

**Minutes of Meeting  
Regarding Propaganda Works  
1 June 1976**

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Composition: Comrade Secretary  
Comrade Deputy Secretary  
Comrade Phoas ភាស័ and the radio team  
Comrade Kuoy ក្យូយ  
Comrade Song សៀង and the film team  
Comrade Touch តូច (minute-taker)

Agenda: Technical aspects  
Intra-party, core Angkar (organization) and the masses

I. The situations [in] the ministry

Comrade Phoas ភាស័ reports:

1. Radio:

Good points: Fulfilled the task in terms of viewpoint and stance. As for assignment, there have been subsequent meetings. There are three authors, who are able to write [articles] related to all fields and there are four news writers and writers of descriptive texts. [We are] prepared to build up four or five more people. Totally, there will be more than ten people. There are four to five assistants.

Weak points: There are also several shortcomings, both in terms of viewpoint and stance. [They] fail to be flexible with each phase [of political development]. Compared to the revolutionary movement, the radio propaganda is limited and the broadcast is not done to the great extent yet.

In terms of guidelines of action, there are also many weaknesses. Our comrades cannot catch up with the movement. Some comrades used to write newspaper before. In order to build them up, time is needed. Some of our brothers and sisters from the localities are under the building-up process and there are possibilities build them up.

2. Art performance

Good points: [They] manage to fulfill the task both in terms of viewpoint and standpoint.

Week points: Perform the same things, with no initiatives. Thus, there would be more efforts in this area, especially for the guest reception in order to meet the request of the party.

### 3. Stoeng Meanchey ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ bridge

Internal matters are under control. Technical aspects are also in self-mastery. We also take the opportunity to learn form some of our foreign friends. Extend the voice and make the voice louder both right in the country and at the edges of the country.

Cables from Stoeng Meanchey ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ to the ministry have already been set. There are five radio broadcasters at Stoeng Meanchey ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ radio broadcasting station.

- 20 KW and 50 KW
- 20 KW (assisting)
- Another two of 5KW and 15 KW
- Other one with 50 KW which is under construction by the Chinese.

### 4. Teleprinter

For political and technical [sections]. We lack typewriting [staffers]. [We] have recruited one more person and aim to recruit more.

Plan: First, install another new printer. Repair the old one. The Chinese have given two new machines. Direction: To Beijing and Southeast Asia.

Technicality: Basically, it is workable. Nowadays, three to five people are under a typing training in foreign scripts and making scripts in lines. They are also being trained in radio. By the end of the year, [we] will be in self-mastery.

Six receiving radios are being repaired. Three for receiving [messages] from far distance and three for receiving [messages] from near distance.

If Angkar permits, we can follow up the international prices. We can receive [not understandable].

### 5. Printing shop

[We] managed to recruit [more] core members. Three to four workers are recruited for catching printed communication. [We] can print both small and large font sides. Revolutionary stories are to be selected for Angkar's examination and the ministry can publish them.

### 6. Film and photo shooting

The results of producing [films] are in progress. Some [films] have already been submitted to Angkar for examination, while some other negative films are under the development process. The photograph section is also in progress.

Shortage of equipment: Filming machines are enough—approximately 10 in total, including 16-mm and 5-mm. [We] lack negative films. Previously we have used old negative films which produced no good pictures.

A request for certain materials: There is a list [of requested materials] which has already been sent to Angkar for examination of the possibility.

Inability: can develop negative films in color both 35-mm and 16-mm. We lack development machines.

## 7. Miscellaneous

In maintenance section, we manage to produce certain people qualified as car repairers for use within the ministry.

Livelihood: In terms of meat, [and] vegetation, [we] are able to self-supply to some extent and [we] have planned for more.

### Comrade Kuoy ភ្នំ ឃុំ makes an additional report

1. Technical section at Stoeng Meanchey ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ [stations]: Cables, antennas, maintenance and protection

- They are in the process. Repairing old cables are underway. The same for antennas. There are six broadcasting staffers who are of different level of knowledge and who can work in shifts. There is a plan for recruiting more, but it is not possible yet.
- These machines, if spare parts are available, can be used for another dozen years.
- Shortcomings: No thorough diligence. Mice, spiders, *Kai Nheang* កែត្រង់ (kind of insect) are a threat [to the materials].
- Maintenance staffers: wrapping and repairing can be done.

