Liberty University

School of Music

The Music of Democratic Kampuchea: Revolution Songs as Public Pedagogy

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by

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Abstract

The Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) which ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 utilized a variety of methods to ensure control over the country and its people. Among these methods were the creation and dissemination of revolutionary songs which extolled the virtues of the CPK, instilled fear, and provided explicit instructions on how to serve the *Ângka* (the organization). While scholars unanimously recognize the use of music as public pedagogy during the regime, there are very few works which explore the songs, their lyrics, or how the music itself reflected their intended sociopolitical purpose. Through the transcription, translation, and analysis of fourteen revolutionary songs— archived by the Documentation Center of Cambodia— it is revealed that these songs and their lyrics were intentionally composed to ensure their effectiveness as a form of public pedagogy and indoctrination. This shines light not only on the totality with which the CPK sought to control the Cambodian population, but also on the strength of music as public pedagogy and the role it plays in the identity of a people and their culture.

Dedication

As a second generation Cambodian American whose family came to the United States as refugees from the Khmer Rouge, I have seen firsthand the effects of Pol Pot's regime on the preservation—or lack thereof—of Khmer culture and the impact that its brutality had on the survivors. As such, this work is dedicated to my family and the millions of others who continue to suffer in the aftermath of this tragic period of history.

The photo above depicts (from left to right) my *Gong* (grandfather of Chinese descent), *Yae* (Khmer grandmother), and their children— my *Bou-Bath* (Uncle, Sambath), my father (Sambau), and my *Ming-Nang* (Aunt, Samnang) during their immigration to the United States.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Regime

> I am reminded of the Buddhist Doctrine *Mean Ruup Mean Tok*, which means "with a body comes suffering." I heard a monk say these words once and immediately thought them overly grim. But to survive Pol Pot is to accept this doctrine as readily as you might accept the change of the seasons, the death of winter, and the rebirth of spring.[1]
>
> -Chanrithy Him

On April 17th, 1975, the country of Cambodia fell under the control of Prime Minister Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, synonymously referred to as the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) or the *Ângka* (the organization).[2] This regime, along with other violent revolutions which plagued Cambodia throughout the twentieth century, "stressed the significance of social changes with repeated revisions of national symbols—" a phenomenon which, in this case, manifested itself in the renaming of the country to Democratic Kampuchea.[3] The extreme changes in the country's social structure and its governance which occurred under the CPK made the collection of official census data impossible; as a result, there is no way to obtain an accurate calculation of the lives lost during this time. However, it is evident that the Democratic Kampuchean era had a detrimental impact on the Cambodian population, as it is assumed that this conflict "left nearly a quarter of the country's entire population of seven to eight million dead, more than half a million in exile, and the rest in search of the family, friends, homes, and lives from which they had been torn."[4] This massive loss of human life and the displacement of Cambodian citizens was a direct

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[1] Chanrithy Him, *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up under the Khmer Rouge* (New York, NY: WW Norton & Company, 2001), 19.

[2] It is important to note throughout this work that spelling of Khmer words and phrases may vary depending on the author, as there are no formal guidelines for the romanization of the Khmer language. For example, *Ângka* may also be seen as *Angkar*.

[3] Kimmo Kiljunen, *Kampuchea: Decade of Genocide* (London, England: Zed Books, 1984), 1.

[4] Toni Shapiro-Phim, "Cambodia's 'Seasons of Migration'," *Dance Research Journal* 40, no. 2 (2008): 61.

result of the inhumane tactics and policies of the *Ângka*, whose primary objective was the establishment of a pure, stable, and economically self-sufficient Cambodia.

In working towards this goal, Pol Pot and the CPK placed significant value in their ability to build socialism quickly.[5] This ideal is reflected in surviving political documents, such as *The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields* which boasts, "our revolutionary movement is a new experience, and an important one in the whole world, because we don't perform like others. We leap from a people's democratic revolution to a socialist revolution."[6] Subsequently, in order to ensure the expeditious development of Democratic Kampuchea, the *Ângka* seized control of nearly every aspect of life under its rule—so much so that many perceived the regime to be a complete break in the country's culture. This included forcibly relocating the entire population to the rural countryside for labor in agricultural cooperatives, banning the practice of religion and nonrevolutionary artforms, dismantling the formal education system, and completely disregarding the preexisting social order. These actions and the brutality with which they were implemented were justified—in the minds of party leaders—by the rapidity of their revolution. However short lived, the atrocities which occurred during the three years, eight months, and twenty days of *Ângka* rule have made it one of the most deadly and transformational regimes in recent history.

Background

Understanding Cambodia's prerevolutionary history—a history characterized by the influence and control of outside forces—is imperative for understanding how the Khmer Rouge

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[5] David Chandler, Ben Kiernan, and Chanthou Boua, *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Leadership Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1988), 24.

[6] Ibid., 49.

came into power. Established as a French protectorate in 1863 and briefly occupied by the Japanese in the early 1940s, Cambodia was officially declared independent in 1953. However, tensions with outside countries continued and were escalated with the start of the Vietnam War two years later. At the onset of this conflict, Prime Minister Norodom Sihanouk allied the country with China and Vietnam due to his distrust of the United States. However, this decision was reversed in 1970 when General Lon Nol rose to power and declared himself president of the newly renamed Khmer Republic. During his brief reign, the aforementioned political ties were severed as Nol allowed American and South Vietnamese troops over the country's borders to aid in the fight against communism. While the presence of foreign troops did play a significant role in the destabilization of the nation, it was the carpet bombing of the Cambodian countryside by American forces that was perhaps most influential in this process—so much so that many claim American involvement in Vietnam to be "the most important single factor in Pol Pot's rise."[7] Subsequently, there is a common perception amongst historians that French colonization, Japanese occupation, and American intervention in the Vietnamese conflict all paved the way for Pol Pot, whose political platform was based on ridding Cambodia of the restrictions and hardships they faced at the hands of outside forces. Ben Kiernan, founding director of the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University, agrees with this notion, stating that "from the ashes of rural Cambodia arose Pol Pot's CPK. It used the bombings' devastation and massacre of civilians as recruitment propaganda and as an excuse for its brutal, radical policies."[8]

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[7] Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 16.

[8] Ibid., 19.

Predisposition to the Revolution

While historians and anthropologists recognize the success of the revolution as a result of the continuous political conflicts plaguing Cambodia, some scholars take this conversation further—questioning whether or not the Cambodian people were similarly predisposed to the brutality of the *Ângka* and its decimation of their culture. In other words, while scholars agree on the factors which allowed the CPK to come into power, the real question is how and why their radical policies remained unchallenged throughout the regime. In "Social Change in the Vortex of Revolution," scholar Francois Ponchaud describes the preexisting factors of Khmer society which may have made them more susceptible to the CPK's fanatical social revolution and the persecution of its citizens.

The rapid growth of Cambodian cities in the decade prior to the regime can be attributed largely to the influence of their French colonizers, who sought to expand Khmer culture through urbanization and the implementation of western systems of public education. However, the high percentage of Chinese and Vietnamese within the city and the government's propensity to place French-speaking Vietnamese in the lower echelons of political authority, caused many in the rural countryside to perceive "the centers of wealth and power as being dominated disproportionately by foreigners against whom they already held longstanding feelings of racial animosity."[9] Ponchaud argues that this existent tension with the Chinese and Vietnamese in urban areas made it easy for revolutionaries to "instill in some peasants an awareness of the cultural alienation in which the urbanites were steeped, and to push them to purify these

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[9] Francois Ponchaud, "Social Change in the Vortex of Revolution," in *Cambodia, 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death*, ed. Karl D. Jackson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 153.

depraved influences."[10] With much of the population upset by the imbalance of rural and urban life, Pol Pot and the CPK were able to build a recruitment strategy which targeted those most afflicted by this disparity: peasants and, perhaps most significantly, their teenage children.

It is Ponchaud's opinion that this perceived power dynamic also helped to facilitate the eventual breaking down of Khmer society into two distinct social groups under the CPK. Following the evacuation of Phnom Penh and other Cambodian cities at the start of the regime, the displaced urbanites and peasants in areas under Lon Nol were labeled the *neak thtney* (the new people), and those who had lived in the rural areas were termed the *neak chas* (the old people).[11] While neither group was able to escape the corruption of the *Ângka* and the cruelty of its cadres, there is ample evidence indicating that the "new people—" those who were believed to have lost their identities in the midst of American imperialism and who lived and shared culture with the Chinese and Vietnamese urbanites—were treated much more harshly than the "base people" upon whom the new Cambodia was to be built. However, despite favoritism towards the rural poor and their youth, it was "theoretically possible for people from less pure backgrounds to 'build' a progressive revolutionary consciousness"[12] and prove their allegiance to the *Ângka* and its political goals, just as it was possible for the base people to be rooted out as "hidden enemies burrowing from within."[13] No one was safe.

Additionally, Ponchaud posits that the Cambodian people were similarly predisposed to the ethnic genocide brought about by Pol Pot's regime. Harnessing the anger of the rural poor

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[10] Ponchaud, "Social Change in the Vortex of Revolution," 153.

[11] Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, 164.

[12] Alexander Laban Hinton, "Songs at the Edge of Democratic Kampuchea," in *At the Edge of the Forest*, ed. Anne Ruth Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 82.

[13] David P. Chandler, *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 43.

once again, Pol Pot sought to extinguish all non-Khmer from Cambodian society. In some cases, "non-Khmers, who comprised a significant part of the supposedly favored segment of the peasantry, were singled out for persecution because of their race."[14] In other instances, it is stated that the ethnic Chinese suffered the most, not because of their race, but because they were unused to the intense nature of agricultural labor and were made to work harder and under much worse conditions than rural dwellers. Contrary to popular belief, Ponchaud argues that the CPK did not create this malcontent, but rather expounded upon the existent prejudices against non-Khmers—a process which resulted in Chinese, Lao, Thais, Vietnamese, Chams, and other minority groups (together comprising roughly twenty percent of the country's population) being "virtually erased from history by the CPK."[15]

Regardless of the nature of discrimination—whether it was against the "new" people, the Chinese, the Vietnamese, or other minority and unfavored groups— Ponchaud maintains that these prejudices were not fabricated by the regime. Rather, Pol Pot and the other *Ângka* leaders recognized the indignation of the rural communities and used it as a platform from which to launch their revolution—stating that:

> "a powerful force has entered the people, leading them to purify themselves, continuously driving out bad elements, making our national socialism ever more pure among the people, safeguarding the work of building socialism and defending the country."[16]

Anthropologist Alexander Laban Hinton labels this process *genocidal priming*, stating that these tensions—namely the socioeconomic upheaval brought on by the Vietnam war, the segregation of social groups, and the continued dissemination of messages of hate and fear— provided the necessary "preconditions for genocide to take place" within the sociopolitical climate of

[14] Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, 26.

[15] Ibid., 251.

[16] Chandler, *Pol Pot Plans the Future*, 183.

Cambodia."[17] Recognizing these preexisting animosities as a part of Democratic Kampuchea's strategy for recruitment and propaganda is crucial to understanding the success of the *Ângka* and the total destruction of Khmer culture as it had previously existed. However, it is also important to note that even ethnic Khmers were not able to escape the all-powerful and punishing hand of the *Ângka*. With the entirety of the Cambodian population being subjected to violence at the hands of the Khmer Rouge cadres, intense physical labor in the agricultural cooperatives, and inhumane living conditions, many ethnic Khmers were also lost from the effects of violence, starvation, and disease. The massive loss of Cambodian life—of both Khmer and non-Khmer citizens— during the Democratic Kampuchean era has caused many scholars to consider the revolution an *auto-genocide*.

Public Pedagogy under the Khmer Rouge

The CPK's desire to create a pure, untarnished Cambodia resulted not only in the aforementioned persecution of minorities, but also in the complete isolation of the country from the rest of the world, and in the purging of all foreign influence within Khmer culture. Pol Pot and his revolutionaries understood the power of music in shaping a society and its values—that the songs people wrote, sang, and shared with others had the power to sow seeds of counterrevolution. Subsequently, the practice of any artforms not created and disseminated by the Khmer Rouge—any of the artistic traditions or popular music which thrived before the regime—was prohibited. This policy, outlined in the *Ângka*'s Four-Year Plan,

> commanded the cadre to continue the struggle to abolish, uproot, and disperse the cultural, literary, and artistic remnants of the imperialists, colonialists, and all of the other oppressor classes [...] This accounts for the burning of books, the destruction of musical

[17] Alexander Laban Hinton, "The Dark Side of Modernity: Toward an Anthropology of Genocide," in *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 29.

> instruments, masks for dance, and Buddhist sculptures, and the murder of dancers, musicians, and other cultural artists.[18]

In order to successfully implement this new law, the *Ângka* oversaw the systematic execution of ninety percent of Cambodia's musicians and performers—a process which was seen as one of the "steps necessary to 'break' the old system: that is, to destroy the patterns of political authority, economic activity, and cultural tradition that had characterized it."[19] Afterwards, with no artists left to represent the tainted culture of the past, the CPK sanctioned the composition and circulation of revolutionary songs and utilized them as a form of public pedagogy and indoctrination throughout their regime. Through the people's frequent exposure to these songs and the banning of non-revolutionary artforms, the *Ângka* hoped to not only quell potential civil unrest, but also to further the advancement of the regime and shape the new Cambodia.

One of the primary means through which Khmer Rouge songs reshaped Cambodian society was through the building of "revolutionary consciousness." This desire is reflected clearly in the Khmer Rouge's policies on the education of its citizens and the role that music would play in it. Theories and directives regarding education were common throughout many of the Party's political documents, as Marxist theory recognizes that "the political and economic revolution is part and parcel of cultural and educational revolutions."[20] As a result, one of the first actions of the CPK—together with the evacuation of cities and the destruction of Buddhist temples—was the demolition of schools, libraries, and educational facilities. The small percentage of school buildings which remained were repurposed to serve the *Ângka*, such as the

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[18] James A. Tyner, Sokvisal Kimsroy, and Savina Sirik, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy: The Poetic Geographies of the Khmer Rouge," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105, no. 6 (2015): 1293.

[19] Kenneth M. Quinn, "The Pattern and Scope of Violence," in *Cambodia, 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death*, ed. Karl D. Jackson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 180.

[20] Tyner, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy," 1290.

regime's secret facility, S-21, which served as a prison where thousands were tortured and forced to confess to crimes of treason that they did not commit.[21] This complete destruction of the existent educational system and infrastructure suggests both the threat they perceived that system to pose, as well as the general threat of educated people as a whole. Party documents outlining this plan show that "it was not that the Khmer Rouge were afraid of the ability of people to read and write; rather, it was what and how one read that made certain people suspect."[22] Subsequently, they proposed a new system of politically focused education in which students were expected to work and study for the advancement of the revolution.

This new education system devised by the Democratic Kampuchean leaders was meant to ensure that each student would spend time learning and laboring every day, as they felt that "students aren't merely students. They are productive workers come to study subjects to serve production."[23] The plan dictated that during these hours of schooling, students would study the general subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, natural science, revolutionary history, and party politics. However, it has become increasingly evident through historical and anecdotal documentation that only the latter of these topics was actually taught in the new system. Additionally, while some areas may have devoted time each day to schooling their youths, the government's increasingly high demands on agricultural production resulted in some communities forgoing education almost entirely.

