that it was dominated by its more belligerent neighbors.

The nineteenth century saw Cambodia beset by a series of aggressive acts on the part of its traditional enemies; these acts threatened its territory and independence. In 1857 King Ang Duong, the founder of the present dynasty, sought security for his country by allying himself with the French, who were then occupied with the conquest of Annam to the east. This alliance resulted in a French protectorate being proclaimed in 1864, the agreement providing that France would undertake to defend Cambodia against both external and internal enemies. After the signing of the treaty, the country's armed forces were placed under French command and remained so until Cambodia gained its independence in 1953 (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The first modern military force in the country, the Royal Cambodian Army, was organized in 1946 as part of the French colonial forces. All of its officers were French, but in 1949 a new accord provided for the formation of a new national army to be commanded by Cambodian officers. The national force was built up slowly over the years, and increasing numbers of Cambodian officers acquired their rank in the services. Nevertheless, when the final transfer to Cambodian command was effected in October 1953, the new accord provided that French advisers and technicians would be furnished to the new army and that French officers would be permitted to command its units as needed.

These former elements of the French Union Forces formed the basis of the present-day establishment. Totaling some 10,000 men, they were subsequently augmented by nationalist guerrilla troops, who rallied to the king, and by irregular security forces, particularly the Provincial Guard of the Surface Defense Force. In 1954 the navy and air force were organized, and the name Royal Cambodian Army was changed to the Royal Khmer Armed Forces (Forces Armées Royales Khmères—FARK).

The FARK took part in several successful campaigns to rid the country of dissident guerrillas whose operations in outlying areas marred the first years of independence. They also fought against Viet Minh forces that were operating in Cambodia until they were withdrawn as a result of the 1954 Geneva Agreement that was ostensibly to end hostilities in Indochina. The armed forces retain as a primary responsibility the defense of the nation against foreign attack, but since 1958 they have been used increasingly in an economic role to develop outlying districts through civic action projects.

The military tradition of the army in 1967 rested solidly on a French foundation, absorbed over the years through amicable relations and a paternalistic guardianship. Because of France's

longstanding and continuing commitment to Cambodia's armed forces they reflect a marked French influence in doctrine, outlook and appearance.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

From the time of the establishment of the protectorate, the country was suffused in a French military atmosphere that was fostered and maintained by the presence of French troops and the integration of Cambodians into the French colonial army. After the independence of the country in 1953, the original military cadres were all French colonial service veterans who carried over into the Cambodian forces the French patterns of their training, both in concepts and in physical externals.

At the start the army relied exclusively on the French for the schooling of its officers and the training of its enlisted men; French theoretical and tactical doctrines became so thoroughly ingrained that they are still paramount in influencing military thinking. Developments over the next few years, however, witnessed the decline of France's fortunes in its colonial empire and the gradual increase of United States involvement in Southeast Asia. These changes were reflected in a decrease in French aid and a significant rise in United States assistance. From 1953 through 1963 the United States was the major source of the country's military aid, and a United States Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) provided specialized training in United States-furnished equipment and assisted in staff planning.

France, nevertheless, continued to dominate training, although instruction in the use of American weapons and equipment was provided by American technicians. This never reached significant proportions, however, and it left little permanent influence on Cambodian military concepts or doctrines. Since the termination of United States aid in 1963, the principal source of materiel has been from the Communist bloc, particularly the Soviet Union and Communist China.

France still furnishes some logistic support in materiel and equipment, but it is in the field of training that it continues to occupy a dominant position. In 1967 the French Military Mission was the only such foreign group in the country, and numerous French officers were attached to the general staff in advisory capacities. French advisers were found throughout the military school system, and the majority of Cambodian students in the military services who were trained abroad continued to be sent to French schools and academies.

Little evidence remains of the period of confrontation with the Japanese during World War II. Japanese influence was min-

imal and transitory, and left only minor vestiges of its brief association with the Cambodian armed forces. Communist influence on the military has not proved a very effective force, and the services have remained for the most part fundamentally anti-Communist. There have been no other outside pressures that have had any significant impact, and in 1967 it did not appear likely that the predominance of French influence would be supplanted for some time to come.

THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOVERNMENT

In 1967 the government was still operating under the Constitution of 1947 as amended in 1965. This instrument devotes scant attention to the armed forces; Article 45 designates the king as the supreme commander of the armed forces; and Article 42 specifies that he creates and confers all military ranks. Article 49 decrees that military personnel on active duty may not vote in national elections and may be appointed but not elected to public office.

Subsequent amendments and modifications have effected necessary changes to conform to new conditions, and provision has been made for the Chief of State to assume the functions normally those of the king (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The relationship between the military and civil components of government has been left largely to the discretion of the Chief of State, and appropriate laws or decrees have been promulgated as necessary.

The Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, exercises command of the armed forces through two distinct channels, one civil and one military. The civil channel extends from the supreme commander through the President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister) to the Minister of National Defense, who is responsible for the administrative and support services of the armed forces. He does not, however, have operational functions, and he exercises no operational control over the military services.

Operational control of the military forces adheres to a strictly military chain of command extending directly from the supreme commander to the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The Commander in Chief has as his principal subordinate the Chief of the General Staff. The decisions of the Chief of the General Staff are implemented by General Headquarters of the FARK, which serves as the headquarters element for the three services.

From 1955 to 1966 the positions of Minister of National Defense, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and Chief of the General Staff were held by the same person, a lieutenant general in the army. This facilitated coordination between the

military and civil components and did much to eliminate possible confusion in a complicated command structure. This was changed in 1966, however, with the appointment of a new defense Minister of National Defense who did not hold an active military command position. In 1967 the relationships between the various command and advisory elements were still somewhat tenuous and were in the process of being decided and defined in official terms.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The development of the armed forces immediately after independence was facilitated by French and United States aid in weapons, equipment and budgetary support. This eased significantly what otherwise would have been a serious drain on the country's slim resources. By 1963, however, the country's philosophy of nonalignment resulted in a cessation of United States aid and a sizable decrease in French support. Since that time, despite a fair amount of assistance from the Communist bloc, the cost of maintaining its military establishment has become a growing burden on the country's economy, and the government has been having increasing difficulty in meeting its military budget commitments.

During the mid-1960's approximately one-quarter of the national budget was devoted to military expenditures, a ratio considerably lower than most of the country's Southeast Asian neighbors. The military budget for fiscal year 1967 (fiscal year coincides with calendar year) was approximately 1,700 million riels (see Glossary), which was just under 25 percent of the total budget. This was somewhat lower than the 890 million riels for the previous year, which had been 27 percent of the national budget. This outlay did not include the budgetary support of the Surface Defense Force, which was borne by the Ministry of the Interior, but this normally has been a relatively insignificant item.

The country does derive some economic gain from the use of the regular armed forces for civic action projects. Since 1958 the services have been engaged as much in public works to develop the economy as in training or strictly military duties. Close to 1,000 miles of new roads have been completed; over 50 bridges have been built; several dams and airfields have been constructed; and over 100 schools have been established throughout the country. Military personnel have assisted in agricultural programs both in the field and at army-established model farms, and the men and their wives have served extensively as teachers in the new schools built under civic action.

The use of the military in an economic role was originally confined largely to the more populous areas in the central portion of the country, but starting in 1961 the emphasis was shifted to the development of more remote regions. A program was started with four border provinces, two in the southwest and two in the northeast, placing them directly under control of the FARK, to be administered by a military governor. These areas (now consisting of five provinces) were inhabited largely by hill tribes which had never been fully integrated into the national society, and the civic action programs served the dual purpose of developing the territory economically and giving the people a sense of identity with the nation. The project has made slow, steady progress and has resulted in an additional benefit in developing a national consciousness that makes the areas less vulnerable to subversion. There are plans to extend its application to additional outlying territories.

The number of men in regular military service is small in relation to the total population, amounting to about 2 percent of the able-bodied males. The withdrawal of this small number from normal civilian pursuits does not have any appreciable effect on the economy, nor does it create any manpower shortages in agriculture or industry. Any full mobilization or large-scale increase in the size of the forces would not necessarily constitute a military manpower problem, but it would be an economic drain on resources that would prove unacceptable except in the most serious emergency.

The armed forces require a continuing supply of foreign armament, munitions and other materiel in order to function, and they need credits and other financial support. Nevertheless, in the face of world conditions and major power commitments in Southeast Asia, it appears probable that Cambodia will continue to receive foreign assistance to meet its growing military needs.

MANPOWER

In 1967 there were nearly 1.5 million men in the 15- to 49-year age bracket, of which 50 percent were considered qualified for military service. An average of some 60,000 young men reaching the military age of 18 each year ensures ample manpower to meet the country's military requirements. The status and benefits of a military career have attracted enough volunteers to make conscription unnecessary, and it did not appear that compulsory service would have to be resorted to for some time to come.

Despite only half of the eligible males proving qualified for induction, there are still enough men available so that the services can be carefully selective in accepting applicants. The unified character of the nation's manpower is strikingly evident, as a

preponderant majority of the men share a common religion, language and ethnic background. Although there are no difficulties with respect to numbers, there is, nevertheless, a perennial problem in finding men with the education and mechanical aptitudes to train as leaders and technical specialists.

The average Cambodian is generally intensely loyal and patriotically motivated. He is good natured and normally not overly aggressive, but he responds well to capable leadership and has proved to be a courageous and effective soldier. Most of the men come from rural backgrounds. About 50 percent are illiterate, and they come into the service with little or no mechanical or technical skills. Many are completely unfamiliar with rudimentary tools or simple mechanical devices and must be grounded in basic fundamentals before going on to more advanced training in the complex equipment of modern warfare.

