

Office S-21

Phnom Penh

Transcription of the Confession of

PECH Phôn (ហេង ផន) alias MAI Phau (ម៉ែ ផ្លូ),

Transportation Chairman, Rubber Plantations, the East Zone

History of His Personal Traitorous Political Activities

[Annotations in red:

- *Two copies sent to Angkar*

- *Not yet read.*

- *2/8/77*

- *+ Summary sent to Angkar, one copy*

- *Summary read.]*

[Annotation in blue in Vietnamese:

History of Traitorous Political Activities.]



Transcribed on 27 July 1977

Respected and Beloved *Angkar*,

I request to report my initial traitorous activities as follows:

PECH Phn alias MAI Phau. 45 years old. Married. Position: Transportation Chairman, Rubber Plantations, East Zone. Born at Kampey (កំព័រ) Village, Rumchek (រូមចេក) Commune, Memot (មេមត់) District, Kampong Cham Province.

I lived with my parents until I was 14 years old. My parents sent me to Wat Khpob (វត្តខ្ពស់) School in Rumchek Commune, Memot District. After I could read and write, my parents had me become a monk at Wat Khpob in Rumchek Commune for three seasons. Leaving the monkhood, I returned to live with my parents and did farming with them.

In 1949, I joined the Revolution at the Office of Memot District, inducted by Sabn (សាប័ន).

In 1950, I was persuaded by Sabn to betray the Revolution. He described the system of the free world, which was absolutely opposed to communism. He said, “We must embed within ranks of the Revolution, for which we are currently working, say that we will have others with us to carry out activities. We must also build forces to embed inside the Revolution to oppose the Revolution.”

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MAI Phau]

In 1951, I joined the Party of the Khēmarak (ខេមរកៈ) People’s Revolution, being introduced by Sabn. The Party leaders at that time were:

1	SIV Hēng (ស៊ីវ ហេង)	Past: Central Secretary. Present: Unknown.
2	TOU Samut (តូ សាមុត)	Past: Central Deputy Secretary. Present: Deceased.
3	KÈV Meas (កែវ មាស)	Past: Standing Member.

[Translator note: Missing page(s)]

... The of these two combatants were disseminated to educate other combatants in the army among those who liked freedom and comfort, to do whatever could be done to break their fighting spirit.

In 1953, I met Sabīn again. Sabīn educated me just like before. He told me that he had to go study in North Vietnam, and during his absence, he had me strive to build up forces in the Revolution, conduct counter-revolutionary activities in all forms, and provoke domestic conflicts inside the Revolution, and strive to conduct activities various activities in every village, commune, and office. So far, I have created conflicts in the offices, resulting in disagreement about sleeping, eating and daily routines.

In 1954, I successfully educated two soldiers in the Memot District Army, whom I had known and trusted, as underground forces in the Revolution. They were:

1. Hās (ហាស): Past: District military cadre. Present: Cooperative member in Da (ដា) Village, Da Commune, Memot District.
2. Thân (ថ័ន): Past: Combatant in the Memot District military. Present: Cooperative member in Chrak Leak (ច្រកលោក) Village, Kampong Damrei (កំពង់ដំរី) Commune, Chhloung (ឆ្លូង) District, Sector 21.

They were educated by me, and later they propagandized liberalism in the army; they lured other soldiers to become like them all the time.

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MAI Phau]

In September 1955, I was imprisoned in Kampong Cham Prison. The revolutionaries that were in the prison with me were:

1	TÈ Kong Neang (តៃ កុងនាង)	Past: Assistant of the Election Campaign Committee from 1955 to 1961. Present: Deceased.
2	CHĀN Sēng (ចាន់ សេង)	Present: Deputy Secretary of Tboung Khmum (ត្បូងឃ្មុំ) District, Sector 21.
3	PAONG Bun (ប៉ាង ប៊ុន)	Past: Deputy Secretary of Dambae (ដំបែវ) District in 1974. Present: Deceased (in 1975).
4	PRUM Chum Mealea (ព្រុំ ជំមាលា)	Past: Election candidate in the Kampong Cham area. Present: Unknown.

During the detainment of the five of us, Sari (សារី), Deputy Director of the Kampong Cham Prison, often communicated with the five of us. Once, he talked to us with friendliness, saying “Prince Sihanouk has won the election. The People’s Party has lost. What do you still hope for? Anyway, I come here today to chat with you and to invite you to my house in the future.” Then, Sari entered a cell where five of us were staying, noted down our names, and returned home.

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MAI Phau]

In November 1955, Sari invited me to his house. As soon as I entered his house, I saw three guests there. One of the guests was the Head of the Trial Court of Kampong Cham, but I did not know the other two. Some of them were sitting to one side. In the house, a photo of the President of the United States of America was hanging on the wall. Sari frightened me by saying, “You five prisoners will be sent to Phnom Penh and sentenced to death. You can save your lives and return to your families only if you are willing to work for the Americans.” Next, the Head of the Trial Court said, “If you agree to work for the Americans, the Trial Court will issue each of you an unlimited travel pass.” I was afraid of dying after listening to Sari and the Head of the Trial Court of Kampong Cham. I had only one choice—to follow them. I had to make two promises:

1. To do whatever I could to save my own life.
2. Knowing I would die, I absolutely determined to betray the revolution and oppose the Revolution.

Then, I agreed saying, “I will work for you.” Accepting my agreement, Sari asked all of the participants to stand up straight. He introduced me (Phân) as a new member of the American CIA from that day forward, and the Head of Trial Court of Kampong Cham acknowledged the new members. Sari took the lead in a flag salutation. After he had introduced me and everyone had respected the American flag, Sari asked me to repeat a vow after him as follows:

1. I must be loyal to the American President forever.
2. I must be loyal to the American CIA forever.

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MAI Phau]

Next, Sari educated me and designated me some tasks as follows:

- To propagandize liberalism, which is exactly the opposite of communism, in villages and communes.
- To recruit CIA forces in villages and communes as assistant agents¹ for doing all kinds of tasks so as to obstruct the involvement of the revolutionaries in villages and communes.
- To find the locations of forest and streams in villages and communes because they would be selected as bases during the war against the Revolution; I must note them accurately, draw maps, and report to him.
- To find out about the number of existing revolutionaries in villages and communes and their existing revolutionary activities – to facilitate the smashing of the revolutionary forces.

He strongly urged me to implement these plans. Lastly, he gave me 1,000 riels for food and travel. The Americans would provide me with more money if I could accomplish the plans. The meeting was followed by a small party. After the party, the three guests returned to their places by car.

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MAI Phau]

I then returned to my cell. Sari often called the other four people in the prison to visit his house one by one, and each of them always came back with money, just like me. However, I did not know what they thought.

¹ In red: **The responses of LEAV Sout Saophaon say that these assistant agents were not yet full-rights CIA agents.**

In December 1955, the five of us were released from the prison. Before our release, Sari told us to go to his house again, one by one. I was the first person to go there. Arriving at his house, I was educated and reinforced like last time, and he reminded me to recruit a lot of forces in villages and communes so as to breed hatred of communism among villagers. Then, Sari asked each of the other four people to his house one at a time. Later, Sari handed me a letter and told me to associate with EK Phon (ឯក ផុន), whose revolutionary name was Phuong (ភួង), in Kouk Kong (គោកកង) Village, Kouk Kong Commune, Kranchiech (ក្រាំងច្រើន) District, Prey Veng Province. All he told me was, “He is also a network, just like you.”

In 1956, I asked Nân (ណន) alias Yôk (យ៉ាក) living in Kouk Srok (គោកស្រុក) Village, Sangkat Kouk Srok, Dambae District to take me to meet Phuong. Both of us travelled together. We met *Bang* Phuong at his house in Kouk Kong Village. *Bang* Phuong suggested that we take a rest in his house. He then asked, “What is the matter?” I then took out the introduction letter from A Sari to him. After reading it, he commented, “We will work together from now on. The Revolution will know about our clique now and in the future. So, we should find other forces as our support and underground them within the Revolution to build up forces in fighting against the Revolution and to seize the authority. We will accept nothing but liberalism, which is exactly the opposite of communism. We must look for the revolutionaries and know which villages and communes they are residing in and which villages and communes they are doing Revolutionary activities in. To fight against them, we must recruit more CIA forces.” Brother Phuong then made the suggestion that we should meet in Kandal Chrum (កណ្តាលជ្រំ) next time; he and messenger Nân would take me to the meeting place. I agreed saying, “It is also convenient for me. Your place is far away from mine and Kandal Chrum is nearer.”

In 1957, I recruited the following four people:

1	Soeung (សៀង)	Past: Resident in Kampey Village, Rumchek Commune, Memot District.
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		Present: Same.
2	Yin (យ៉ិន)	Past: Resident in Kampey Village, Rumchek Commune, Memot District. Present: Same.
3	Vun (វ៉ុន)	Past: Resident in Lour (លួរ) Village, Kampoan (កំព្រាំង) Commune, Memot District. Present: Same.
4	Lun (លួន)	Past: Chief of Sangkat Kampoan. Present: Same.

All of them worked with me until 1971. They convinced people to choose liberalism and to work against the Revolution in the villages. Moreover, they encouraged people to constantly have fun in the villages as a way to divert their attention away from the work of the Kampuchean Revolution.

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MAI Phau]

Three months later, I reported these four aforementioned forces to Sari. He acknowledged them as assistant agents in the base and he offered 500 riels to each of them as a temporary payment.

In 1958, Brother Phuong took me to Kampong Cham to meet SIV Hēng, who was the Party and the People's leader, in a house located in Bos Sbov (បុសស្បូវ) Village, Kampong Cham. The three of us discussed the following in the meeting:

SIV Hēng drafted traitorous plans as follows:

First of all, we should infiltrate within the Revolution because it would then be easy for us to exaggerate the revolutionary line, to work against the Revolution, and to destroy the revolutionaries.

Second, it was important to build up CIA forces within the Revolution for destroying the revolutionary forces.

Third, we should ensure the connection between our CIA core forces from one village to another. We should also indoctrinate the villagers because we would definitely travel to the base in the future. Hence, we must clearly identify our forces since it will not be easy to keep in touch in the future.

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MAI Phau]

In addition, SIV Hēng reminded us to update ourselves about the situation along the border including in Memot District, Kraek (ក្រែក) and rubber plantations.

He advised us to search for the CIA forces who were residing in the rubber plantations. The meeting was followed by a meal. Then, Phuong and I said goodbye to SIV Hēng and returned to our places. *Bang* Phuong and I separated at Kandal Chrum; he went to his house and I returned to my place in Memot.

In early 1959, I made a CIA connection with the Commune Chief Aok (អុក)² in Seda (សេដា) Commune, Dambae District, for conducting activities in that commune. Aok and I first met each other when joining the Revolution, and we had met and had a drink together in Dambae market many times. We had kept in touch since then. We also shared responsibilities in conducting anti-revolutionary activities. Aok was determined not to back down and said that he would fight against the Revolution until the end of his life. As he had close contact with some soldiers³ in Dambae Garrison in Dambae District, he was responsible for spying to find the

² **Meaning DOEUN Sâm-aok**

³ **Meaning BĒN Sân**

locations of the revolutionaries. He spied in Banghaeur Khlaeng (បង្កើតខ្លែង), Trapeang Pring (ត្រពាំងព្រីង), Khcheay Dambae (ខ្ពាយដំបែរ) and Trapeang Chhuk Dambae (ត្រពាំងឈូកដំបែរ). He would then follow each of the revolutionaries that he found to see what they would do.

