

CHH`E`UM S`AM-AOK alias P`ANG alias P`A alias SEUANG

"Responses of 010"

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[p.67]

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After 17 April 1975

During the several days after liberation, the Organization had me stay with it constantly in order to contribute by helping make sure the work got done in time. H`o'ng and I were instructed to array our forces for entry into Phnum Penh. Only by entering Phnum Penh Municipality would it be possible to sort out the work in time. However there was a wait until the people had been a little bit more completely removed from Phnum Penh.

My unclear memory is that the trip into Phnum Penh was made on 20 or 21 April, right to the train station. The state of life at that time was pretty confused and chaotic because of the happiness about the great 17 April victory. However, a reasonably large defence perimeter was extended around the railroad area. A lot of guests were coming and going for work. The goods that were in use came from a whole lot of sources, from things to eat on.

At this time the spirit of vigilance was not particularly indomitable. In the atmosphere of victory then ideological perception was weighted heavily only toward the enemy from without, whereas ideologically very short shrift was given to perception of the enemy within. The enemy fighting from within to get to the outside was also overlooked.

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Ideologically I was also carried away with the victory. Ideologically my only thoughts were absorbed in the tasks that I was given by the Party, from one to the next.

- At that time the Party decided that all transport forces would come to Phnum Penh.

And then most of the forces from the bureaux in the rear were selected to come help with the work in Phnum Penh too.

At the same time, I was to find and set up new positions in which to live and work. And to set up locations for the reception of the guest Chinese technicians who were soon to come one after the other.

I was then always making strenuous effort to seek out, get to know and establish liaison with others in order to facilitate the work, including both those in the military and those from the bases. I didn't know who was a traitor and who wasn't.

For example, I made contact with the 170 military and Ch`a`krei, with S`o`k[?] and Sauphan, with the military from the North, Euan and Suong, etc. This was both because my perimeter abutted on theirs and because my work required contact with them. (Sauphan was a separate case. When I first met him I didn't have the least idea who he was. I had gone to get in touch with S`o`k at his home at the Casion. He called me by my old name and embraced me. Then he told me he was known as Li Vay, and only then did it hit me and did it become cordial with him.) I was now working with S`o`k, and I found the opportunity to chat with him informally to some extent. I heard him say that: I have made a presentation to the Organization that you are the one who organized me. I replied to him: I suggest that you make sure you've made a correct and concrete presentation, as it is normally the case that the Organization already knows about each organizational linkage.

In the ministries and departments I made contact with such sections as those responsible for administration of war booty and [?].

I didn't know which sections were traitorous and which were not. It was at this time that I came to know another group of responsables whom I had not known before.

At this time I didn't figure on having any contact with Lin. On the one hand, he was far away; on the other hand there weren't any problems, either. If it was unavoidable, I could go and make contact.

Joined together with the collectivity, all that was on my mind was rushing after the work of the Organization, from one thing to the next, and doing so urgently and in rapid succession.

I made the arrangements for another position for the Organization, and for a withdrawal from the railyards. Comparatively, the new position was still not very good in terms of defence, but it was possible to proceed with the work and living there for a period.

To one extent it was better compared to the railyards. The Organization also agreed to making arrangements for this position. At the same time, the Organization asked me urgently to find and select a venue for meetings. It had to be secret and some place where security against grenade or gunfire or any other attack by the enemy could be guaranteed.

After several alternatives were selected, the Organization pointed out a spot for me to inspect. I made a complete inspection and then reported back to the Organization, informing it that this was comparatively the best spot in terms of security and defence. There were some difficulties as regards a living place. The Organization agreed on this spot, and then gave instructions to be as quick and as covert as possible.

Joining together with the collectivity, I was try hard to make the arrangements with the utmost secrecy and in the shortest possible time, and then withdraw a number of essential forces to attend to the work. The defence fence was also to be expanded to create a extensive area.

I extracted forces that had previously been employed strictly internally to attend to this work. And a number of good forces were to guard the perimeter from the outside.

I reported to the Organization about the situation as regards these

arrangements and assignments. The Organization gave additional instructions about internal security, as well as about food security. Then guests were invited from every location to come work right in that place.

At that time in administration of the brother and sister forces on the outside, I counted entirely on the organization committees of each section. I didn't go into things deeply. At the same time, I relied on Ph'e'um to help with the education. All that was on my mind was the internal work of the Organization.

At that time the work of receiving hundreds of Chinese guests and sorting out where they would live, their security and their standard of living also fell entirely to the Bureau to sort out. Ministries and departments still hadn't been put together. I selected relatively good brothers and sisters to attend to this work so that it would go according to the requirements of the Party. Comparatively speaking, the reception of the guests was still not very good. This was on account of the fact that this was something the brothers and sisters had never done. However, for their part the guests didn't object to anything.

In personal ideological terms, I strove always to be reasonably good at sorting out the work of attending to these guests.

As regards the security of the guests both against the enemy and in terms of their health, I was vigilant in my concern and fears that they might be endangered or encounter obstacles on account of our administration of them.

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The Party many times gave instruction and education about our reception of guests, saying that everything about it was connected to the identify, competence, influence and honour of our Party, revolution and people.

I educated all the brother and sister forces attending to this work according to the directives from the Party to make them comprehend all of their duties. I did not just simply put them to work. And these forces were selected with conscientious responsibility with regard to their sources. However, there was something of a void as regards routine administration of these forces. For the most part I counted on the organization committees on duty.

As regards the nation-wide work meeting of the Party, it proceeded victoriously. No hindrances whatsoever were encountered. Security was assured in every sphere. Health was assured to a certain extent. Secrecy was maintained somewhat better than before because the majority of the masses knew how to do this and understood the question of secrecy. So there was no state of consternation in the life environment, no clamorous coming and going. Things were as quiet as they would be normally, as if there were not as many people as there were.

Both the Big Brothers and the Little Brothers found themselves in the 17 April atmosphere of great victory. There were commotions everywhere both among the military and the other units of organization throughout Phnum Penh. As for the venues for meeting and work, they were in a placid state, and no one paid them any heed. This meant that these work positions could be protected, and a lot of work could be done at them over a

prolonged period.

At that time my contact with Lin became infrequent and was broken. He didn't come to Phnum Penh, nor did I go over to the East. I was carried away with with the work I had right there in Phnum Penh.

After the work meeting was over, the Brothers all parted company. The Organization did not return to the Bureau, but instead continued to reside in that place for a further period. Guests were always coming and going for work one after the other, one or two a day....

Because he was severely exhausted, Brother Number One fell seriously ill. He had headaches and pains in his ears and extremities. He was unable to eat anything at all. Everybody was terribly worried about his health.

It wasn't until three or four days had passed that he got some relief.

This then coincided with the attack of American imperialist planes against Kampuchea's islands and sea and of the Yuon against Kah Polou Wai and at some places along the border.

This postponed his return to health.

I think this also coincided with the time he was supposed to go to Yuonland. At that time his health was not yet sound. Because there was just too much work, he strained to do it despite being ill. Brother Number Two was also weak, suffering from a lot of dizziness, but he also strained to insure nonstop fulfilment of his duties.

Once the health of both Brothers was alleviated a bit, especially that of Brother Number One, then arrangements were made for their secret trip. They went in the capacity of a dlegation of the Party visiting north Yuonland. Both Brothers went together. I escorted the Organization on their journey, along with two or three combatants, in order to participate in protecting them and attending to the Party's work in an internal context. We went for a short period of five or six days and then came back.

Upon our return, the Organization had me endeavour to select some location as a place of permanent residence.

At this time Yaem also came to live in this Bureau, along with a bodyguard. The Organization decided Deuan should also come to live at the Bureau. He similarly brought a bodyguard along, who he brought in in accordance with the rules. (This guy was a former police informer.) In addition he brought another 100 persons with him, who were to be turned over to the Organization. The Organization had me assess all these forces, who were being kept at the chamkar, in order to select those who were to attend to foreign guests and those who were to be brought in to help with the work in each of the sections of the the Bureau.

Deuan was responsible for the management of all administrative work in the Bureau. He proposed that two or three persons belonging to him come in to attend to the work of the Bureau as well because he felt they were good. One would assist as Brother Number One's chaffeur (because Brother Number One needed one sturdy person as a chaffeur) and the other would

either work in his office or as his personal bodyguard. He discussed this with me two or three times, but I wouldn't agree. I told him to go ahead and propose it to the Organization (that is, propose it to Brother Number 2). If the Organization was agreeable, then OK. He didn't have the nerve to put in the request, and kept silent about it the whole time. I told him frankly that the Organization wouldn't let such elements into the inside. They would have to first be meticulously assessed.

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Before I went to assess the forces, I asked Deuan about their what sort of elements they were. He said that as far as he was able to grasp things, most of them were good, although there were a number that had had been unable to grasp. After I culled through them, I decided to take only a third of them. The other two-thirds I turned back over to him for him to deploy as he saw fit. I did report on this situation to the Organization.