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[21] Chandler, *Voices from S-21*, 6.

[22] Tyner, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy," 1286.

[23] Ibid.

As a majority of children were reported to be illiterate following the fall of the regime, the *Ângka*'s plans for the education of its citizens were unsuccessful.[24] The failure of this system has been attributed to two major causes: firstly, the fact that there was little consistency throughout the country in the implementation of educational practices, and secondly, that the teachers who were chosen by the CPK were not chosen for academic merit, but for their obedience to the Party. As such, the curriculum set forth by these underqualified teachers did not meet the standards outlined by the Four-Year Plan, and lessons most often consisted solely of the singing of revolutionary songs and admonitions on proper behavior. However, despite the government's failure to create a successful educational system, they did succeed in their goals of educating the public of *Ângka* values through the use of public pedagogy.

While there is no explicit theory or method of public pedagogy, it is widely considered as learning which takes place in a variety of public spheres outside of the school system.[25] Recent developments in this field investigate the types of learning which occur outside of the formal learning environment by examining "the possibilities—and limitations of myriad artistic and creative public practices, including graffiti, music, dance, theater, and photography as political activism."[26] Outlined in the *Four-Year Plan* under the title of "Instruction of the People, Propaganda, and Information," the leaders of the CPK recognized Karl Marx's assertion that "music [is] part of the superstructure of a society, and therefore musical style [should] be determined by the organization," and practiced this concept through the production of songs that

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[24] Thomas Clayton, "Building the New Cambodia: Educational Destruction and Construction under the Khmer Rouge, 1975:1979," *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1998): 10.

[25] Henry A. Giroux, "Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Resistance: Notes on a Critical Theory of Educational Struggle." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 35, no. 1 (2003): 13.

[26] Tyner, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy," 1286.

shaped the mindset of the Cambodian people.[27] By controlling and manipulating the content and propagation of revolutionary songs, the CPK utilized the power of music to meet the needs of the new social order. This use of art as public pedagogy is recognized unanimously by scholars, and included political education meetings within the agricultural cooperatives, public performances marking the completion of irrigation projects, the publishing of *Male and Female Revolutionary Magazine*, and the creation of revolutionary songs. Each of these forms of public pedagogy "were in principle used to transform what the CPK viewed as a society beset with the trappings of an oppressive, imperialistic educational system that had been initiated and developed by its former colonial overseer," and were likewise seen as imperative in building a political consciousness that aligned with the values and goals of the *Ângka*.[28] However, due to the scarcity of printed resources and the rarity of live performances, the dissemination of political music through radio broadcasting was the government's primary means of communicating its agenda to the people.

Through the destruction of the existent education system, the persecution of Khmer artists and musicians, the banning of all music not produced by the *Ângka*, and the dissemination of revolutionary songs, the CPK was successful in not only destroying the once vibrant musical culture of Cambodia, but also in manipulating and controlling the musical output during the regime. However, it is important to note that, despite the loss of countless artforms and cultural artifacts, the Party's continued support of revolutionary music proves that "CPK was not so much anti-culture as it was intent on quickly and violently eliminating any form of art that did

[27] Anthony Seeger, "Ethnography of Music," in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London, England: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1993), 100.

[28] James A. Tyner, *The Nature of Revolution: Art and Politics Under the Khmer Rouge* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 95.

not conform to its ideal."[29] However, while the existence of this music in Democratic Kampuchea is recognized by most scholars, there has yet to be an in-depth musicological study of how the songs reflected the party's political intent. Analyzing the music created by the *Ângka* in this context can shine valuable light on the power of music as public pedagogy.

Statement of Purpose

Despite being universally recognized by scholars as an important aspect of Khmer Rouge propaganda and education, there is very little research exploring the music of Democratic Kampuchea and the intricacies of composition and language which made them so effective as the *Ângka*'s primary means of public pedagogy. While the limited resources which do discuss revolutionary songs abound in anthropological context, there have been no documented attempts at analyzing them. As such, while there are a plethora of sources which confirm the *existence* of political music in Democratic Kampuchea—along with a handful of song translations— there is no existent research on how that music *sounded*, and subsequently, how the music's sound reflected its intended sociopolitical purpose. This deficit can be attributed to many factors, such as the lack of any Khmer musical notation system, the destruction of musical artifacts during the regime, the poor quality of surviving song recordings, and the persecution of Cambodia's musicians and artists during the regime. While the shortage of resources is certainly limiting on the types of research which can be conducted, this study seeks to fill the aforementioned gap in the current body of research through the transcription and translation of fourteen Khmer Rouge songs. In the selection of these songs, care was taken to ensure that the quality of each recording was conducive for analysis, and that the body of songs selected reflected the full gamut of

[29] Tyner, *The Nature of Revolution*, 85.

themes explored in the music of the Khmer Rouge. The subsequent analysis will provide ample evidence to explore the manner in which the music produced by the *Ângka* served as a form of public pedagogy and indoctrination.

Research Questions

It is commonly accepted that "language and music are the two principal ways by which humans pattern sound for social communication;" as such, an ethnomusicological study of Democratic Kampuchean songs would not be complete without first addressing the "interplay of poetic language, verse making, and song structure."[30] In the writing of revolutionary songs, the CPK sought to exploit the vibrant history of literary and performance traditions which were a foundational aspect of Khmer culture and its arts. Among these traditions was a rich history of Khmer poetry which is thought to have stemmed from the historical importance placed on Buddhist proverbs. Throughout Cambodia's history, these proverbs contained admonitions about undesirable behaviors and were held in such high regard that they were commonly used in the public education of children for centuries leading up to the revolution. Despite the banning of Buddhism at the beginning of the Khmer Rouge, is it possible that these poetic and proverbial traditions were referenced and utilized within revolutionary songs? If so, did they continue to serve their pre-revolutionary purpose of admonishing unwanted behaviors, or did the language and the implications of the lyrics evolve into an entirely new tradition—one which focused solely on promoting the ideals of the *Ângka*? Furthermore, what did these song texts reveal about the goals and values of the revolution? Did the use of this type of language aid in the regime's

[30] Steven Feld, "Linguistic Models in Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 18, no. 2 (1974): 197.

ability to establish itself as an almighty organization—as something to be worshipped and feared?

Additionally, there were also lessons and warnings hidden within more artistic language, especially in the detailed and idealized descriptions of the Cambodian countryside and the people's agricultural labor. Many of the songs reflected Pol Pot and his officials' beliefs that nature was the "fulcrum on which society was to be transformed" by including vivid imagery of the people's interactions with nature and an imagined geography of what Cambodia would become under the leadership of the CPK.[31] Woven within these descriptions of land and labor were lessons on citizenship whose purpose were to instill fear, promote a sense of belonging to a unified collective, and exalt the glory of the *Ângka*. The educational and instructive proverbs of the past, the poetic traditions which had previously thrived, and the traditional and popular musics enjoyed before the revolution were all absent; in their place, were the deceptive lyrics of the regime.

While a few scholars have researched the songs of Democratic Kampuchea, their studies have been brief, and only focused on the songs' lyrics. While discussion of the lyrics are indeed important in understanding the strength of these songs as public pedagogy, it is also necessary to determine how the music's sound and composition further strengthened its ability to indoctrinate the Khmer people. Is there symbolism to be found in the melodies, as well as the text? How does the music reflect—or not reflect— the Ângka's goal of creating a purely Khmer society? Are there remnants of prerevolutionary artistic genres within these songs? If so, how does their use strengthen the songs' function of educating the Khmer people on party values? In order to

[31] Tyner, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy," 1287-1288.

understand the full extent of the songs' ability to serve as public pedagogy, these questions must be answered.

Hypothesis

While many perceive the music of the Democratic Kampuchean period as being a complete break from Khmer cultural traditions, it would be a mistake to believe that there are no underlying relationships between revolutionary and pre-revolutionary Khmer artforms. Cambodian American ethnomusicologist Sam-ang Sam discusses these potential connections, stating,

> In a country in which the government and its populace are constantly threatened by warfare, the reformation and modification of culture, including the arts, is inevitable. Nevertheless, the essential structure remains, although content changes. Many performances and their themes were adjusted to suit the political ideology of the Communist party.[32]

Subsequently, the analysis of revolutionary songs and their texts will uncover these connections to previous Khmer artforms by illuminating their use of traditional poetic and linguistic conventions and musical characteristics reminiscent of Khmer folk and popular genres prior to the regime. These connections to Cambodia's musical and literary history will be shown to strengthen the songs' credibility and therefore their ability to successfully indoctrinate the Khmer people with the ideals of the *Ângka*. Furthermore, the analysis will not only show how the songs' texts reflected the party's political agenda, but it will also reveal how the music was deliberately composed to serve as a form of public pedagogy—utilizing familiar, upbeat, and repetitive characteristics together with simple language in order to ensure its memorability and

[32] Sam-ang Sam, "Khmer Traditional Music Today," in *Cambodian Culture Since 1975: Homeland and Exile*, ed. May M. Ebihara, Judy Ledgerwood, Carol A. Mortland (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 42.

acceptability. The analysis of both the text and musical characteristics of revolutionary songs are crucial to understanding the effective use of political songs as a form of public pedagogy during the Khmer Rouge regime.

Significance of Study

As there are no documented attempts at a musicological analysis of Khmer Rouge songs, this study seeks to fill that gap in the existent body of research on the Democratic Kampuchean era. Not only will this serve as an excellent case study for the use of music as public pedagogy—a topic which is still very young in the ethnomusicological discourse—but it will also shine light on the identity-forming power of music during times of political and social change and help to increase understanding of the *Ângka*'s impact on the Khmer people and their culture. Understanding the true extent of how the CPK manipulated its citizens and obliterated Khmer cultural traditions is significant because the effects of these actions are still being felt today, both within Cambodia and in its diasporic communities. In over four decades since the fall of the regime, the Khmer people have continued to struggle in their efforts to rebuild and revitalize Cambodia, its society, and its lost artforms—a process which is made more difficult by the Cambodian government's refusal to teach about the regime in public schools. The analysis of revolutionary songs will help to build awareness on the myriad of ways the *Ângka* manipulated its citizens to further its political agenda, and how these actions shaped the futures and the minds of the Cambodian people. This type of awareness, in turn, can help in the fight to rebuild the country by demonstrating what was lost during the regime, and what must be recovered before Cambodia can begin to thrive again.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

> The Khmer Rouge hoped to obliterate our history, and in doing so, their songs have forged a significant place in it. It is for this reason that I will never forget the songs my enemies taught me.[33]
>
> -Sophaline Cheam Shapiro

The discussion of music as public pedagogy has only recently emerged into the field of ethnomusicological research. Subsequently, despite the widespread recognition of the existence of revolutionary arts during the Khmer Rouge regime, there are very few works on the topic. Regardless, one thing which is abundantly clear within accounts of the regime and life under its reign is that music, specifically revolutionary songs, "occupied a significant place in the literature of the Khmer Rouge regime and had an extremely important role in the radical revolution of this government."[34] However, apart from some brief translations of song lyrics, there have been no documented attempts at transcribing and analyzing the music of the Khmer Rouge. As such, the current body of literature on the music of Democratic Kampuchea examines the use of song texts as public pedagogy through the lens of either linguistic or Marxist anthropology, disregarding the musicological characteristics of the songs themselves and how the music's sounds may have reflected its intended function. Within this discourse, scholars focus primarily on how song texts convey the *Ângka*'s belief that Democratic Kampuchea would be built through agricultural labor and the recruitment of children to the socialist agenda.

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[33] Sophaline Cheam Shapiro, "Songs My Enemies Taught Me," in *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors,* ed. Kim DePaul, comp. Dith Pran (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 5.

[34] Khing Hoc Dy, "Khmer Literature Since 1975," in *Cambodian Culture Since 1975: Homeland and Exile*, ed. May M. Ebihara, Judy Ledgerwood, Carol A. Mortland (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 27.

Public Pedagogy and Music

As theories and methods of public pedagogy have yet to be fully explored, there are a limited number of resources regarding the use of the arts as public pedagogy. However, researchers Nick Schuermans, Maarten P.J. Loopmans, and Joke Vandenabeele broach this subject in their article, "Public Space, Public Art, and Public Pedagogy," which discusses the power of the arts in communicating messages and fostering change. Within this work, the authors freely acknowledge the absence of public pedagogy as a consolidated field of research and base their discussion on the theories outlined by Henry A. Giroux. As one of the pioneering researchers in the developing discipline of critical and public pedagogy, Giroux describes this process as learning which takes place in social spheres outside of public schools. Building on Giroux's innovative theories on the topic, the authors posit that, "art can not only challenge, question, displace, destabilize, and overturn the status quo in a society, but also open up a space for radical alternatives and different futures."[35] This theory on the power of the arts as public pedagogy is supported by the events which took place during the Democratic Kampuchean regime, not only in the creation and dissemination of political songs by the *Ângka*, but also in the fervent banning of nonrevolutionary artforms during this time. Just as party leaders recognized music's capacity to foster a compliant political consciousness, they also understood that this same power could be utilized against them to incite counterrevolution. As such, Khmer Rouge soldiers used the performance of revolutionary songs "to clean out the enemy within," and would monitor the reactions of the audience for signs of insurgent behaviors.[36] While the ideas

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[35] Nick Schuermans, Maarten P.J. Loopmans, and Joke Vandenabeele, "Public Space, Public Art, and Public Pedagogy." *Social & Cultural Geography* 13, no.7 (2012): 676.

[36] John Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," *An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 105.

presented by Schuermans, Loopmans, and Vandenabeele were not specific to any time period or culture, the validity of their theories is indisputable when investigating the use of revolutionary songs as public pedagogy during the Khmer Rouge.

While most sources only mention the revolutionary songs of Democratic Kampuchea in passing, it is important to note the intentionality behind the music and its dissemination amongst the Khmer people. In his work, *The Nature of Revolution: Art and Politics Under the Khmer Rouge*, political geographer and professor James Tyner thoroughly discusses the propagation of revolutionary art as a form of public pedagogy under the *Ângka*. Tyner defines the artistic output of the Democratic Kampuchean era as "propagandistic art [which] entails songs, poems, novels, photographs, and other forms of mass communication designed to influence attitudes and behaviors."[37] However, while each of these artistic genres did exist, most scholars agree that it was the songs produced by the *Ângka* and their frequent radio broadcasting that were most influential in educating the people on party values and expectations—largely due to the inability of cadres and local officials to obtain printed materials. This practice of composing and disseminating music in support of the CPK was deliberately outlined in the party's Four-Year Plan, which urged cadres and local officials to "organize general listening sessions using loudspeakers for all important places and mobile work brigades."[38] Additionally, anecdotal accounts from survivors often comment on the singing of revolutionary songs as the backbone of their "formal" schooling under the *Ângka*. Subsequently, the frequent exposure to these songs via radio broadcasting and their appearance in the education of Cambodia's children caused music to "[emerge] as a dominant mode of artistic expression by which a correct political consciousness

[37] Tyner, *The Nature of Revolution*, 12.