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MAI Phau]

In 1961, I made a CIA connection with PAONG Bun, who had been in prison with me, and who had also been invited by Sari to his house. At the meeting, I said that without supporting forces, we would not be able to accomplish the second objective, which was the destruction of the revolutionaries in the villages and communes. We, therefore, must hurriedly build forces. PAONG Bun agreed with me. Reaching this agreement, both of us visited two villagers in Dambae Village, Dambae Commune, Dambae District who were:

1. Nhèm (ញ៉ែម): Past: Resident in Dambae Village. Present: Same.
2. Net (នេត): Past: Chief of Dambae Commune. Present: Cooperative member in Dambae Village, Dambae Commune.

Two months later, PAONG Bun and I brought these two residents to meet Sari, and Sari acknowledged them as CIA agents. Sari gave each of them 500 riels, PAONG Bun 1,000 riels and me 1,000 riels. The two newly recruited forces accepted their duties. Back in their village, they would promote the influence of the USA among those who had political orientation toward the USA. They would make a report if there was anything wrong.

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MAI Phau]

In 1962, I made a CIA connection with CHĂN Sēng.

In April 1962, I, together with PAONG Bun and Aok – who was the Chief of Seda Commune – smashed five revolutionaries in Dambae. PAONG Bun and I then went to Kampong Cham to give Sari a report. Sari then sent five forces from Kampong Cham to Krouch Chhmar (ក្រូចឃ្មារ) to follow Iem (អៀម), who was going to call for a meeting in his orchard, east of Banghaeur Khlaeng Village. Aok followed Iem to Krouch Chhmar Port. At that time, the forces from Kampong Cham also arrived at Krouch Chhmar. As soon as they arrived at Krouch Chhmar Port, Iem was seen boarding a ship. Then, Iem was clearly identified as a target because Aok had also arrived, the signal that it was Iem. Then the five forces at Kampong Chan arrested Iem. After we had arrested him, we read a list in Krouch Chhmar District Hall that contained the names of the following people:

1	TEP Sean (តេព ស៊ាន)	Past: Committee of Sector 505 in Kouk Srok Village, Kouk Srok Commune, Dambae District from 1972 to 1974. Present: Unknown.
2	Tēng (តេង)	Past: Lived in Khcheay Village, Dambae Commune, Dambae District. Present: Living at Tuol Kâng Chît Tauch (ទួលកងជិតតូច) in Khcheay Village, Dambae Commune.
3	Than (ថាន)	Past: Lived in Ta Kaev Tuol Pras (តាកែវទួលប្រុស) Village, Seda Commune, Dambae District. Present: Deputy Secretary of Peam Chi Leang (ពាមជីឡាំង) District, Sector 21.

4	Hor (ហ៊ុន)	Past: Secretary of Dambae District, Sector 21. Present: Same.
5	Neang (នាង)	Past: Lived in Pralaoh (ប្រុំរោង) Village, Trapeang Pring Commune, Dambae District. Present: Cooperative member in Pralaoh Village.
6	Iem	Arrested in Banghaeur Khlaeng Village, Trapeang Pring Commune, Dambae District. He was shot to death by A YOU Thân (យូ ថ័ន) in May 1970.

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MAI Phau]

The first five aforementioned persons were sent to a prison in Phnom Penh by Sari's forces.

In 1963, Brother Phuong came to meet me and made the following appointments:

1	Brother Phuong	Past: Secretary of Sector 21. Present: In charge of the East Zone Rubber Plantations.
2	Brother Chăn ⁴	Past: Secretary of Memot District. Present: Deputy Secretary of the East Zone.
3	Myself (Phân)	Permanent Member of Sector 21 and Deputy Secretary of Memot District.

⁴ **This time he clarified that Tha was not a traitor.**

After the appointments, Brother Phuong and I discussed the traitorous plans as follows:

- We had to do the revolutionary work and embed within the Revolution at the same time. So, we had to put efforts into conducting anti-revolutionary activities in the Revolution constantly. Brother Phuong suggested the spread of the influence of liberalism, which is anti-communism, among residents in the villages and communes immediately because the Revolution had already started their activities, so it would be our chance to work on these dual responsibilities in the villages and communes.

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MAI Phau]

- We should search for revolutionaries in the villages and communes. In case that we could not convince them to join our team, we should make them jobless and kill them at the end. There were some places – including here – that were stubbornly denying liberalism and accepting the Revolution's line.
- We must build up the underground forces in the Revolution so as to place the revolutionary authority in our hands. We must recruit some forces in the villages and communes as CIA assistants immediately in order to propagandize liberalism as a response to the propaganda of the Revolution in the old revolutionary bases.

In 1964, I persuaded KUNG Kea (គង់ គា), Secretary of Memot District, to become a CIA force; I had known him since we had joined the struggle together. Kea and I worked together since then and we recruited some CIA forces. I also informed KUNG Kea about the aforementioned plans set by Brother Phuong. After learning about them, KUNG Kea agreed to implement the plans. He easily accepted them because he had previously lived freely and comfortably with some forest rangers. He promised to build up CIA assistants among his workers in the rubber plantations in Me Prey (មេប្រៃ), Sambau (សំប៉ូ) and Memot. In addition, he further passed on what I

had told him to his workers – to feel them out which side had many and which side had few so that it would be easy for him to recruit CIA assistants to serve the Americans in the future.

In 1965, Brother Phuong appointed me as the Secretary of Krouch Chhmar District. While working in Krouch Chhmar District, I contacted CHHAOM Savat (ឆោម សាវ៉ាត) with the purpose of recruiting him as a CIA force. I had many discussions with CHHAOM Savat. In the discussions, I asked him whether liberalism or communism was better. CHHAOM Savat answered that liberalism provided freedom in travelling and earning a living, while communism was very strict. Next, CHHAOM Savat and I tested each other. We finally reached an agreement that we had only one choice; we had to fulfil the revolutionary work and be underground in the Revolution to destroy its forces at the same time. CHHAOM Savat agreed to serve the Americans by becoming a CIA assistant. Both of us also agreed to recruit more CIA assistants so as to have more support. CHHAOM Savat had kept in touch with the district hall and he and I recruited three forces there. They had no choice but to follow us because they had been under the leadership of CHHAOM Savat.

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MAI Phau]

CHHAOM Savat and I associated with Thoeun (ធៀន) and KIM Ren (គឹម រ៉ែន), who had previously resided in Baray (បារាយ) District and were currently cooperative members in Baray District, Krabei Kriek (ក្របីក្រៀក) Commune, Krouch Chhmar District, and Chn (ជិន), a messenger in Chravak Daek (ច្រវាក់ដេក) Village, Krabei Kriek Commune.

The three people above did what I had told them and indoctrinated the villagers and private traders. They in turn spread the word as they desired wealth and

prosperity. The three people agreed to do this indoctrination and they were also willing to help with other tasks all the time. They would inform me about the existence of revolutionaries so that we could preclude the revolutionary activities in each village. More importantly, we associated with the livelihood units in the villages with the purpose of using them to attack the revolutionaries in the future. We aimed at those who were dissatisfied with the Revolution, and those people wholeheartedly agreed to follow us.

In 1966, Brother Phuong appointed me as the Secretary of Memot District. I then contacted KHĀT Na (ខាត់ណា), Chief of Korki (ក្រកី) Commune, to set up CIA networks in the commune. I had known KHĀT Na since we joined the struggle together, and we had kept in touch since then. This Korki Commune chief was the wealthiest in the commune. When I met him, I asked him what the existing political orientations in the world were and which one he preferred.

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MAI Phau]

KHĀT Na answered that there were two—liberalism and communism, but the one that allowed people to live prosperously with freedom was liberalism. He added that liberalism was well-known and favoured by a large number of people, so we should adopt it. I responded to KHĀT Na that I had regretted that I had joined the Revolution, but I was adopting liberalism now, so both of us should work together in building up forces to fight against communism – otherwise liberalism would disappear. KHĀT Na was committed to building up forces for the USA against the Revolution, to ban the revolutionaries from entering his commune, and to promote the influence of the USA in the whole commune. The villagers would then understand that their lives would face even more hardships than they once had during the war with the French and that many lives would be lost if there was another war. So what the villagers had to do to prevent a war was to ban the revolutionaries from entering the commune. KHĀT Na agreed.

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MAI Phau]

In 1967, Ta Phuong took me - Phau - to Kampong Cham to meet PÈN Yut (ប៉ែន យុត). We met him at a house in Tuol Sbov (ត្នូល ស្បូវ) Village, Kampong Cham.

In the meeting PÈN Yut said the following:

“We must strongly and hurriedly promote liberalism. When the residents accept us, they will inform us about any incident. Now, the Revolution is constantly spreading. As it is getting stronger, we should remain calm and find tactics to build up underground forces. We must find ways to make our core forces obtain significant positions in the Revolution, and then it will be easy for us to take over the authority.”

PÈN Yut continued, “We must recruit as many CIA forces as possible to facilitate our work in the Revolution, communes and elsewhere. Moreover, we should control the livelihood forces who had previously worked against the Revolution of Kampuchea, because in the future, the Revolution would use armed forces to fight against the United States of America in a domestic war. Therefore, we will use those forces to attack the Revolution where it is strong, reduce the number of revolutionaries, and vanquish them and their people in the villages and communes.

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MAI Phau]

In 1968, the Revolution used armed forces in the domestic war. In that year Brother Phuong decided to move the underground forces to the forest to fight against the Revolution. He said, “This is our opportunity. *Angkar* will definitely supply us with weapons. Then, we will give the weapons only to our traitorous forces. We will not give let those whom we have not yet totally convinced carry weapons.” X While transferring the forces to the forest, I recruited the following two people:

1. Khmăo (ខ្មែរ): Past: Resident in Pnov (ព្រៃ) Village. Present: Soldier in Memot District Unit.
2. Som (សុំ): Past: Resident in Khpob Village, Rumchek Commune. Present: Cooperative Chief in Khpob Village.

I educated them as follows:

- I propagandized that liberalism provided enough freedom in earning a living, but communism on the other hand was very strict and limited the freedom.
- I assigned them to spy on the locations where revolutionaries existed and to report to me.
- I told them to closely follow the livelihood units and to be involved in the destruction of the revolutionaries. During the destruction, I advised them to thoroughly search for the revolutionaries, and if they happened to shoot at me by mistake, it would be okay, and that they should pursue other people.

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MAI Phau]

In 1968, I smashed 10 revolutionaries in Memot District, including

1. Chhoeun (ចៀន).
2. Yeun (យ៉ែន).
3. Kut (គុត).
4. Hîn (ហ៊ិន).

5. Vat (វ៉ាត).
6. KHIEV Sim (ខៀវ ស៊ីម).
7. KHIEV Peou (ខៀវ ពៅ).
8. MOM Sâm At (ម៉ុម សំអាត).
9. Long (ឡុង).
10. Sim (ស៊ីម).

In 1969, Ta Phuong called me to meet him to discuss new plans again:

1. “It is imperative for you, Phau, to contact the networks in Dambae District for who you are already responsible to gradually destroy the revolutionaries, to diminish their forces, and to confiscate their weapons.”

I then got in touch with my network, Aok, who was the Chief of Seda Commune in Dambae District and asked him to make a close connection with BĒN San (ប៊ែន សាន)⁵, a soldier in Dambae. We followed and smashed revolutionaries that year in the forest, which was our target and a place of contact. In 1969, my traitor clique performed many large-scale attacks on the revolutionary forces as follows:

1. I had Aok bring BĒN SâN’s soldiers to fire at Zone and Sector troops in Prey Băk Ângrut (ព្រៃបាក់អង្រុត) once, killing one soldier and dispersing the guards all over the area. The escapees were scared; they got lost and starved, and they were followed by the soldiers every day. There was no way out for those people.
2. CHHAOM Savat, already one of my contacts, brought BĒN SâN’s soldiers to shoot one group of revolutionaries behind a village. He

⁵ No, BĒN SâN

confiscated three guns and gave them to the soldiers. Before the raid, CHHAOM Savat organized a party for the soldiers in which pork, rice, and even alcohol—Black Panther beer and rice wine—and soft drinks were served. At first, CHHAOM Savat brought the food and drink to the place of the party before telling the others.