The country's military schools regularly turn out well trained junior officers, but their output is small, and the supply of professional officers rarely, if ever, meets the demand. Even military academies, which have a high priority call on qualified manpower, have difficulty in obtaining candidates with the educational qualifications needed to fill their small quotas.

Procurement and Training of Officers

Officer procurement is on the basis of direct appointment, voluntary application or selection from the ranks. Over half of the candidates attend military schools; about a third are commissioned from the ranks; and the rest are given direct appointments. The number of applicants is usually below the needs of the services, and the military training schools have tried to be realistic in the matter of entrance requirements. Nevertheless, they must maintain relatively high standards, and, as a result, the required scholastic and physical qualifications tend to limit the field of applicants to well-to-do young men who have an education well above the country's average.

The Khmer Military School at Phnom Penh is the basic institution for training cadets for the army. It offers a 3-year course leading to a regular commission and a degree equivalent to a bachelor of science. Founded by the French in 1946, it graduates classes that average 50 students annually. Candidates for admission must be between 18 and 25 years of age and are required to have completed secondary school. Applicants with higher educational qualifications may be admitted directly to the second year of study. In addition to military subjects, the curriculum also includes mathematics, science, history, geography, French and English.

The school also offers several specialized courses. A 1-year course trains noncommissioned officers who have qualified as

candidates for a commission, and a similar course trains reserve officers. Special short courses of 6 to 12 months are given to provide preflight training for air force cadets and basic training for naval officer candidates.

There is one additional training facility for army officers, the School of Application, at Kompong Chhnang. All newly commissioned officers are required to attend its specialized 1-year course in infantry tactics and ground force operations. Among the numerous other schools offering specialized army instruction are the Infantry Training Center, the Jungle Warfare School and the Engineering School. These are not exclusively for officers, although there are provisions for training them in conjunction with courses for enlisted men.

Candidates for regular commissions in the navy are selected by competitive examination. They first receive basic military training at the army's Khmer Military School and then go on to 2 years' additional study at the Naval Instruction Center at the Chrui Changvar Naval Base. They receive instruction in navigation, communications, ordnance, radio and small arms. The next step is enrollment in the French Naval Academy near Brest, France, where they pursue a 3-year course at either the Line Officers School or the Naval Engineering School. Upon successful completion of the Academy curriculum, they are usually assigned for a 9-month probationary period to a French navy training cruiser, after which they are appointed ensigns first class.

Air force cadets begin their training with attendance for 1 year at the Khmer Military School. They then enter the Royal Flying School at Phnom Penh for ground and flight training. Upon completion of this phase the cadet is graduated as a probationary pilot-officer and is sent out of the country for advanced training and transition flying.

There is one high-level career school, the Royal Khmer Military Academy, located at Phnom Penh. It was founded in 1955 for officers of the three services. Its curriculum offers both staff and command courses of a minimum of 1 year's duration. Battalion and company commanders' courses and an advanced staff course are included. Before entering the Academy, the student must have completed a special 1-year correspondence course designed to prepare him for the phase he is to study at the school.

The French Military Mission plays an important role in the training of officers, as it does in all training. French advisers and instructors are found throughout the military school system, and French officers are assigned as consultants at various staff levels in all three services. Cambodians are gradually replacing some French instructors, but they are still a small percentage, particularly in the navy and the air force.

Procurement and Training of Enlisted Personnel

The strength of the armed forces was maintained at a relatively constant level from 1957 to 1967. This was accomplished almost exclusively through voluntary enlistments. Only twice since the compulsory service law was enacted in 1954 has it been necessary to resort to conscription, and this was done to fill a small number of specialist vacancies that occurred soon after the law's promulgation.

Voluntary enlistments are open to physically qualified male citizens between the ages of 18 and 25. The term of enlistment is for 3 years for the combat arms and 6 years for the technical services; reenlistments are accepted on a year to year basis. Women may volunteer for service in the armed forces and are used extensively in the higher headquarters and the technical services. They are employed primarily at clerical duties, but they also serve as drivers, switchboard operators and parachute packers.

Recruit training for the army and the air force is conducted at the Infantry Training Center at Pursat, some 100 miles northwest of Phnom Penh. Recruits undergo an 8-week basic course and then go on to advanced training in the arm or specialty to which they have been assigned. Airmen report to air force installations to continue their training. Navy recruits receive all their introductory instruction at the Naval Instruction Center at Chruai Changvar and, after basic training, are assigned to specific career fields. French Military Mission personnel assist in training at all navy and air force schools and at most army schools.

The navy and the air force have most of their training facilities concentrated at their principal bases, and they occasionally send men to army technical schools for instruction in jointly needed specialties. The army has a number of technical schools which provide basic and advanced courses in engineering, communications, armor and other branch subjects. Navy men receive much of their advanced instruction aboard ship, and airmen are promptly assigned practical work in tactical units under experienced instructors.

