

Chēng Ân (ចេង អន)

State Industry

Confessed on 03-11-78

**ឯកសារបកប្រែ**  
**TRANSLATION/TRADUCTION**  
ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 23-Nov-2012, 09:05  
CMS/CFO: Ly Bunloug

-I would like to express my respect to the respected Party.  
 -I would like to report to the Party more specifically in addition to my 2<sup>nd</sup> report on 5-12-78 as follow:

-I would like to confirm about some names in various Zones who are the traitor forces hiding within the Party whom I know very well. They are as follows:

1-In the East Zone:

- 1-Phim (ភីម), Zone secretary, dead.
- 2-Chann (ចាន់), currently is Zone deputy secretary in Svay Rieng (ស្វាយរៀង) sector.
- 3-Khoem (ខឹម), secretary of Sector 20, arrested.
- 4-Peang (ពង), chairman of the Zone Office, arrested.
- 5-Phuong (ផួង), former secretary of the East Zone rubber plantation, arrested.

2-In the Northwest Zone:

- 1-Nhim (ញឹម), Zone secretary, arrested by Angkar.
- 2-Keu (កើ), deputy secretary of the Northwest Zone, arrested by Angkar.
- 3-Kântol (កង្កុល), secretary of Sector 3. I am not sure whether he presently has been arrested or not.
- 4-Say (សាយ), chairman of the Zone Office, arrested.
- 5-Vanh (វ៉ាញ), Zone Commerce, arrested by Angkar.
- 6-Hoeng (ហឹង), Secretary of Sector 5, arrested.
- 7- Commander of Zone military whose name I forget, but this person has a medium built, medium-light complexion, and large face, arrested by Angkar.
- 8-Sou (ស៊ូ), secretary of Sector 4, arrested by Angkar.
- 9-Mân (ម៉ែន), was previously in the Northwest Zone but later transferred to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, arrested by Angkar.

3-In the West Zone:

- 1-‘A’ Sy (ស៊ី), Zone secretary, arrested by Angkar.
- 2-Ta Päl (ប៉ាល់), currently is the Zone deputy secretary in the West Zone.
- 3-Soeung (សៀង), was in charge of the Zone and Sector military previously, and now is in the New North Zone.

4-In the New North Zone:

- 1-Sè (ស៊ែ), Zone secretary, arrested.
- 2-Hàng (ហង់), Zone deputy secretary, arrested.
- 3-Soeun (សៀន), in charge of Zone military.

5-For other forces hiding in various ministries and units in the city [Phnom Penh] and in Kampong Som (កំពង់ស្ពឺ) whom I know, I have already reported to the Party in my first report.

-Secondly, I would like to confirm the names of the military division chairmen as follow:

- 1- The chairman of the West Zone’s military division is comrade Soeung.
- 2- I have forgotten the name of the commander of the Northwest Zone’s military division, but he has a medium built, is about 36 or 37 years-old, large face, and has a green bean color complexion. He has been already arrested by Angkar.
- 3- The commander of the North Zone’s military division is comrade Soeun.
- 4- The commander of the [missing] Zone’s military division is unknown.  
I do not know him because I never had any contact with him in the past.

-Thirdly, I would like to make an additional report to the Party about the recruitment of workers from various Zones and bringing them in Phnom Penh—especially the former workers and technicians—to work in the factory so that they could reassemble the...

...necessary machines such as the weaving and lathing machines etc...so that they can run again to serve the needs of the Party subsequently. At the same time if the factory

cannot be reassembled for operation on time, it will cause more damages to its other important parts. At the same time, if a factory is not being reassembled on time, other materials and parts of that factory will be lost subsequently. And that will affect the future reassembling. Angkar has instructed us to reassemble the factories as soon as possible while working first on those factories that are necessity and needed.

-Regarding to calling back of the former factories workers and technicians, our plan is when any factory needs them, they can call them back to help to start the operation of that factory as soon as possible.

-During that time many former workers, who were being evacuated out of Phnom Penh, were told by our soldiers to stay on the outskirts of the city [Phnom Penh]. They were told that if they had been the former factory workers, they should not go far away from the city because Angkar would want them back to work in their original factory.