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MAI Phau]

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In 1970⁶, Phuong (វង្ស) and I had a discussion over how to build up our traitorous forces and prepare them for the anti-revolutionary activities. We needed to gather combatants – especially those who used to escape to Vietnam, those who used to be soldiers, those who were fake volunteers and those who were the old traitors. I recall saying, “First, we have to appoint a district committee in all districts of Sector 21 so as to make it easy for us to collect forces. If we just go there straight away, without any recognition, they will not welcome us. Of course, they know that we are strugglers who come from the forest, but they will not acknowledge us because some of them have already been trained and educated by the Vietnamese, while some are now under arrest. We came out a bit later than them.” *Bang Phuong* agreed with this.

In May 1970, Ta Phuong appointed district committees in all districts of Sector 21 including Dambae (ដំបែវ) District, Memot (មេមត់) District, Tuek Chrov (ទឹកជ្រៅ), Tboung Khmum (ត្បូងឃ្មុំ) District, Chhloung (ល្បួង) Khrouch Chhmar (ក្រូចឆ្មារ), etc. At that time, Angkar had me take responsibility for Memot District.

⁶ **After 18 March 1970**

In June 1970, I went to Memot in order to meet up with other traitors. I met with six people and asked them to gather all traitorous forces and arrange those forces into a military structure. Those six people were:

1. PĒCH Suon (ពេជ ស្នួន)⁷, whom the Party had previously expelled him from the Party.
2. Tum (តុំ), who has been a Khmer Serei member for a long time.
3. Srēng (ស្រែង), who has been a Khmer Serei member for a long time.
4. Nhâ (ញ៉ា), who has been a Khmer Serei member for a long time.
5. Sokha (សុខា), who has been a Khmer Serei member for a long time.
6. Chĭn (ជិន), who has been a Khmer Serei member for a long time.

At that time, our group prepared a military force which comprised 100 soldiers with enough weapons to fight. Having agreed on the plan, they continually worked under my leadership. I told them clearly, “We conduct Revolution by embedding ourselves in the ranks of the Revolution. It does not matter what appearances are, we still all know clearly that we all oppose the Revolution. We must implement our plan by causing problems for this revolutionary government, by such as confusing the citizens, making them unable to decide who is bad and who is good, and not knowing what the future will be like. Therefore, from the outside, all of you must appear to be opposing me, who has been appointed by Angkar to be the Memot District Committee. Inside, however, we get along and agree with one another.” They all agreed to this plan.

In July, I appointed a three-member military:

1. PĒCH Suon as Military Chairman.
2. Khim (ក្រិម) as Deputy Military Chairman.
3. Srēng as Member.

⁷ Responses of MEAS Samon (មាស សាម៉ុន) *alias* Phi (ភី)

These forces were assigned to attack the Revolution covertly. In September 1970, the 100 traitorous forces – with PĒCH Suon as the military leader – gathered together and carried out a demonstration at Memot market. Internally, we were united. However from the outside, they opposed: me (a committee member of Memot District), KÀNG Chhum (កង់ ឈុំ) (a deputy committee member of Memot District) and MĂO Ki (ម៉ៅ គី) (a member of Memot District). The purposes of the demonstration were:

1. To strongly oppose the extreme revisionists.
2. To completely oppose the Revolutionists who take citizens' rice from storage without paying money to the citizens.

The result of the demonstration was that the citizens became confused, not knowing which side was good and which side was bad; which side was wrong and which side was right. Citizens became despondent and did not work as actively as they used to. Every day they just met up to update one another about the situation, as well as to discuss the issue of who was wrong and who was right.

As for Ta Phuong, he controlled YOU Thân's (យូ ថង) forces from 1970 to 1971. YOU Thân was a son of YOU Sau (យូ សូ) who lived in Phnom Penh. YOU Thân had been a CIA agent long ago; he gathered these forces in order to put them under his control. YOU Thân had one hundred soldiers. Later on he recruited another force whose name was Srēng (ស្រែង) (a teacher in Kampong Cham). YOU Thân's forces conducted the same activities as PĒCH Suon's forces – such as secretly causing chaos, shooting people covertly and stirring up arguments among group members. They continually conducted these activities until there was a decision from the Permanent Party of the Zone to completely smash all the above-mentioned traitors. After receiving this order, Brother Phuong and I met for a discussion. Our conversation went as follows: “What should we do now? The higher-rank has ordered us the command to smash them, so we cannot not smash them. The problem has fallen back on us now. We will quickly be exposed too. Son then, we absolutely have to

smash them.” After having agreed, we delegated the task to KÈO Sâmnanng (កែវ សំណង) to smash both locations. These who were traitors, as I was, were smashed in 1970.

In early 1971, I called Suot⁸ (ស្មូត), former Chief of Rong (រុង) Commune, Memot District, Sector 21 (I had appointed him to this position in 1970) for a meeting. I met him in Memot. The purpose of this meeting was to create a chain of traitorous networks with him, as he was based at the border which was close to my post. However, no matter what, he still had to contact *Ah Thiêu* (អើវ) and an American at my post. When meeting Suot, I educated him as follows:

“In the current war situation, America is the richest. They have plenty of modern weapons and aircraft. No other countries can defeat America. Hence, we must trust America. You live near that place, so you obviously have witnessed all their activities. They shoot and drop bombs on our citizens, causing deaths every day. What is more, in order for us to be happy and have the freedom to make a living and travel, we must accept the ideology of the free world – the anti-communism ideology. We must strongly spread this ideology to citizens in villages and build up our anti-Kampuchean Revolution forces. Moreover, we must send combatants from the revolutionary bases to support American soldiers who are based outside Phnom Penh as well as in Prey Nokor (ព្រៃនគរ). In addition, Suot must assign people to send products such as buffaloes, pigs, chickens, ducks, wood oil and dry resin to my post. Săk (សក់) and the Yuon – namely the Thiêu Captain Văn (វ៉ាន់) stationed at that post and Heab (ហើប) – will be there, waiting to buy all those things.”

[Clarification: Countless amounts of wood oil and dry resin, pigs, cows, chickens and buffaloes were secretly sent from this place to Suot. Suot later sent the items to my post.]

⁸ No, his name was actually Svat (ស្មាត).

After our discussion above, Suot and I agreed to implement our plans in stages:

First stage: To search for any male or female combatants in villages who are in favor of liberalism and send them to my post.

Second stage: To develop our economy whilst weakening the economy of the Kampuchean Revolution by secretly sending items such as pigs, cows, buffaloes, chickens, ducks, wood oil and dry resin to my post. On my side, there was SÈHV Chea (សែហ្វ ជ័រ), a former soldier at Knâng Krâpeu (ខ្នងក្រពើ), who was in charge of sending these things. (Currently, Chea is at the Memot Rubber Plantation.) He continually implemented this plan.

Later on, I recruited some combatants from villages and sent them to Suot. Suot then sent the combatants to *Ah* Thiv, who further handed them to *Ah* Lon Nol (លន់ ណុល) in Phnom Penh. This secret sending of forces was done continually through these secretly-appointed network chains.

In November 1971, *Ta* Phuong appointed me, (Phau (ផ្កា)), as a Mobile Cadre of the East Zone. *Ta* Phuong asked me to meet him and then gave me plans to carry out. He said, “We must agitate combatants in the military units to complain about the difficulty in fighting against American soldiers and the inadequacy of the Kampuchean Revolution. We can stress that there is not enough gunpowder, trousers, shirts, clothing, food and sleep. Plus, there are many mosquitoes.”

Ta Phuong had me to prepare a number of forces in order to attack the Revolution’s forces from the rear, as well as to create a chaotic situation behind their lines in the battlefield. After the discussion with *Ta* Phuong, I prepared a group of forces and named it the ‘Bandit Force’. The job of this group was to attack the Revolution’s forces from the rear. These forces were:

1. People who used to have arguments with members of the revolutionary party.
2. People who were in favor in liberalism.
3. People who wanted to receive positions and recognition in society, etc..

I recruited forces from districts where people were likely to be attracted, including: Tuek Chrov District; Memot District; Triek (ត្រីក) Commune, Memot District; Boun (ប្លុង) Commune, Memot District; Tbound Khmum District; Krouch Chhmar District; and, Peam Chileang (ពាមជីណាំង) District. In particular, we targeted those who were already disappointed with the Revolution and those who used to be thieves. We educated these people to do whatever possible to cause chaos for the government. More and more problems were to be created in every village, commune and district in Sector 21. If we could achieve this, these forces would be used as supporting forces for our future activities, including destroying the revolutionary forces.

In 1972, Ta Phuong had me go meet Sâmret (សំរិត) alias Phèn (ផែន), of the Command Committee of School S200 (សាលាស២០០) at Prâtheat (ប្រាថាត) Pagoda, in order to arrange a plan. The plan to educate soldiers was as follows:

1. To prepare very few technicians in order to make a request for modern weapons. To persistently ask for modern weapons, saying that they are necessary for defeating the enemy. To keep doing so in order to create problems for the Party's higher-ranking members.
2. To use as many bullets as possible in each battlefield. If we are arrested by the enemy, we must tell them about *Angkar*'s locations, so that the enemy would release us. The enemy will drop bombs on the targets that we have given them.
3. In the battlefield, when troops get close to the enemy, we must fire a gun as a signal to the enemy. Getting this signal, the enemy will immediately attack the troops; as a result, our troops cannot take over the enemy's military bases. What is more, those who are at the reserve lines must use strategic tricks to convince other soldiers to withdraw, such as by convincing them that there are so many of the enemy that they are too strong for us to combat. We will do this in order to cause chaos in the military. We need to have our forces ready to carry out these activities.

Most importantly, we need to get control of all the leading commanders in all levels. If we can control them, we will be able to do anything; the combatants do not have the right to raise any objection.

In 1973, I connected my CIA network with CHEY Suon (ជ័យ សួន), Secretary of Sector 25.

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I told Chey Suon, “I know that you, Brother, have changed. Frankly speaking, I just want to tell you that I have been a member of the CIA since 1955. Nowadays, I am concealing myself in the revolutionary ranks. Hence, we are in the same boat. So far, I have perpetually conducted anti-revolutionary activities at my base. There is no problem or disagreement at my place. Please do not worry. How about your place?”

CHEY Suon (ជ័យ សួន) was happy to hear what I said. We spent a night at Krouch Chhmar and further discussed our plans.

In 1974, Thuch (ធុច), was Secretary of the North Zone. Thuch had Chhoeun (ឈឿន), Secretary of District 41, to tell me to meet him (Thuch) at the Office of District 41, North Zone. In late 1974, I met Thuch at Ta Pha’s (តាផា) house at Thmei (ថ្មី) Pagoda many times.

First, Thuch said, “I asked to meet you so that we can learn more about each other.” He added, “Our country will be liberated soon. Our revolution will win; meanwhile, the (current) Revolution will be defeated. The two regimes are completely different. Liberalism has long been favored by citizens, unlike the new communism which no one is in favor of.” In order to give birth to liberalism again, Thuch had me - Phau - start preparing forces from that time forward. He instructed me to dismiss from important positions those who were firm and whose revolutionary stances were clear and loyal to the Revolution, those who were loyal to the Revolution and those who would die for the Revolution. Especially, I had to dismiss the important ones and

replace them with our people. These replacements would make it easy for us to take over state authority.