2. Internal issues: There is a good solidarity with old workers. Be careful, especially in protection terms.

3. Communication with the Chinese: They have requested for a power generator with a capacity of 50 to 60 KW, a road arrangement, and our final decision regarding the antennas for long-distance broadcast. Our current antennas receive [works] in only selective positions. They want to know where we broadcast to in order that they can arrange for us. Some antennas are able to receive one wave or two and no more than that.

- They propose to get their 200 KW broadcasted internally, only within Southeast Asia.
- They propose whether the road from Stoeng Meanchey to Wat Sleng is expanded in order that they can arrange cables [realistically]

- Prepare equipment for the construction.

Comrade Song សុំង makes an additional report

- In technical field, six people have been trained. Comrade Chann ចាន់ led the training.
- Some problems occurred due to old negative films.
- Can zoom out from 35-mm to 16-mm, but cannot zoom in from 16-mm to 35-mm.

II. Instructional comments from the Standing [Committee]

Comrade Deputy Secretary:

From the last meeting up to now, there is a progress in all aspects: radio, authoring, teleprinter and filming. [The ministry] serves our movement fairly good [in terms of] harvesting, raising dikes and [growing] short-term rice, domestically speaking. In terms of foreigners, the arts [performance section] also are at the guests' service.

Some problems are also observed. The party has given subsequent instructions. The following are worth of attentions:

1. Radio:

- Previously we failed to upgrade [information regarding] the harvest.
- Some songs are [sound] like or similar to those from the previous regime. Mind such wordings as: *Bâvâ* បវី (most beautiful), *Punareay* ពណ្តាយ (colorful), *Sokhamalpheap* សុខុមាលភាព (wellbeing). It is proposed that ordinary words are used.
- Radio programs should be changed in a way to make it favorable, especially in the early morning.

2. Com[mittee] of Authors

Generally speaking, they are in good progress. However, three people are too few. It needs to be extended. Intellectual-authors face problems vis-à-vis the party's guidelines which need five to six years for education. We need to recruit some from the bases for indoctrination.

3. Stoeng Meanchey Station ស្ថានីយ៍ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ

It is requested that project proposals be initiated for the Office's examination and approval.

4. Teleprinter: Some translations are cannot be understood. Some loopholes exist. More attention should be paid.

5. Printing shop: Should be expanded.

As a general view, all aspects should pay attention to building up core [members], in terms of both standpoint and viewpoint. For arts [section], please do not allow aged people to be on the stage and adolescents are more appropriate.

Other issues, such as maintenance should be paid more attention to. We [should] essentially take maintenance approach and endeavor to invent and repair. Another condition is that [we] should learn from the bases/localities.

In summary, merits are overwhelming. However, more attention should be paid to the building up of cadres to another extent.

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Comrade Secretary:

[I am] in agreement with Nuon ្រ្រ views. [I] would like to add some comments as follows:

1. Merits: The ministry has fulfilled its duties to the maximum, based on the party guidelines. This promotes the movement to another level, both in terms of socialist revolution and building up the socialism, particularly the radio section which get messages across all of our circles. They wait and listen to news and comments from the radio in such areas as commentaries, reports, and especially arts. So, they consider radio as the ownership of the party, the revolution and theirs.

Given this, we are impressed by its roles and importance and [we should] promote more to make it parallel with the party guidelines.

2. The general direction for the ministry

a) We must strengthen and expand our cadres of all kinds and male and female combatants as quickly as we can in order to get more [people] to serve the movement. [We] must have annual or semester plan. This year (1976), please try the best to achieve our plan of building up our ranks to be basically self-independent in all sections.

Arts-radio: We are in basic mastery, while filming section is having a capital to function. Other technical machines also have some capital. Comparatively, there are two issues worth of attention:

First, it relates to radio-related machines. In order to be in dependence and self-mastery, we must have our own technical [experts]. We must build up our ranks [and] make them learn the technicalities, especially in the radio field in order to be in self-mastery up to the end of the year. Building up 2, 3, 4 or 5 is fine, but [we] must in self-

mastery. We cannot allow their technical experts to stay long. We only can delay their stay for a certain period of time. This matter is important. [not understandable]. Therefore, the ministry [needs to] discuss about shortcomings and what to be solved before making request to the Office.

As for equipment, we can purchase some, but it is important to take maintain-and-repair approach.