In all three services after a man is assigned to a unit his training is continuous throughout his military career. In addition to on-the-job instruction and small unit exercises, a number of men are permitted to attend formal courses for specialized training and advanced career schools. These opportunities are limited, however, and are usually reserved for noncommissioned officers. Noncommissioned officers usually come up from the ranks and are selected on the basis of experience and proven capability.

Most are career men who have had several years' service. Although all components suffer from a shortage of experienced noncommissioned officers, this group in general constitutes one of the principal elements of the military services.

MISSION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

The army has two primary missions: to defend the country's territorial integrity against external aggression and to assist in maintaining internal security. This entails the traditional military responsibility of ensuring a constant state of readiness to repel any invader and to implement the government's military policies. In addition, the army is charged with developing primitive regions of the country through civic action and with directing a national sports program.

The navy's principal mission is to defend the national coastline and to police territorial waters. It is also charged with patrolling inland waterways and, where possible, providing transport and tactical support to the ground forces. The mission of the air force is primarily the air defense of the country, but it is also responsible for providing air transport and tactical support to the army. The air force also has the additional responsibility of participating in civic action and providing a pool of pilots for civil aviation.

In the first few years of independence the armed forces were required to take the field against scattered dissident elements that were threatening security in outlying areas. The insurgent forces were not large, however, and they were neither well equipped nor well organized. The royal forces' operations were successful for the most part, and from the end of the 1950's to early 1967, there was no significant insurgency. The army gained a limited background of combat experience, but it was experience based on restricted, irregular operations, usually confined to small unit tactics in engagements using small arms exclusively. The armed forces have actually been more concerned with civic action than with military pursuits. Since 1967, however, with the outbreak of insurgency in Battambang Province and other areas, the armed forces have been involved on several occasions in multi-battalion operations.

In 1967, of the 35,000 men in the armed forces, more than 90 percent were in the army, and the principal emphasis was on the infantry. The navy and air force were, in effect, token forces that were of some support value but could contribute little in the event of major hostilities.

In 1967 the basic organization of the armed forces remained fundamentally unchanged from that carried over from the French, and a residual French influence continued to pervade all

levels of the military structure. The army is the basic element of the armed forces and effectively overshadows the other services. Despite a trend toward increased autonomy for the navy and air force, they continue to be under army direction, and their commanders subordinate to the Chief of the General Staff, who is an army officer. The General Staff fulfills normal staff functions for all three services, but at the operational level each component has a small, specialized staff to handle its own particular activities.

The Minister of National Defense is responsible for the administrative and support services of the armed forces. These services comprise a variety of support activities which include quartermaster, ordnance, engineer, signal, military justice and medical services. The Minister also has under his jurisdiction the Director of Personnel, the Director of Research and the Office of Civic Affairs. The Minister, however, has no operational function and exercises no direct control over the military services.

Operational control of the military forces extends directly from the supreme commander to the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The Commander in Chief is, in effect, the country's senior military officer, and he directs military operations subject to the policies of the Chief of State. He has as his principal subordinate the Chief of the General Staff (see fig. 6).

General Headquarters of the FARK is at Phnom Penh. The staff is organized along conventional lines and adheres closely to the pattern of the French army. Following French precedent, chiefs of *bureaux* (sections) are charged with personnel, intelligence, plans and operations and logistics. To these have been added a fifth *bureau* for information and morale and a sixth for security. In addition to the Inspector General, who is responsible only to the supreme commander, two staff inspectors, one for training and one for logistics, complete the headquarters organization.

The various technical services under the Ministry of National Defense have officers attached to General Headquarters who fulfill the functions of a special staff. The unusual arrangement of having most of the support elements outside of the military command structure is one that could create complications in that it places the Commander in Chief in a position where he must, in effect, contract for such services as ordnance, signal or engineering. In the past, however, problems usually have been avoided by having the top military and civilian positions in the defense hierarchy occupied by the same person.

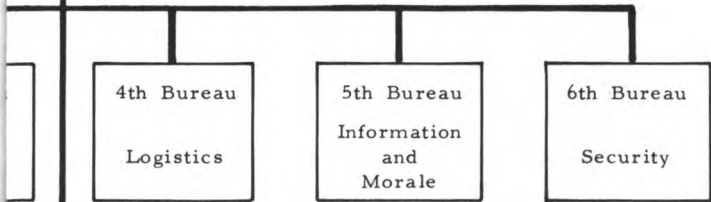
Reported data and statistical estimates concerning the organization of the service components vary widely. The latest figures available indicate that in early 1967 the Royal Cambodian

OF STATE
Commander

Inspector General

Commander in Chief
of the
Armed Forces

Chief
of the
General Staff
General Headquarters
of the
FARK¹



Chief of Staff
Army

Chief of Staff
Air Force

Military
Regions

General
Reserve

Armed Forces).

of the Cambodian Armed Forces

Army's strength of over 30,000 men was organized into between 30 and 40 standard infantry battalions. In addition, there were two parachute battalions and two Royal Guard Battalions. The army framework also included one known armored reconnaissance regiment and an anti-aircraft artillery brigade.