Thuch added, “Although America lost the war, I am still in strong favor of it. That is why I keep on doing these activities. I keep telling you this; what do you think about this idea?” I replied, “I have no objection regarding this matter. I totally agree with you because I am also in favor of Liberalism. I have also destroyed many revolutionary forces in my base. In addition, I have recruited many CIA agents in my base and sent them off to villages, communes and forests. I have prepared them well for the counterattack on the Revolution.” After this discussion, Thuch and I separated and returned to our own offices.

After meeting with Thuch, I started carrying out activities suggested by him. I called YĭN Sauphi (យិន ស៊ុកី), Security Chairman of Sector 21, and Hāk (ហាក់) and Chhoeun (ឈៀន), Economics combatants of Sector 21, for a meeting in order to set up plans.

When the three of them arrived, I said, “The three of you must implement the following plan:

- 1. Send our forces, especially the bandits, to cause chaos in Tuek Chroeu and Memot districts.” At that time, YĭN Sauphi agreed but...

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“However, we don’t this ceremony every day. It is done in its own time, doing whatever to be appropriate to the situation to prevent quick exposure and to prevent those in the unit from monitoring us.

I went up to Memot again to meet Hēng, Triek Commune Chairman, to do whatever I could to make contact and educate one another and understand one another’s feelings. Then I had Ta Hēng send out the bandit groups that were in the villages to conduct activities to steal cattle and water buffaloes and take them to Vietnam.

Issue 2: To have him secretly send combatants and young women to Vietnam. In this district, this is done continually. Five, three or seven people are sent off each time. In addition, we must collect those who are in crises in the villages on matters with the state authorities, meaning minor ones whose privileges have been withdrawn, and

send them to Vietnam. This action is also implemented in Memot District, Tramung (ត្រាំមូង) District, Chhloung District and Krouch Chhmar District where there are our chains of networks.” After that, I returned to my place and called Mân (ម៉ាន)

(Chairman of Supplies of Sector 21) and Moul (ម៉ូល) (Chairman of the Sector 21 Office of Economics) for a meeting. When they arrived, we talked about sending someone to Peam Chileang to look for those whose spouses had escaped to Kampong Cham. The plan was to search for them and stir up their anger. In particular at that time there were many Cham Muslims who had escaped to Kampong Cham.)

There was another group who had escaped into the forests. Having connected with one another, I instructed YĪN Sauphi, Hāk and Chhoeun to start collecting forces to attack the Revolution’s forces from the rear. As a result, we prepared a number of forces and put them in charge of spreading our propaganda. Some of the forces were Cham Muslims, and some of them were Khmer. We carried some carved wooden grenades and weapons, and we made open propaganda that we were the Liberation group. At that time, we went to propagandize at Chheu Teal (ចេរឿតាល) Village. There were both Khmer and Muslim people who came to listen to us. We said, “We are the new Liberation group. We come here to help liberate all of you, brothers and sisters. We come to save you all from the Revolution’s killings. We will establish a new government. If we have forces here, we will be able to connect with our forces in Kampong Cham and Tonle Bet (ទន្លេបឹង).”

The citizens were both surprised and excited to see new Liberation group. They had lost hope in the old liberation; they could only rely on this new group. Those citizens quickly believed our traitorous partisans. The next evening, we entered Chriel (ច្រឿល) Village, Thmâl Pich (ថ្មីពេជ) Commune. We spread our propaganda the same way we had in Chheu Teal Village, and very quickly and many Muslim citizens were persuaded into our way of thinking. We even asked the citizens to collect some amounts of rice and take that rice to the forest. We then started causing

chaos in hospitals in Sector 21 by throwing clods of earth and setting fires at night. We did whatever we could to scare them and to disturb their sleep.

Later on, I had two Muslim forces at School S200 – who had left Phèn (ផែន) – to come meet me in order to prepare for a rear attack on the Revolution’s forces in Sla (ស្រា) Village. The two forces were:

- Sovăn (សុវ៉ាន់), Cadre Assistant at School S200.
- Savoëun (សាវ៉ៃន), Cadre Assistant at School S200.

In June or July 1974, these two forces secretly recruited thirty more forces. Sovăn took two AK riflless - one rifle with bendable stock and one normal rifle - and one pistol from School S200. Later on he took two more guns from combatants in Tramung District. Savoëun stole two guns from Vietnamese. On 30 June 1974, our plan was exposed. The Zone gave an absolute command to smash Sovăn and Savoëun. The Sector had to take full responsibility for catching and smashing these two people. I asked YİN Sauphi to meet me. YİN Sauphi called Sarĭn (សារីន), another traitor, to come along to discuss how to smash Sovăn and Savoëun. During the discussion, I said, “We have thirty-five forces embedded in the rear. We also have a number of guns. But these forces have been exposed already, so we cannot send them to Vietnam. Now the Zone Angkar has already learned about this and have commanded Sector 21 to completely destroy Sovăn and Savoëun. If Sector 21 cannot destroy the two traitors, the Party’s Zone Committee will send more military forces. Therefore, it is too risky to keep these forces (Sovăn and Savoëun). We must kill them according to the Zone’s decision.”

After that, I assigned Sarĭn to be in charge of killing Sovăn and Savoëun. I instructed him to work with the committee of the Border Military Committee in Sector 21 and YIN Sauphi. I told them that all actions must be carried out according to my instructions. However, our strategy to smash them was to try to do it slowly so as to prolong the time – in order to withdraw our front forces to support the rear battlefield. This was beneficial to us because we needed hundreds of forces, and we

had already lost hundreds of front forces. YIN Sauphi agreed to the plan and started preparing forces to go to the place where Sovăn stayed. Soldiers of the Rubber Plantation surrounded his place. However, some of those soldiers were also traitors; they let Sovăn escape from Sla Village. Sovăn travelled to Daun Kaong (ដួនកោង) and asked for rice and chicken from the local people. He even took the chance to propagandize that there would be new forces coming soon. Then Sovăn went to Preaek Chhloung (ប្រែកក្លូង), Khvan Siel (ខ្វាន់ សៀល) Village, Snuol (ស្នួល) District and then to Krama (ក្រំម៉ា). Sovăn arrived in Krama in the evening at around 6 p.m. He met two militiamen who were guarding a corn farm in Krama Village, Kampong Damrei (កំពង់ដំរី). Then shooting broke out, and after a while, one militiaman was killed. Sovăn had managed to get hold of a gun. Another militiaman was injured and ran away.

After shooting those militiamen in Krama Village, Sovăn led thirty-five partisans and travelled in the direction of Damrei Phong (ដំរីផុង). In the morning, they arrived at the forest behind Damrei Phong. A militiaman carrying a gun happened to be going to check a trap near where they were. Along the way, he encountered Sovăn's group. Sovăn shot and arrested that militiaman and took his gun. Sovăn then asked the militiaman to show the way ahead. As they reached Chhăk Kântông (ឆក់កន្ទោង) Village, Prey Kô (ប្រែគោ) Commune, Chhloung District, the militiaman escaped. Sovăn's clique stayed in the village and caused chaos.

In response to this situation, district and sector soldiers went to the area and spread forces around in strategic locations – along the streets, in the forests and in the village. After two nights, they managed to fight with Sovăn's group. The sector soldiers gradually destroyed Sovăn's partisans and took some guns. After running out of rice, Sovăn, Savoeun and three to four partisans eventually surrendered in Chheu Teal Thum (ឈើទាលធំ) Village. They confessed that there were five guns, four AK rifles and one pistol, hidden in the forest. They also confessed that some of their

partisans, who had managed to escape, were in hiding in Pongro (ពង្រង) and Trâchor (ត្រាជ័រ). After questioning Sovăn, we were able to arrest all of them.

In approximately July 1975, after the liberation, Ta Phuong returned from abroad and asked me to meet him at his house in Chey Nikom (ជ័យនិគម) Village.

During the meeting, he said, “Now we have a new plan. It is nothing much. It is just a plan to destroy the rubber plantations. The plan is as follows:

1. At the plantation sites, we must destroy:

[Translator note: Missing pages]

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“We don’t have to collect as much produce as *Angkar* has set, no matter in which year. If *Angkar* has targeted five hectares, we should only collect in three hectares. We can make an excuse by saying that the work is too difficult and there are not enough forces.

As for the resin that drops, we don’t have to clean it. Just leave it on the ground and let it damage the factory when it is processed. As the resin gets into the draw-plates, and sticks on knives and elsewhere, it’ll damage those things.”

This plan was continually implemented until the end of 1975. We destroyed rubber and many hectares of rubber trees: three hectares in Chub (ជប់), two hectares in Chrab (ច្រាប), three hectares in Thmâl Pich and four hectares in Memot. In terms of inadequate planting, Memot lacked five hundred hectares, Peam lacked two hundred hectares and Krèk (ក្រែក) lacked seven hundred hectares. In particular, most rubber was destroyed through rubber disease.

After the discussion, I prepared myself for the implementation of the plan. Later, *Ta Phuong* went to meet other networks in every plantation in Memot, and in factories in Krèb (ក្រែក), Peam Chaing (ពាមជាំង), Ta Pav (តាប៉ាវ), Thmâl Pich, Chrab,

Chub, etc.. After these meetings, we could always see eventual damage to rubber trees to some degree. These activities were carried out according to the above plan.

In August 1975, I met with CHUOB Sing (ឃ្លីប ស៊ីង), Deputy Economics Chairman of Chhloung District, in order to connect our networks with each other.

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...liberalism instead.

Sing agreed to my idea. Later on, Sing started conducting anti-Party activities, according to the plan above. He sent physically-weak forces and did not send as many forces as *Angkar* had requested. *Angkar* used these forces to construct dams, ponds and dikes. But because there were not enough fit forces, *Angkar* could not successfully achieve its plan.

In addition, when *Angkar* instructed Sing to send food, fish, prohok (ប្រហុក), fish/meat paste (ផ្អែក) and vegetables to the front, he did not send enough of those things. He made an excuse by saying that he could not find the vegetable, fish and fish/meat paste. What is more, there was not even enough thatch. Those who had to construct dikes were not in good health; they got sick easily, hence, they returned home quickly. Sing continually implemented this plan.

In October 1975, I met with CHHUOB Mân (ឃ្លីប ម៉ែន), Chairman of Supplies of Sector 21. Mân had previously participated in revolutionary activities with me. He had joined in secret political activities and always been under my supervision. We met at Steung (ស្ទឹង) Village, Tuek Chrov District and talked about the favorable and the difficulties facing us in the future. I said, "The situation is not going to get better because communism is still in power. It is a strong regime, thus we need to find solutions as soon as possible. We have to be well prepared." Mân had no objection. We agreed that, "New forces are needed, so that we can separately complete our work. We have to reorganize the old regime – liberalism – which is against

communism. If we want to be able to solve the problem, we must recruit new forces to work with us. Also, we have to explain to citizens about the differences between the new and the old regime so as to make them realize which regime is better. When they understand the differences, they will follow us; we then can assign them to take over our duties. This way we can expand our forces as well as reduce some of our workload. We must build up forces in villages and communes as soon as possible, and we must especially attract those who are from other units and those who are angry with *Angkar*. *Angkar* does not let them visit home and does not arrange marriages for them; therefore, some people are not satisfied. We must try to attract these people to our side. After they are convinced, we can assign duties to them as we have already done with others. In particular, we must also collect those forces who used to fight against the Revolution before as well as those who are against the Revolution.” Mân also conducted this activity in the town where he was in charge.