Most of these forces were sent over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A small number were dispersed among each of the sections of the Bureau (vehicles, medics, chamkar, logistics). These forces have now all been gathered up already. A number are already with Security, and a number of others at in the re-education chamkar. As far as I know, the other two-thirds were taken and dispersed by Deuan among all the ministries and departments in the sections of them administered by him.

I would like to say honestly that ideologically I didn't know that Deuan had betrayed. In my work I had normal cooperation with him. Once in a while he would bring a force or two from somewhere to visit the Bureau informally. Once in a while he would bring one or two others who he would leave outside, in the chamkar. He let his spouse have the run of the warehouse, and would help intervene on her behalf whenever she wanted this or that. I adopted a don't care attitude and said nothing in order to avoid conflict, even though I could see that he was by nature abusing and misusing his authority.

My reaction was simply to keep quiet. I didn't try to get on his good side or support him. At the same time, I observed that he never deliberated with me about anything. He acted simply on the basis of his own decision.

At this time the arrangements for the administration of the Bureau were still not hard and firm. A lot of new elements came in, and a lot of old elements left to go help with the various ministries and departments. A lot of others left to go grasp this or that sphere. The newly entering elements were not meticulously regulated, examined or purged.

About a month after returning from the Yuon, I departed on the trip to China. This was a trip to make a secret visit in the name of a Party delegation visiting China. I departed again with the Organization and three or four youths. This time only Brother Number One went. Brother Number Two stayed on duty.

The Party educated me as to the requirements of the trip and visit and instructed me to make every effort to make sure all assignments were fulfilled.

I made every effort to educate the compatriots who accompanied us that we all were greatly honoured to be going with the Party. We should therefore make every effort [p.73] to attend with the utmost spirit of

responsibility to the assignments handed over to us by the Party so that we would have maximum success in fulfilling what was required of us.

Moreover, the Organization was travelling in an ill state of health. Given this situation, we must exert every effort to help take care of his health with the utmost perseverance, and do nothing at all which would make things difficult for the Organization on our account. All of us resolved to make sure we succeeded in our assignments.

When I saw that such honours were repeatedly being given to me by the Party Organization, it made me very optimistic about the Party. I respected and loved the Brothers very much and was clear about attending to my Party assignments with the utmost sense of responsibility.

Ya and T'u'm also went out to China. I had no thoughts of conniving in any traitorous activities with them. I did nothing but exert every effort to make sure I fulfilled my Party assignments well.

When we went out to Korea, I again made every effort in this spirit. My group took responsibility and did nothing that adversely affected our Korean friends. We made every effort to always be well-mannered with the Koreans. We went to Korea for a period of only five days. There was nothing distressing about the health of the Organization or any of the other Brothers.

Upon return to China a period of touring began. While travelling on tour, behavior was also good.

The requirements of the Party for the visit and the requirements of the hosts in making arrangements for the visit were both very appropriate for the Kampuchean situation.

The Organization and all the Brothers were in good health. They made all the visits on the host's agenda. The atmosphere among both the guests and the hosts appeared to be a very happy one.

As for Ya and T'u'm, I didn't notice that they did anything out of the ordinary that would have arrested anyone's attention.

Before going back to the country, the Organization instructed me to give some education to Y'u'n (Khuon's wife) to get her to stay and get medical treatment for her disease for an additional period, and not yet to go back to the country. However, she continued to cry and shout that she wasn't willing to stay, that she was absolutely determined about her desire to go back to the country. Then the Organization gave her education, but she still wouldn't listen. This individual had a very ruinous effect on our dignity and identity. Our Chinese friends also evaluated her extensively.

This was the only hitch in the situation that I observed.

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I would like to make it clear the official request of our Chinese friends had been that Y'u'n remain for a further period of treatment because she had an infectious [?] disease.

After the tours were all over, V'a'n, in the name of the delegation,

all its members and all the combatans, returned to the country.

This was as Brother Number One stayed on for a short additional period to have a health examination and receive medical treatment. Before I left to go back to the country, he instructed me to find a place of permanent residence and make material arrangements for the reception of guests.

Upon our return V`a'n and I worked hard at wandering around inspecting a lot of different residential areas. In the end he decided on one location to be taken as the position of permanent residence.

I had to go all out and make stormy attacks to basically complete the arrangements for this position before the Organization arrived.

Seeing how the Party was paying me so much attention, I became ideologically very content with the work. I was always ideologically unconfused about the assignments the Party handed over to me. I wasn't so deranged or hysterical as to imagine strategems by which to wreck the Party and the revolution.

Following the instructions of the Organization, I joined in with the collectivity and made every effort to make the arrangements for place to receive guests and material with which to receive them, and to build up appropriate forces to attend to them.

At that time the Bureau still managed and took responsibility for the work of receiving guests because the ministries had not yet been put together.

The work which was most involved with my spearheads at that time was that of making the arrangements for the Bureau and for the place for receiving guests. At that time guests were coming and going one after the other.

The Organization made tthe trip back from China. An important Chinese leader escorted him on the journey and came with him. The Organization decided this guest should be received properly with the status of a delegation.

H`o'ng and I were the cores responsible for this assignment, for which V`a'n had overall responsibility. Under V`a'n's instructions, the reception arranged for this guest was quite proper. There were some shortcomings in attending to the guest due to inexperience and lack of expertise.

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In late 1975 the Party had a tremendous amount of work. From I had and could see, it was more than during the fighting on the battlefield. It was almost impossible to find any free time. The whole day was full of work, and sometimes it even went overtime. Generally at night it went on until eleven or twelve, and sometimes it went on until one in the morning. This was every one of the leading cadres. During this period they were terribly exhausted.

H`o'ng and I were instructed and educated by the Organization to make arrangements to receive Yuon guests who were coming with the status of a

secret Yuon Party delegation led by Le Duan to tour Kampuchea.

We were to make arrangements for their protection and security, their food and water, residences, attendants and for protocol matters. V`a'n was in overall charge.

Even though this was a secret tour, we were required to make every effort to exhibit the singularity, aptitude and courage of our Party, people and army.

In terms of protocol we made every effort to demonstrate our happiness and warmth in the interests of friendship and solidarity, too. We have mastery as regards security as well.

H`o'ng and brought these questions up for discussion with all the brothers and sisters and educated them about them. Arrangements were made for each section to have a clear-cut and assignment to take charge of.

My ideology as regards reception of the Yuon guests was to make every effort to follow all the Party's instructions. I didn't take one or another stance that would have damaged the Party's interests.

In concert with the collectivity and every part of the protocol section, every effort was made to make sure that everything was done well.

It is apparent from an assessment of the reception received by the Yuon guests on this occasion that there were no errors. Security was also assured in every sphere. The brothers and sisters in attendance were also good and proper.

According to the Organization's summation, as set against the criteria put forward by the Party, we achieved maximum results. At the same time, they were able to see more clearly with their own eyes a number of the additional results the leading Party had been able to successfully achieve. They could see the aptitude of our Party, people and army and the high spirit of self-abnegation of the Kampuchean people and the Revolutionary Army under the leadership of the CPK. They didn't say they would be learning from Kampuchea, but they did say that it was as a result of the Kampuchean revolution that the Yuon revolution was victorious.

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Even if we had wanted to place greater demands on the results we would have liked to have achieved from this visit, it would have been impossible to achieve them.

In protocol terms, the formal reception proved that even though it was true that we had just come out of the jungle, we had the capability to receive something of an international nature.

I could see that the Organization did quite a lot of pondering about receiving the Yuon. Once this duty was over, he seemed to brighten and perk up a lot.

The Organization gave instructions that arrangements be made for another position. He went to examine it personally and agreed that the arrangements should be made. The plan was to get it done in one month. With my contribution to the collectivity, every effort was made to get this

assignment done on time with stormy attacks. After a study meeting and the ideological work was over, stormy attacks were launched on this assignment. The brothers and sisters were in combat day and night. It was almost two months before this position was completed.

This position was secret, and I was supposed to make the arrangements and take the responsibility for it personally, especially for the security of the position. All the unexploded ordinance and mines had to be found, in case there were any inside the perimeter or inside the buildings. A solid protective defence had to be built in order to provide insurance as regards guard rounds.

During this period the only thing on my mind was to rush after the core of the work itself. I neglected to keep track of, supervise and build up forces. A lot of new elements were coming in. Control, inspection and follow-up of their records was quite preliminary. Deuan's thinking was to just keep on bringing in forces and maintain them on the Bureau roster, without thinking about what sort of elements they were or records they had.

For example, he decided to keep more than 50 forces from the Northwest on the roster and within the perimeter of the Bureau. These forces had only been there for a month when complications arose as they were in fierce contradiction with the collectivity. In the end they had to be progressively removed until none were left, and sent back into the grassroots.