[38] Chandler, *Pol Pot Plans the Future*, 114.

could be fashioned."[39] While Tyner's work does not include any musicological descriptions or analysis of Khmer Rouge songs, it does illuminate the numerous ways that art was intentionally employed by the CPK to provide "instructions to the men, women, and children of Democratic Kampuchea for both proper political consciousness and the right attitudes toward labor" through a variety of artistic genres.[40] This detailed account of revolutionary arts and their dissemination during the regime aids not only in understanding life under the *Ângka*, but also in continuing to develop theories on the power of music as a form of public pedagogy.

Presentational and Participatory Music

In his work *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*, ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino discusses the myriad of distinctions between presentational and participatory music performance, along with examples of these concepts in action throughout history and around the world.[41] In the case of Khmer Rouge music, however, the lines between these two types of music experience are blurred. While in some ways, the teaching of revolutionary songs to children during school could be considered participatory performance, these children were rarely (if ever) expected to perform these songs outside of the learning environment. Additionally, the songs which the children were learning were not intentionally written as formal educational tools. Instead, due to the fact that teachers were chosen for their allegiance to party values and not on any level of education or training, the teaching of revolutionary songs during the limited public schooling that children received were seen as the result of a body of underqualified teachers simply trying to teach party politics and obedience in simple ways. This

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[39] Tyner, *The Nature of Revolution*, 95.

[40] Ibid., 13.

[41] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

is supported by the surviving political documentation of the time, as official party documents regarding education do not reference the singing of revolutionary songs, but rather instruct school officials to focus on the teaching of science, math, politics, geography, reading, writing, and revolutionary history. While the children's repetition of the revolutionary songs heard on the radio aided in the teaching of party politics, the fact that this was generally the only activity students performed during their formal education shines light on the failure of the education "system" as a whole. So, while singing along with revolutionary songs in class could be considered a form of participatory music performance, it was not necessarily done willingly, nor was it expected to be to be performed corporately outside of school.

Similarly, the music disseminated via radio broadcasting to the Democratic Kampuchean people straddled the line between presentational and participatory performance. At first glance, the fact that this music was simply played for the population as an accompaniment to meals, work, or political re-education meetings leans more closely towards presentational performance, which Turino defines as "situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing."[42] However, the composition of the songs themselves and their purpose in unifying the Cambodian population more closely reflect Turino's description of the musical characteristics of participatory performance. Similar to his generalizations of participatory music, Khmer Rouge songs lacked very little variation and featured highly repetitive forms (generally the same short melody repeated over and over with different lyrics). This short, repeated, sectional form aids in the predictability of the music, which Turino describes as a necessity for social bonding through performance. In this way, although the songs written by the Khmer Rouge were largely intended for presentational performance—mainly dissemination through radio broadcasting and

[42] Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 26.

occasionally through live performance at political meetings—the composition of the songs reflect a more participatory function. This may be reflective of the *Ângka*'s mission to unify the Cambodian people under its leadership, as in participatory performance, there are "no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles."[43]

Furthermore, while in Turino's text, the physical, bodily accompaniment to participatory music-making was often dance, the banning of dance and non-revolutionary artforms by the Khmer Rouge leadership made dancing, even along to revolutionary music, punishable by death. Subsequently, even in the rare live performances of these works, survivors and historians note that the performers' movements were not what would typically be considered dance in Khmer culture but were instead reenactments of the people's everyday work. As an accompaniment to their singing, these performers would wield hoes and axes and mimic the motions of labor to which the people were well accustomed. As such, while dissemination of the songs through radio broadcasting and the live performance of these songs during large meetings seems to be highly presentational, it can be argued that when these songs were being played as an accompaniment to the people's work, they were in fact engaging in participatory performance by fulfilling the roles described in the songs' lyrics. When viewing them from this lens, revolutionary music also succeeds in achieving what Turino describes as the main goal of participatory music-making, which is to involve the most people possible in the performance. As lyrics of labor and obedience to the *Ângka* sounded around them, the citizens of Democratic Kampuchea performed their duties—the actions of work depicted in Khmer Rouge "dances." In this process, the distinctions between the artists and the audience dissolved, and the whole of Cambodia was unified through their "performance" in agricultural labor and the music which accompanied it.

[43] Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 26.

The Lyrics of the Regime

Anthropologist John Martson investigates this phenomenon further in his article, "Khmer Rouge Songs," which explores how the lyrics of three revolutionary songs reflected the *Ângka*'s ideology on the importance of agricultural labor and the political education of children. Aside from a brief mention of the songs being "cheerful in nature with a strong, quick rhythm" and simple melodies, Martson's work focuses solely on the lyrics as political texts and does not attempt to discuss or analyze the music itself.[44] Regardless of this lack of musicological description, the analysis of song lyrics provided by Martson is supported in other texts about the Khmer Rouge and their political objectives—specifically, their vision for the agricultural development of the Cambodian countryside and the people's role in it.

Pol Pot and the Marxist educated Party leadership believed that their overarching goal of economic self-sufficiency could be achieved only by drastically increasing Cambodia's agricultural yields, especially in the planting and harvesting of rice. Party documents echoed this sentiment with the dictation of specific goals for the amount of rice to be harvested yearly and justification for the evacuation of cities and the creation of agricultural cooperatives, stating that,

> We stand [rely] on agriculture in order to expand other fields: industries, factories, metals, oil, etc. The basic key is agriculture. Self-reliance means capital from agriculture [...] Once we have the capital, we can expand scientific culture. But now we must produce rice first.[45]

The policies and actions of the *Ângka* in the establishment and management of these agricultural cooperatives mirror Karl Marx's belief that increased productiveness and greater intensity of

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[44] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 108.

[45] Chandler, *Pol Pot Plans the Future*, 30.

labor were the only ways to "augment the mass of articles produced in a given time."[46] As such, all citizens—even children— were relegated to work as laborers in the agricultural cooperatives. In the minds of party leaders this would not only provide the increase in productiveness and labor intensity necessary to reach their target rice yields, but it would also serve as a method of unifying the population under one common goal and social class—a step they felt was imperative for the rapid development of a new, socialist Kampuchea.

These agricultural goals are universally recognized by scholars as fundamental to understanding the actions of the Khmer Rouge and are likewise reflected in the analysis of revolutionary songs provided by Martson. By looking at the lyrics from the lens of this political agenda, Martson posits that the songs not only provide instructions and admonitions for hard work and obedience to the Khmer Rouge cadres, but also develop a "parallelism between the task of defending the country and the task of building the country by agricultural work" by using military vocabulary to discuss the participation of laborers in the success of Democratic Kampuchea.[47] One translated song which exemplifies this relationship between labor and military service is entitled, "In One Hand Holding a Gun, in the Other Hand a Hoe: Defending and Building the Motherland." The lyrics, as transcribed by Martson are as follows:

> We the troops of liberation rejoice to loyally
> Fulfill our duty: (2 times)
> Together, in step, serve the motherland,
> Following the certain path of Angkar.
>
> In one hand holding a weapon, with vigorous will,
> Energetic and brave, (2 times)
> Always preparing us to strike the envious enemy,
> The insolent wastrels who invade our land -

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[46] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1 (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1867), 373.

[47] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 111.

> To destroy the ghost robbers who rely on
> Wild, brutal power, (2 times)
> Not allowing them to set their menacing feet
> On our amazingly great lands.
>
> Defending every day the country's territorial integrity
> As one would the pupil of the eye; (2 times)
> Sacrificing flesh and blood, without hesitation,
> Defending the heritage of our grandparents, precious and good.
>
> And we build the nation, diligent, and with great effort,
> Our legs and arms hurrying forward, (2 times)
> In one hand a long bush knife, in the other a hoe or a braided basket.
> Striving, straining, to increase production.
>
> Raising dikes, digging canals, the water flows and splashes,
> Flows and chases after itself, (2 times)
> Abundantly watering the rice fields and garden plots.
> We stop thinking about prayers and supplications.
>
> We push to increase production; to produce so much there's more left over,
> In both the dry season and rainy season rice fields: (2 times)
> Planting mulberry trees, cotton, corn, pineapples, coconut trees, areca,
> Planting vegetables, tending cows and buffaloes
>
> We strive without rest, strongly to transform
> And build a new countryside, (2 times)
> With, in every direction and every place, a prosperous way of life,
> Brothers and sisters with sparkling smiles.
>
> We strive to defend and build a Kampuchea
> Plentiful and happy, (2 times)
> A shining light, so powerful,
> That its fame will be known forever throughout the world.[48]

In another article entitled "Metaphors of the Khmer Rouge," Martson expounds upon this by discussing how the figurative language of both the people and party leadership likewise demonstrated this parallelism—stating that "the underlying metaphor seems to have been that the society was like an army at war."[49] Furthermore, not only did the songs of the Khmer Rouge

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[48] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 112.

[49] John Martson, "Metaphors of the Khmer Rouge," in *Cambodian Culture Since 1975: Homeland and Exile*, ed. May M. Ebihara, Judy Ledgerwood, Carol A. Mortland (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 112.

serve to glorify the intense labor of its citizens by associating it with military service, but they also aided in developing an imagined geography by alluding that "cooperation and hard work would […] transform Democratic Kampuchea into a bountiful landscape replete with fields laden with rice, vegetables, and other foodstuffs."[50] This concept of imagined geography within the texts of the Khmer Rouge can be seen in both the aforementioned works of James Tyner and in the translation of a revolutionary song provided by Martson, in which the performers sing:

> We no longer rely on heaven in farming,
> But on collective strength.
> And be it the dry or the rainy season,
> The rice grows fragrant throughout the year!
>
> We dig and we hoe,
> To clear out stones and brush.
> The wilderness of yesterday
> Gives way to fertile fields today!
>
> With shoulder-pole and baskets,
> We do battle against nature;
> Defeat the stubborn U.S. imperialist foe and its lackeys,
> Win a good harvest and a better life.
>
> The rice is ripe in the fields;
> It ripples gracefully in the breeze.
> The sun of revolution lights the land,
> Shedding its golden, happy rays everywhere.[51]

Following this translation, Martson provides a thorough analysis of how these lyrics served the aforementioned purpose of building an idealized image of what Cambodia would become through the people's labor. Discussion of this imagined geography is also prevalent among anecdotal accounts, such as Sophaline Cheam Shapiro's "Songs My Enemies Taught Me," in which she writes,

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[50] Tyner, *The Nature of Revolution*, 99.

[51] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 107-108.

> The Khmer Rouge sang about the wonderful countryside, about the value of hard labor and the worthlessness of passion. All was for Angka and the glorious revolution. They were pretty songs, with beautiful melodies and poetic lyrics. Their intention was to make us work hard and forget about the snakes that lurked in the rice paddies, the dangerous currents of river rapids, and the emptiness in our bellies.[52]

In addition to the glorification of agricultural work and an imagined geography of what Cambodia *could* become, Martson's analysis also discusses the *Ângka*'s ardent focus on educating children with party values. Along with examples of revolutionary songs specifically addressing Kampuchean youths, Martson describes how "on an everyday basis, young children were taught political songs as a part of the rudimentary schooling they received."[53] While these songs were the same as those being circulated via radio to the adult population, the singing of these songs within the walls of the school was considered necessary in building proper political consciousness in the younger generation. While the children were rarely expected to perform or sing these songs outside of the classroom, many survivors note the impact these lessons had on their perception of the *Ângka* in childhood. This is also supported in numerous anecdotal accounts of survivors, such as Chanrithy Him's *When Broken Glass Floats* and stories recounted in *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors*. Scholars note with great frequency that children were seen as "pure, clean slates in the eyes of the Khmer Rouge leadership [and] were perceived to be pivotal in building, enforcing, and continuing the revolution, as they could (potentially) be molded to fit the vision of a new society."[54] One song translated by a survivor reflects this belief. Written from the point of view of Democratic

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[52] Shapiro, "Songs My Enemies Taught Me," 1.

[53] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 105.

[54] Toni Shapiro-Phim, "Dance, Music, and the Nature of Terror in Democratic Kampuchea," in *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 182.

Kampuchea's children, the lyrics depict the *Ângka* as a provider and protector. The Lyrics are as follows:

> We children love Angka limitlessly.
> Because of you we have better lives and live quite happily
> Before the revolution, children were poor and lived like animals,
>
> We were cold and suffered,
> But the enemy didn't care about us.
> Only skin covered our bones, so thin we were worried.
> All night we slept on the ground,
> We begged and looked for food in trash cans during the day.
>
> Now Angka brings us good health, strength.
> And now we live in the commune.
> We have clothes, we are not cold and miserable anymore.
> The light of revolution, equality, and freedom shines gloriously
>
> Oh, Angka, we deeply love you.
> We resolve to follow your red way.
> We study hard both numbers and alphabet
> To be good workers with good minds
>
> In order to extend the revolution.[55]

By painting itself as the children's almighty defender, the CPK hoped to ensure that the younger generation not only obeyed the *Ângka*, but also trusted in it and its vision for the future.

Non-Revolutionary Music in Democratic Kampuchea

While it is abundantly clear through historical and anecdotal accounts that all music not created by the Khmer Rouge was banned, one survivor notes that there were some who survived *because* of their art.[56] In an anecdotal account entitled, "Last Song of Saravat," the author tells

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[55] Shapiro, "Songs my Enemies Taught Me," 2.

[56] Shapiro-Phim, "Dance, Music, and the Nature of Terror in Democratic Kampuchea," 180.

the powerful story of a musician (Saravat) who survived by writing songs for the CPK—songs which both fulfilled the desires of the party, but also contained his own, quiet form of rebellion. Instead of the militaristic, communist songs about sacrificing one's life for the *Ângka*, Saravat "wrote new lyrics for old Khmer melodies and praised the beauty of Cambodia […] adding just enough about working hard to serve the revolution to make the songs acceptable to the Khmer Rouge."[57] While the majority of archived Khmer Rouge songs do not list a composer, songs such as the one's described in this story can be found in the works of Martson and archived amongst the collection of the Documentation Center of Cambodia. However, accounts of pre-revolutionary professional or skilled musicians surviving the regime in this manner are few and far between; therefore, there is no evidence to support the existence, dissemination, or performance of any non-revolutionary musical art in Democratic Kampuchea. On the contrary, scholars and survivors note with great frequency that those caught singing non-Khmer Rouge music could be severely punished, or even executed. As a result of these brutal and unforgiving policies, the *Ângka* was able to successfully control the musical culture of Democratic Kampuchea—a step seen as necessary to achieve the goals set forth in their *Four-Year Plan* and other surviving political documents.