In December 1975, I went to meet TEP Moni (តេព ម៉ូនី), a doctor in Tuek Chrov District. Currently, he lives in Tuek Chrov. He was dismissed from his position because he argued with *Angkar* members. I also met Khon (ខ្មែន), a doctor in Sector 21 stationed at the hospital at Chong Chieb (ចុងជៀវ) Pagoda. Both of them had had contradictions with *Angkar* there.

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We could attract them to our side. “When both of you achieve anything, please report to me because I also have to make reports for the higher-ranking traitorous members.”

On 10 January 1976, Ta Phuong had me to move to a unit of the Dry Crepe Factory in Chub. I had no position then because *Angkar* had already withdrawn my privileges. I conducted activities there. First, I tried to find out who were strongly in favor of liberalism, who were bored with working and who used to have disputes with *Angkar* members. Having found these people, I then regularly invited them to eat at my house in order to attract them to join me in conducting traitorous activities. At the same time, in the unit of the factory, I carried out the following activities:

- I went around agitating people that if they followed our work style, they would be healthier. If they followed *Angkar*'s orders, their health would quickly deteriorate. "The current Revolution has overused people. If this keeps going on, people will all die sooner or later." I also talked about the American ideology. "America will not abandon Cambodia so easily; surely they will come back." I used the same words with combatants Vorng (វង់) and Korng (កង់). I also used these words with Chum (ជុំ) once in a while.

In February 1976, I asked Vorng and Korng to meet me at my house in order to...

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....Both of you have to strictly implement these duties concretely. Work hard and we will meet again later."

In March 1976, SOK Sen (សុក សិន), of the East Zone Rubber Plantations Committee, came to meet me at my house for the first time. SOK Sen said, "I come to visit you because I heard that you are sick." Then SOK Sen said, "On 10 March 1976, please come to my house. I have always wanted to meet you." Ten days later, I went to meet SOK Sen at a French-style house which was the office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations. When I arrived at SOK Sen's house, he said, "*Angkar* has put me in charge of your case. All documents related to you are now with me. In this case, your life is in my hands. So far, you have acted opposite to the Revolutionary line. You have also committed ethical mistakes. *Angkar* has removed all your power and will not reappoint you to any position. I can see you have made so many big mistakes. Anyway, please don't worry; I will help you to work again. You can serve the Americans with me." I said, "You don't know my story. In fact, I have betrayed the Revolution and have been an American CIA agent since 1955." SOK Sen replied, "Okay, we needn't talk much then. You can just listen to me and put my plan into action. We must continue destroying rubber trees at the plantation sites. It doesn't matter how much we can destroy machines in the factory."

In April 1976, I went to meet Grandmother Èm (ឈម), Chairperson of the Chub Rubber Plantation, and Vun (វ៉ុន), Deputy Chairman of the Chub Rubber Plantation.

Grandmother Èm said, “The Revolution is getting difficult now. In each meeting, they only point out faults, not compliments.” Vun said, “Nowadays, I don’t have any hope in either the big or the small duties assigned by *Angkar*.” I said, “This Revolution is not prosperous. We must go back to the old regime if we want to be happy and to enjoy partying freely. America will definitely return to help Cambodia in the future.” Both of them responded, “To be honest, nowadays, if there is anyone who follows the old working style, we will definitely do the same.” Seeing that they both were convinced, I assigned duties to them as follows:

“You must spread our propaganda to workers at your rubber plantations. In addition, you have to build up worker forces at villages as soon as possible, and use those forces as our supporting forces in order to further spread our propaganda. Besides, you must find ways to damage *Angkar*’s rubber at every place.

Damages that Grandmother Èm and my partisans caused were as follows:

- They didn’t take good care of the sick rubber trees; as a result, five hectares of plantation were damaged.
- Unclean sap was also brought into the factory; as a result, many machines such as draw-plates and knives were broken.
- They never issued clothing and sarongs to workers according to *Angkar*’s instructions. Instead, they stored those clothes and sarongs in the warehouse until a number of clothes and sarongs got damaged.

Later on, Grandmother Èm, Vun and I separated. We set a date to meet again in order to update one another about the situation in rubber plantations.

[Clarification: Grandmother Èm and Phau had known each other since 1972, but they have only connected their traitorous networks recently.

Reasons:

1. Grandmother Èm had contradictions with *Angkar*. She was always seriously criticized during meetings.

2. *Angkar* dismissed her husband – CHUON Sot (ជួន សុត) – from his position in the North Zone.

This was why Phau dared to connect his network with Grandmother Èm.]

On 1 May 1976, Ta Phuong and SOK Sen appointed me as the Chairman of Land Route Transportation of the East Zone Rubber Plantations. After receiving this new duty, I started investigating everyone in the unit to see who could lead the implementation of plans. I went to meet Bau (ឃុំ), Secretary of Peam Chileang District. Bau had lived under my supervision in 1972. He has understood and believed ...

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78-79

...continue carrying out Anti-Revolution activities in all forms.

In June 1976, I met with *Ta Mân*, Chairman of Ta Pav Rubber Plantation (who is currently the Chairman of the East Zone Rubber Plantations). *Ta Mân* and I used to live together; we have shared many good and bad times. We have struggled together for five years in this secret political struggle. He called me to meet at his house in Ta Pav Rubber Plantation. During our meeting, *Ta Mân* said, “Phân (ផាន), *Angkar* will not appoint you to any important position in the Party anymore. We are in the same boat. I am too old now; I will definitely die in the Ta Pav Rubber Plantation. I called you here in order to tell you about my traitorous networks in the North Zone. They are Teacher Um (អុំ), Teacher Nhèm (ញ៉ែម) and *Achar Yi* (ឃី). When I was the person in charge at Prey Pràsăb (ប្រែប្រសាប) District in the North Zone, I got to reconnect with these networks. I think I don’t support this new regime anymore, and I am going to follow the old regime – the regime led by America. Now, what do you think, *Phân*?” I told *Ta Mân* that I had actually swapped back to the old regime long ago. *Ta Mân* then said, “Since we share the same idea, let’s work together to spread the ideology of the old American-led regime.” *Ta Mân* further mentioned that he had already recruited a few forces whose names were:

- Sâmoeun (សំអឿន), Chairman of the Union, Ta Pav Rubber Plantation.
- Phấn (ភិន), Deputy Chairman of the Union, Ta Pav Rubber Plantation.
- Mom (ម៉ុំ), Chairman of the Union, Bos Svay (បុស្សស្វាយ) Rubber Plantation.
- MĨN Tham (មិនថាំ), his bodyguard.

After that time, *Ta Mân* and my traitorous partisans conducted activities. They have destroyed a large quantity of *Angkar*'s rubber. At Bos Svay Plantation, two hectares of rubber trees were infected with Rose Disease due to a lack of care. They did not care to apply ointment to the sick plants. As for the plants which were seriously sick, they did not chop those plants down, but left those sick plants until the sickness became an epidemic. At the resin-cutting worksites, *Ta Mân* instructed others to just carry out their work carelessly. He told them not to remove the dirt or leaves from the resin in order to destroy the machines. He said both the factory and the machines belonged to *Angkar*, so they did not have to take good care of those things. At other places, the same activities were implemented.

Ta Mân once told me, "Phân, do not hesitate to contact me if you need my help in the future. I am always ready to support you." Another activity that we did was to disobey *Angkar*'s instructions. *Angkar* has always set a target for the plantation, but they did not plant rubber trees up to *Angkar*'s limit. For instance, if *Angkar* instructed us to plant 700 hectares, we would plant and grow only 400 hectares. We did so in order to reduce some workload from the workers as well as to spoil *Angkar*'s plan. When *Angkar* asked why we could not reach the quantity target, we said that there were not enough forces and requested *Angkar* to send more forces.

In July 1976, I built four forces as CIA assistant agents in the Transportation Unit of the East Zone Rubber Plantations. Just like in previous recruitments, we looked for people who were in favor of liberalism and those who only wanted enjoyment. The four forces were Hun (ហ៊ុន), Thêng (ថេង), CHHĨN Sarân (ឈិន សារ៉ន) and Vănni (វ៉ាន់នី). Later, I met with Horn (ហ៊ុន), member of the transportation section.

Horn is currently the Chairman of Transportation at the East Zone Rubber Plantation.
Thēng, Member of Transportation...

.....

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...Private Ownership has re-emerged; therefore, all of us must accept this regime and oppose the collectivism. Thēng had LEANG Hēng (លាង ហេង), Phat (ផាត), Nhâ (ញ៉ា),

Sarĭn (សារីន) and Soeun (សៀន) spread this plan.

In August 1976, Ta Phuong asked me to meet him at the Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations. He told me about his new plans:

1. We must try in every possible way to block the operation of three factories in Phnom Penh, Chub and Knâng Krâpeu (ខ្នងក្រពើ) for at least a fortnight.

If dry resin is not exported, it will affect the import of all kinds of *Angkar*'s equipment from abroad. This will further affect the living of citizens, peasants, co-operatives, workers and collectives.

2. We must train the traitorous forces that we have recruited from villages, communes and other units, and encourage them to carry out as many activities as they can.
3. We must strongly propagandize about private ownership in order to provoke opposition to collectivism. This is not a difficult plan because people have heard of, and have been familiar with the private ownership regime. It will not be difficult to persuade them to be in favor of the old regime.
4. We must provoke thefts to cause chaos again in ...

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- Vănthân (វ៉ាន់ថន), tractor mechanic.
- Vănsun (វ៉ាន់ស៊ុន), car mechanic.
- Soeun (សៀន), car mechanic.

...called these people and educated them about the old regime and the private ownership that was coming back soon. Having been educated, the three people agreed to support and further spread this ideology. Most importantly, they must quickly spread that the private ownership regime is much better than collectivism. LEANG Hēng and Vānthān destroyed two tractor's engines by not using enough oil. Thēng and Horn caused problems at many ministries and offices by doing whatever they could to destroy *Angkar*, such as using trucks to transport equipment, using all kinds of petrol wastefully, putting keys in the wrong places, etc..

I called Vorng to my house to report about what damage he had caused in the factory. Vorng reported, "I caused damage to machines in the factory. I broke the necks of three draw-plates by putting too much resin around the necks. I also caused two motors to burn out. One was the knife-pulling motor and the other one was the draw-plate pulling motor.

In October 1976, I connected my CIA networks with Riem (រឹម), Chairman of the Krèk Rubber Plantation Union. We had met once in 1972 when we were studying in *Angkar*'s school in the East Zone. We were in the same group and have been friends since then. Riem was a former teacher at Svay Rieng School. Every time we met, Riem always talked about how happy it was during the old regime. At that time, Riem and I met and discussed things. Riem said, "We must convince all units to return to the old regime because this collective regime is getting more and more difficult day-by-day. Most important, it also causes emotional difficulties." Riem asked me, "What do you think about that?" I replied, "I have not the slightest reluctance in supporting the old regime because I, in fact, have already carried out many activities against the present regime." Riem added that he has also provided education on ways of the old regime. Also, he provided training at worksites on how to destroy *Angkar*'s rubber. For example, resin was not kept in good order and some resin was left on the ground, thereby getting spoiled. What is more, four hectares of plantation were left burning due to the lack of proper guarding. They took bee hives from the plantation using fire and let the flames spread through the plantation. In addition, Riem said, "If all the rubber plantations died out, *Angkar* will appoint us to do rice farming, which is easier than planting rubber." Eventually I said, "When you go back, please try recruiting more forces to join with my forces. In case there's a

problem, please keep in close contact with me in order to unite our forces and fight against this current socialist revolution.

In November 1976, I went to meet SAU Samân (ស្យូ សាម៉ាន), Chief of Sangkat Rorka Porpram (រកានព្រៃ), Tboung (ត្បូង) District.