Arms and equipment inventories included fairly substantial quantities of armor, artillery and heavy infantry weapons, ranging from French AMX-13 light tanks to 105-mm howitzers. The armament did not, however, represent a very sophisticated level of weaponry, and much of the equipment was old and approaching obsolescence. Additional materiel was expected from Communist bloc sources.

The country is divided into five geographic regions which divide the area into roughly equal segments. Where they coincide, regional boundaries generally follow those of the political provinces, but each military region encompasses several provinces. Regional commanders are directly responsible to the Chief of the General Staff and exercise command over all units stationed in their areas, with the exception of military training schools and General Reserve units. The General Reserve is a strategic military reserve in existence rather than an inactive force to be called to duty in case of need. It is centered in the general area of Phnom Penh, has units dispersed in numerous military regions and constitutes a sizable composite force, comprising infantry, paratroop and armored units.

The Royal Cambodian Navy was originally part of the army, but it became a separate service in 1954. It is a small force designed for coastal and river patrol duty and for tactical support of ground force operations in the maintenance of internal security. In late 1967 it had a strength of some 1,400 officers and men, which included a commando infantry force of about 200 for use in amphibious operations.

The navy's operational forces are organized into three principal elements: a river division, a coastal force and a sea force. The river division is based at Chrui Changvar, across the river from the capital, where the naval repair and construction facilities are also located. The other elements are stationed at Ream, on the Gulf of Siam. The naval inventory of over 50 small vessels includes two patrol boats, a support gunboat, several amphibious landing craft and a variety of service and utility ships.

In late 1967 the Royal Cambodian Air Force, with around 2,000 men, was one of the smallest in Southeast Asia. It had about 100 aircraft, which included several jet fighters and light bombers. Designed primarily to support the ground forces, it is used mostly to provide aerial resupply, paradrops and the transport of personnel. The operational elements form a composite

squadron, although they are organizationally divided into separate operational and technical groups. Aircraft in operational units in 1967 included MIG-17 jet fighters, A-1 Skyraider light bombers (French) and T-28 Trojan ground attack aircraft. There were also a number of jet trainers, 12 C-47 transports and other miscellaneous transports, including several helicopters.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

The general environment and physical conditions surrounding military life have not changed significantly since French colonial times. Many of the facilities of the colonial era continued in use, and many of the newer ones still adhered to familiar French patterns. The life of the serviceman, though not one of ease, was not particularly austere, and he was, for the most part, well cared for by the authorities. He was respected and well compensated, and the conditions under which he served rated relatively high in comparison with normal local standards.

Military posts were scattered throughout the country, with a heavy concentration in the Phnom Penh area. Although primitive by Western standards they compared favorably with most civilian facilities and adequately met the needs of the services. In general, quarters, food and pay were as good as a man could find outside the service and often were considerably better. There were separate accommodations for officers, and on most stations, housing for families was provided. Troop barracks were mostly of tropical wooden frame construction, but occasionally there were more elaborate buildings of stucco and tile.

There were other advantages that added attraction to a military career, such as medical care, retirement pay, accrued leave and survivor benefits. Rations were generally superior in both quality and quantity to the food consumed by much of the population; standards of nutrition were higher and provided greater variety and a more balanced diet. Although menus were built on a rice base and were repetitious from a European point of view, meals conformed to local dietary patterns, and the average soldier considered himself well fed.

There are no reliable recent figures on current pay scales, but it is evident that the military are adequately paid by Southeast Asian standards. Basic pay rates were raised moderately in 1967. The latest figures available, however, were for 1965. These ranged from the equivalent of \$14.65 a month for a private first class to \$192.00 for a colonel (and navy or air force counterparts). A master sergeant received \$43.00 a month; and a captain, \$97.71. In addition to base pay, there was a wide variety of supplementary allowances for officers and men, including family and station allowances, as well as additional compensation for

specialists, paratroops and flying personnel. Every man received a fixed ration allowance, and there were generous reenlistment bonuses and equipment allowances for officers and men.

In 1967 retirement procedures still followed the French army system. Retirement could be for disability, length of service or age and could be statutory or granted on request. Retired pay is geared to length of service and grade held; a man may retire with a partial pension after 15 years' active duty; he is entitled to a full pension after 25 years' service. The retirement plan is contributory, 6 percent of a man's pay being withheld each month. Service leave policies are liberal; all ranks accrue ordinary leave at the rate of 30 days a year, with special provisions for emergency situations.