During this period supervision was not attentive. Every bureau was overwhelmed with an ecstatic atmosphere of freedom and dissolution.

Seeing this crisis, it was decided, according to a directive and instructions from the Party, to convene education sessions lasting from two to three to five days for the brothers and sisters.

Ph`u'm, who was also assisting the Committee at that time, appeared to be very pessimistic about his assignments. He was always in contradiction to the assignments put forward to him. At that time his assignments were to help grasp and educate all the brothers and sisters of the Bureau who were in the section outside the perimeter and to supervise the Party School.

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The Party had given instructions that a Party School be set up in the Stad, one that would be convened on a nation-wide basis and for both the base and the military. When this problem was brought up for discussion with him, he acted indifferent. It had to be discussed with him a lot of times before he leapt into stormy attacks to make the arrangements.

The Party's instructions were to take responsibility for everything to do with the students, including security, health and living standards at the school.

At that time there were altogether almost 1,000 students coming from every location. The session lasted more than 15 days from opening until closing. Brother Number Two made the presentations.

I was also one of the students, but I had a separate assignment. That was to help by contributing to taking responsibility for the school's

organization section.

I didn't see Lin come to attend this study session.

On the first day, the atmosphere was one in which the students would concentrate into clusters. Regardless of whether they came from the bases, the military or the ministries and departments, they were all boasting of the feats they had accomplished and had been accomplished in their respective spheres, and had resulted in vanquishing this or that., etc. They were happy that having once been separated from each other they were now able to see each other again. It was a general situation of people walking around looking to find each other.

By the fourth or fifth day, as they had passed from one document to the next, a sedate and genteel situation obviously re-emerged in the school. There was a state of [?], in which there was thinking and consideration of building up oneself and the bases and units of organization, and in which there gradually began to be open reactions and entanglements. One heard people saying that their unit of organization or base made this or that mistake., etc. The Party School session closed after being successful from beginning to end.

The schoolwork continued a little bit longer as cadres from the level of district secretary up were kept on in order to conduct an agriculture conference to decide on getting three tons per hectare. It was held under the auspices of the Party Standing Committee, with the participation of Brother Number One, Brother Number Two and a number of other Brothers.

This agricultural conference achieved a good result as the entire Party was united on the question of getting three tons per hectare and a number of other problems. There was unity on the Party's line on agriculture and clarity on a number of other things regarding views on agricultural production along the line of the Party.

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I was ideologically very happy with my work, and optimistic the whole time. The Party School study session and the Party's agricultural conference were fully completed in a period of 20 days without any significant impediments. In particular, security was 100% guaranteed.

H'o'ng went back out of the country with V'a'n. I had to sort out some administrative jobs on my own.

For example, there was the work of receiving Chinese guests, of making arrangements for housing in which to receive guests, and of making arrangements for diplomatic housing, first for the Chinese, Koreans and Yuon, and then for the Lao.

In addition to this there was the work centring on the Party Bureau. I was ideologically very content with all this work. There wasn't a moment's uneasiness. I felt that it was an honour that the Party had handed over such assignments to me.

Several days later the Party assigned me to make arrangements at the Palace to receive Sihanouk on his return to the country. The Party educated me as to the what kind of criteria there were for making the arrangements at the Palace: what should be left and what should be moved

out. Then the Organization had me go inspect all the houses in the Palace. I had to report on whatever was there so decisions could be made.

I once made an inspection together with Brother 89. Because Brother 89 didn't have the time to make a detailed inspection, he had me strive to do the inspection on my own with a number of brothers and sisters in order to be able to make a quick report to the Organization.

I made a detailed survey and made a report to the Organization. Once the Organization had made his decisions, we began to put things into motion according to the Party's instructions, which were to get everything done within a week, including the moving around, the cleaning up and the other arrangements to make the place ready.

I selected a number of forces and after having educated them we launched immediately into stormy attacks on this job. We were launching storming attacks day and night for fear that we wouldn't get done in time, and everything was all done precisely on the seventh day. The cleanup was of an all-round nature. Everything relevant to Sihanouk's previous policies was cleared out. The slogan was that if Sihanouk asked to say that Lon Nol had destroyed it.

I was still not satisfied, so I put a request to Brother 89 proposing an additional inspection, and in case there might be something left he could make a decision. He agreed to come make an inspection. He said he was in unison that we had done enough.

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Brother 89 gave me the additional instruction to strive to remove the mines from the residence and work places, and that the points to which my attention was especially drawn were such places as where one was likely to go walking for pleasure.

As for decoration and cleaning up, it was already of an elegant enough nature appropriate to Sihanouk. The only problem remaining was selecting those who would be his personal attendants serving food and drink: they had to be appropriate and reliably guaranteed. Once that was done the assignment would be fulfilled. There were no difficulties as regards external defence.

Three days later Sihanouk arrived on his trip. V`a'n was responsible for Sihanouk's trip back to the country. I did not go overt in receiving Sihanouk at that time. I helped to be accountable for every aspect of this assignment, but from behind the scenes. This included security, material, standard of living and any predicaments that might arise, such as illness. It was everything except politics, for which Haem was responsible separately.

My ideology was to make every effort to do well in being accountable for this task, and not to allow any snags to arise. I didn't have any stratagems for doing the least thing that would obstruct this work.

On this trip Sihanouk also brought with him a numerous group of family members as well as a number of retainers who were in his entourage. They were segregated to live in sections. The group most closely related to Sihanouk lived in the Palace. Those who were not directly related to him had to stay outside. Our policy was to propose that the minimum number

live in the Palace.

At that time those from the Front group who were in the Front Government also came. We made arrangements so that they could also live suitably. They would stay for a while and then go down to the bases in order to become familiar with the cooperatives and join in the rural community.

At that time my personal ideology was to guess that he had simply come to stay. Then Sihanouk abruptly ask to go back out, to tour a number of countries and then go give a speech at the UN, too.

The criterion asked was that those who would leave would be only Sihanouk and his wife and a number of brothers and sisters belonging to us who were medics and servants.

Sihanouk went out on this occasion in the name of the Front and the Kampuchean Government to make a visit abroad.

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Once Sihanouk was gone, all the forces that he had kept in the Palace were deposited in the countryside.

In late 1975 I launched storming attacks to convene a lot of Bureau sessions in order to be in unison with the Party on the all the lines put forward by the Party, in particular as regards the annual [?] objectives put forward by the Party for 1976.

On the one hand I launched storming attacks to convene these sessions because I personally wanted to make sure I grasped the forces and became acquainted with them to a certain extent, especially the newly entered forces. This was because the bases just kept selecting and inserting all these newly entered forces without having checked and examined them properly.

The arrangements for the new structions about which the Party had given instructions had still not made headway. The reason for this was that the water and electricity lines were still cut off and it was still impossible to know where to start. It was this that delayed things.

This delay was due to the water and electricity lines in that location being old and never having been repaired or improved.

I made every effort to liaise on these problems with the Ministry of Economy, to get it to quickly launch storming attacks on them. Maybe another half a month passed before these problems were sorted out.

It was apparent that the requirement was that it was desired that these problems be quickly dealt with, but that on the contrary we weren't sorting them out in time as required, and this caused me a lot of anguish and anxiety. My personal ideology was that I regretted this very much, and I understood that this shortcoming related to an important Party work.

Honesty, these delays didn't involve any subterfuges at all as regards this problem. I strove to keep this position secret and not allow any leaks. And I had no contact nor made any reports to Lin.

Once the arrangements for this new position were all completely finished, the Organization gave instructions that the Organization's place must be divided into two. Brother Number One would stay at the old location, and Brother Number Two and the other Brothers would stay at the same old location.

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The 1976 Period

The work left over from 1975 had to be completed in 1976. In 1976 the state of the Bureau was strengthened step by step in every sphere.

Given the scope of the work at that time, what were the priorities? What should be taken by storming attack, and what should be proceed normally?

A comparison with 1975. In 1975 the work was done entirely under the instructions of the Organization, which said what to do and then what to do next. Once one task was completed, the Organization would immediately thereafter make a presentation about a new task. It is apparent that it was a state of affairs characterized by one thing piling up on top of another and by being propelled repeatedly from one to another to the next.

By 1976, a number of tasks were running smoothly, but a number of others were not yet going well. Both the things that were going well and those that were not yet had to be consolidated further. This was because the work was new and so were the forces attending to it.

At this time a clear division of tasks gradually emerged. The work assignment of receiving guests had already been allocated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A number of forces from the Bureau went over to the Foreign Ministry to help there. H'o'ng went over to that sphere to help with the work in it.

I was given instructions by the Organization urgently to make arrangements for the Party School. The Organization was already agreeable to its location. In concert with the brothers and sisters, this Party School was established on time. Then a report on weak and strong points was presented to the Organization.