[Missing pages]

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...our CIA assistant agent. After that, we must set up a plan to destroy *Angkar*'s public works such as constructing dams, streams, ponds and dikes. We will disobey *Angkar*'s instructions; for instance, when *Angkar* requests for more forces, just send a few forces. When *Angkar* requests for forces to help with harvesting, we can just send a few forces. The decision is ours. Next month, *Angkar* will be in need of more of this season's rice, so we have to be well-prepared. How are we going to collect the harvest at our place? How many more ponds are needed?"

After that, five of us worked together to go around agitating citizens in the cooperative and spreading propaganda about the old regime – the private ownership regime – in order to degrade collectivism as well as to stir up arguments among the collectives, citizens, peasants and units. The main purpose was to do whatever we could to cause bad relationships among the collectives, so as to make it extremely difficult for *Angkar* to solve the problem.

In January 1977, CHHUN Li (ឈុនលី) – Chairman of the Security Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations – wrote a letter to me. He asked me to meet him at his house at the Security Office. CHHUN Li and I had got to know each other in Châk (ចាក់) Village, Ou Reang Ov (អូរាំងខ្ទី) District when we were involving in the secret political struggle. We had communicated and known each other well since then. Later on, as the political situation became hotter, we separated. After 1970, CHHUN Li and I met in Memot to discuss the plan to reconnect our traitorous networks and to reseed our political traits. When I arrived, CHHUN Li said,

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...“You must strongly agitate in your unit because nowadays they seem to be separated into groups and they don’t work as actively as they used to, especially in the transportation and maintenance units. Therefore, you must agitate for private ownership strongly in terms of eating and travelling in order to provoke opposition against *Angkar*’s collectivism ideology.” CHHUN Li agreed, “We will implement this plan separately at our own ministry in order to expand the anti-socialist revolution forces for the present and the future.” CHHUN Li and I agreed that, “Our previous activities have significantly affected the Party’s line. For example, we never reached the production target set by *Angkar*. As for those who had problems with *Angkar*, we let them run away.” CHHUN Li added, “Our activities will only get stronger and stronger. I have recruited new combatants at the Security Office. They are:

1. Mul (មុល), my personal bodyguard;
2. Rēn (រ៉េន), my personal assistant; and, 2.
3. Heang (ហ៊ែង), bodyguard.

I am also trying to recruit more forces. So our meeting purpose this time is just to get to know each other. When we go back, we have to start conducting our own activities.” I said, “CHHUN Li, I have strongly carried out activities in my ministry. The situation in the ministry is getting so bad now, and so is the relationship of the internal members. They are no longer in unity. How about the situation at your side? What have you done, CHHUN Li?” CHHUN Li responded, “Please believe in me. I am definitely going to cooperate with you.”

In February 1977, after the Party Conference at the East Zone Rubber Plantations which was led by Ta Phuong and Ta Mân, I and two other persons were appointed to be the Transportation Committee. We were responsible for land routes, waterways and ports. The three committee members were:

- Myself as the Chairman.
- VĒNG Ki (វ៉េង គី) alias Net (នេត) as the Deputy Chairman.

- Sing (ស៊ីង) as a member.

The three of us accepted *Angkar*'s appointment. In fact, Net and I had met sometimes during the meetings of the Committee of Rubber Plantations. We used to share our traitorous activities and political traits. It seemed, to others, that we were cooperating and understood each other well; but we in fact were sharing our traitorous plans. Now that we had been appointed as the Committee of Transportation, we (Nēt and I) got to meet again. This time, we set up our traitorous plans as follows:

1. To perpetually destroy the Party's means of transportation.
2. To wastefully use the Party's gasoline and to disobey the Party's orders.

Whenever we need, just take...

[Missing pages]

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On 18 March 1977, Angkar arrested me and sent me to the Security Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations. When arriving at the prison, *Angkar* removed all my power and started the investigation on my anti-Party activities. After I had stayed in the prison for three months, from March to May 1977, CHHUN Li came to visit me. He was the first person to visit me. CHHUN Li said, "Please don't worry, I can help you. This arrest is only *Angkar*'s threatening strategy. I will guarantee to them that you are innocent." I told him, "I have no objection to your ideas. Since January before I was arrested, we have known each other very well; we have carried out many activities together. But now I am under the arrest; I cannot do anything against *Angkar* anymore." CHHUN Li said, "We will keep on fighting even though you are already under arrest. It is my problem now. But please keep our connection in complete secrecy. Please don't let *Angkar* know that you and I (CHHUN Li) are connected. What is more, please do not report about what you have done to *Angkar* yet. Since you are staying in this place, I will appoint a guard to protect you and make sure that you are not assigned any hard work."

I could see that CHHUN Li was extremely frightened. I told him, "Please don't worry. I am okay. I will not say anything about your connection with me because this is my own problem. This has nothing to do with you, CHHUN Li."

CHHUN Li kept advising me until April or May 1977. He was so scared and kept telling me not to report to *Angkar* about him.

On 1 June 1977, Angkar sent me from the Security Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations to Phnom Penh. I travelled with VĒNG Ki alias Net and Savut (សាវុត្ត). Savut was the driver. Along the way, we carried out an escape attempt.

When we arrived at Chub Rubber Plantation and the Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantations, the car stopped. Savut whispered to me, “We are now going on to Phnom Penh. But when the car slows down on the way, the two of you must escape.” I said, “Okay.” After that, Sarèm (សារ៉ែម), Chairman of the East Zone Rubber Plantations, came to inspect the car. While he (Sarèm) was inspecting VĒNG Ki alias Net, he loosened the ties on VĒNG Ki’s wrists and ankles to let him slip free. Sarèm left quickly after the inspection. After passing Tonle Bet in Kampong Cham on the way to Prey Rorbaes (ព្រៃរំបឹង), the car slowed down near Spean Dèk (ស្ពានដេក). Net winked at me a few times to signal me to escape. After passing Preaek Kdam (ព្រែកក្តាម), he winked again, but I refused to escape because I did not know their purpose of letting us escape. Would they accuse us of escaping and shoot us to death, or what?

.....

Office S21 (ស២១២), Phnom Penh

Responses: PECH Phôn (ពេជ ផន) alias MAI Phau (ម៉ៃ ផ្កូ),

Transportation Chairman, Rubber Plantations, 203

‘First responses on the audio tape’

[Annotations in red: [Annotation: Very Secret

– This document was sent to Brother in 2 copies. Date: 2 August 1977

.....

– I would like to request Brother to examine this document and give comments to enlighten Security.]

1. Request to sent to Brother this is a summary of MAI Phau's (ម៉ៃ ផ្កូ) responses. The brothers and sisters have summarized enough to understand the meat of the story, but it is imperative to read the detailed document. I am reading it now and will send it to you.
2. His responses emphasize Ta Phuong from beginning to end.
3. Security warned him in advance. At the end, he clearly states his history of joined the CIA. Later, he only talks about those who have already been exposed. The meat of the story implicates Brother Phuong from beginning to end. Difficult to summarize. If summarized, there is no meat to the story..
4. It is difficult for me to check because I don't really know much the important events of that era. As for Brother Phuong, some has been extracted saying he was connected to our comrades in the city who had gone into secret as well. But if what he said is true, why wouldn't he tell our comrades?

1 4 October 1977]

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**Responses: PECH Phn alias MAI Phau,
Transportation Chairman, Rubber Plantations, 203
'First responses on recording tape'**

.....

He is 45 years old. He was born in Kampey (កំពើ) Village, Rumchek (រំចេក) Commune, Memot District, Kampong Cham Province.

In 1949, he left the monkhood and entered the Revolution in the office of Memot District. He became a monk for three years. The person who introduced him into the Revolution was Sabn (សាប័ន), a 203 Agriculture cadre (deceased).

In 1950, he said that Sabn educated him about the free world and persuaded him to embed himself in the Revolutionary line. [Page 1]

In 1951, he joined the Khemarak People's Revolutionary Party (បក្សប្រជាជនបដិវត្តន៍ខ្មែរ). He was introduced into this party by Sabn. Three months later, Ya (យ៉ា) came to educate him just as Sabn had. He had known Ya in 1950.

?

While educating him, Ya instructed him to build up forces and embed them in the Revolutionary ranks. [Page 2]

In September 1955, after the election, he and four other persons were arrested and imprisoned. The four persons were:

- Chauffeur Neang (តែកុង នាង), Election Campaign Committee Assistant (deceased).

- CHĂN Sēng (ចាន់ សេង), currently the Deputy Secretary of Tboung Khmum District, Sector 21.
- PAONG Bun (ហ្នឹង ប៊ុន), who became the Deputy Secretary of Dambae District in 1974 and died in 1975.
- PRUM Chum Mealea (ព្រុំ ជុំមាលា), election candidate, Kampong Cham Sector. Currently, his whereabouts are unknown.

They were in imprisoned in Kampong Cham. In the prison, the Prison Director – Sari (សារី) – always came to threaten them with the purpose of convincing them to join the CIA. [Page 4]

[Annotation: In October 1955, Sari called the five of them to his house and Joined CIA in persuaded them to join the CIA. They agreed. An induction ceremony 1955] was held. [Page 4]

Sari assigned them the following duties: [Page 6]

1. Spreading propaganda and also appointing CIA forces to secretly spy on villages in order to undermine the Revolution's influence.
2. Drawing maps of forests, mountains, streams, canals and other revolutionary bases.
3. Making a consensus of Revolutionists by villages, communes and residences in order to make it easy for the destruction of revolutionary forces.

Then Sari gave each of them one thousand riels.

[Annotation: In December 1955, they were released. Before leaving the prison, Sari called them in one-by-one in order to strengthen their stance. In the last meeting, Sari gave them each a letter to introduce them to ÈK Phon (ឯក ផុន) alias **Brother** Phuong (ហ្នឹង) of Kouk Kong (ក្បែកកង) Village.

Kanhchriech (កងច្រើត) Prey Veng. [Page 7]

In 1956, he contacted Nân (ណន) alias Yôk (យ៉ាក) at Kouk Srok (គោកស្រុក) Village in order to ask Yôk to take him to meet Brother Phuong.

[Annotation: *but why didn't he have the enemy arrest?*]

– *Is it true?*

– *Why didn't he instruct them to arrest the Revolutionaries at that time?*

– *In 66, Brother was in the East Zone. Comrade Phuong may have known,*

He handed Sari's letter to Brother Phuong. Brother Phuong accepted it and said, "The Revolution came to connect with me again the other day. Therefore, we must prepare to gather our forces to embed in the revolutionary ranks, in order to spy on them as well as the revolutionary bases. Brother Phuong promised to meet next time at Kandal Chrum (កណ្តាលជ្រំ) through a messenger named Nân. [Page 8]

In 1957, he recruited four forces: Soeung (សៀង); Yin (យិន), currently a citizen of Kampey Village; Von (វ៉ន), citizen of Lô (លោ) Village, Kampoan (កំពាន់) Commune, Memot District; and, Lun (លុន), Chief of Sangkat Kampoan. [Page 8]

Three months later, he reported these four names to Sari. Sari then gave each of them 500 riels and acknowledged them as supporting agents.

In 1958, Brother Phuong took him and SIV Hēng (ស៊ីវ ហេង), whose house was in Bos Sbov (ប៊ុសស៊ុវ), to Kampong Cham. SIV Hēng advised them to implement the following plans: [Page 9]

1. To continue concealing themselves in the revolutionary line in order to easily oppose the line as well as to destroy the revolutionary forces.
2. They must try to recruit more CIA forces from the revolutionary line in order to cooperate with our forces to destroy the revolutionary forces in the future.