All military personnel receive free medical treatment at military hospitals or infirmaries, and members of the immediate family are eligible for treatment where facilities are available. Although there is a shortage of military doctors, medical service is maintained at a relatively high level. There is a well-equipped 120-bed military hospital in Phnom Penh, and three 30-bed dispensaries are located at Kompong Speu, Battambang and Kompong Cham. These were built and furnished through the United States Agency for International Development (AID) program, and they have modern dental, X-ray and laboratory equipment. Smaller dispensaries have been set up in several of the border provinces, where they offer treatment to the hill tribesmen in the area as well as to military personnel and their dependents.

Very little information is available on military justice or the conduct of courts-martial. The average serviceman has a background of traditional respect for authority and deference to his elders; he considers obedience a normal adjunct of military life; therefore, discipline is not a major problem in the armed forces. In general, the French system of military justice is followed. There is one permanent four-man court which sits at General Headquarters in Phnom Penh and handles the more serious cases involving members of the armed forces. Commanding officers have relatively wide disciplinary powers, and court-martial is generally resorted to only in cases of major offenses.

UNIFORMS, INSIGNIA AND DECORATIONS

The rank and grade structure of all three services has been adopted from the French almost without change, and insignia or rank closely follow the French pattern for both officers and noncommissioned officers. Army and air force ranks are identical and use the French titles, whereas the navy uses the distinctive designations of the French naval service. Officers' insignia of

grade are displayed on shoulder boards; the army and navy use a basic dark blue and the air force a lighter blue. Some of the army services have a distinctive color, such as light green for paratroops and maroon for medical corpsmen. Noncommissioned officers' chevrons are worn on the upper left sleeve or, for dress occasions, on shoulder boards.

General officer shoulder boards have gold stripe of laurel-like leaves marking the outer edge, and grade is indicated by small silver stars. Other officer ranks use narrow bands of gold (or gold and silver) braid across the end of the shoulder boards. Noncommissioned officers wear chevrons of gold braid or colored cloth (indicating branch of service). These closely resemble United States equivalents and are worn with the points upward for the combat arms and reversed for the services. *Adjutants* and *adjutants chef* wear officer-type insignia on the shoulder, and *aspirant* (officer candidate), a distinct grade that ranks just below second lieutenant, has its own officer-style insignia (see table 19).

Responsibilities for commissioned officers generally follow Western practice; lieutenants command platoons; captains are in charge of companies; and lieutenant colonels or majors command battalions. Among noncommissioned officers, squad leaders are generally sergeants, with corporals as assistants. Higher ranks as well as *adjutants* may occupy staff positions or serve as platoon sergeants, specialists or unit sergeant majors.

The uniforms of the military services, furnished for the most part by France, follow French design, with minor changes in detail and insignia to lend a national character. Except for the navy, which wears the standard white of the French service, uniforms are built up from the basic tropical outfit of khaki shirts and trousers. Shorts and short-sleeved shirts are worn as the weather dictates, and long trousers are tucked into combat boots or leggings for field or garrison wear and worn loose with low-quarter shoes for dress. Officers wear the conventional service coat blouse for off-duty and dress occasions, and they also have a white dress uniform. Headgear includes berets, bush hats, oversea caps and peaked garrison caps, and helmets are worn frequently in the field.

A national emblem of the arms of Cambodia is worn by all officers; it is centered on their shoulder boards along with their insignia of rank. The air force arms add stylized wings, and the navy insigne incorporates a fouled anchor. The national arms are also used as a cap ornament and as the central theme of other badges and devices, such as buttons and pilots' wings. The army has adopted distinctive branch insignia of brass or enamel, which are worn on the shirt collar or the lapel of the blouse. The in-

Table 19. Ranks and Insignia of the Cambodian Armed Forces

<i>Army and Air Force</i>	<i>Navy</i>	<i>Insignia</i>
Lieutenant Général	Three stars.
Major Général	Two stars.
Général de Brigade	One star.
Colonel	Capitaine de Vaisseau	Five gold stripes, grouped 3 and 2.
Lieutenant Colonel ...	Capitaine de Frégate ...	Five stripes grouped 3 and 2, alternate gold and silver.
Commandant	Capitaine de Corvette ..	Four gold stripes, grouped 3 and 1.
Capitaine	Lieutenant de Vaisseau ..	Three gold stripes.
Lieutenant	Enseigne 1re Classe	Two gold stripes.
Sous Lieutenant	Enseigne	One gold stripe.
Aspirant	Aspirant	One gold stripe, broken by two transverse black lines.
Adjudant chef	Maitre Principal	One gold stripe, thin red line lengthwise through center.
Adjudant	Premier Maitre	One silver stripe; thin red line lengthwise through center.
Sergent chef	Maitre 2me Classe	Three gold chevron.
Sergent	Maitre	One gold chevron.
Caporal chef	Quartiermaitre, 1re Classe.	Two chevrons in color of basic arm, with thin gold chevron below.
Caporal	Quartiermaitre	Two chevrons in color of basic arm (crimson for infantry).
Soldat 1re Classe	n.a.	One chevron in color of basic arm.
Soldat	n.a.

fantry uses crossed rifles; artillery, crossed cannon; engineers, a stylized temple tower; quartermaster, a flaming grenade; and medical, a caduceus superimposed on a red cross. Pilots' wings are gold colored, and paratroops' badges are silver.