Because this place had belonged to the enemy, there was constant vigilance about explosive devices left behind by the enemy. Mine clearing was conducted numerous times, over and over again.

At the same time arranged were made to make sure that the forces to attend to things could be enthusiastically vouched for.

The Party convened this school session with the attendance of all the leading cadres from every base. This school session was the 4th Congress of the Party. I very much made every effort to take responsibility for this work. I joined with the collectivity in making every effort to be as responsible as possible for each and every aspect of this work, including security, secrecy and health matters related to this school study session.

Things at the school proceeded well from one day to the next, according to a set sequence.

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All available forces were gathered up in order to be on duty to make absolutely sure that there was complete mastery as regards protection of the school session. The overriding priority assignment at this time was defence of this school session.

At the school it was noticeable that the most unassuming person was Khuon.

Lin also attended this school. He did see me and ask me about a number of aspects of the situation since we had parted so long ago. I told him this resulted from his being so far away, my never having gone over there, and his side never coming over here.

I proposed a short summation. Today the revolution had a total advantage over the enemy in the organizational sphere, and was continuing to throttle the enemy even more. It was in the process of extracting the enemy's soul from him step by step according to a fixed sequence, from closing the markets, from not having money, from not having salaries, from not having ranks, from not having private individuals, and then going to complete collectivism.

There was nothing that could interdict or resist this great movement. The multitudinous [?] masses sustained and supported this great movement. Bad elements were opposing this movement.

These were the great transformations while we had not seen each other. A realm where money was not spent was comparable to a CIA without a soul.

Miscellaneous. There had been secret Party visits to the Yuon, China and Korea.

I had no grasp on the political substance. I knew that Le Duan had come secretly to Kampuchea.

It seemed to me unlikely that the Yuon and Kampuchea would be able to resolve anything in the political sphere. The contradiction between the two was becoming more and more seriously acute.

Friendship with China was intimate, warm and close. They were basically in unison.

China was a strategic ally of Kampuchea.

In their contact there was mutual respect through equality.

The Chinese were saying they would like to learn from Kampuchea, that Kampuchea was a good model. It was apparent that the Chinese aid arriving in Kampuchea was without conditions.

The friendship with Korea was very similar to that with China, but due to the distance between us, relations were warm but not intimate.

It was apparent that the Koreans also respected the singularity and

aptitude of Kampuchea, but the Koreans weren't assisting Kampuchea in any way like the Chinese, because they too were poor. The most important assistance the two sides were giving each other was in terms of political voice.

[p.83]

In addition to this, the majority of the troops had now gone over to the border. A large number had been removed from Phnum Penh. The majority had gone to the border abutting on the Yuon.

There was a situation of a big shortage of foodstuffs. It was apparent that the Chinese had supplied rice in 1975.

Today the majority of the people had been removed to the Northwest.

There were epidemics of disease in the bases, and there was cholera in places. There were a lot of deaths.

In 1975 all the Brothers had been terribly fatigued. Both Brother Number Two and Brother Number One had been ill a lot. In particular, Brother Number One had had one serious illness after another.

Lin said it was his opinion that the fact that we had been separated for a long time [?] didn't pose any problems, because it was work which had brought about this snag. When the the revolutionary forces were as strong they were now, it was impossible for us to come out and overtly resist. He had to lie low and bide our time. This wouldn't entail any losses for us.

Lin stressed his opinion that he had no idea in advance what he was going to be doing when he came to do this work. I said that even though I had made the organizational arrangements hadn't known in advance what was going to be going on. The Party was very vigilant about secret work. He gave me the additional instruction that I must make sure to maintain a firm grip on our organized links, and that contacts must take place according to the principles laid down [?], as the points of access were very constricted. There were changes in every situation, and our grasp could not keep up with them unless we had organized links.

Our voices went quiet for a moment, and we parted to go to our respective rest places.

Lin didn't give any instructions for subterfuges on that occasion. He also appeared to me to be in a pretty haggard [?] state. His health was then beset by illness. At the same time he appeared to me to have a very large number of worries.

At this time I was very much making every effort to be accountable for my assignments. I was afraid and concerned that they might encounter obstacles, which would result in an adverse impact on the major work of the Party. My ideology was aggregated on thinking only of the work. I was concerned both that the enemy might attack from the outside and that the enemy might harass from within.

I kept daily track of the situation and made daily reports to the Party about every aspect of the work, especially the defence aspect.

The things at the school were all over. From when they commenced to when they were closed, not even the slightest impediment was encountered

that brought about any annoyance. Security, health and secrecy were assured.

The school session was closed successfully. The Brothers immediately departed to go back to their places.

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Lin did want to see me when the session broke up, but as he could see I was constantly so busy with the work at that time, especially with managing the returns of the guests, he just told me briefly that we should look forward to meeting again, that he was also in a hurry.

At that time the Organization and all the Brothers went back to stay at the Bureau where they were together as a collectivity. The defence positions of the Bureau were being constantly strengthened and improved, particularly through internal purges.

During this period, Deuan played the leading and dominant role in the management of all the work of the Bureau. When the forces sent in from the bases via the various zones arrived, he customarily made selections of a number who would be kept to live inside the Bureau compound. He favoured keeping on those from the North and the East. It appeared that the Northwest didn't send on any more after the previous ones were sent back.

At this time enemy activities gradually surfaced. The first activities to be seen were the leaflets. One was repeatedly able to pick up these leaflets. Sometimes one could pick them up on the boundaries between each others' theatre of operations. Sometimes one could pick them up right in one's own theatre, locations where there was someone on guard. And sometimes one could pick them up outside the compound in the theatres of operation of troops of the 170th and the 703rd. Sometimes they could be picked up in Pochentong.

A number of forces who were distributing these leaflets were arrested on after the other.

....

[document ends in the middle of the page.]

CHH`E`UM S`AM-AOK alias P`ANG alias P`A alias SEUANG

"I Would Like with Respect to Report to Brother About My Traitorous Activities"

[handwritten document of 37 pages dated 18 July 1978]

FILENAME: PANG.002

[from p. 15]

The Situation After the Liberation of Phnum Penh

Adopting Licit Means to Serve Subtrefuges

At the Train Station

Three or four days after liberation, when the people had almost all

left Phnum Penh, all the Brothers came to live right in Phnum Penh. At that time they came to stay at the train station. Brother 89 supervised and was responsible. The living circumstances were extremely disorganized. A lot of people were coming and going day and night to get in touch, and their provenance was unknown. I was not acquainted with the majority of them. They had mostly been over with Brother 89.

[p.16]

Those coming and going had access to the very location where the Brothers were, and there were no checks or examinations, no matter what the hour. I was content with this situation. I let this situation just as it normally was. I didn't spur the brothers and sisters to comprehension. Nor did I put forward any systematic measures in order to discover any means of defence either. I just let things slide regardless of any eventualities.

As for sentries, they just sat there until they could say they'd put in their hours. They comprehended nothing and were not the least bit vigilant. They just stood there so that it could be said there was somebody on guard, and nothing more. There was no attempt to spur on or explain things the brothers and sisters regarding the way in which one would keep track of things and know what should draw one's attention in an urban context.

There was no attempt to check or examine to do mine clearing where we were staying, either. Only a cursory look was taken.

The Questions of the Place to Cook the Brothers' Rice, Food to Go With Rice, Vegetables and Sweets at That Time

I could say that the elements cooking the rice were teenage girls who didn't take conscientious responsibility for anything. Their cooking consisted of doing nothing more than making sure the rice was more or less done. Vegetables and fruits came from every possible source inside the city and in the suburbs.... Nobody knew who had rationed out or where anybody had gotten it from. They just kept putting it right in front of the Brothers.

Nobody knew where the fish or meat came from. Nobody knew where the water we used came from. It was insanitary: there was cholera in the vicinity. Flies were swarming on everything, from hot water on up. There were flies everywhere at that time.

Anybody could have access to the kitchen, and at any time. My feeling was the longer this situation in the kitchen could be prolonged, the better. I tried hard to veil this atmosphere, to prevent anybody's attention from being drawn to it. And in the past, if I didn't put forward any measures about such things, the majority of the brothers and sisters wouldn't either.

During this period I prodded for insecticides to be found to be sprayed in the kitchen as well. This situation was prolonged for almost a week, until the Brothers began having diarrhoea, when the Organization put forward measures regarding the conscientious defense of the kitchen. In fact I had seen what the situation in the kitchen was, but because it was my intention that that was the way things should be, I just always let this situation slide, and didn't take any prophylactic measures at all.