Conclusion

While there is not much research on the use of revolutionary songs as public pedagogy in the Khmer Rouge era, the existence of these songs and their important role in the success of the regime is commented on nearly universally by scholars and survivors alike. The aforementioned works of James Tyner and John Martson, in particular, provide ample evidence to support the

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[57] Sharon May, "Last Song of Saravat," *Manoa* 20, no. 2 (2008): 71.

significance of these songs in relating the ideology of the *Ânkga*. However, none of these existing works investigate the impact of the songs' musicological characteristics on their effectiveness as public pedagogy. In other words, while many agree that the music composed and disseminated by the CPK was pivotal in educating the general public on Party values, this topic has yet to be explored from an ethnomusicological perspective. A detailed musicological analysis of these songs and their texts—not simply translations of their lyrics—is essential for truly understanding the power of revolutionary songs as public pedagogy during the Khmer Rouge and the impact these songs had on the Cambodian people.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Due to the historical nature of this topic, traditional field methods were not applicable for analysis of Khmer Rouge music. However, because of the cultural, historical, social, and political influences imbued in this music, research of it required a qualitative approach that explored scholarly research, political documentation, and anecdotal accounts of music during the Democratic Kampuchean era in order to understand the context in which these songs were written and their intended impact on the people. In addition to these sources, the Documentation Center of Cambodia has archived recordings of many revolutionary songs. Unfortunately, due to the poor quality of recording equipment available during the regime, many of the recordings were unintelligible, and therefore not useful for the purpose of this project. After listening to the archive's recordings and determining their suitability for this study, fourteen songs were selected for analysis. The transcription of these recordings and the translation of their texts—aided by Khmer Rouge survivor and native Khmer speaker Sopha Chin Jordan—provided ample material for the examination of revolutionary songs as a form of public pedagogy.

As there is no native system of musical notation for Khmer music, Western notation was utilized for ease of understanding. Following these transcriptions, musicological analysis of each song was completed utilizing methods outlined in "Exercises in Emic Analysis of Melody," by Thomas L. Avery, which provided information on the individual songs' tonality and produced the data needed for comparative analysis of the songs as a group.[58] Additionally, characteristics of their melodies and rhythms were studied to determine common occurrences amongst the body of work, as well as how these characteristics may have been related to the traditional and popular

[58] Jeffrey Meyer, "Thomas L. Avery's Exercises in Emic Analysis of Melody," Ethnomusicology 600: Transcription and Analysis of Non-Western Music (Class Lecture, Liberty University Online, February 10, 2022).

genres which thrived prior to the regime. This analysis was pivotal in understanding how the intentional composition of the music served as a form of public pedagogy.

In the analysis of individual Khmer rouge songs, an effort was made to approach each musical object from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. In the initial stages of transcriptions, care was taken to ensure that translations provide verbatim account of the song's lyrics which were regarded within the framework of its cultural, social, and political setting. During this stage, the translated text were sometimes reordered or rephrased, at the discretion of the translator, for greater understanding and were then analyzed to determine how the lyrics reflect the ideals of the regime. The musicological data obtained through the analysis of the songs' transcriptions was also studied to determine how the music itself reflected these ideals. This tiered approach to the analysis of Khmer Rouge songs ensured a greater understanding of how both the text and the music were intentionally written to indoctrinate the Cambodian people with the messages of the *Ângka*.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

> Music is intensely involved in the propagation of dominant classifications and has been a tool in the hands of new states in the developing world, or rather, of those classes which have the highest stake in these new social transformations. This control is principally enacted through state control or influence over universities, conservatories, and archives, and is disseminated through its media systems.[59]
>
> -Martin Stokes

The role of revolutionary songs during the Democratic Kampuchean period illuminates that musics are not merely "static symbolic objects which have to be understood in a context but are themselves a patterned context within which other things happen."[60] Therefore, while it is indeed important to understand the sociopolitical context within which Khmer Rouge music was composed and disseminated, it is equally if not more important to recognize the songs themselves as a sociopolitical phenomenon within which the identity of the Khmer people and the future of Democratic Kampuchea were shaped. A large part of what made these songs so powerful was their relation to what came before—the rich history of Khmer classical and folk music which prevailed in the rural countryside, and the thriving, hybridized musical culture of the country's urban areas which made it "one of the most vibrant popular music scenes of its time in southeast Asia."[61] In alignment with their goals of purifying Cambodia, the music produced by the CPK sought to eradicate the influence of Western, Caribbean, and African styles and instruments that had begun to permeate the country's popular music scene. As such, the revolutionary songs produced by the *Ângka* utilized only traditional Khmer instruments and were meant to reflect the folk genres associated with them. However, despite an attempt to revert to a

[59] Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (New York, NY: Berg Publishers, 1997), 10.

[60] Ibid., 5.

[61] Stephen Mamula, "Starting from Nowhere? Popular Music in Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge," *Asian Music* 39, no. 1 (2008): 34.

musical style reminiscent of their purely Cambodian roots, many Khmers perceived the music of Democratic Kampuchea to be "a profound break with earlier tradition."[62] This stark discontinuity from both Khmer classical and popular genres, coupled with the banning of all non-revolutionary art, increased the songs' effectiveness as a form of public pedagogy and was symbolic of the Party's desire to recreate the country as a different, more powerful version of what it had been before.

The frequency with which the Khmer people were exposed to revolutionary songs—and the limited number which were in circulation at any given time—were also key components in their success as public pedagogy. Research from scholars and anecdotal accounts from survivors have noted the use of radio broadcasting as the main method of dissemination. Although not all cooperatives had equal access to radio technology or the means with which to amplify it, survivor accounts document that the songs were often played as an accompaniment to agricultural labor, mealtime, and daily or weekly political education meetings. The messages imbued within these revolutionary songs and their presence as the sole soundtrack of the people's lives helped to not only communicate party ideals, but also to cultivate an atmosphere of fearful obedience to the CPK—a common approach in communist leadership, as it is felt that fear is necessary to ensure "unanimous acquiescence in their political program and to destroy any potential challenges to their rule."[63] Just as one could not voice discontent with the regime, the private or public performance of any other songs or even a discussion of one's musical preferences could be cause for punishment or execution. Subsequently, with their freedom of speech, expression, and choice brutally suppressed—and every perceived slight against the party

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[62] Martson, "Khmer Rouge Songs," 120.

[63] Quinn, "The Pattern and Scope of Violence," 179.

punishable by death—it is unsurprising that the people of Cambodia began to fear that even their thoughts were not safe from the all-knowing and omnipresent *Ângka*.

Through the translation of fourteen revolutionary songs, it is revealed that the CPK sought to indoctrinate the Khmer people and propagate this environment of fear by writing lyrics that provided explicit instructions for appropriate behavior, enticed children into following the regime, extolled the virtues of agricultural labor, cultivated fear for "the enemy," and fabricated an imagined geography of what Cambodia had become under *Ângka* rule and what it could be in the future. Furthermore, the transcription and analysis of these songs illuminates the myriad of ways in which their intentional composition—that is, the music's *sound*—served to strengthen their credibility, memorability, and ability to successfully inculcate the Khmer people with party values and cultivate a proper political consciousness. While many of the plans put into place by the CPK are considered to be total failures, this use of music as public pedagogy was astonishingly effective and was instrumental in the short-lived success of Pol Pot's regime.

Lyrics of Indoctrination and Instruction

The primary purpose of the songs produced and disseminated by the CPK was the nation-wide cultivation of a proper political consciousness. The texts of revolutionary songs served this purpose by conveying explicit instructions for acceptable and unacceptable behavior, as well as by encouraging the population to contribute to the success of the regime in specific ways. It was the opinion of party leadership that the country, the government, and the people would thrive if everyone were to adopt the desired level of obedience and reverence to the *Ângka*. One revolutionary song, entitled "Committed to Strengthening the High Collective and Economic

Stace for the Development of Democratic Kampuchea," is a perfect example of this type of instruction (See figure 1). Its lyrics are as follows:

> We must save collectively—
> according to the new organization of our great revolution.
> We will build a great Kampuchean democracy—
> absolute, magnificent, and strong.
>
> Our defense and nation building project
> positions us for strong independence.
> Our country is small; we are dependent.
> We must preserve our strength and national honor.
>
> Both young men and women,
> brothers, sisters; urbanites, rural dwellers,
> workers, peasants, revolutionary army
> tillage committees and the ministry of local affairs.
>
> We must raise a collective awareness.
> The people must sacrifice
> for the national revolution—
> For the organization—excellent beyond life.
>
> We need to continue to improve
> With high spirits and real savings.
> Thoroughly prepare the benefits of the revolution
> through our blood and sweat.
>
> Save on food,
> whole rice and fermented fish,
> weapons and culture
> strong culture and ammunition.
>
> Save on diesel fuel,
> kerosine car fuel,
> ships, canoes, bicycles, carts, and motorcycles
> for long term maintenance, use, and production.
>
> Save water, electricity, and fertilizer.
> Save forms of water.
> Know how to regret; know how to think.
> Do not waste, and we are fruitful.
>
> Save everything;
> Keep these goods.
> Multiply the ax to create a product
> or there will be anxiety.
>
> Save on pots and pans,

spoons and clothes—
items we use,
take care for long periods of time.

Along with the best,
We must save.
Our most efficient workforce
will leave the rest empty.

Our really frugal savings,
led by our strong spirits—
our strong revolutionary spirit—
as we strive to improve.

For our clear and strong nation,
As a group of workers
Under the revolution.

Victory! Victory, collective workers!
Look at our strong, new Cambodia.
Victory! From our savings,
Democratic Kampuchea thrives!

Victory! From our savings,
Democratic Kampuchea thrives!

Throughout this song, the lyricist focuses on the importance of saving in building and maintaining Democratic Kampuchea's glory and self-sufficiency—a theme common amongst revolutionary arts and political documentation. In addition to helping build a stronghold of natural resources, the act of sacrificing these material items, food, and equipment to the *Ângka* ensured that the boundaries between the once-elite urbanites and the rural poor would continue to fade away, and that the Cambodian population would become unified, equal, and happy. In some ways, this type of instruction also helped to justify the harsh conditions within which the people were living, because their suffering was seen as the necessary sacrifice in building the "strong, new Cambodia." Reflecting these encouraging verses was the fast tempo of the music which was meant to both motivate the people and serve as an accompaniment to the natural cadence of the people's labor.

Committed to Strengthening the High Collective and Economic Stance for the Development of Democratic Kampuchea

♩ = 100

Instrumental Solo

Full Ensemble

3

Vocalist (8vb)

5

7

9

11

13x

Alternate between male and female vocalist with each repetition

Figure 1 Melodic Transcription of "Committed to Strengthening the High Collective and Economic Stance for the Development of Democratic Kampuchea"

While some songs provided instructions to the listener, others were written to indoctrinate them by singing the praises of the all-powerful and glorious *Ângka*. Examples of this phenomenon can be seen all throughout Khmer Rouge songs, such as the work "We the Youths are Forever Committed to Following our Revolutionary Kampuchean Angkar," which sings the praises of the Democratic Kampuchean soldiers who liberated Cambodia from its previous oppressors. The fast, accented pace of the music, the strength of the performers singing in unison, and the short, punctuated ensemble interjections which occur at the end of each phrase (see figure 2), all help to build the militaristic tone of the piece as the performers sing:

For many years, Cambodia has been liberated;

through dark blood, men and women are liberated.
The strong Cambodian revolution
leads us to persevere,
to dismantle the evil empire,
to promote the good revolution
for the peace of our discipled organization—
strong on all sides.

Our revolutionary organization knows its enemy.
It knows good, bad, right, and wrong.

Our revolution shows the path to great glory.
The fire of our revolution burns hot
against the thief of the empire.
Small and large enemies are destroyed—
collapsed by our successful organization—
always training to get stronger for revolution and battle.

The holiness of our revolutionary organization
lights our way.
So dedicate your life to revolution.
Young men and women: commit.
Follow the poor people's organization
and continue to move forward
together to build a new, peaceful Cambodia
and abundant, long-lasting glory.

Within this work and others like it, the CPK seeks to portray themselves as the deliverer from the people's past suffering and oppression, and in turn, instructs the population to dedicate themselves to the cause. By writing the lyrics in this way, the composer successfully implies that the "new, peaceful Cambodia and abundant, long-lasting glory" would only be possible through the dedication and commitment of not just the revolutionary soldiers and officials, but also the general public. Subsequently, the body of revolutionary songs produced and disseminated by the *Ângka* were aimed at cultivating obedience to and alignment with its values among all those within Democratic Kampuchea's borders.

We the Youths are Committed to Forever Following the Revolutionary Kampuchean Angkar

♩ = 98
Solo Instrumental
Full Ensemble
Male and Female Vocalist- Unison
March-Like
2
3
Ensemble
4
Ensemble

Figure 2 Melodic Transcription of "We the Youths are Committed to Forever Following the Revolutionary Kampuchean Angkar"

An Agricultural Revolution

Pol Pot and the CPK's dream of creating an economically self-sufficient Cambodia was a driving force in many of the policies and actions of the Democratic Kampuchean period. Not only was this seen as necessary to make the country stronger in the future, but it was also seen as a means of returning to the roots of Khmer culture, as

> the most prominent feature of the national economy before the establishment of the French Protectorate was its self-sufficiency. The economy consisted of hundreds of localized subsistence units, each in effect self-contained and each producing tis own necessities and using only as much land as was needed to supply the local population with food until the next harvest, plus a small surplus for restive occasions and local barter. There was little foreign trade. [64]

[64] Donald P. Whitaker, et. al, *Cambodia: A Country Study* (Washington, DC: The American University, 1979), 43.

Despite being declared an independent nation in 1953, Party leadership felt that the country had never regained its autonomy, as its development and sustainability remained largely dependent on the support of foreign entities. As such, some of the first steps of the CPK upon gaining control of Cambodia were to shut the country off from communication and trade with other countries and to evacuate the cities, as they were considered to be hubs of foreign and imperialist influence and therefore a debasement of Khmer culture. Following these forced evacuations, the migration of urbanites into the rural countryside and the conscription of the entire population for work in agricultural cooperatives were seen as the next necessary steps in the restoration of Khmer independence, for it was felt that through labor—the material transformation of trees, soil, and water—humanity itself is transformed.[65] Not only would this agricultural labor become the backbone of the new economy, but it would also be instrumental in converting their citizens into followers of the regime by building a collective political consciousness. As such, agricultural labor—the planting and harvesting of rice and the creation of irrigation networks—became the people's sole occupation. Men, women, children, and the elderly all slaved alongside each other for long hours and under inhumane conditions to meet the unrealistic production goals demanded by the *Ângka*.

The songs which circulated during the Democratic Kampuchean era reflected this emphasis on agricultural labor as the key to economic and social transformation—extolling the virtues of hard work and depicting the people's labor as glorious and necessary for the construction of the new and improved Cambodia. One example of this type of song was entitled, "Fighting to Build Dams, Dig Canals," whose lyrics are as follows:

> Brothers and sisters,
> join hands to build a dam.

[65] Tyner, "Nature, Poetry, and Public Pedagogy," 1291.

> Both small and large,
> come to build the dam.
>
> For holding water and holding rivers.
> Do not run away from the labor.
> Try hard to dig wells and ponds to store water.
> Try to dig a pool to get water.
>
> Brothers and sisters, young and old,
> men and women in happy solidarity,
> work with quick hands to dig long and short canals—
> to bring water to the fields.
>
> Farming with water, fighting with rice.
> With large canals to own the water,
> we stop missing the lakes,
> and our hearts are good and happy.
>
> We grow rice in the dry and rainy seasons.
> We farm three times a year.
> The result is two-thirds more—
> beneficial to building the new Cambodia.
>
> Victory and excellence
> to our brothers and sisters,
> who dig canals and dams nationwide
> to build a new Cambodia—rich and happy.