In order to be in such a self-mastery condition, it is necessary to have a building-up plan: building-up in terms of shock assaults and building-up in ordinary terms. Building-up in terms of shock assaults means selecting old cadres who know how-to to practice and prepare practical theory, especially, with the Chinese experts who are with us now. They have their own techniques which create favorable conditions for the process. Later on it would be easier for us to change nuts or bolts without difficulty in buying [this stuff] from other places where [our] currency matters. In order to build up [cadres], 10 or more qualified people need to be recruited, especially among volunteers who like this field. We arrange this in terms of shock assaults. If not so, we don't want to them to go back. Or if they go back when [the machines] are broken and then we invite them for another time, this is not a good policy. We must have a plan of how far we would be self-mastery by the end of the year. To what extent we can be in self-mastery in one year and keep this track until we are in complete self-mastery.

We can solve this problem because we already have had capital. Nothing is more effective than real practice. Practicing it at our place is like experiments—try and error. Once we are in self-mastery, we can install them [radio stations] in provinces as we like. Thus, we need to have our core members in all sections, from 4 to 10 persons. In principle, we govern and master ourselves.

Office of the Standing [Committee]: Keep an eye on [this issue] and recruit 4 to 10 cadres from technical field. The Propaganda Committee must pay attention to this matter. For the authors, few shortcomings would be no problem; we can master ourselves. [But] we are not in self-mastery in the machine field.

Stoeng Meanchey ស្ទឹងមានជ័យ: Try to be in high degree of self-mastery in all sections, no later than mid-1977.

The newly installed radios [must] follow them. We must have our own group to [practice]. When the [experiment class] finish, we know all the operation fields.

Second, it relates to other technical aspects. Authors: [They] include intellectual, farmers, and laborers. How many people we can build up in each six months of the year. Intellectuals get our instructions very quickly. However, in principle, it needs a period of time [for their education]. Initially, farmers and laborers don't know how to write, but they are aware of the issues. Once they can write, they are able to grasp hold of the matters and are able to write based on the reality.

We need to build up these two categories. Based on the party's experience, building up authors needs time, both for intellectuals and laborers [and] farmers. Youths can be built up more quickly than senior, old intellectuals having their own stance from which it is hard to entice.

Therefore, we have a plan to build up in strategic and obvious terms.

-Filming team: Also needs to be strengthened and expanded. There are two ways of propagandizing the public: one being through the voices from radio and second being through film screening. Film is an instrument for propagandizing the public via picture. It plays the same, important role as radio.

Endeavor to have five permanent filming teams starting from now to the end of year 1976. From 1977, we will arrange for five to ten teams. There are mobile filming and screening teams throughout the country. Screening team would consist of fewer people—a group of two experts and three assistants, while filming team would consist of a cameraperson, light projector and some assistants. We can complement with some male and female youths, adolescents, and children.

B. Equipment: Some of the materials we need can be purchased. But importantly we must endeavor to maintain them. Some of our current materials can be purchased from China and Hong Kong. We also [can] buy some from Thailand. Later, we will have a plan. We keep equipment at a central office for collective use. We don't take luxurious and expensive equipment yet. In 1976 we use films: 90 percent black-and-white and 10 percent in the color form.

When we are skilful in [producing] black-and-white films, we will move on to do the color one. Black-and-white films need to be produced in ten lines per story for division to each zone. The public do not have much demand in color [films]. If we use color [films] immediately, they will cost a lot. We will not produce the color films until we are skilful.

C. Film: What we should shoot? [We] must capture the movement of building up the country, country defense, especially building up of the country's rural areas. We shoot [films] of their activities from start to finish.

-Updated films on current situations: There are two circumstances: First, we shoot the movement under way in rural areas. Second, we shoot story-film from the beginning of their work until the end.

Our direction of capturing current situations is to encourage the movement. Therefore, we go shooting [films] everywhere, all zones, including Northeast [Zone].

- Film contents: Take the mass movement as a core. Do not allow the image of individuals to be more outstanding. For example, when there is a national ceremony, [we] should show the localities as a core, while showing the leading cadres as a subsidiary

[picture]. Making a speech is also the same; when there is a cadre speaking, we say 'Comrade or Comrade Representative of Angkar', and do not refer directly to Angkar plainly.