[p.17]

A State of Euphoria About the Victory

The vast majority of the forces at the rear Bureau were removed and brought into Phnum Penh. I didn't educate these forces once they arrived in Phnum Penh. I just had them go right into attending to the work. Upon encountering the objective environment in Phnum Penh at that time the ideologies of euphoria and liberty began to stir in every ministry and department, in both the men's and the women's units of organization. People were having boistrous fun and eating and drinking as they pleased. They were using cars, motorcycles and bicycles as they pleased. Anyone who was fond of some luxury item, starting from perfumes and facial creams and nice cloth, would take it and put it in their [balou] and treat it as their private property. Everybody had two or three bagfulls at that time. They were looking at the pornographic books, pictures and photographs from the old society, and secretly showing movies in their homes about its corruption and hooliganism.

I permitted this sort of situation to arise generally among all the units of organization in order to paralyze the spirit of revolutionary ideology within them. The state of euphoria in these units of organization even extended its influence to the internal Bureau of the Organization.

For example, the sentries were putting on tapes day and night. They ate and drank until they were so drunk they failed to take their turns at guard duty. They were chain-smoking filter[?] cigarettes. Even at two o'clock in the morning they would go off together eating and drinking. They were driving cars and motorcycles such that there was one collision and overturning after another. Some ended up with broken arms and broken legs, and some were almost killed.

The Organization was able to grasp all of these situations. There was then a circular and measures were taken urgently to educate the brothers and sisters in the Bureau. Things were alleviated and went right for a period.

But because my stance was not that of a revolutionary, I did not educate the brothers and sisters with the Party's correct stance. If they made a mistake, or if they did things freely or were euphoric, I always just averted my eyes, and sometimes pretended that I saw nothing and heard nothing. This is why in the past there's been a lot of delirium in this unit of organization. There were some people who hung themselves to death. There have been shootouts over love affairs. And they have been stealing from each other.

Whereas in fulfilling the Party's assignments, I was neglectful and wasn't stouthearted about taking responsibility either for the men or for the women. Some jobs that could be done in a day took three days to do, and were not even down well.

During this period I keep track of and observed which comrades were [p.18] most delirious. I made every effort to get onto close personal terms with them in order to win them over into being a force belonging to me. My aim was to incite such euphoria so that there would be contradictions and in order to make every effort to fashion strength.

3. Licitly Inciting Generalized Destruction

I didn't stimulate a spirit of economizing within the unit of organization. The practical import of my practice was that I thought in terms of doing whatever could be done as long as it brought about a lot of losses. For example, there are the arrangements I have made for homes here in Phnum Penh, including nice homes for foreign guests, the Organization's Bureau and the Palace, etc. Brother 89 was always calling us the monkey army. By this he meant that we would dig our way through everything and leave a wipe-out.

My instructions to the brothers and sisters were to arrange things however they liked, as long as things were cleaned up. They would just go through things and then through things out. Very large losses occurred when making the arrangements in each house and in each compound. On the one hand, the brothers and sisters didn't recognize what was good and what was not, what was valuable and what was not, especially not elegant items used for home decoration. More crucial than that, however, was there was no stance of taking responsibility.

Tables, cabinets and beds were lost. Glass, glasses and plates were broken. Refrigerators were gone through and then dropped from heights. Paper and books were thrown away just anywhere. I just always permitted the brothers and sisters to go through things and throw them out, take them away and dispose of them, as long as things got done at one go. For example, I took the things in the Palace and stuffed them into a single room. There was no way of knowing what the hell was there.

Water and electricity were squandered in every ministry and department. The water was left running, and nobody gave a damn about turning it off. The lights were similarly just left on. None of the brothers or sisters took any notice. Nobody has known what it means to regret misuse of water and electricity.

Cars, motorcycles and fuel was used without any rationing. Cars and motorcycles were used even for the shortest trips.

No cloth of any type, mattresses or pillows were collected to be sent to the cooperatives. They were all left to rot.

Brand new generators and pumps were used in such a way that they continuously broke down.

The rationing of food and items of everyday use was generally improvident.

For example, at a time when the people were suffering shortages, I let the brothers and sisters cook enough rice that their hunger would be fully satisfied, butcher hogs as they were needed, and have every kind of condiment[?] they wanted. It was the same with war booty tins of food and refined sugar.

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At that time there were also some groups who had found files, saws or glaze for water jugs [?], and they surreptitiously traded this stuff with the people for chickens which they slaughtered and ate.

These are all situations in which wrecking movements were incited generally in my unit of organization in the past.

In addition to this, I allowed those who were newly learning to drive the freedom to drive around as they liked, to do whatever they wanted as long as they learned quick, so that they could attend to upcoming tasks on time, such as driving for guests.

Five or six cars were lost due to collisions and the engines burning out, to the point that they couldn't be repaired. One driver broke his arm and was almost killed.

On the 150kw Generator at the Palace

This mechanic Y`u'n didn't know how to repair large generators. However, because the Organization did not allow former workers into the Palace, I had Y`u'n and two children repair this generator. He didn't want to risk repairing it for fear it might be ruined. I told him that if it was ruined I would take responsibility, and that if he didn't repair it, it still wouldn't run anyway. (Only two days were left before Sihanouk arrived.)

It was my feeling that if he repaired it, it would definitely be even more out of order. He kept fiddling around trying to repair it until it suddenly blew up In fact, there had been nothing wrong with this generator. It just hadn't been started for a long time....

4. On the Party School at the Olympic Stadium

This school was huge. It was convened for the entire country. There were both grassroots and military cadres. My way was to create hitches with this school so that study could not proceed smoothly.

I personally gave instructions to the brothers and sisters who were putting out the loudspeakers (from Propaganda) about where to put them. In the end, they generally could not be heard clearly, and the students were always busy murmuring. And the electricity was always failing. I hadn't readied any back-up. So the work was always being disturbed. There was not much possibility of night work.

Because there were too many people, I didn't arrange for separate rations for special persons. If someone was ill, the only ration was dried fish. I gave instructions to prepare dishes that were heavily greasy. The students always had the runs and stomach aches.

[p.20]

A lot of the students were all, and the medics at the school couldn't examine them all, either, because there only a few of them A number of students were only able to study two or three times. They were sick all the way to the end.

When they left the school, I allowed the students freedom of movement. They could go outside wherever they wanted. Those going in and out were not checked or searched. At night some students went out and got food which they brought back to eat in their houses or among their group. I didn't care where they went or who they made contact with. I just left it up to them where they would go.

However, when the time came for me to make a report to the Organization, there was none of this.

These were subtrefuges of mine that made of mess of the conventions of the school and disrupted things for the students and the school as a whole and disrupted their timing.

5. Presentation of the Important Leading Forces of the Labourers' Party

During the national agricultural conference at the Stadium, Lin met and worked with me and we deliberated about a number of tasks. He said:

The situation was going to undergo a lot of changes in the time to come.

Our vital aim in 1976 was to launch storming attacks to build up a lot of underground forces.

My work was long-term and far-reaching, and I therefore had to maintain the utmost vigilance about secrecy.

I reported to him to inform him of all of my actions. He responded by expressing his opinion that in order to boost my morale in the past he would tell me about a number of problems.

The objective of the Labourers' Party was to recapture state power from the CPK.

This party didn't exist as a separate overt force nor was it going to attack from the outside. Its forces were right inside the CPK.

The crucial leaders were:

Ph'e'um, Nh'e'um, Brother Letter K^a, Ya, Khuon, Si and Phuong. All these forces had to be top secret.

He distinguished Brother Letter K^a from the others in saying that [p.21] in principle this was not to be transmitted to anyone. He enumerated just these six. Sometimes he enumerated only four or five. But in general he enumerated six. He said he had a lot of faith in me, and that's why he had told me these things that day.

I told him I was grateful and very happy. At that juncture he added that absolutely nothing should be passed on about Brother Letter K^a, and that I was absolutely not to have any contact with him because he was an underground force who had to carry out protracted tasks. He said it was a normal thing for somebody who was out to make a living not to expend all the resources they had in their warehouses. Some of them had to be held in reserve for contingencies in which they might be needed.

A lot of brothers and sisters didn't know about Brother Letter K^a.

He said that even though he had given me such a presentation, talking in terms of principles of organizing, I mustn't make perpendicular contacts. I should always stay with my links. This was because each person had his or her own separate organizational links and tasks.

Only if things were done in this way could there be unity in organization and tasks, could the principles of secrecy be assured and could strength be protected.

I replied that I was in complete unity. He gave me additional work instructions to continue my wrecking by licit means further and to make every effort to build up more underground forces.

6. Setting Up the Organization's Residential Bureau

In line with the direction in the Organization's instructions, I tried hard to complete the arrangements for this bureau by at the latest December 1975. And the arrangements would have to be made such that the secrecy and security of this bureau would be achieved.

I felt that this bureau was a vital one for the Organization, and that I therefore must do whatever I could to make sure that the arrangements didn't proceed quickly. There had to be a delay of another month and a half with this bureau before it was finished. By the time it was possible to move in, the time had been stretched out all the way to mid-february 1976. And even at that there were still some spheres in which the arrangements still had not been completed.

Therefore the plan by which it was essential to move in by December 1975 was thwarted. This too was a work of treason which obstructed the work of the Party.