The use of unifying language within this song paints a picture of a community joyfully working in harmony, where everyone— brothers and sisters, young and old, men and women— has a part to play in the nation's development.

Along with explicit descriptions of the labor to be done, the song conveys some of the Party's specific goals, such as its desire for agricultural output to increase by two-thirds. Each of these projects, according to the lyrics, are beneficial to both the laborer and the *Ângka* because their work would not only help to build the new nation but would also bring them and their families happiness. However, the song's description of people working in "happy solidarity" stood in stark contrast to the harsh reality of a people being overworked, persecuted, and starved. The music parallels this image of happiness through its fast tempo and the frequent use of slurs

and glissandi which, despite the song's pace, reflect the relaxation and the peace the people would achieve in their obedience to the *Ângka* (see figure 3).

Fighting to Build Dams, Dig Canals

♩ = 132
Instrumental Solo
Full Ensemble
Vocalist
2
3
4
Ensemble
Alternate between male and female vocalist with each repetition

Figure 3 Melodic Transcription of "Fighting to Build Dams, Dig Canals"

Contrary to popular belief, the messages of peace and prosperity within this work (as well as other Khmer Rouge songs) were not a product of delusion, nor were they simply a description of the CPK's goals for Cambodia's agricultural development. Rather, along with these goals, the writer describes a specific attitude toward work that is necessary to achieve them. By painting this picture of what their labor should look like, the lyrics essentially implied that the people's current living conditions were a result of their own insubordination and therefore would not be improved until the correct political consciousness was adopted by all of those within the cooperatives. So long as the people continued to doubt the *Ângka*, even within their own minds, their suffering would continue.

Other songs serve to glorify the obedient laborer by relating their work to the actions of soldiers defending the country. As discussed by scholar John Martson in his article "Metaphors of the Khmer Rouge," the lyrics of revolutionary texts often served to build a parallelism between soldiers and laborers—the individuals who, in the eyes of the CPK, were most important to the development of Democratic Kampuchea. This parallelism is evident in the text of "Success to Kampuchean Workers and Laborers under the Glory of Revolutionary Democracy," in which the performers merrily sing:

> Longevity to Cambodian workers—
> the precious forces of the Cambodian revolution—
> the valuable strength of the people,
> small and large, people of all castes.
>
> We are a picture of great unity—
> Successful and disciplined.
> The success of April 17th was a great leap forward
> For Cambodia, where great men and women work hard.
>
> In our fighting organization,
> Men sacrifice their lives
> For our revolutionary democracy—
> For our sincere revolution.
>
> Cambodians and soldiers,
> Smile and promise to defend the new homeland,
> Defend our famous Democratic Kampuchea,
> Our great collective, our motherland.

The use of military terminology in describing agricultural labor and the citizens of Democratic Kampuchea has been noted by many scholars who have investigated the use of poetic and figurative language during the revolution. Through the study of this type of language, is clear that for the CPK, agricultural labor was not only pivotal in the longevity of the *Ângka*, but it was also just as glorious as serving the country through military service. This is evident through the characterization of workers provided by the lyricist, who describes them as successful,

disciplined, and unified defenders of Democratic Kampuchea. Furthermore, by describing itself as a "fighting organization," and its citizens as "the precious forces of the Cambodian revolution," the party conscripted all of those under its control to fight for its success—either through enlistment in the military and service in Khmer Rouge cadres, or through agricultural labor.

This sentiment is also reflected in the lyrics of other songs of the time, such as "The Fighting Principles of Kampuchean Revolutionary Youths," which is as follows:

> Our Cambodian youths—
> glorified in the struggle
> to fight for strong principles
> and strong position.
>
> Through the long struggle,
> the enemies and traitors,
> France and U.S. intelligence,
> and intense political weapons.
>
> During the five-year revolutionary war
> soldiers sacrificed their lives.
> In the battle for our territory,
> our fighting youths rushed in.
>
> In the middle of the cruel enemy—
> in our land that they occupied—
> our youths struggled but were not afraid to die,
> despite being tortured by the enemy.
>
> Our absolutely fierce fighting brothers
> persevered through small and large obstacles—
> through illness and incontinence.
> They followed our political rules.
>
> Now the motherland of Cambodia is liberated.
> Bright light shines on our beautiful land—
> The great light of April seventeenth—
> When prosperous Cambodia opens a new page.
>
> Our precious young revolution
> liberated Democratic Kampuchea.

We must hold fast to our traditions
as we continue to struggle.

Brothers and sisters who struggle,
try to work hard.
The work is designed to save
our revolutionary income and pride.

Fight to build the canal system,
to strengthen the resistance in the countryside,
to strengthen the production movement,
to work hard everywhere.

In rubber and salt factories,
in trains, cars, boats, and ports,
in our revolutionary ministries,
for April 17th.

Expand our traditions and end the struggle.
Learn from the poor—
From rural farmers who built
the great revolution.

Victory for hard workers!
For the Cambodian revolutionary youth!
For their precious revolutionary wisdom!
For the great beast of revolution!
For the defenders of Cambodia!
For Great precious democracy!

This work discusses the bravery and success of the young soldiers of Democratic Kampuchea—as the majority of the *Ângka*'s soldiers and cadre members were children and teenagers. Not only do the lyrics exalt the revolutionary youths, but it also attributed the liberation of Cambodia from their external enemies to their obedience and sacrifice. To the rest of the population, the lyricist writes a sort of call to arms—urging them to engage in intense agricultural labor in order to strengthen the organization and its productivity. According to this text, it is the people's responsibility to ensure that the sacrifice of those young soldiers in liberating the country was not in vain. Just as the youths worked hard, the people must now work hard. The equal importance

placed on both military service and agricultural labor is most obvious in the last stanza of the work, which cheers triumphantly for the workers, for the soldiers, and for the revolution.

This practice of describing agricultural labor as a means of protecting, defending, and honoring the country is also reflected in the stylistic characteristics of the music itself. Apart from the "Red Hot Blood," which is considered the Khmer Rouge national anthem, the fourteen songs translated and transcribed during this study all share similar musicological characteristics. The fast tempos, for example, were not only beneficial in creating a picture of happy country, but also strengthened the accented, militaristic performance of the work. Furthermore, the punctuating ensemble interjections throughout also aided in strengthening the aforementioned parallelism between the country's laborers and soldiers by embodying the energetic pace to which the people would work and serve (see figures 4-6). One song which exemplifies this phenomenon is "Committed to Learning form the Heroic Might of the Great Kampuchean People," in which the composer writes:

> During the Cambodian revolutionary war,
> the sky turned red from flames
> and the blood of Cambodians
> of great discipline.
>
> Cambodians are great patriots—
> enthusiastic, resilient.
> There is a shining revolutionary tradition
> that will live on.
>
> Smart brothers and sisters
> work hard with bare hands to
> sharpen their knives and grab guns
> to fight the strongest enemy of the year.
>
> We are waiting for a great liberation
> by the revolutionary brothers we love.
> Cadres are silent before the enemy
> because they will throw you in the fire.
>
> Brothers and friends have evacuated.
> Do not be afraid of success.

Strive to be good; follow the rules.
Sacrifice your life; have no regrets.

For our friends struggle in the woods
Every day you hesitate.
So learn all the ways to harvest rice
for our continuous revolution.

In this war of brutality,
In 1973 as we all suffered,
In the dark, we fought to transport bodies,
bruised on the field of bloody battle.

Righteous brothers, sons and daughters
don't forget about happiness.
Brothers and sisters from all times,
and their red blood.

Today, Cambodia has been liberated.
But brothers and sisters, it is not yet free.
While your krama is not yet dry,
rush to farms, canals, and dams.

Do not give up without remorse.
Do everything for the community.
Join as a friend of the nation
To build overall happiness.

We are committed to learning forever
to work hard in peace.
We must be strong to fight our enemies
who make it difficult in all aspects.

We want to remember in our hearts forever
The suffering that was everywhere.
I think of it so much.
In your heart, do not forget this struggle

Not only does this song provide a quite literal comparison of labor and military service by commanding Democratic Kampuchean citizens to "work hard with bare hands to sharpen their knives and grab guns," but the unison performance of both men and women in this work, coupled with their fast, energetic pace and punctuated singing style help contribute to this comparison by unifying the whole population with a common goal. Because the majority of Khmer Rouge songs feature alternation between male and female singers, the use of unison

within revolutionary songs should be noted as an intentional performance choice—in this case, one which reflects the lyrics' message that the whole country—both men and women, soldiers and laborers—work hard and stand tall for the regime.

Success to the Kampuchean Workers and Laborers

♩ = 108

Instrumental Ensemble Introduction

Male and Female Vocalists (Unison)

Female Vocalist

Male Vocalist

Female Vocalist

Unison

Figure 4 Melodic Transcription of "Success to the Kampuchean Workers and Laborers"

The Fighting Principles of Kampuchean Revolutionary Youths

♩ = 108
Solo Instrumental Intro
Full Ensemble
Female Vocalist
Male Vocalist
Instrumental Ensemble Interjection
Female Vocalist

Figure 5 Melodic Transcription of "The Fighting Principles of Kampuchean Revolutionary Youths"

Committed to Learning from the Heroic Might of the Great Kampuchean People

♩ = 108
Instrumental Solo
Full Ensemble
Vocalists
Male and female unison

Figure 6 Melodic Transcription of "Committed to Learning from the Heroic Might of the Great Kampuchean People"

The Creation of an Imagined Geography

Another method of praising the importance of agricultural labor in revolutionary songs was through the creation of an imagined geography—an idealization of what Cambodia was under the *Ângka* and what it could become through the people's continued obedience and hard work. This conception of Democratic Kampuchea was the foundation upon which the revolution was built and continued to be a recurring theme in the political documentation and public pedagogy of the period. As previously mentioned, the creation of an imagined geography in Khmer Rouge songs served two primary purposes: to inspire the people to work hard for the revolution, and to insinuate that achieving this state of beauty and peace was only possible if the right attitudes towards work and the party were adopted. By describing the CPK's expectations of its workers and laborers, the lyrics imply that the harsh reality within which the people were living was due to their lack of correct political consciousness. One such example is a song entitled, "We are Fighting to Promptly Harvest the Rice," (see figure 7) which is as follows:

> Sunlight shines bright from above—
> illuminating our good, ripe rice.
> It stretches like a frame across golden fields,
> like never seen before.
>
> Since April 17th, 1975
> Kampuchea is excellent and free.
> Under the leadership of our smart organization
> we build fast, we jump to a new Cambodia.
>
> Our unity makes us fruitful.
> We rush day and night
> to reap the harvest with quick hands
> so that we do not let our rice become corrupt and divided.
>
> We are united to harvest rice—
> to not let our grain fall to the ground.
> We are gathering strength, both men and women
> to work together continuously.
>
> We are united to harvest rice—

> strong like water falling from the mountains.
> We reap, we reap, we reap,
> because our fields are ripe.
>
> We are determined to harvest rice as soon as possible.
> We harvest everything; we do not miss anything.
> After the harvest is over,
> we rush hungrily to raise a new field.
>
> Victory, Victory! Our solidarity makes us productive.
> All districts united, full of desire for a new Cambodia.
> We rush to harvest.
> We raise new, straight fields.
>
> Victory, Victory! Our economic path
> leads us to higher development.
> So, harvest the rice for us,
> and for the glory of the new Cambodia!

This song is overflowing with exaltations for agricultural labor and descriptions of a utopian Cambodia—resplendent with bountiful harvests and made both beautiful and powerful through the unification of the people in their labor. According to the lyricist, Democratic Kampuchea was free and fruitful due to the population's unified obedience to the glorious and smart *Ânkga*. As with the previous songs, the use of unison singing within this work reflects the organization's desire that the population be unified under these goals of production and prosperity. Additionally, the quick tempo and the celebratory use of "victory, victory!" (also often translated as "hurrah, hurrah!") aids in the creation of an imagined geography in which Cambodia is prosperous and the people are not only content, but jubilant.

We are Fighting to Promptly Harvest the Rice

♩ = 108-112

Solo Instrumental

Full Ensemble

5

7

9

11

Ensemble 8vb

Figure 7 Melodic Transcription of "We are Fighting to Promptly Harvest the Rice

Another example of lyrics which serve to create this imagined geography are those of "Democratic Kampuchea," (see figure 8) in which the performers sing praises for the Democratic Kampuchean revolution and its policies—peppered with references to the beauty and strength of the country:

> Democratic Kampuchea—
> a new and improved constitution
> from the people's executives.
>
> Cambodia is glorious and great.
> The concepts of the new constitution
> give workers better yields.
>
> To all the relatives in the farming district:
> come together
> for our motherland.
>
> Victory, Kampuchea!
> Democracy and sunshine,
> Khmers at peace and without fear.

> Three constitutions published
> for our revolution—
> our prosperity.
>
> Commit to defending the constitution
> of our newborn and glorious homeland.
> Commit to standing strong.
>
> Our strong Cambodian revolution and its wisdom—
> refined both Cambodia and the people's republic.
> We must protect it to the end of our lives.
>
> Victory! Victory for our constitution!
> Cambodia is a true democracy!
> Wisdom, sacrifice, and life.
>
> We must protect the momentum and the people
> by defending the constitution
> and the people of the democracy.

Through the text of this song, the lyricist and the performers were helping to build the imagined geography of Democratic Kampuchea by romanticizing the beauty and perfection of the *Ângka*, the Cambodian landscape, and the country's workers and laborers. Additionally, the composition of this work—particularly the fast, accented call and response sections which punctuated the song's verses and give the work a celebratory and triumphant mood— further helped in building this idea that Cambodia was made whole and prosperous by the political practices of the *Ângka* and the people's submission to those practices.

Democratic Kampuchea

♩ = 112
Instrumental Intro (Melody)

2 Male and Female Vocalist Unison

3

4

5

6 Female Vocalist (8vb)
Unison, as written

7 Male Vocalist
To Coda
(Ensemble)

8 Instrumental Interlude (8vb)
Unison, as written

9
D.S. al Coda

10
(Ensemble)

Figure 8 Melodic Transcription of "Democratic Kampuchea"

Suffering at the Hands of the Enemy

Strengthening the songs' ability to create this widely accepted imagined geography were intense descriptions of the suffering and hardships which occurred at the hands of Democratic Kampuchea's enemies both prior to and during the regime. References to "the enemy" were not limited to Khmer Rouge songs, but were also rampant throughout political documents and recorded speeches, as the party and its officials felt that "enemies of all kinds want to have small countries as their servants;" subsequently, they would never be safe from the external threat posed by other, particularly larger, countries.[66] However, discussions of the enemy also included those within the country's borders—those who fueled "the continuous non-stop struggle between revolution and counter-revolution" which the CPK feared most of all.[67] Regardless of whether these enemies existed within Cambodia or outside of it, the lyrics of revolutionary songs made it clear that they were and would continue to be the cause of all the great suffering the people had endured. One such song, "We're Committed to Building Ourselves for Revolution," warns its listeners about these forces, stating,

> All of you young men and women,
> Khmer children are being harassed and abused.
> Together, liberate them from their confusion
> And create your own self.
>
> Our military is smart.
> Honorable, sacrificing, and tolerate.
> The enemy is like a dark night.
> Correct yourself and do not serve them.
>
> The light of the revolution shines brightly.
> Our strong tide is a weapon of combat;
> it destroys the enemy.
>
> We count the minutes
> until we are better and pure,

---

[66] Chandler, *Pol Pot Plans the Future*, 24.