The Cambodian serviceman presents a generally favorable appearance; he is neat, clean and usually proud of his uniform. His clothing and personal equipment are of good quality, are simple and comfortable and adequately meet his needs. His appearance has not changed radically from the soldier of the French colonial army, but the accessories and distinctive devices of his uniform are designed to keep him conscious of his unique national status.

The country makes extensive use of awards and decorations, and the military are particularly conscious of the many national

symbols of official recognition. Awards are highly prized and are worn with pride. There are several strictly military decorations and numerous national orders and awards designed to reward individual accomplishment or outstanding service of either a military or a civil nature. Civilian and, in rare cases, military awards may be presented to foreign nationals.

The ranking decoration is the Grand Collar of the National Order of Independence, which is given in a single class for exceptional services to the kingdom. This is followed by the Royal Order of Cambodia, which closely parallels the French Legion of Honor in form and structure and consists of five grades ranging upward from Chevalier through Officer, Commander, Grand Officer and Grand Cross. Next in order of precedence are two military awards, the Sena Jayaseddh Medal, presented in one class for exceptional military services, and the National Defense Medal, which comes as a bronze, silver, or gold star for acts of heroism in action.

Three additional decorations are often awarded to military personnel but are not restricted to services of a military nature: the Medal of the Crown, a single class award; the Medal of the Kingdom, in bronze, silver or gold categories; and the Anussara Medal of Royal Remembrance, also limited to one basic class. Campaign and service medals are issued periodically, and a variety of other specialized orders and decorations recognize achievement in such fields as sports, agriculture, literature, labor and cleanliness. There is also a special medal of merit for women. Article 42 of the Constitution, as amended in 1956, states that the King (now Chief of State) is grand master of all of the orders of the kingdom and makes all appointments thereto.

LOGISTICS

Responsibility for planning and controlling the procurement of supplies and equipment rests with the Ministry of National Defense. Little procurement of materiel for the armed forces is undertaken within the country itself, however, as logistic support for the military is almost entirely dependent on foreign aid and assistance. Virtually all arms and equipment must originate outside of the country, as there is no internal capability for the manufacture of weapons, munitions, vehicles or other heavy items of military hardware.

Until 1955 most military supplies were provided by France, and from 1955 until 1963 the United States was the principal source of arms and equipment. Since the termination of United States aid in 1963, the country has been largely dependent on assistance from the Communist bloc, but France continues to provide limited support in some categories. There has been a

fairly steady flow of materiel from Communist China and the Soviet Union, and earlier stocks of French and United States equipment are gradually being replaced by more modern materiel from these sources.

Storage and issue procedures are centrally controlled by the Ministry of National Defense. Central depots are maintained for each of the technical services, mostly in the vicinity of Phnom Penh, and these serve as stock control and distribution points for filling requisitions from the army, navy or air force. In most supply matters the army generally serves the other components, but both the navy and the air force have small logistic activities to handle their own specialized needs.

The separate organizational structure of the support elements, which places their functions outside of the operational chain of command, requires complex and time-consuming procedures. Requests for supplies must be requisitioned through the Ministry of National Defense and, consequently, channeled from the field back through the Chief of the General Staff and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. In practice, however, there is actually some decentralization; numerous field stations have been set up in various parts of the country for the direct issue of ammunition, fuel and medical supplies without requiring formal requisitioning procedures.

The major support facility is the logistic center at Lovek, some 30 miles north of the capital, which is the maintenance center for all ordnance and quartermaster materiel. It includes over 30 separate structures and provides a modern installation where major repairs can be performed on weapons, vehicles and other equipment. The center also has facilities for the manufacture of shoes and clothing in small quantities.

In general, there are adequate quantities of basic items, such as uniforms and personal equipment for routine operations. Sufficient quantities of individual weapons are available, and they are maintained in reasonably good condition. Few depots are able to maintain adequate stock levels. The logistic services are marginally adequate for peacetime needs, but they would have difficulty meeting requirements of a wartime situation.

The navy's facilities are centered at the naval base at Chrui Changvar, and lesser activities exist at some of the smaller coastal and river stations. Ship maintenance is accomplished at the main base's Fleet Repair Facility, and most shore-based naval supplies are handled by the base's naval warehouses. The air force has its main storage and issue point at Phnom Penh, which handles virtually all aircraft maintenance and has four well-equipped hangars where most of this work can be performed. Most of the maintenance, excluding major overhauls that are performed outside of the country, is supervised by French advisory personnel.