[p.22]

In 1976

1. Continuing to Incite an Atmosphere of Pacifism, Affluence[?] and Euphoria in the Unit of Organization

A lot of relics of the Phnum Penhois were still lying around. So Party education only reached whatever extent it reached. However, we let things slide organizationally. There were no more ardent movements. It was obvious this meant an atmosphere of of pacificism would inevitably be born in the unit of organization.

Therefore, even after education and study had already been conducted, I still let the brothers and sisters continue to have liberty. In each of the ministries and departments there was the same old euphoria and freedom, including the freedom of speech and movement and as regards eating, using consumer items and doing tasks.

I could see all the phenomena that were emerging, but on account of my non-revolutionary stance, I ignored it and allowed the stance and ideology of the entire unit of organization to turn completely to the right.

For example. After having had their meal in common, some groups would surreptitiously eat more separately at night. I was a shareholder in this myself. Everybody was going through the houses and finding war booty items like liquor and tinned food and not putting it in common. They hid it away to drink and eat separately. This phenomenon occurred in every bureau.

Cars and motorcycles were repeatedly being crashed. The fuel discovered when going through houses was set aside for separate use.

In choosing sleeping and residential quarters, nothing but the best was selected. In the bedrooms there were mattresses, sheets and pillows big and small, and scents were sprayed There were even tapes ..., and taperecorders

They picked up old society novels and kept them to read at the heads of their beds.

Such phenomenon were almost generalized in every bureau.

I put a chill on the movement and paralyzed it completely. I didn't stimulate an ardent movement for self-construction.

Once the brothers and sisters grasped the Party's line and realized what my leadership was, they did quite a lot of work on me.

[p.23]

2. Continuing to Do Further Licit Wrecking

During the Party's Fourth Congress

My orientation in making arrangements for the venue of the Congress was not to make it clean or be able to vouch for its guarantees, on the pretext that things were too rushed.

The buildings in which the Brothers were to sleep weren't cleaned up either. Some rooms still stank. The water was still sluggish and didn't run well. As for the electricity in the buildings, if one only just touched the lines, they would shortcircuit and the lights would go out and work would be stopped.

The external guard was makeshift. On the inside the sentries spent most of their time sleeping. I didn't pay any heed to any of this.

At the school, if it wasn't the loudspeaker system failing, then it was the lights going out, and so there were disruptions almost every day. I made Cheu responsible for the electricity and the loudspeakers. He was a force belonging to me whom I had fashioned in 1976. This Cheu is now responsible for the electricity and the public address system at the Organization's School.

Launh sent seafood to present to the Organization. He stressed that a lot of horse crabs could make one sick and to be careful. That evening I had the brothers and sisters in the kitchen prepare mostly horse crabs

That night two or three Brothers were really throwing up, and there was general diarrhoea because the meals had all been seafood.

These were my actions which have disrupted the Party's work in the past.

The Electricity Failure at the Entertainment Hall [mohasrap]

When the Guinea delegation from Africa came on a visit and went to

see an artistic performance at the Entertainment Hall, I get in touch with Cheu and had him make arrangements so that the lighting would not be bright that evening, and to find some way to make sure they went out two or three times, in order to destroy the political influence of the Party and the Government.

While the performance was going on, he indeed twice overrode the switch in the junction box on the street, which brought about a dismal atmosphere. V'a'n was watching this performance as well.

[p.24]

Repair of Cars for Receiving Foreigners

Aun and Khau had the capacity to repair cars for guests in the past. They made great efforts to make sure that a number were repaired so they would run again for the guest. However, I instructed that they should do whatever they could to make sure that the special cars for moving around delegations didn't run properly. They were to make them noisy and smokey, and make sure that their pumps quickly got clogged up and the transmissions failed. So in the past the cars for transporting delegations have not run smoothly. And the drivers didn't have any competence with these cars.

These two comrades are still repairing cars at the garage. They are forces belonging to me fashioned in 1976. (I don't know where they have gone now.)

In general, repair work in the past has never gone well or smoothly, and was also wasteful. Sometimes spares would be taken from one to put in another. Sometimes spares would be taken from two to be put in one or even three to be put in one.

Causing the Medications of the Brothers and of Brother Number One to Go Bad

I went to pick up medications from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They told me that some of these medications had to be stored at between 5 and 0 degrees. Some of them had to be kept in a dry room and never exposed to the heat of sunlight. Some of them could just be kept in any ordinary place. These medications, which came from both France and China, had been purchased especially to treat the diseases of the Brothers, according to doctors' purchase demands. They included medications for Brother Number One and Brother Number Two.

I stored the sundry medications properly in an ordinary place. However, the medications that were stored under refrigeration were all ruined and became useless because I wasn't conscientious about my responsibilities when the electricity failed.

This clearly proves my multi-form wrecking activities vis-a-vis the Party, the revolution and the people.

[p.25.]

3. Presentation of Additional Names of Leaders of the Labourers' Party

During the September 1976 Party meeting in Phnum Penh Lin took the opportunity to work with me for more than an hour. He told me:

The upcoming situation will involve a lot more changes. In accordance with this situation, he was going to introduce me to some additional names of today's leaders of the Labourers' Party that he had not introduced me to the previous time, to wit:

1. Ch`a'n, 203
2. Chhouk, 203
3. himself (Lin), 203
4. Sae, 801
5. Sreng, 304
6. S`o't, 304
7. H^ang, 103
8. Vi, 108
9. Yi, 505
10. L`a'v, 108
11. T`u'm, Phnum Penh General Staff
12. Chey, Phnum Penh
13. Deuan, Phnum Penh

All of these forces were among the most important leading forces of the Labourers' Party. Everything in his presentation must be kept absolutely secret.

Each of these forces has his own clear-cut links through which he is introduced and organized. At the same time each has his assignments in his spearhead.

We might know each other as friends and esteem each other in a normal way, but if there was to be contact among us about this matter, in connection with any scheme, this could only take place through proper and painstaking introduction from one's own responsible organizational links. In principle, we did everything via organized linkages. We didn't walk perpendicularly across each others' paths.

[p.26]

In 1977

1. The Number of Underground Forces Built Up Belonging to Me

The majority of the forces that I was able to build up through storming attacks according to the direction of the plan were fashioned in late 1975 and in 1976. In 1977 my efforts were concentrated on hardening the forces I had been able to fashion because I was afraid their spirit might be being broken, as in 1977 the Party launched a combat operation of very powerful storming attacks against the enemy in political and

organizational terms.

The names of the forces I was able to fashion are:

[1-32]

6. Kh`a'mmey, fashioned in 1976, the Chairman of the Organization's Military

....

[p.27]

The majority of these forces have not yet been exposed and have continued working right up through today. This is because in choosing, building up and appointing forces in the past, I did not dare to make use of any force that had attracted a lot of attention from the Organization or the masses.

There is only one force who has disappeared and I don't know where he's gone, and that's Son, who Ya asked the Organization for in 1973.

All the others are on the compound of this unit of organization.

I was in contact with all of these forces as their chief link. Contacts all went up and down the hierarchy, and there was no cross-cutting. That's why none of them had been exposed up until this time.

The forces built up in each sphere we not allowed to know each other.

2. Deductions from the Experiences of the Defeats of Khuon and Ya

During the June 1977 Party meeting, Lin discussed a lot of work matters with me, but the most important of these talked about the theme of making deductions from the experiences of the defeats of Khuon and Ya. The substance was as follows.

1. There hadn't yet been an all-round grasp of every aspect of the plan, and the measures put forward had not yet been meticulous and detailed.

2. Great man subjectivity had played a vitally important role, with nothing that anybody else said being listened to. This had resulted in adventurism and loss of mastery in every sphere whenever some obstacle was encountered.

3. No meticulous or detailed policies for cooperation in every field had been put forward.

4. The secrecy of the plan was broken and disintegrated from the top to the bottom. Forces were just employed without any conscientious calculating, assessments or judgements being made, and in particular there had been no firm grip on organizing. At that time the most crucial thing had been to make sure of having a firm grip on organizing at all times.

5. The analysis was fundamentally incorrect. It was done from a remote distance detached from the practical realities. The analysis depended on individual persons, not on the common or the collective.

[p.28]

6. However, another and more important problem was that there had not yet been complete unity about the making and the implementation of the plan, whether in the context of the leading apparatus, the command committees in various spheres or of their brother and sister subordinates. This resulted in a weak and inactive stance as regards the taking of responsibility.

These only a number of experiences that were relevant to our immediate tasks. In fact, there were a lot of other such experiences with both immediate and long-term relevance. For example, even having a grip on, supervising and building up forces was in and of itself an experience.

This situation of defeat was a very bitter one. The critical thing was the basic loss of this structure - these linkages - of organized strength. The spirit of the remnants was broken; they were had got cold feet, and were scared and active.