[67] Ibid., 15.

> until our revolutionary war
> builds a new state.

Not only does this song attempt to warn the listener about the hardships brought on by these adversaries, but it also paints the *Ângka* as the people's sole protection against them. It is important to note that unlike the aforementioned creation of an imagined geography—based purely on political aspirations and not on the reality within which the people lived—the citizens of Democratic Kampuchea had every reason to believe these constant warnings, as many had seen or had been affected by the destruction of the Cambodian countryside inflicted by American forces during the Vietnam conflict, or had existent prejudices against other ethnic groups within and outside of the country's borders. The CPK and the lyricists of revolutionary songs expounded upon this existent fear of America and other large countries to further strengthen the party's grip on the people. According to this text, it was only through the strength of Democratic Kampuchea's military and obedience to the revolution that they would find deliverance.

Other songs focused on specific enemies, such as the work "The Great April 12 Victory over U.S. Imperialists," which not only glorifies the day that the Khmer Rouge "liberated" Cambodia, but also criticizes and mocks the United States of America:

> April 12, a new day in history
> for the very wonderful Cambodian people.
> When the United States of America failed
> Its intervention and invasion of our nation.
> The American empire is the mastermind of robbery,
> Stealing from Cambodia.
> Today the nation was built by the United States
> And its entourage
> Who build to steal and take home.
> But now the Americans cry like an embarrassed monkey.
>
> April 12, a new day in history
> that surpasses all failures.
> We build a new, famous, holy place.
> Victory, Victory for the Cambodian people!
> Great. Strong. Dependable.

Who fight to kick out the U.S. thief.
Who fight to become famous.
Our people are not afraid of independence—
of their self-supporting, self-building destiny
of their success going down in history.

Since the invasion,
The Cambodian wilderness is clear.
We were saved from great destruction.
Now we prepare for a proper civil war.
We are scared but we must liberate.
Our soldiers must liberate the border—
Must stand strong and get our revenge
By slaying our enemies
And enjoying the revolution.

The brave revolutionary army of Cambodia.
The great revolution and transparent organization.
Have over 20 years of complete success.
They purified the ugly environment.
We no longer wait for the new Cambodia,
since the great April 12th liberated
workers, farmers, both men and women.
We are free forever.

Victory, Victory, April 12!
We are great! We are famous!
April 12, the final liberation for the people.

By describing the April 12th victory as the "final liberation" from American cruelty, this song hoped to strengthen both the people's fear of external enemies and their perceived reliance on the strength and protection of the *Ângka* and its "brave revolutionary army."

Through the incorporation of these themes in Khmer Rouge songs, the CPK painted a picture of a powerful, triumphant and protecting organization. This is supported in the interplay of the songs' lyrics and musical characteristics, as the pieces' staccato performance, fast tempo, and punctuating ensemble interjections give the songs a lively and energetic tone which was meant to inspire the people to celebrate the power and deliverance of the *Ângka* (see figures 9-10). However, the reality within which the citizens of Democratic Kampuchea lived, coupled

with these constant reminders of the enemy in song lyrics and political education meetings, only served create an environment completely governed by fear—fear that the external enemies they are constantly warned of will come and bring them even more pain and suffering than they were already enduring; fear that their friends and neighbors were internal enemies of the regime; and fear that the almighty and omnipresent *Ângka* could read their every thought and emotion and label them as traitors and enemies. One survivor comments on this permeating terror, stating,

> I wanted to commit suicide, but I couldn't. If I did, I would be labeled 'the enemy' because I dared to show my unhappiness with their regime. My death would be followed by my family's death because they were the family of the enemy. My greatest fear was not my death, but how much suffering I had to go through before they killed me.[68]

While references to the enemy are prevalent throughout party documents, the creation and dissemination of Khmer Rouge songs, due to their nearly constant presence in the people's lives, had a significantly more profound impact on the people's perception of the world, the *Ângka*, those around them, and themselves.

Figure 9 Melodic Transcription of "We're Committed to Building Ourselves for Revolution"

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[68]Teeda Butt Mam, "Worms from Our Skin," in *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors,* ed. Kim DePaul, comp. Dith Pran (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 14.

The Great April 12 Victory Over U.S. Imperialists

♩ = 120

Ensemble Introduction

Male and Female Vocalist Enter (unison throughout)

Figure 10 Melodic Transcription of "The Great April 12 Victory over U.S. Imperialists"

Songs for the Children

The importance the *Ângka* placed on children and the younger generation is evident among anecdotal accounts, surviving political documentation, and in the music of Democratic Kampuchea. In the eyes of party leadership, it was the recruitment of children into the CPK that would ensure the longevity of the revolution. As such, some survivors note that "the Khmer Rouge recruited children as young as eight," into its cadres. Reflecting this belief that the future of the country rested in the hands of the children, party leadership facilitated the composition of revolutionary songs which were aimed directly at Democratic Kampuchea's children. One such

example is a work entitled "Always Remember our Revolutionary Living Tradition," whose lyrics are as follows:

> Oh, my lovely child,
> come close to your mother
> so I can tell you about my love.
> My child, remember all our life
> to preserve our revolutionary tradition
>
> My child, I am still with you today.
> My child, continue to prosper--
> prosper for our culture.
> Fight for our government.
> Sacrifice so we can be free
>
> Our friends endure many obstacles,
> Suffering a lot,
> Suffering a lot.
> Our enemies allow no redemption.
> Our families are not happy.
>
> During the day, farmers work hard.
> At night, they transport all the corpses.
> Never eating full; never sleeping well.
> Year after year,
> They are trampled by poor health.
>
> They walk barefoot
> over mountains and rocks and woods.
> They sleep on the ground,
> their skirts torn,
> and shiver in the rain.
>
> Later, asleep in the hammock,
> the quiet forest is a guesthouse.
> Day goes by and night falls,
> and mosquitos come
> with malaria, cold and deadly.
>
> They have one piece of clothing,
> afraid it will be torn apart.
> They sit and wait as it washes;
> They dry and wear again
> to work in the village.
>
> When enemies
> Besiege the fields
> My child, remember all your life

to preserve our revolutionary tradition.

Not only does this song specifically address Democratic Kampuchea's children, but by writing the song from the perspective of a parent to their child, the lyricist effectively builds the metaphor of the *Ângka* as parent and protector. This metaphor is also reflected in the language of the time, as

> In the prerevolutionary Khmer language, the word *kruosaa* meant family. But under the Khmer Rouge it came to mean spouse. As the Khmer Rouge redefined the family, they simple excluded children. Now children belonged not to their parents but to Angkar, the Khmer Rouge's ruling organization.[69]

This musical example is a perfect reflection of this idea of the *Ângka* as parent, as the performer (representing the organization) sings her advice over her child, reminding them not only of her love, but also of the suffering which would occur should they not heed her warnings. The metaphor built within the performance of these lyrics and other Khmer Rouge songs was strengthened by the separation of families and the dissolution of traditional age-relationships within the agricultural cooperatives. One survivor notes,

> Family ties were suddenly a thing of suspicion. Control was everything. Social ties, even casual conversations were a threat. Angka, the organization, suddenly became your mother, your father, your god. But Angka was a tyrannical master. To question anything—whom you could greet, who you could marry, what words you could use to address relatives, what work you did—meant that you were an enemy to your new 'parent.'[70]

While the production of revolutionary songs alone may not have been enough to build this metaphor of *Ângka* as parent, the conditions within which these children were living—separated from parents and loved ones—made them more susceptible to adopting this mindset. Furthermore, their continued exposure to such lyrics during their basic rudimentary schooling

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[69] Ben Kiernan, "Introduction: A World Turned Upside Down," in *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors,* ed. Kim DePaul, comp. Dith Pran (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), xi.

[70] Him, *When Broken Glass Floats*, 14.

helped to ensure that the younger generation would view the organization as a loving entity, poised to protect them against any threat.

Another song which is written from the point of view of the *Ângka* as a parent is a work entitled "Children, Please do not Forget the Fresh Blood of Our Soldiers," in which a man and woman, embodying a mother and father, sing:

> My golden child, you must remember
> to listen to your mother.
> Mothers teach and discipline their children
> so they never forget.
>
> Good luck son and daughter,
> in our famous Cambodian society
> with no rich, no poor, no oppression,
> where brothers and sisters love each other.
>
> Peasant workers have grown old.
> Your destiny is clear and independent.
> A powerful, prosperous life
> where Cambodian unity fills the earth.
>
> Remember, our new society
> did not happen by itself.
> Hundreds of thousands sacrificed
> their precious lives on the ground.
>
> Do not give up without remorse.
> Sacrifice your blood, your life.
> Seize your power today
> and come into the hands of your mother.
>
> Therefore, you must absolutely protect
> our good, clean, and fair society.
> Make it luxurious
> and long lasting for the next generation.
>
> You have to fight for the revolution.
> Keep your mind sharp; don't forget.
> Remind yourself every second:
> our Cambodian revolution is the highest.
>
> Please respect the disciplinary organization
> And the everyday industrial workers

> where the revolution began.
> Please always remember.
>
> Please do not forget the hot blood,
> the red blood of friends.
> Their blood on every surface
> brought happiness today to all.
>
> Children, you must study
> the sacrifice of our friends
> to be a worthy successor.
> Do not forget it, everyone.

While the previous song conveyed a parent's warning to their child by describing the suffering they would endure should they be disobedient to their parent, this song is much more encouraging—describing the riches and glory of Democratic Kampuchea which could be theirs if they followed the *Ângka*. According to these songs, the imagined geography built by the lyricist would only be possible if the children fought for the revolution and honored the sacrifices others made to start it.

Unlike the previous examples which were written from the perspective of a parent to their child, one song in circulation was written from the opposite point of view. This song, "Children's Script," adopts the format of a letter from a child to their parents, and is as follows:

> Dear parents,
> I send you a message from afar
> to clarify and describe
> for my father far away.
>
> Mother, do not worry for your child.
> I miss you, mother.
> I miss my brothers and sisters.
> We used to live together miserably.
>
> But I followed the rules. I left you all.
> I am in a hurry to visit.
> But today, I am fighting.
> The duty of fighting never stops.

I try to build a railway.
I try to build a highway.
I try to build a strong bridge.
To organize our new society.

Children working in factories.
They fight and work hard to make
thousands of kilos of black and white cloth.
They do everything to serve you.

Your child drives a boat and drives a car
to make fast deliveries
of salt, fabric, and materials—
sent to you by the organization.

Your child holds a gun to defend the country
and farms in every season.
Your child fulfills good national duties
So that love surrounds us all.

Children, I am glad to hear
that our village today is beautiful.
Mom and dad are fine,
so stand solid and do not worry.

For us far away,
we are all well.
We keep ourselves well
Because the organization loves us.

All have happiness.
Parents and siblings please celebrate
and come close together
as we build unique, new rural areas.

Contrary to the previous examples, this letter from the child's perspective is meant to comfort the mothers and fathers who were separated from their children during the Khmer Rouge—whether they were sent to agricultural cooperatives or were conscripted to serve the regime through military service. While the lyrics provide assurance to brokenhearted parents, they also shine valuable light on the role that children played in strengthening the revolution and building the country. In this text, the child writes to tell their mother not to worry, for they are not only

happy, but are productive members of society—serving and fighting for the *Ângka* through their labor. By writing the text from this point of view, the lyricist emphasizes—to both the older and younger generation—the importance of sacrificing one's children to the service of the revolution.

Whether the songs' lyrics are written from the perspective of the parent or the children, the songs' moderate tempos, longer, flowing, and more connected melodies, as well as the performers' use of slurs and softer dynamic levels—help create a soothing and peaceful tone which reflects the songs' desire to comfort the Cambodian people and their children (see figures 11-13).

Always Remember Our Revolutionary Living Tradition

♩ = 72-76
Solo woodwind
Full ensemble intro (melody)
3
Female Vocalist (Melody)
4
5
Male Vocalist (Melody)
6
x3

Figure 11 Melodic Transcription of "Always Remember Our Revolutionary Living Tradition"

Children, Please Do Not Forget the Fresh Blood of Our Soldiers

♩ = 92-96

Solo Woodwind

Full Ensemble (Melody)

Female Vocalist

Male Vocalist

Female Vocalist

Male Vocalist

To Coda

1.

2. Instrumental Interlude

Female Vocalist

D.S. al Coda

Unison

Figure 12 Melodic Transcription of "Children, Please Do Not Forget the Fresh Blood of Our Soldiers"

Children's Script

♩ = 80
Solo Instrumental
Female Vocalist
Full Ensemble
Male Vocalist
Female Vocalist

Figure 13 Melodic Transcription of "Children's Script"

Musicological Considerations

Khmer Music Before the Regime

When approaching the study of Khmer musical culture, it is important to note that "because Cambodia has not yet produced many music historians or ethnomusicologists, a comprehensive history of Khmer Music is not available."[71] However, in recent years, research of Cambodian history before, during, and after the regime has begun to grow—providing a more thorough understanding of the music of the Democratic Kampuchean period and its effects on

[71] Sam, "Khmer Traditional Music Today, 39.

Khmer culture. The study of revolutionary music and its development is significant in understanding the political and social agenda of the *Ângka*, as each work reflects the changes in ideology and lifestyle which occurred alongside and as a result of its tactics and policies.

Prior to the revolution, Khmer popular music had a rich and diverse history due to the influence of other nations with whom they shared political and economic relationships. The French colonization of Cambodia, for example, saw the introduction of Western instruments during the late 1800s. Additionally, the country's close ties to the Philippines, who by the early twentieth century were "considerably Westernized due to Spanish and North American contact," resulted in the presentation of a concert band and its instruments to the Cambodian Royal Court."[72] Also from the Philippines, due to direct cultural contact form the African diasporic South Atlantic, "Caribbean genres such as rumba, cha-cha, bossa nova, tango, and others began emerging on Phnom Penh's dance floors."[73] The culmination of these external influences, the advancement of affordable technologies like the radio and audiocassette, and the establishment of nightclubs in Khmer urban areas garnered an increased interest in new music and dance styles. These developments created a unique and hybridized popular music culture that flourished in the years leading up to the regime—causing the 1960s to be considered "the most prosperous decade for pre-Khmer Rouge pop music," as well as the most vibrant musical culture in Southeast Asia at the time.[74] This evolution was extinguished, however, in the CPK's quest for a purely Khmer society.