3. To build up core forces in villages, communes and other bases and to keep in close connection with one another. These forces are to be prepared to stir up citizens when the revolution reaches bases in the future.
- Try to collect information from the border such as in Memot District, Krèk and in rubber plantations.
 - Try to search for CIA networks in the rubber plantations because there are many agents there.

In early 1959, he connected with a CIA network called DOEUN Aok (ខៀន អ៊ាត), Chief of Seda (សែដា) Commune, Dambae District. Aok, DOEUN AOK, was also a former struggler. Aok was a network of BÈN Sâ (បែន ស័ន), a soldier of Dambae Base. [Page 10]

In 1960, he met with a chauffeur called Neang. They joined hands and recruited three traitorous forces: Ean (អ៊ាន), Chief of ជីវ័ពល Tramung (ទ្រូមុង) Commune; Sâ (ស័ន), Chief of Tramung Commune; and, Mom (ម៉ុ), Chief of Choam Triek (ជាំត្រៃក) Village, Tramung Commune. These three people are currently in the Choam Triek Cooperative, Tramung Commune, Memot District. [Page 11]

In 1961, he connected with PAONG Bun. They had been imprisoned in the same jail. Together they recruited two forces: Nhèm (ញ៉ែម), village citizen; and, Net (នេត), former Chairman of Dambae Commune. Currently, they both are members of Dambae Cooperative. [Page 12]

Later on, he and PAONG Bun went to ask Sari to acknowledge these two as CIA support agents. Sari then awarded each of them 1,000 riels.

In April 1962,
he cooperated
with PAONG
Bun and
DOEUN Sâm
Aok (ឌឺន
សំអោក), and
reported to
Sari to arrest
Brother TEP
Iem (ទេព
អៀម) and
Brother TEP
Sean (ទេព
ស៊ាន), etc.

[*Page 14*]

[Annotation:
Is this true?]

In 1963, Brother Phuong came to meet him and appointed the Committee of Sector 21 as follows: [Page 15]

1. Brother Phuong as the Secretary.
2. Brother Chan as the Deputy Secretary. Currently, he is the Deputy Secretary of the East Zone. He affirmed that he was not a traitor.
3. Himself (MAI Phau).

After the appointment, Brother Phuong instructed:

1. To carry out both the revolutionary tasks, but mainly to do the activities defying the Revolution; to investigate the bases and scrutinize the revolutionaries based in villages and communes.
2. To classify these revolutionaries into two categories:
 - Those with a firm stance for the Revolution – should not be given tasks and should be secretly killed in the end.
 - Those with an unfirm stance on the Revolution – should be lured and indoctrinated, and recruited as CIA agents and should be gradually given roles in the Party's echelon.

1964: He (MAI Phau) lured Kungkear (កុងក្រាវ) who was the Secretary of Memot (មេមត់) District. Kungkear used to live with a Memot forest warden named Sâmbaur (សំបួរ). During that time, Kungkear stayed at the rubber plantation. Kungkear at that time accepted a role as an assistant CIA agent embedded among the workers at the Rubber Plantation. (Page 16)

[Red annotation on the left margin:

Is Kungkear CIA too?]

1965: Brother Phuong (ភ្នំ) appointed him (MAI Phau) as the Secretary of Krouch Chhmar (ក្រូចឆ្មារ) District. During that time he lured CHHAOM Savat to join the CIA. Later on he managed to recruit three more forces from CHHAOM Savat's associates: (Page 17)

1.	<u>Thoeun (ធៀន)</u>	Currently is a member of Baray (បារាយ) Village Cooperative, Krabei Kriek (ក្របីក្រៀក) Commune, Krouch Chhmar District.
2.	<u>KIM Rēn (គីម រ៉េន)</u>	Currently is a member of Baray (បារាយ) Village Cooperative, Krabei Kriek (ក្របីក្រៀក) Commune, Krouch Chhmar District.
3.	<u>Chin (ជិន)</u>	A messenger of Chravak Daek (ច្រវាក់) Village, Krabei Kriek Commune, Krouch Chhmar District.

1966: Brother Phuong appointed him (MAI Phau) as the Secretary of Memot District. He made contact with Khătna (ខាត់ណា) whom he had known since the struggle era. (Page 18)

1967: He said that Brother Phuong took him to meet PÈN Yut (ប៉ែន យុត) in Kampong Cham in a house located somewhere in Veal Sbov (វាលស្បូវ).

[Red hand writing at the bottom of the ERN 00175177:

This does not seem right. (?)

At that meeting, the following was discussed: The Revolution had been widespread and prosperous, so there was a need for them to side with the Revolution temporarily in order to find ways to build up hidden forces to seize the main roles in the Party ranks – that would in turn facilitate the seizure of power from the Revolution. To make efforts to control militia forces so as to gradually reduce and suppress the Revolution's forces.

1968: The Revolution was to be armed with weapons to curtail domestic war. Brother Phuong decided to send the CIA forces to the jungle so as to get them prepared for taking the weapons that would be provided by Angkar.

The real revolutionaries would not be provided with weapons at all. (Page 20)

He (MAI Phau) also sent two people to the jungle and these were:

1.	<u>Khmao (ខ្មៅ)</u>	A citizen of Phnov (ផ្អែវ) Village, who currently is a soldier of the Memot District Unit.
2.	<u>Som (សំ)</u>	A citizen of Khpob (ខ្ពប) Village, Rumchek (រំចេក) Commune, who currently is the Chief of Khpob Village Cooperative.

1969: Brother Phuong advised him (MAI Phau) to smash the Revolution forces in Dambae (ដំបែវ) District in order to overwhelm their spirit resulting in them (the Revolution) losing manpower and weapons. This was done through collaboration with the Commune Chief named DOEUN Sâm-Oak (ឡឺន សំអោក), BĒN Sân (បេន សន), CHHAOM Savat, a policeman in Dambae named Srēng (ស្រង) and soldiers stationed in Kbal Bueng Seh (ក្បាលបឹងសេះ). (Page 22)

May 1970: After the coup d'état, he was reappointed as the Secretary of Memot District. (Page 24)

June 1970: He traveled around to mobilize the traitorous networks and transformed them into a military unit. Those networks included:

1.	<u>PECH Suon (ពេជ សួន)</u>	The Party expelled him from the Party.
2.	<u>Tum (តុំ)</u>	Who had been for a long time a Free Khmer.

3.	<u>Srēng</u>	Who had been for a long time a Free Khmer.
4.	<u>Nhâ (ញ៉)</u>	Who had been for a long time a Free Khmer.
5.	<u>Sokha (សុខា)</u>	Who had been for a long time a Free Khmer.
6.	<u>Chîn</u>	Who had been for a long time a Free Khmer.

The core messages he gave to the unit: (*Page 25*)

1. To act against the Revolution in a revolutionary-conforming manner.
2. To play tricks to make people angry with him (MAI Phau) as Memot District Chief so they would upset the Revolution authorities – which would result in causing trouble for the people as whole.
Note: However, this activity had been actually decided and staged by his clique.

July 1970: He appointed a traitorous military committee with the following membership:

1. PECH Suon, Chairman.
2. Khim (ក្រិម), Deputy Chairman.
3. Srēng, member.

He instructed A PECH Suon to attack the Revolution covertly. He instructed A PECH Suon to ignite a protest to dismiss the Memot District Chairman (him), but this was purely a conspiracy among his clique.

[Red hand writing on the left margin:

I have no grasp.

?]

He said that Brother Phuong was in charge of the forces of A YOU

Thân (ត៊ូ ថ័ន) who was son of A YOU Sau from Phnom Penh. (Page

26) Later on Brother Phuong also supervised Srēng who was a teacher from Kampong Cham. A YOU Thân's clique was given the same tasks as A PECH Suon's.

Later on the Zone decided to order Sector 21 to chase and completely smash these forces. Brother Phuong and MAI Phau, using that advantage, smashed these forces themselves in order to prevent their secret activities from being revealed. (Page 26)

Early 1971 He called Saut (ស្នូត)⁽¹⁾ – a former chief of Rung (រុង) Commune of Memot District who was earlier appointed by him (MAI Phau) as the commune chief – to meet with him in Memot so as to give Saut the task of making contact with A Thiv's (អ៊ាតិវី) troops stationed at Khtom Barracks. The commander of these barracks was VĂN Heab (វ៉ាន ហ៊ែប). (Page 27)

Related activities in this given task were:

1. To send soldiers recruited through A Thiv to A Nol (អ៊ាណុល).
2. To release supplies. He (MAI Phau) assigned SĒP Chea (ស៊ែប ជ័រ) to transport and deliver supplies to Saut. SĒP Chea was a former soldier in Khnang Krapeu (ខ្នងក្រពើ) and currently stays at the Memot Rubber Plantation.

November 1971: *Bang* Phuong appointed him (MAI Phau) as a mobile cadre of the East Zone. During that time *Bang* Phuong instructed him to recruit traitorous forces to attack the Revolution covertly (Page

28). He then assigned Tha (ថា) with the task to mobilize bandits and free elements in each district in order for them to cause disturbance and chaos at the base. (*Page 29*)

1972: Brother Phuong instructed him (MAI Phau) to meet with LI Phèn (លី ផែន of Command Committee of S. 200 School, at Pratheat Pagoda (វត្តប្រាសាទ) to formulate plots to educate the military (*Page 30*). These were:

1. To educate soldiers to have broad views so that they would have a lot of questions to raise – which would result in a situation where Angkar found it difficult to resolved.
2. To educate traitorous networks to destroy ammunition, to reveal secrets to the enemy prior to the fighting, to spread rumours to scare the soldiers, and particularly to appoint traitorous networks on the Commanding Committee.

[Red footnote on Page 00175180:

The actual name is Svāt (ស្វាត)]

[Red annotation on the top of page 00175181:

Regarding this matter, we had confession from MUOK Ngeam in 25

He spoke up about things since 1975.]

1973: He met with CHEY Suon (ជ័យ សួន) at the Krouch Chhmar Office on their return from a study course. CHEY Suon had stayed overnight at his (MAI Phau's) home. They talked solely about traitorous matters. (End of Page 30)

1974: Khuon (ហ៊ុន) used Chhoeun (ឆៀន) to call him (MAI Phau) to meet with Khuon at the District Office in *Ta Pha's* (តាផា) home in Sector 41 of the North Zone. He said he met with Khuon on many occasions. (**Page 32**)

Khuon instructed him about how to seize power after the Party had won, through prior integration of traitorous elements into the revolutionary authorities. (Page 33)

[Red annotation on the left margin:

When did he first make contact with A Khuon?]

During this year (1974), MAI Phau carried out various subversive activities as follows:

1. He appointed YIN Sophi (យ៉ិន សុភី) to organize bandit activities similar to those undertaken by the White Khmer (ខ្មែរស្រុក) (Page 33). These were:
 - a. To gather those soldiers who had run away from the battlefield and send them to live in separate groups in the jungle as bandits.
 - b. To assign forces to spread rumours around villages and communes.