He emphasized that that from his assessment of the situation, the sweeping clean-up was going to continue incessantly. If each location didn't deduce what these experiences meant and painstakingly put forward measure to maintain and protect their strength, there would obviously be further catastrophic losses.

3. Activities of Contact with the Lao and Yuon Embassies

According to late 1976 instructions from the plan, I made contact with these embassies according to the plan's requirements. I built up one of my cores for this embassy contact. The domain of contact with the Lao Embassy was via V`u'm The contact was that he wrote reports and sent them by letter to the Embassy. He was able to send them ten times.

Contact with the Yuon Embassy was via Cheam. The contact was in the form of reports sent by letter. There were sent

4. Designating Slogans

In late 1977, having seen that the security situation was in a terribly serious state everywhere, Lin settled upon a number of slogans with me. They were signals through which to report to him about the security situation in each location. The particular points were that the information had to be timely and about the arrest and detention of cadres from the sector, zone and Centre levels on up....

[p.29]

5. Getting Additional Plans from Lin

1. In late 1977 Lin let me know that according to the direction decided upon by the higher ups, we would again be capturing state power from the CPK. A meticulous examination and analysis of the situation showed that we would be unable to capture it all. Instead we would capture by parts. The battlefield on which it would have to be captured was the East Zone because this zone had suffered the very fewest losses in strength. Generally speaking it had been able to protect its strength completely. It had a strong and broad political foundation, and its

economic foundation was also ample. Geographically, it furthermore abutted on the Yuon, which would be productive in terms of our international contacts. As for the practical details of the plan, we were to wait and see each other at the meeting of the Party School in April 1978.

At the same time, he said he wanted to propose an assignment for me to carry out during the April 1978 meeting. He said he had been figuring out and formulating this assignment for a very long time, but was only now proposing it to me. It was an assignment to poison the Brothers by means of poisoning their chicken rice, that this was the only effective way. (At this gathering there would only be a single meeting.) He said he had already provided me with the cook, and that I was the person who managed the cooking He would himself bring the rice personally right during the meeting.

After listening to this detailed presentation about the rice that was to be cooked as chicken rice, I saw that there would be difficulties as regards competence in assessing the technical aspects of the poisons that were available in the kitchen.

I told him I was fully prepared to take on this assignment. He said not to be worried, that we could wait and deal with the problematic details in our upcoming meeting....

2. The Question of Hiding Ten Yuon

When Lin came to work with the Organization in December 1977 he handed over another assignment to me, which he said was a bit pressing. I agreed in principle. He said the requisites of the plan should be left secret for the moment, and be made known during the April 1978 meeting. At the same time he asked me whether Von had made contact yet or not. I said he had not. He then gave me a presentation in which he said that if he made contact with me I should go ahead and make contact with him, although the organized linkages would remain above, the same as before. [p.30] There were no shifts. In this contact I would only be helping him on an occasional basis. At the same time it was necessary to maintain the utmost vigilance as regards secrecy, as he had told me before.

He was a vital core leading force in the Labourers' Party. There were only a number of leading forces for whom it was essential to have contact with him and have been introduced to knowledge about him.

....

In 1978

The Day On Which I First Became Acquainted with Brother Letter K^a

One afternoon in late January 1978 Brother Letter K^a and I left the Bureau on a trip to Kampung Cham. The important plan was to go select a new site for the construction of the K^a-41 cache. Brother Letter K^a invited me to ride in the same car with him. I tried to refuse because I felt intimidated and shy in his presence, but because he was so persistent with his invitation and because as a matter of policy I was courteous and respectful to him, I decided to ride in the same car with him.

In the car, Brother Letter K^a talked to me a lot about sundry problems. (Normally, he was a reticent person.) He talked about the

direction of national construction in the upcoming days. I was enthralled listening to him, a from that time on I was no longer cowering before him.

When the car arrived at the gates of the Prey Chhor pagoda, he suddenly asked me whether this wasn't my native district. I said it was indeed, sir!.... He followed up by asking whether this wasn't also Lin's native district. I replied that it was indeed, sir!, that we were from the same village. However, I had not known him when I was small because I was mostly over on the river. He followed immediately on with an opinion, asking whether I had received any instructions from Lin yet to make contact with him. I told him that I had already been told. For a moment he was silent, and then he continued with ordinary conversation, saying that that night we would be sleeping in Kampung Cham at Pok's place. We should therefore go right in this evening and select the location. The next morning he would go on to the East, and I would return to my place in Phnum Penh. I could expect that we would do some work together for a time when he got back to his place.

[p.31]

Because it was already evening, the selection of the site entailed merely a general examination of the bearings. He said I should wait and come again to make a detailed survey. He asked me whether I could see the crucial significance of the K^a-41 cache. I said it was a bridge for assistance to the Route 7 battlefield. He expressed his opinion that it was a backstop for the East Zone. Therefore it had to be expanded on a large scale, with a lot of structures being added.

In the evening we reached the sleeping quarters. Pok wasn't at his place then. After sitting for a moment, he expressed his opinion that he wouldn't eat, he would just go right on to the East that very evening. I told him it was already dark. He said that on the battlefield one doesn't concern oneself about whether it's dark or light. He said goodbye and left immediately by car.

Seeing that he was gone, after I ate I made my return trip back to Phnum Penh that night, too.

This was the first day on which I became acquainted with Brother Letter K^a, the first time on which I had an official introduction to him.

One morning in mid-February 1978, Brother Letter K^a invited me to work with him at his home. He expressed his opinion that it was because the current situation was undergoing repeated changes that he had come to be acquainted on this day. After asking a number of questions about my health and work, he expressed his opinion that according to his surveillance and assessment, the current situation was both tense and critical, not favourable to the protection of the security of our forces. The Organization was continuing repeatedly to arrest our forces. On his spearhead they had almost all been worn away. Therefore I should be absolutely determined in defending myself and my forces. This was the important thing that he wanted to say to me. In addition, there were a number of problems relevant to me that he was proposing that I proceed to do something about.

A. The Problem of the K^a-41 Cache

He told me that it would be alright if the the construction of the

big central dump (K^a-78) went slowly, It wasn't important. (In fact this dump was important because it received military material from China.) He proposed that instead I give importance to launching storming attacks with regard to the K^a-41 dump. [p.32] This was because this K^a-41 dump was going to be made into the dump upon which 203 was going to rely, in order to be of assistance to that zone's plan to launch upcoming storming attacks. (I had proposed to the Organization that this K^a-41 dump be set up over in 203, but the Organization hadn't agreed, and had instead decided to keep it over on this side.) He was of the opinion that it didn't matter which side it was on. The important thing was the people who would be grasping it. If we were able to construct this dump, then we would move things out of the K^a-78 dump and be able to store a lot more of it here.

At the end of March 1978 the Organization asked me about how far along the construction of the K^a-73 [sic?] was. My response was always that the arrangements were complete, but in fact nothing had yet been done at all. All I thought of was storming attacks at K^a-41, obeying Brother Letter K^a, as Brother Letter K^a had decided that the construction of K^a-41 should be completed in early April 1978.

B. Causing Delays, Destroying and Making a Muddle of the Ammunition

Even though the Organization gave me instructions to launch storming attacks to get things done on time, in practical fact it was all up to me.

I proposed that we delay things as far as the Southwest and Svay Rieng battlefields were concerned. And as for the ammunition, we would mix some of it up.

For example as regards B [-40, -41] rounds were concerned, if somebody requested the rounds that were for firing at clusters of people, we would instead give them those for firing at tanks, etc.

In the past there had been fierce contradictions among the battlefields over the transportation of ammunition.

In the past I ordered a small boat to transport ammunition to three vehicles at Tonle Bet even though it was stormy and dark, on the pretext that it was needed in a hurry. When it got to Prek Anhchanh this little boat collided with a big ship and sank with the loss of both the boat and all the ammunition. I told Brother Letter K^a about this. He was silent and then pronounced that this was alright, we would just transport some more. (This was about 12 tons of ammunition.)

In the past transport of ammunition and guns, the actual numbers and the manifests never agreed. The receivers and the dispatches [?] in mutual recriminations each time[?].

I actively carried out the instructions given to me by Brother Letter K^a.

[p.33]

C. Instructions to Surreptitiously Transport Ammunition to the East Three Times

Brother Letter K^a pronounced that he had already had Teanh transport the ammunition which Lin had asked for through me the other day, so now they had it.

Now he was proposing that I go ahead and urgently transport the addition ammunition according to the figures in the manifest to Lin, taking it right from the K^a-41 dump. He asked for clarification about approximately how many trucks this would take, and I said something like ten.

He proposed that ten days later I deliver another ten truck's worth, and that there was no need to inform the Organization about this. Deliver everything that was in the manifest. If there wasn't enough at K^a-41, then it was also alright to take it from K^a 78. The brothers and sisters should deliver it directly to Lin personally, not to anyone else.