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[72] Mamula, "Starting from Nowhere? Popular Music in Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge," 29.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

Instrumentation and Traditional Khmer Genres

One of the primary ways in which the CPK sought to revert to the roots of Khmer musical culture was through the instrumentation used in the production and performance of revolutionary songs. While the highly syncretic popular music of Cambodia's urban areas had begun to feature many western and Caribbean instruments, the music of Democratic Kampuchea utilized Khmer instruments only and drew influence from Cambodia's traditional and folk genres. The instruments of the Khmer *pin peat* and *mohori* ensembles, for example, were commonly utilized in the performance of Khmer Rouge songs. These included the *khloy* (bamboo flute), *salay* (quadruple reed oboe), *tror sor* (high-pitched, bowed string instrument), *tror ou* (low- pitched, bowed string instrument), the *khim* (Khmer dulcimer), the *takahe* (wooden, bowed string instrument), *roneat ek* (wooden xylophone), *roneak dek* (metal xylophone), *skor dai* and *sampho* (traditional Khmer drums), and the *kong toech* and *kong thom* (semi-circles of pitched gongs). While the combinations of instruments and their organization and roles in the ensemble were not representative of any specific Khmer traditional genres, the use of these instruments was symbolic of the CPK's desire to eradicate outside influence form Cambodian culture and music.

Not only were these instruments considered purely Khmer in origin, but their use also served to affirm the authority of revolutionary music due to the ensembles' historic connection to important religious and court ceremonies. With these traditional ceremonies and practices being banned by the Khmer Rouge, the use of this instrumentation and musical characteristics reminiscent of these genres served to symbolically illustrate the *Ângka* as equal to the gods and cosmic forces previously worshipped and revered through the musical performances of these ensembles.

Additionally, the CPK also drew on another Khmer folk genre in the creation of their revolutionary songs: *ayai*, or alternate singing. *Ayai*, a comedic theatrical performance in which a male and female singer alternate verses, had been a staple of Khmer folk music for centuries before the regime. Due to its highly improvisational nature, the melodies of *ayai* were often short and simple, and repeated verbatim throughout performance with new, witty lyrics at each alternation. While the text of Democratic Kampuchean songs were drastically different from the *ayai* of the past, a majority of revolutionary songs analyzed in this study featured this characteristic alternation between a male and female performer singing the same melody with different words. Furthermore, there were additional similarities between the songs which served to make the more familiar and strengthen their use as an educational tool. For example, each song follows the same pattern of introductory material: a short instrumental solo (generally 5-7 beats), leading into a full ensemble exposition of the melody before the vocalists enter. The singers then begin the process of alternating the melody throughout the remainder of the song.

In addition to demonstrating the government's desire to purify the country from the influence of its oppressors, the use of these instruments and musical styles, the high levels of melodic repetition within each song, and the plethora of similarities across the body of Khmer Rouge music, served to strengthen their ability to affect change due to their level of familiarity. Recent studies by neuroscientists have investigated the effects of familiar and unfamiliar music on the human mind—determining which areas of the brain are activated and engaged when exposed to these types of musics. Throughout these studies, many have noted that exposure to familiar music activates the supplementary motor area (SMA). According to scholars, "the SMA is activated during musical imagery, like a sing-along response in one's mind or by anticipating

melodic, harmonic progressions, rhythms, timbres, and lyric events in familiar songs."[75] This activation of the SMA, in turn, is thought to not only make the songs more memorable, but also increase the listener's enjoyment of the music. While it is unlikely that the composers of Democratic Kampuchean revolutionary songs understood the science behind *why* their music was so effective, their songs' familiar instrumentation, their characteristics reminiscent of Khmer traditional and folk genres, and their high levels of melodic repetition helped to strengthen their use as public pedagogy by making them more acceptable, enjoyable, and memorable to the population.

Tonality

Despite Pol Pot and the CPK's desire to create a wholly Khmer artform, the music produced and disseminated by the *Ângka* was not as purely Cambodian as they had intended. The most significant aspect of this discrepancy is the continued influence of western tonality on the melodic and harmonic structure of Khmer Rouge songs. While traditional Khmer musics are not tonal in the western sense, the emic tonal analysis of these fourteen songs reveals that the music of Democratic Kampuchea rarely followed suit. Of the fourteen songs, in fact, only one— "The Red Hot Blood—" did not demonstrate a completely western-influenced tonality. The rest, through emic tonal analysis, were shown to exhibit a clear tonal center to which each phrase resolved (see tables 1-13).[76] This western-influenced tonality, while still familiar to the majority of the population who were exposed to westernized popular music through urban areas and radio

[75] Carina Freitas, et. al. "Neural Correlates of Familiarity in Music Listening: A Systematic Review and Neuroimaging Meta-Analysis," *Frontiers in Neuroscience* 12 (2018): 8.

[76] The charts utilized in this study are outlined in Thomas L. Avery's *Exercises in Emic Analysis of Melody*. During this analysis, charting the number of times any preceding note moves to any succeeding note provides a depiction of the tonality of the melodies in question by revealing the types of tonal motion which are permitted within a given work, its phrases, and its phrase boundaries. By noting the pitches with the longest duration, highest flexibility, and most iterations, one is able to determine an emic tonal center for the piece.

transmissions, proved that the CPK was not completely successful in eliminating external influence from their musical output. This failure is perhaps due to the regime's persecution of educated musicians who were better equipped to compose music to the specifications of the *Ângka*.

Always Remember Our Revolutionary Living Tradition

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light grey] = conjunct motion; [dark grey] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	Ab	Bb	Db	Eb	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db	END
BEG.			1						
Db							2		
Bb					2	11	2	2	
Ab				1	10		7		
Gb			p,p,3	13	2	7	3		
Eb			10	1	15		3		
Db		6	p,p,2	12	2				
Bb	2	2	4	2					
Ab	2	2							

SUCCEEDING

	Ab	Bb	Db	Eb	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db
Iterations:	4	10	24	29	31	18	17	2
Flexibility:	2	3	4	5	5	2	5	1
Duration (♩):	1.75	7.5	14	14.75	18.25	12	8	1.25
Phrase Endings:	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	Gb	31	Eb	29
Flexibility:	Gb/Eb/B/b	5	Db	4
Duration (♩):	Gb	18.25	Eb	14.75
Phrase Endings:	Gb	3	Db	2

Tonal Center: Gb

Tonal Inventory:

Ab	Bb	Db	Eb	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db
10L	8L	5L	3L	0	2H	4H	7H

Table 1 Tonal Succession Chart for "Always Remember Our Revolutionary Living Tradition"

Children, Please Do Not Forget the Fresh Blood of Our Soldiers

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white box] = disjunct motion; [light grey box] = conjunct motion; [dark grey box] = repeated notes

PRECEDING		C	E	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	Eb	F	END
P	BEG.		1									
R	F								5	1		
E	Eb								1			
C	D						5	6				
E	C	p,p,p,p			14		15		5		5	1
D	Bb				9	4		26				
I	A						5	4				
N	G			13	12	5	13	8			1	
G	F	4	p,p,p,p,5		9							
	E	1	3	9								
	C				8							
		C	E	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	Eb	F	END
	SUCCEEDING		S	U	C	C	E	E	D	I	N	G

	C	E	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	Eb	F
Iterations:	9	12	22	52	9	38	44	11	1	6
Flexibility:	3	2	2	5	2	4	4	3	1	2
Duration (♩):	8	8.5	15	34	5	25	42	5.5	0.5	3
Phrase Endings:	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	C	53	G	52
Flexibility:	C	6	G	5
Duration (♩):	C	50	G	34
Phrase Endings:	C	6	F	5

Tonal Center: C

Tonal Inventory:

C	E	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	Eb	F
12L	8L	7L	5L	3L	2L	0	2H	3H	5H

Table 2 Tonal Succession Chart for "Children, Please Do Not Forget the Fresh Blood of Our Soldiers"

Children's Script

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white box] = disjunct motion; [light gray box] = conjunct motion; [dark gray box] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	B	D	E	G	A	B	D	END
BEG.			1					
D					3	2		
B				3	11		4	
A			2	20	2	8		
G		p,p	11	5	11	8	1	1
E	1	8	4	11	5			
D	6	2	p,p,9					
B		7						

SUCCEEDING

	B	D	E	G	A	B	D
Iterations:	7	19	28	39	32	18	5
Flexibility:	2	4	4	4	5	3	2
Duration (♩):	5.75	9	14	21.25	16.5	7	3.25
Phrase Endings:	2	0	0	5	3	0	2

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	G	39	A	32
Flexibility:	A	5	G/E/D	4
Duration (♩):	G	21.25	A	16.5
Phrase Endings:	G	5	A	3

Tonal Center: G

Tonal Inventory:

B	D	E	G	A	B	D
8L	5L	3L	0	2H	4H	7H

Table 3 Tonal Succession Chart for "Children's Script"

Committed to Learning from the Heroic Might of the Great Kampuchean People

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white box] = disjunct motion; [light grey box] = conjunct motion; [dark grey box] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	Bb	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db	END
BEG.				1					
Db							2		
Bb			1		1	2	1	1	
Ab		1	2	1	1	2	1	1	
Gb			1	1	3	2			
F			7	6		2	2		
Eb	2	8	1	p,5	2	1			1
Db	1	1	9	2					
Bb	1	p,2							

SUCCEEDING

	Bb	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db
Iterations:	4	13	21	17	7	9	6	2
Flexibility:	3	4	6	5	4	5	4	2
Duration (♩):	4	6	13	7.5	4.5	5.5	5	1
Phrase Endings:	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	Eb	21	F	17
Flexibility:	Eb	6	Ab/F	4
Duration (♩):	Eb	13	Bb	9
Phrase Endings:	Eb	3	Bb	1

Tonal Center: Eb

Tonal Inventory:

Bb	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	Bb	Db
5L	2L	0	2H	3H	5H	7H	10H

Table 4 Tonal Succession Chart for "Committed to Learning from the Heroic Might of the Great Kampuchean People"

Committed to Strengthening the High Collective and Economic Stance for the Development of Democratic Kampuchea

Key: p = phrase boundary [ ] = disjunct motion [ ] = conjunct motion [ ] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	F#	A	B	D	E	F#	A	END
BEG.					1			
A				1		3	1	
F#		2			5	1	2	
E			1	8	7	4		
D		2	4		p,4	3	2	1
B		2	3	6	2			
A	1	p,1	5	2				
F#		2						

SUCCEEDING

	F#	A	B	D	E	F#	A
Iterations:	1	10	13	17	20	11	5
Flexibility:	1	5	4	4	4	4	3
Duration (♩):	1	7	6.5	11.75	9.5	6.25	2.5
Phrase Endings:	0	1	0	3	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	E	20	D	17
Flexibility:	A	5	B/D/E/F#	4
Duration (♩):	D	11.75	E/A	9.5
Phrase Endings:	D	3	A	1

Tonal Center: D

Tonal Inventory:

F#	A	B	D	E	F#	A
8L	5L	3L	0	2H	4H	7H

Table 5 Tonal Succession Chart for "Committed to Strengthening the High Collective and Economic Stance for the Development of Democratic Kampuchea"

Democratic Kampuchea

Key: p = phrase boundary; white cell = disjunct motion; light gray cell = conjunct motion; dark gray cell = repeated notes

PRECEDING (rows) / SUCCEEDING (columns)

	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B♭	B	C	D	E	END
BEG.				1											
E												4			
D												6		4	
C	p			p				1	12	1	3	5	5		1
B									1			1			
B♭									5	1		2			
A							1	16		1		8	4		
G				p		8	4	p,1	10	1	2	5	1		
F				1		1	3	4		1					
E				1	7	6		10							
D	p	p		5		2		1							
C	1		1	p,2	2	5	2		1						
B		1		1											
A		2	1		1										
G	3			1		2									

	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B♭	B	C	D	E
Iterations:	6	4	2	15	10	24	10	34	29	5	5	31	10	4
Flexibility:	4	3	2	7	3	6	4	6	5	5	2	7	3	1
Duration (♩):	3	2	1	10.5	10	19	6	27	15	2.5	3.5	25	4.5	2
Phrase Endings:	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	C	46	G	34
Flexibility:	C	7	E/G	6
Duration (♩):	C	30.5	G	27
Phrase Endings:	C	6	G	4

Tonal Center:

Tonal Inventory:

G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B♭	B	C
5L	3L	1L	0	2H	4H	5H	7H	9H	10H	11H	12H

Table 6 Tonal Succession Chart for “Democratic Kampuchea”

Fighting to Build Dams, Dig Canals

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light gray] = conjunct motion; [dark gray] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	B	C#	D#	END
BEG.					1					
D#								1		
C#							2			
B				2		1	1		1	
G#	1	p		2	3	1	2	1		
F#				8	2	4				
E		2	5	1	7	2				
D#		4		3						
C#	2	p	2		p	p,2				1
B	1	2		1						

SUCCEEDING

	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	B	C#	D#
Iterations:	4	10	7	18	13	11	5	2	1
Flexibility:	3	5	2	6	4	5	3	2	1
Duration (♩):	2.5	10.5	3	13.5	10.5	10.5	4.5	2	1
Phrase Endings:	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	E	18	F#	13
Flexibility:	E	6	G#/C#	5
Duration (♩):	E	13.5	C#	10.5
Phrase Endings:	C#	3	G#	1

Tonal Center: E

Tonal Inventory:

B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	B	C#	D#
4L	3L	1L	0	2H	4H	7H	9H	11H

Table 7 Tonal Succession Chart for “Fighting to Build Dams, Dig Canals”

Success to the Kampuchean Workers and Laborers

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light gray] = conjunct motion; [dark gray] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	G#	A	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	A	B	C#	END
BEG.								1				
C#						1				p,p,p,p,6	1	
B								1	12	16	11	
A						1		p,12	9	9		
G#			p			5	15	6	p,8	6		
F#			5			10		p,p,11				
E			p,p,3	2	1	p,3	10	2	2	p		1
D#						1	2					
C#							1	1				
B	p,p,p		10		2	6		3				
A			3									
G#	4	3										
SUCCEEDING	G#	A	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	A	B	C#	END

	G#	A	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	A	B	C#
Iterations:	7	3	24	2	3	28	28	40	32	42	12
Flexibility:	2	1	5	1	2	7	4	7	4	5	2
Duration (♩):	4.5	1.5	16.5	1	2	20	19	26	16.75	25.5	11.5
Phrase Endings:	0	1	0	4	0	5	3	2	0	3	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	B	66	G#	47
Flexibility:	E/G	7	B	5
Duration (♩):	B	42	G#	30.5
Phrase Endings:	E	5	C#	4

Tonal Center: B

Tonal Inventory:	G#	A	B	C#	D#	E	F#	G#	A	B
	3L	2L	0	2H	4H	5H	7H	9H	10H	12H

Table 8 Tonal Succession Chart for "Success to the Kampuchean Workers and Laborers"

The Fighting Principles of Kampuchean Revolutionary Youths

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light gray] = conjunct motion; [dark gray] = repeated notes

PRECEDING	Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	B	C	END
BEG.				1							
C									4		
Bb								4		2	
Ab					7	9	2			p,1	
Gb						4					
F		1		3	11	p,p	2	9	2		
Eb	p		p,p,4	4	p,p	12		7			1
Db	3	5		4	5	3					
C			2	1	6						
Bb			1	5	1						
Ab		2		3							