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GLOSSARY

- achar*—Lay assistant to the monks.
- AID*—Agency for International Development.
- AKP*—Agence Khmère de Presse (Khmer Press Agency). Cambodian daily news agency.
- Annam*—Name of the former French protectorate that formed part of French Indochina. Its area conformed roughly with that of the central third of Vietnam.
- Bandung Conference*—Held in 1955. Its sponsors were Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. Many other countries participated, including Cambodia, Communist China, Japan, the Philippines, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Thailand. The conference endorsed the Panch Shila, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.
- civic action program*—Government-sponsored program to provide economic assistance to the hill tribes and to improve communications and transportation in the outlying provinces which are under military control.
- CNE*—Caisse Nationale d'Équipement (National Development Bank). Bank established in 1957 to handle the financial aspects of the Two-Year Plan for national development.
- Cochin China*—Former French protectorate which formed part of French Indochina; its area conformed roughly with what are now the southern provinces of South Vietnam.
- Colombo Plan*—The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia. Coordinates aid of Western nations and Japan to Asian nations; Asian nations also provide aid to each other through the Plan.
- Contre-Gouvernement*—Countergovernment. A Cambodian daily newspaper.
- Democrat Party*—A Cambodian political party led by Son Ngoc Thanh; it opposed Prince Sihanouk.
- ECAFE*—Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.
- EEC*—European Economic Community.
- ENAPHAR*—Enterprise Nationale Pharmaceutique (National Pharmaceutical Enterprise).
- FARK*—Forces Armées Royales Khmères (Royal Khmer Armed Forces).

- Five-Year Plan*—The plan for economic development that was begun in 1960.
- GATT*—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- IBRD*—International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.
- ILO*—International Labor Organization. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.
- IMF*—International Monetary Fund. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.
- JSRK*—Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère (Royal Khmer Socialist Youth). A youth auxiliary of the Sangkum.
- Kambuja*—Ancient name for Cambodia.
- Khmer*—The dominant ethnic group, members of which first entered the country from the northwest before the first century, A.D. It is also the name of the language of the Khmer.
- Khmer Krom*—Term applied to people of Khmer origin living in South Vietnam.
- Khmer Loeu*—Upper Cambodians. A term used to designate the nomadic mountain peoples living in Cambodia, primarily along the northeastern and eastern frontiers.
- Khmer Serei*—Rebel group operating outside of Cambodia.
- Lovek*—Ancient capital of Cambodia.
- MAAG*—Military Assistance Advisory Group. A United States military organization which provided the FARK with items of military equipment and also provided personnel to train Cambodian military personnel in the use of the equipment. Disbanded in 1963.
- Naga*—Seven-headed snake in Indian mythology.
- ONE*—Oeuvre Nationale d'Entr'aide (National Mutual Aid Association).
- OROC*—Office Royale de Coopération (Royal Office of Cooperation). A government loan fund established in 1956 to help create and assist agricultural cooperatives.
- Panch Shila*—The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence agreed upon at the Bandung Conference of 1955. The participants agreed that the principles were: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.
- Pracheachon*—Crypto-Communist party.
- Réalités Cambodgiennes*—Cambodian weekly news magazine.
- riel*—The basic unit of currency, composed of 100 sen. The official rate of exchange is 35 riels to the United States dollar.
- RNK*—Radiodiffusion Nationale Khmère (Khmer National Radio).

- Sangkum Reastr Niyum*—People's Socialist Community. A political party created and led by Prince Sihanouk; usually called the Sangkum or the Sangkum Party, but occasionally referred to as the SRN.
- SATRAR*—Service d'Achat de Transformation et de Reconditionnement du Riz (Rice Purchasing, Processing and Reconditioning Service).
- SEATO*—Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Member nations (United States, Great Britain, France, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Pakistan) are committed to resist aggression in the treaty area.
- Sino-Cambodians*—Citizens of Chinese-Cambodian descent.
- SONAPRIM*—Société Nationale de Distribution de Produits Importés (National Import Distribution Corporation).
- SONEXIM*—Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation (National Import-Export Corporation).
- SRN*—See Sangkum Reastr Niyum.
- Tonkin*—Name of the former French protectorate that formed part of French Indochina. Its area conformed roughly with what is now North Vietnam.
- UNESCO*—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.
- UNICEF*—United Nations Children's Fund. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.
- USIA*—United States Information Agency. Its overseas arm is the United States Information Service (USIS).
- Vassa*—Period of religious retreat.
- Viet Cong*—Derogatory contraction of the term meaning "Vietnamese Communist." It is used in reference to Communist forces operating in South Vietnam.
- Viet Minh*—A Communist-led organization represented as a coalition of nationalist groups, which spearheaded Vietnamese resistance to French rule in the early years of the Indochina War.
- WHO*—World Health Organization. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

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