Brother Letter K^a pronounced that if there were any letters from Lin asking for an allocation of ammunition, it was proposed that the brothers and sisters at K^a-41 provide it. There was no need for them to wait for an introduction from him or me. That would only slow things down. I agreed with him. I've heard news that later another ten truckloads were sent to him.

At that time I asked how I should handle the records of the disbursement of ammunition. He said that didn't matter. I could just turn it over to him, and there was no need to present it to the Organization.

D. Instructions to Cause Delays Beyond the Date Fixed in the Plan in the Receipt of the Second Shipment of Military Supplies from Kampung Saom

Brother Letter K^a gave instructions that in receiving this second shipment, we drag things out, the longer the better. There was therefore no need for us to use a lot of forces. Two small units would be enough. This delay both had an adverse impact on the battlefield and made it easy to run into obstacles. The total number was about ten trains.

Because the receipt was too slow, the train wagons were all bogged down and didn't transport anything, because it took four days for one train to be loaded.

At the same time some of the categories of ammunition urgently required on the battlefield were put into cars of other trains right at the train station. This led to chaos and breaks in secrecy.

These measures to delay things indeed had an adverse impact on the battlefield at that time. [p.34] It adversely affected the launching of storming attacks on the Southwest battlefield because of an ammunition shortage (it was not delivered on time).

Brother Letter K^a requested clarification as to whether I would be able to implement this plan.

I replied that it was alright. I would be able to implement all of it. He stressed that my directive today was to make an effort to have a really lucid grasp on the ammunition, to try hard to take care of it and to make it into ammunition belonging to us.

He said that today's meeting had only these important problems. We would be meeting again on some future date.

These were all instructions that he gave me during our second

meeting, which lasted two hours at his home.

Meeting Brother Letter K^a for a Chat in the Evening after a Meal

In early March 1978, after an evening meal, I sat around with him and had a chat lasting almost an hour. He put forward that if we were able to grasp another ammunition dump, that in the Northeast, that would be excellent. He said he had proposed this dump to the Organization twice, saying it should be transferred to the grasp of the Bureau. There was a good possibility of this because the Organization was in the process of removing elements at K^a-63 one after the other.

If I were to construct a dump, we would send ammunition from K^a-78 for storage at K^a-41 licitly. There would be no need to report this to the Organization. At the very least we would be able to keep half of it. (Half would not be a little: it would be thousands of tons.)

I could see in his face that he was not terribly happy. I also didn't have the nerve to sit there for long. I wanted to leave him some time to rest. I said goodbye and departed to go back home. As I was saying goodbye, he made a new pronouncement. He said I should wait until one day when he had some free time and he would invite me to go and take an advance look at the market in Ta Khmav in order to make arrangements at that compound to receive the handicapped brothers and sisters from the battlefield.

[p.35]

In early April 1978 Brother Letter K^a invited me to come see alone him at his home at the Economy Bureau.

He asked me a lot about various situations, but were questions relating to two situations that I can remember and which struck me as interesting.

1. Brother Number One's sleeping quarters and rooms.

2. The ways in which the brothers and sisters in the kitchen had of checking for and defending against poisons.

1. Were water and electricity assured in the bedroom and living quarters of Brother Number One? Did the water run properly. Were there perforations in the piping along the buildings? Were the electrical lines along the buildings like? Were any of them broken or touching each other?

I responded that it seemed like all the equipment in these buildings had been newly done, particularly in his rooms. Brother Letter K^a fell silent, and then he continued.

2. As far as ways of defending against poison, how did the brothers and sisters check. If one spoke in terms of their general spirit of taking responsibility, the brothers and sisters were very active and painstaking. As for the technical side, they had a lot of experience and a lot of means for checking and examining nowadays. They even had chemicals with which to test for poisonous substances as well as testing instruments. In addition to this, they simply tasted the food.

For example, in examining the cooked rice, they examined the water while it was still boiling. If they were examining a soup, it was even easier.

After hearing my report, Brother Letter K^a was of the opinion that we had to discover every way of launching storming counter-attacks against the Party Organization, in large and small forms, by guerilla or full-scale means.

He made proposals with regard to a number of problems.

Because he was so very busy, he asked to turn over all the arrangements for the 17 April rally this year to me. I was to proceed however I liked regardless of shortages or excesses. And if I didn't put up all the slogans because there wasn't enough room, that wouldn't matter either. The Organization had indeed instructed him to act as Chairman, but there were more binding concrete tasks on the battlefield. [p.36] He proposed that I pay attention only to the problem of security, because that was the problem to which the Organization paid a very large amount of attention.

As regards the receipt of the second batch of military supplies from Kampung Saom, that didn't matter either. There was no need to reinforce. It could just be left to go slowly. His assessment was that it still wouldn't be completed even after the holiday had passed.

These days the Party Organization is arresting a lot of our brothers and sisters and put them in Security. He said this was a situation I already knew about. This was not favourable to us [? or: He wasn't going to be lenient with us now]. Things were stuck together like [?]. He had now lost Po-75 and the Overseas Chinese links as well. This time it was every last one of them. Only a very few were left. To just let them be wiped out to no purpose like this was unacceptable. Thought must be given to furthers measures that could be taken.

Brother Letter K^a pronounced that he was proposing the following measures to launch storming attacks against the Party:

1. Could I figure out some way to cause an electrical shock in Brother Number One's room by making water leak into the bathroom. He said he would give instructions for there to be a power surge.

I responded that this was technically impossible and that the maximum voltage in this room was 220 volts.

At the same time, it was impossible to cause a shortcircuit in these rooms and these buildings because every thing had just been newly installed, including the electrical wiring and the water piping.

I said it was my assessment that it was impossible, and I lacked an technical knowledge about electricity.

2. If this first thing was impossible, he wanted to put forward a second question. He would propose that the Organization accompany him on a walking tour of factories. He would go with him personally and then give him something to drink. Was this possible?

[p.37]

I said this was also impossible because he brought his own things to drink and the brothers and sisters guarding him would immediately give him something to drink.

I told Brother Letter K^a that I still envisioned implementation of Lin's original April 1978 plan, that is to cook chicken rice with soft rice that he would bring with him to the upcoming meeting. This was a plan for full-scale war. Brother Letter K^a expressed his opinion that if we waited until we could wage full-scale war we wouldn't know how much more the situation might have changed.

He suggested that I make some sort of effective guerilla attack while waiting for the advent of Lin's plan.

This plan proposed presenting him with a beef salad to eat. In the past he had eaten a lot of beef with tomatoes. The suggestion was that this time I make him a vegetable salad. I said my garden had no lettuce. He said that didn't matter, I could wait for his side to find the lettuce and mix in the poison in advance. I could then just take it to the Bureau.

I agreed to go along with him and carry it all out. He said that if the lettuce leaves were mixed with this chemical it was impossible to know it immediately, no matter how talented the taster was.

The next day I went to pick up the lettuce from a child at the Economy Bureau and took it to the brothers and sisters in the kitchen myself. They were of the opinion that Brother wouldn't eat it because he hadn't eaten any raw vegetables for a long time. The only raw vegetables he could eat were cucumbers and tomatoes. If he ate anything else he would come down with diarrhoea immediately....

I took the information that Brother didn't eat raw vegetables to Brother Letter K^a.

Brother Letter K^a said it didn't matter. We would discover some other way.

CHH`E'UM S`^A'M-AOK alias P^ANG alias P^A alias SEUANG

"Remnant Traitorous Forces"

[three-page typescript dtate 15 June 1978 in a note by D`u'ch: "reported"]

FILENAME: PANG.003

[from p.1]

1. Vi, Northeast
2. Th^ang Si, national minority, Northeast*
3. Thav^an, national minority, Northeast*
4. Inh, national minority, Northeast*

*cadres removed from the bases to come stay instead in the Bureau

5. Ch`a'n, 203
6. Kh`o'em, Sector 20, 203
7. Kaev S`^am'nang, General Staff
8. Chhean, Sector 22
9. Ch`a'n Seng, Suong
10. Sae, 801
11. T`o'l, 506
12. Sean, Bureau 506
13. Cheal, Nh`e'um's child
14. R`an, 401
15. R`o'at, Kah Kong
16. Y`e'um, 31
17. Reuang, State Warehouse

[p.2]

....

Printing House: Th`o'n, intellectual

Industry: M`u'm alias K`an, Chemical technology laboratory

[p.3]

Foreign Affairs: Thau, Ambassador to China and his wife

....

Military Logistics: Teanh

4. Inh: Secretary of the northern Voeun Sai sector. In 1978 it was projected that he would be removed and brought to be on permanent duty centrally. A Ya person. According to what B`u't let be known, very partial to the Yuon. Repeatedly in contradiction with the military in the Organization's division.

East Zone links: According to the presentation, all the leading forces at every level from top to bottom.