SUCCEEDING

	Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	B	C
Iterations:	4	8	9	20	34	30	4	20	6	4
Flexibility:	2	3	3	6	6	5	2	3	2	2
Duration (♩):	2	4.5	4.75	12.75	24.5	17.75	2.5	13	3	2
Phrase Endings:	0	0	0	0	7	3	0	2	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	Eb	34	F	30
Flexibility:	Db/Eb	6	F	5
Duration (♩):	Eb	24.5	F	17.75
Phrase Endings:	Eb	7	F	3

Tonal Center: Eb

Tonal Inventory:

Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb	F	Gb	Ab	B	C
7L	5L	3L	2L	0	2H	3H	5H	7H	9H

Table 9 Tonal Succession Chart for “The Fighting Principles of Kampuchean Revolutionary Youths”

The Great April 12 Victory Over U.S. Imperialists

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light gray] = conjunct motion; [dark gray] = repeated notes

PRECEDING		Bb	C	D	Eb	F	G	Ab	Bb	C	D	Eb	END
	BEG.								1				
P	Eb									1	1		
R	D									1			
E	C								11	2		1	
C	Bb				1	2	p,7	1	6	7			
E	Ab						1	p					
D	G				2	11	1		p,4	p,p		1	
I	F				8	1	9		p,1				
N	Eb	2	4	4	p,6	4	p,2			1			1
G	D		2		2								
	C	4			2								
	Bb	p,p,3			4	2							
	SUCCEEDING		S	U	C	C	E	E	D	I	N	G	

	Bb	C	D	Eb	F	G	Ab	Bb	C	D	Eb
Iterations:	11	6	4	28	19	22	2	24	14	1	2
Flexibility:	3	2	1	7	5	5	2	4	6	1	2
Duration (♩):	8.75	3.25	2	19.25	17.5	19.25	2.5	15.5	7.5	1	1.5
Phrase Endings:	2	0	0	3	2	3	1	1	0	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	Bb	35	Eb	30
Flexibility:	Eb	7	C	6
Duration (♩):	Bb	24.25	Eb/G	19.25
Phrase Endings:	Eb/G/Bb	3	C	2

Tonal Center: Bb

Tonal Inventory:	Bb	C	D	Eb	F	G	Ab	Bb	C	D	Eb
	12L	10L	8L	7L	5L	3L	2L	0	2H	4H	5H

Table 10 Tonal Succession Chart for "The Great April 12 Victory Over U.S. Imperialists"

We are Fighting to Promptly Harvest the Rice

Key: p = phrase boundary; white cell = disjunct motion; light grey cell = conjunct motion; dark grey cell = repeated notes

PRECEDING	A	C	D	E	F	G	A	C	D	END
BEG.			1							
D								1		
C						1	5			
A	2		p		2	6	1	5	1	
G					7		8			
F		1		1		7	4			
E			1							
D	p	1			p,3	1				1
C	1		5							
A		4								

SUCCEEDING

	A	C	D	E	F	G	A	C	D
Iterations:	4	6	7	1	13	15	18	6	1
Flexibility:	3	3	3	1	3	4	4	2	1
Duration (♩):	2.5	3	7	0.5	8	8.25	13	3.5	0.5
Phrase Endings:	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	A	22	G	15
Flexibility:	A	5	G	4
Duration (♩):	A	15.5	G/F	8
Phrase Endings:	D	3	A	1

Tonal Center: A

Tonal Inventory:

A	C	D	E	F	G	A	C	D
12L	9L	7L	5L	4L	2L	0	3H	5H

Table 11 Tonal Succession Chart for "We are Fighting to Promptly Harvest the Rice"

We the Youths are Committed to Forever Following the Revolutionary Kampuchean Angkar

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white] = disjunct motion; [light gray] = conjunct motion; [dark gray] = repeated notes

PRECEDING											
BEG.	1										
D♭									3		
B♭								8	3	3	
A♭		p				12	1	3	5		
G♭						p		1			
F					p,p,12	9		8	3		
E♭				9	7	p,9		1			
D♭		p,2	2	6	4	1	1	1		p	1
C					2						
B♭				5							
A♭		1									
SUCCEEDING	A♭	B♭	C	D♭	E♭	F	G♭	A♭	B♭	D♭	END

	A♭	B♭	C	D♭	E♭	F	G♭	A♭	B♭	D♭
Iterations:	1	5	2	20	27	33	2	22	14	4
Flexibility:	1	3	1	3	4	5	2	6	4	2
Duration (♩):	0.5	3	1	10.5	14.5	19.75	2.5	11.5	6.75	4
Phrase Endings:	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	0

Combined Octaves

	1st	#	2nd	#
Iterations:	F	33	E♭	27
Flexibility:	A♭	6	F	5
Duration (♩):	F	19.75	E♭/D♭	14.5
Phrase Endings:	D♭	3	F	2

Tonal Center: F

Tonal Inventory:

A♭	B♭	C	D♭	E♭	F	G♭	A♭	B♭	D♭
9L	7L	5L	4L	2L	0	1H	3H	5H	8H

Table 12 Tonal Succession Chart for "We the Youths are Committed to Forever Following the Revolutionary Kampuchean Angkar"

We're Committed to Building Ourselves for Revolution

Key: p = phrase boundary; [white box] = disjunct motion; [light gray box] = conjunct motion; [dark gray box] = repeated notes

PRECEDING		A	C	D	E	F	G	A	C	D	END
	BEG.	1									
P	D								1		
R	C									1	
E	A			p			3				
C	G							3			
E	F			3	4		3	1			
D	E	2		4		5					
I	D	p,p,p,2		p,p,1	2	5		2			1
N	C			6							
G	A		6				3				
	SUCCEEDING	S	U	C	C	E	E	D	I	N	G
	Iterations:	7	6	17	6	11	9	7	1	2	
	Flexibility:	2	1	5	2	3	3	3	1	2	
	Duration (♩):	5	3	14	4	9.5	5.5	5	0.5	2	
	Phrase Endings:	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	

Combined Octaves

	1st:	#	2nd:	#
Iterations:	D	19	A	14
Flexibility:	D	5	A	4
Duration (♩):	D	16	A	10
Phrase Endings:	D	5	A	1

Tonal Center: D

Tonal Inventory:

A	C	D	E	F	G	A	C	D
5L	2L	0	2H	3H	5H	7H	10H	12H

Table 13 Tonal Succession Chart for “We’re Committed to Building Ourselves for Revolution”

Common Musical Characteristics Amongst Revolutionary Songs

Throughout the body of revolutionary songs transcribed, translated, and analyzed in this study, there are many shared characteristics which strengthen the songs’ use as public pedagogy by creating a mood/tone which supports the messages conveyed in the song texts. For example, the fast tempos utilized throughout the majority of revolutionary songs, the accented ensemble interjections which often appear at phrase endings, the constantly loud dynamics, and the performer’s animated and punctuated singing style each aid in creating a cheerful, and sometimes militaristic tone. Not only does the tone created by the music reflect the lyrics’

depiction of a happy and strong Cambodia, but it also helps provide a quick pace to accompany the people's labor. As discussed in the review of Thomas Turino's Music as Social Life, the playing of music during the people's work in the fields could be considered a form of participatory music performance wherein the population took part in communal music making by performing the actions of agricultural labor which were common in Democratic Kampuchean "dance." From a practical standpoint, the quick tempos and the upbeat tone created by the music provided a fast cadence to the people's labor—something deemed necessary to reach the party's desired agricultural yields.

The Red Hot Blood

While the lyrics of the aforementioned songs are excellent examples of words meant to both indoctrinate and instruct their listeners, this goal is most evident in the "The Red Hot Blood," which is widely considered the unofficial national anthem of the Khmer Rouge. As the national symbols chosen by a government and its people can shine valuable light on their ideologies and values, it is important to pay special attention to this work and the messages it conveys. One thing which has been particularly interesting to scholars are the drastic differences in the musical style of "The Red Hot Blood" in comparison to the body of revolutionary songs as a whole. While the majority of Khmer Rouge songs follow similar structural, melodic, and tonal patterns and share many stylistic elements, this work does not conform to those characteristics. Instead of the quick, upbeat melodies and western-influenced tonality which usually prevails, this piece is a slower ballad with irregular phrasing and melodies— similar in style to the traditional Khmer music which existed before the regime (See figure 3.1). The lyrics, however, serve the familiar purpose of extolling the virtues of the *Ângka* and the glorious soldiers who liberated Cambodia, by singing:

> The bright red blood
> was spilled over the towns and plains of Kampuchea,
> our motherland.
> The blood of our great peasant workers and
> our revolutionary warriors, both men and women.
> Their blood produced great rage and courage
> to contend with heroism.
> On the 17th of April, under the revolutionary banner,
> their blood freed us from the state of slavery.
>
> Victory! Victory for the glorious 17th of April!
> That wonderful victory had greater significance
> than the Angkor era!
> We are uniting
> to construct a Kampuchea with a new and better society.
> Democratic, egalitarian, and just.
> We follow the road to a firmly based independence.
> We are absolutely committed to defend our motherland,
> our land of the glorious revolution.
>
> Victory! Victory!
> Victory for the new Kampuchea,
> A splendid, prosperous democracy!
> We are determined
> to raise aloft and wave the red banner of revolution.
> We shall make our motherland prosperous beyond all others,
> Magnificent, wonderful!

The use of musical characteristics more common to traditional Khmer genres helps to strengthen the use of this song as a national anthem and as public pedagogy by ensuring that the work reflected the values and goals of the *Ângka*, who felt that it was necessary to revert to the pure roots of Khmer culture in order for Democratic Kampuchea to thrive.

The Red Hot Blood

♩ = 66

Instrumental Introduction

Male and Female Vocalists (Unison)

Figure 14 Melodic Transcription for “The Red Hot Blood”

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Relationship of the Results to the Literature Review

The transcription, translation, and analysis of Khmer Rouge songs reveals that both the text and the tone created by the music served to convey the messages of the regime and serve as a form of public pedagogy and indoctrination. While sources outlined in the literature review do not discuss the musicological characteristics which strengthened the songs' usefulness, memorability, and credibility, all sources confirm that that songs were intended to educate the Cambodian people on Party values and goals. The translation of song lyrics in this study supports the analysis of texts provided by Martson and Tyner and provides additional evidence of the lyrics' intended use as a form of public pedagogy. Furthermore, the CPK's use of this music serves as a perfect example of the theories of public pedagogy provided by public pedagogy's leading scholars: Giroux, Vandenabeele, Loopmans, and Schuermans.

Limitations

The primary limitations faced in the study of Democratic Kampuchea's music directly stem from the CPK's destruction of Khmer cultural artifacts during the regime, as well as the persecution of the country's musicians and performing artists. These actions resulted in a loss of documentation and recordings of traditional musical genres, which subsequently made the revival of such artforms difficult or impossible. As such, with no formal musical notation system, very few recordings, and only an extremely small number of survivors who had the knowledge to teach the younger generation, the research and documentation of Khmer folk genres is spotty at best and many of these traditional artforms have been lost to history. This lack of knowledge makes contextual musicological analysis of revolutionary songs difficult, as the

study of pre-revolutionary genres reveals little information. Additionally, the poor quality of the existent recordings of both revolutionary and pre-revolutionary music makes musicological analysis and the translation of song texts arduous.

These conditions have led to a musical culture which is still struggling to survive—one which has not produced enough of its own scholars and musicologists to aid in the revival of these lost artforms. Even in regard to Cambodia's popular music, many scholars note that the industry consists largely of translated covers of American and Thai pop music, and that Khmer composers and song writers are rare.[77] In addition to the scarcity of music education, the Cambodian government's continued control over the country's musical output has limited the freedom of artists who wish to perform music that speaks on political and social topics. As such, one of Cambodia's leading popular singer-songwriters is praCh who, while living in the United States, has written a series of raps which remark on the social and political climate of his home country. Due to the songs' content, this music has been forced to thrive in the musical underbelly of Cambodia—through pirated CDs and recordings.[78]

The combination of the loss of knowledge and culture during Democratic Kampuchea and the government's continued control over Cambodia's musical output is still affecting Khmer musical culture, today. While many are working towards revitalizing both traditional, folk, and popular genres, the lack of surviving artifacts and performers—coupled with the fact that there is no unified method for documenting, analyzing, and sharing this type of information— is making this process all the more difficult. Subsequently, research into both the revolutionary and pre-

[77] Cat Barton and Cheang Sokha, "Songwriters and Composers Rare in Cambodian Music," *The Phnom Penh Post*, 2006.

[78] Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, "Hip-Hop Memoirs: An Interview with Khmer American Rapper praCh," *Asian American Performance Art* (2011).

revolutionary is troublesome, as the investigation and revitalization of those genres is still underway.

Considerations for Future Study

As more knowledge is being obtained regarding Khmer music and more Cambodians begin to enter the ethnomusicological, anthropological, and musicological fields, it will be important to continue this research and more accurately determine the characteristics of Khmer Rouge songs—specifically the rhythmic and melodic components—which are reflective of traditional folk and popular genres. Furthermore, if a native Khmer system of musical notation or any other system of notation is officially adopted, it will be important to represent the musical transcriptions in that format so that the work can be more easily accessible to the Cambodian people and be more reflective of their culture.

Conclusion

As the Cambodian government continues to ban the teaching of revolutionary history in its public schools, it is all the more important that this devastating period in history is not forgotten. Not only does the study of Democratic Kampuchea shine valuable light on the history of Cambodian and its culture, but it is also an excellent case study for the power of music during times of social transformation and as a form of public pedagogy. However, more important than the academic value behind the study of this brutal regime, is ensuring that history remembers the millions of lives who were lost, and the millions more who continue to feel the effects of this time, today.

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IRB Letter

[External] IRB-FY21-22-1097 - Initial: Non-Human Subjects Research

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Mon 5/16/2022 9:31 AM

To: Lesh, Anissa Jade <ajlesh@liberty.edu>;Meyer, Jeffrey T (Dept. of Music and Worship) <jtmeyer@liberty.edu>

[EXTERNAL EMAIL: Do not click any links or open attachments unless you know the sender and trust the content.]

LIBERTY UNIVERSITY.
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

May 16, 2022

Anissa Lesh
Jeffrey Meyer

Re: IRB Application - IRB-FY21-22-1097 The Music of Democratic Kampuchea: Revolution Songs as Public Pedagogy

Dear Anissa Lesh and Jeffrey Meyer,

The Liberty University Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed your application in accordance with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP) and Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regulations and finds your study does not classify as human subjects research. This means you may begin your project with the data safeguarding methods mentioned in your IRB application.

Decision: No Human Subjects Research

Explanation: Your study is not considered human subjects research for the following reason:

(1) It will not involve the collection of identifiable, private information from or about living individuals (45 CFR 46.102).

Please note that this decision only applies to your current application, and any modifications to your protocol must be reported to the Liberty University IRB for verification of continued non-human subjects research status. You may report these changes by completing a modification submission through your Cayuse IRB account.

If you have any questions about this determination or need assistance in determining whether possible modifications to your protocol would change your application's status, please email us at irb@liberty.edu.

Sincerely,

G. Michele Baker, MA, CIP
Administrative Chair of Institutional Research
Research Ethics Office