Generally speaking, filming is an important matter. The public really demand it. If they see the updated situations, they are happy because they show their masterpiece and they represent their own story.

- Documentary films: They are producing subsequently, such as assembly meeting, and meeting of leadership sections. Spent much [time/picture] on the public rather than on the meetings.

D. Photos: Second to the filming. They are not of mass characteristics. Importantly, it is for documentary record. Take photos of ceremonies, or foreign guests for documentary purpose.

As for foreign guests, after shooting, we [have to] prepare [the photos] for them for souvenirs. For example, we shoot immediately when they arrive and give [the photos] to them when they are leaving another day. We [should] prepare in small albums. Do whatever need to be done for them to have their pictures with our leaders.

-[We] must pay more attention to the keeping of records: open and confidential. They must be arranged/classified separately.

#### E. Miscellaneous

Printing shop: It is requested that it is expanded. Scripts arrangement also should be expanded. The same for negative film development, while color negative film development is not yet necessary.

- Revolutionary stories: The ministry, please prepare them. Each book [should] consist of 8 to 10 stories. Stories should be selected from the previous stage. The book should not be too sick; 60 to 80 pages are fine. Basically, the stories we broadcasted through radio can be used with minor modifications. Do not make mistakes. Add more pages and make corrections. We would better be slow, but clean.

- Teleprint: Arrange the fixture of rotor, if necessary. [We] will arrange for paper. As for publicizing back, [we] afraid we are not in self-mastery.

Now, it there is any important, we sent via our embassies abroad for them to publicize. Do not prepare it yet until another while, when Ministry of Propaganda and Foreign Affairs are in more self-mastery both in political and number of staff terms. For this issue, we delay it for a while.

- The new station: We do all. So, we must be prepared to have sand, gravel, stone, cement, iron, etc. It is requested that the ministry raise a plan. The road is yet to be expanded. Instead, we [should] improve it. The cables can be put on one side of the pavements. Regarding the road going deeper, it is requested that a plan be made and sent



to the Standing [Committee] for approval before gathering forces to do it. This place needs quicker project proposals. If not so, it affects dikes, canals which have already been built.

It is proposed that a committee be established to prepare project proposal before making request to the Standing [Committee].

- The current radio station: Have more revolutionary vigilance, especially the enemies burrowing within, for fear that they may have laid bombs. So, guarding and check-in-and-out regime are needed. Basically, enemies are destructed. Even so, they still attempt to destroy us. In terms of viewpoint and standpoint, we must be more vigilant.

### 3. Radio and arts

a) Radio: People like listening to the verbal reports, but techniques relating obtaining the reports are weak and [the voices] are so soft that [they] cannot be heard. So, there need to be a better arrangement for recording and interviewer. So far the interviewing has not been normal yet: asking and responding one word to one word. We [should] arrange for conversation.

- Interviewing program: It is proposed that there should be interviews in all zones. Each zone has to have a five-seven day [interview]. And in each zone, interviews should be interchanged between sectors/regions.

- Number One Fertilizer: We have activities. In commentary text, please do not mention about its combination, although we can do so in *Ayai* art [satire]. But please do not mention about political agendas. We [should] speak only about the fertilizer.

- Announcer: [It] works well with women. In comparison, men are softer than women. The ministry needs build up new speakers. The ministry can contact [prospective speakers] before examining [their] biographies. The Standing [Committee] will also help find. Based on [our] experience, good readers are those who used to enter monkhood.

b. Arts: Some music and song may have old tendency. Some aspects follow the old tracks. It is proposed that the song about 'male and female youth thanking Angkar' be taken out because parts of it copy the Sihanoukist cadence. Modified traditional music is mostly satisfied.

So, therefore, be careful. Don't allow for much of the old rhythms which cause negative impact on our party's influence.

In summary, there are many good points. Shortcomings need more improvement. The main direction is to endeavor to serve the movement. They [the public] like *Ayai* [song]. So, provide a timely *Ayai* service. The context [must] also be made timely. Singers need to be selected from among those with strong voice. This helps. Finally, please pay attention to wishing the movement. Wishes to Angkar have already been done

subsequently. Wishes [should] relate to the combat spirit, the spirit of endeavoring to build the country with the speed of great leap forward in order to attack sentiments.

Speak the same to the army and workers. But importantly speak about the cooperatives. Their request is to have stories.