- c. To hide traitorous networks in the military ranks in order for them to launch psychological campaigns among soldiers so that they would retreat from battle.
 - d. To starve the troops by delaying delivery of food and giving them moldy cooked rice.
2. He contacted Hēng (ហែង), who was the Chairman of Triek (ត្រីក) Commune of Memot District, to release captured bandits for them to steal and export livestock to Vietnam, and to abduct and send female soldiers to Vietnam. They went around to every district in Sector 21 to undertake such activities. (Page 35)
3. He (MAI Phau) instructed Mân (ម៉ាន), Chairman of Supplies of Sector 21 and Moul (ម៉ូល), Chairman of the Economy Office of Sector 21, to travel to Peam Chileang (ពាមជីលាំង) in order to make contact with married people in the liberated areas and persuade them to abscond to the enemy side. (Page 35)
4. He instructed YĪN Sophi, Hāk (ហាក់) and Chhoeun to assemble the bandits – including Cambodians and Muslim Chams – and to assign them with propaganda tasks, grenades and fake weapons made of wood for them to go out and propagandize about themselves as being a new liberation group to prevent people from all being killed by the revolution. (Page 36) Activity was carried out within Chies (ជៀស) Village, Thma Pech (ថ្មពេជ) Commune, in order to disturb the Sector 21 Hospital by such means as throwing clods of earth, starting fires at night, etc.

5. In around June or July 1974, he assigned two Muslim Chams – who were LI Phèn’s associates – X Sovăn (សាវ៉ាន់) and X Savoeun (សាវ៉ែន), who were both assistant cadres of S. 200 School (*Page 37*), to organize a unit of 30 people in Sla (ស្លា) Village. They were to equip them with the weapons stolen from the S. 200 School and from the Yuon, as well as weapons confiscated from combatants, and to get them prepared to attack from the rear. However, these plans were later exposed and the Zone authorities ordered Sector 21 to chase and smash Sovăn and Savoeun without fail.

He (MAI Phau) therefore called YİN Sophi and Sarin (សារីន) to join him to find a way to smash the above two (Sovăn and Savoeun). The killing was delayed so as to allow them enough time to pull some forces from the battlefield. (*Page 38*)

July 1975: After the liberation, upon his return from being abroad, Brother Phuong called him (MAI Phau) to see him at his home in Chey Nikom (ជ័យនិគម) Village. Brother Phuong instructed him to carry out treachery as follows (*Page 39*):

1. To employ sabotaging tricks while collecting rubber sap, by using a drug to coat the rubber trees to cause a rubber disease called “Rose Disease” (ជំងឺផ្កាភ្លេង) which then naturally spread to other rubber trees, while blaming the lack of technicians as being the only cause of such disease.

[Red annotation on the left margin:

- This does not seem to be true.

- Indeed, the rubber had a good yield]

2. To plant different species together, thereby producing latex only meeting the quantity but not quality standards.
3. To destroy spare parts in the factory by all means available.

August 1975:

This does not seem to be true.

He had been active in making contact with traitorous forces at bases inciting them to carry out traitorous activities within cooperatives. These traitorous forces included:

1. HÀNG Sing (ហង់ ស៊ីង), Deputy Chairman of Economics, Chhloung District (*Page 42*).
2. Mân (ម៉ាន), Chairman of Supplies of Sector 21 (*Page 44*).
3. TEP Muni (តេព មុនី), a former physician dismissed by *Angkar* out of Stueng Chrov (ស្ទឹងជ្រៅ) Hospital (*Page 45*).
4. Khon (ខន), a Sector 21 physician based at Wat Chong Cheach (វត្តចុងជៀច) Hospital (*Page 45*).
5. Vung (វង់) from the Chub (ជុប) Dry Latex Factory (*Page 47*).
6. Kung (កង់) from the Chub Dry Latex Factory (*Page 47*).

March 1976:

SOK Sen (សុកសិន) threatened him (MAI Phau) about his moral offenses and his likely removal from his position by *Angkar*, and tried to persuade him to join the CIA; but MAI Phau said that he had joined the CIA a long time ago (*Page 49*).

[Red annotation on the left margin:

SOK Sen was A Chäkrei's (ច័ក្រី) network, already arrested.]

April 1976: He met with Grandmother Èm (យ៉ែម ធីម), the Chairperson of Chub Rubber Plantation, and Vun (វ៉ុន), the Deputy of Chub Rubber Plantation, in order to persuade them to undertake sabotage at the rubber plantation (*Page 51*).

1 May 1976: Brother Phuong and SOK Sen appointed him (MAI Phau) as the Chief of Land Transportation for the East Zone Rubber Plantation (*Page 52*).

Since then he had been in contact with various traitorous forces and these included:

1.	<u>Bau (ប៉ូ)</u>	Secretary of Peam Chileang District (<i>Page 52</i>).
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[Red hand writing on the left margin:

A Bau said that there were meetings held at Zone(ភ្នំភ្នំ) 203 Agriculture. Now

Brother Phim (ផឹមភឹម) has requested clarification of this.]

2.	<u>Mân</u>	Chairman of Ta Pav (តាប៉ាវ) Rubber Plantation (<i>Page 54</i>). Mân introduced to him (MAI Phau) to the following traitorous forces: 3. <u>Sâm-Oeun (សំអឿន)</u> , Chairan of the Ta Pav Rubber Plantation Union. 4. <u>Phin (ភិន)</u> , Deputy Chairman of the Ta Pav Rubber Plantation Union. 5. <u>Mom (ម៉ុម)</u> , Chairman of the Bos Svay (បុសស្វាយ) Rubber Plantation Union.
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		6. Name forgotten, Mân's bodyguard.
7.	<u>Horn (ហ៊ុន)</u>	A member of the transportation section, currently the Chief of Transportation of the East Zone Rubber Plantation – educated by him (MAI Phau) (Page 55).
8.	<u>Thēng (ថែង)</u>	A member of the transportation section, currently a member of the Transportation Committee – educated by him (MAI Phau).
9.	<u>CHHĪN Sarân (ឈិន សារ៉ន)</u>	In charge of the workshop – educated by him (MAI Phau).
10.	<u>Vănni (វ៉ាន់នី)</u>	<u>A car repair combatant of the rubber plantation workshop</u> – educated by him (MAI Phau). Thēng (# 8 above) managed to recruit the following forces (<i>Page 57</i>): 11. <u>CHHEANG Hēng (ឈាង ហេង)</u> . 12. <u>Phat (ផាត)</u> . 13. <u>Nhâ (ញ៉ា)</u> . 14. <u>Sarĭn (សារិន)</u> . 15. <u>Soeun (ស៊ឺន)</u> .
Those from the factories in Phnom Penh, Chub and Khnang Krapeu included:		
16.	<u>SĒNG Thai (សេង ថៃ)</u>	A lathe mechanic and a soldier (<i>Pages 58–59</i>).

17.	<u>Thi (ធី)</u>	A lathe mechanic and a soldier (<i>Pages 58–59</i>)
18.	<u>PANG Bunchhin</u> (ប៉ាង ប៊ុនឈិន)	A car repair soldier.
19.	<u>Yin (យិន)</u>	A welding soldier.
20.	<u>VĂN Thân (វ៉ាន់</u> <u>ថន)</u>	A motorcycle and tractor repairer.
21.	<u>VĂN Sun (វ៉ាន់</u> <u>ស៊ុន)</u>	A car repairer.
22.	<u>Soeun (ស៊ែន)</u>	A car repairer.
23.	<u>Riem (រឿម)</u>	A former teacher of Svay Rieng Town School, currently the Chief of the Kraek (ក្រែក) Rubber Plantation Union (<i>Page 59</i>).
24.	<u>SAU Samân (ស្វ</u> <u>សាម៉ាន)</u>	Chief of Sangkat Roka Po Pram (សង្កាត់រកាព្រាំ), Tboung Khmum (ត្បូងឃ្មុំ) District, Sector 21 (<i>Page 60</i>).
25.	<u>Sovăn (ស៊ុវណ)</u>	Chief of Sangkat Kor (សង្កាត់គរ) (<i>Page 62</i>).
26.	<u>Bau (ប៊ូ)</u>	Chief of Sangkat Chub (សង្កាត់ជុប) (<i>Page 62</i>).

27.	<u>Tək</u> (តេក)	Chief of Sangkat Mong Reav (សង្កាត់មងរាវ) (<i>Page 62</i>).
28.	<u>Chhân</u> (ឆន)	Chief of Sangkat Khnar (សង្កាត់ខ្នា) (<i>Page 62</i>).
29.	<u>CHHUN Li</u> (ឈុន លី)	Chief of the Security Office of the East Zone Rubber Plantation. CHHUN Li introduced to him (MAI Phau) the following traitorous forces: (<i>Page 63</i>) 30. Mul (មល់), who was CHHUN Li's personal bodyguard (<i>Page 65</i>). 31. Rēn (រ៉េន), an assistant (<i>Page 65</i>). 32. Heang (ហ៊ែង), who was CHHUN Li's bodyguard (<i>Page 65</i>).
33.	<u>VĒNG Ki</u> (វ៉ែង គី) <i>alias</i> Net (នេត)	An old network (<i>Page 66</i>). <i>[Red annotation for 33:</i> <i>This person associated with</i> <i>A Sim's (ស៊ីម) group</i> <i>from Chrouy Changva (ក្រោយចង្វារ)</i> <i>and A Tum (តុំ)]</i>

[Red hand writing on the left margin:

**Already arrested and his responses have been
already submitted./**

34.	<u>Leang</u> (លោង)	From Rubber Plantation Transportation (<i>Page 69</i>).
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35.	<u>Yoeun (យ៉ែន)</u>	From Rubber Plantation Transportation (<i>Page 69</i>).
36.	<u>Chhoeun (ឆ្មែន)</u>	From Rubber Plantation Transportation (<i>Page 69</i>).
37.	<u>Thoeun (ធ្មែន)</u>	From Rubber Plantation Transportation (<i>Page 69</i>).
Note: Their activities mainly involved sabotage at the rubber plantation.		

18 March 1977: He (MAI Phau) was arrested. CHHUN Li, who was his traitorous network and who joined him in doing traitorous activities, was then extremely frightened and desperately advised MAI Phau not to implicate him (CHHUN Li) in his confession. CHHUN Li was the Chief of the Security of the Rubber Plantation. (Page 71)

1 June 1977: CHHUN Li sent him (MAI Phau) to Phnom Penh. CHHUN Li told him that the guards who would be escorting him to Phnom Penh were also traitorous people. (Page 72)

Along the way, Savuth (សាវុធ), who was the driver at that time, whispered to him that he had to run away when the car slowed down.

Then Sarè̎m (សារ៉ែម), who was the Office Chirman of the East Zone Rubber Plantation, came in and pretended to search him (MAI Phau) and at the same time he loosened the rope that tied his hands. While crossing Tonle Bet (ទន្លេបឹង), VÈ̎NG Ki alias Net winked his eye two or three times to signal to MAI Phau for him to run away. He refused to do so because on one hand, he was too afraid of being shot to death while he was running, and on the other hand, he had the hope that Brother Phuong would help him solve the problem.

So then, he has been here since then. (*Page 73*)

[Red hand writing on the left margin:

The maneuver was to set him loose while he was being transported]

[Additional red hand writing:

This person is really cunning.]

24 July 1977

Interrogator's Observation

1. He seemed to confess systematically about his treasonous activities and networks from beginning to end.
2. He mainly spoke up about the activities which had been already revealed. For example, the cases of A PECH Suon and A YOU Thân.
3. He always implicated *Bang* Phuong in his confession. He did not speak of any other *Bangs* in the Zone.
4. He mainly spoke up about the lower traitorous forces, but did not do so about the ones at his level or at the upper level. He talked very little about Sector 21.

In Summary:

- His confession about his accession into the CIA was fairly clear.
- In connection with the activities carried out after 18 March 1970, he only talked about what had already been revealed. He did not talk at all about any other things which had not been revealed.

Note:

Throughout his confession, he always implicated *Bang* Phuong and if we removed *Bang* Phuong's name, there would be no story to tell.

[Additional red hand writing:

*Bang Phuong arrested and sent him here. In his confession, he always stressed
Bang Phuong's involvement.*

With Respect,

24 July 1977