-So, many former workers still stayed along National Road 5 stretching from Chraing Châmreh (ច្រាំងចំរេង) village to Prek Kdam (ព្រែកក្តាម). And along National Road 1, they were staying along the Road starting from Veal Sbov Pagoda (វត្តវាលស្បូវ) until Kien Svay (កៀនស្វាយ). In Sector 25, they stayed along the road starting from Prek Sâmroang (ព្រែកសំរោង) village to Svay Rolum (ស្វាយរលំ) village and down to Sa-ang (ស្នាង) and Koh Thom (កោះធំ) districts.

-In the first phase, I and 'A' Khmao (ខ្មៅ) tried to recruit just the former workers and technicians who could work on the factories which needed quick reassembling so that they could produce things which were needed by the Party. In the process, we did not pay any attention to their previous levels or ranks as long as they gave us a clear background and information about the factory they had worked in the past. We brought in whomever of any levels after they had given us clear information about their skills and the factory they had worked for in the past. We did that in order to have them come to serve the need of the factories as soon as possible and to respond to the need of the Party.

So, during this first phase, I and Khmao had recruited about 350 to 400 families of mixed skilled workers and brought them back in Phnom Penh to work at different factories. At the beginning, we took them to stay in two places, the Psra Doeum Tkov School (ផ្សារដើមថ្កូវ) and Chamkar Mon School (ចំការមន), before we selected them to be sent to work in the factory where they had worked in the past. They were then assigned to reassemble...

...all the weaving factories and other Factory Ds (ដ) [Factory D = steel factory].

-During this first phase, we recruited the former workers in Prek Phnov (ព្រែកក្តៅ) and Prek Kdam along Road 5, in Kien Svay along Road 1, and in Svay Rolum and Po Sanh (ពោសាញ) in Sector 25. It was through this recruitment that the CIA group, who were hiding within the former factory workers and technicians, could make their way to work at our various factories. At the same time, during this first phase of recruitment, we did not pay any attention yet to the possibility that the enemy could possibly infiltrate in the former factory workers at every place. It did not come to our attention until after they started working at the factory for a period of time and actively started making contact with their strings from one factory to another; especially those former workers with the printing skills who had been trained in France and USA.

The recruitment of former workers is still going on now because we do not yet have enough skilled workers for every factory. We recruit and reassemble the factory at the same time.

Through the first batch of the recruits, we were able to locate other former workers and technicians and bringing them back to reassemble the following factories included the cigarette factory, flash light battery factory, soft drink and ice factory, rice bran oil factory, and recently the wine factory in Kilometer number 6.

In the second phase: Assigned 'A' Khmao to recruit them 3 times in Sector 25, included twice in Sa-ang district and once in Koh Thom district. During these three times, Khmao recruited 30 families.

In the third phase: Assigned 'A' Say to go to the Old North Zone twice to recruit the former workers of the soft drink and ice factory. He recruited 15 families from Bos Khnor (បុសខ្នុរ) and Speu (ស្នើ) [communes in Kmpong Cham province].

In the fourth phase: Assigned 'A' Khmao to Prek Leap (ព្រែកលាប) village in Băk Khèng (បាក់ខែង) [commune], north of Chroy Chângvar (ជ្រោយចង្វារ), where he recruited 15 families from the East Zone for the blanket factory.

In the fifth phase: Assigned 'A' Khmao to Odong (ឧដុង) one time, where he recruited 6 families of former workers for the thread factory in Po Chen Tong (ពោធិចិនតុង).

6<sup>th</sup> phase: I went to recruit three families in Chhouk (ឈូក) [district] for the rice-bran oil factory.

-In total, for the period of three months, June, July [and August]...

...of 1978, about 600 families of former workers were recruited from various Zones to work in all factories in Phnom Penh.

-For these former workers who have been recruited to work in factories in Phnom Penh, they do not yet dare to make any secret contact with their strings because they are afraid of being exposed. The Party has already had a measure for these workers who have been brought to work in Phnom Penh. To bring them in Phnom Penh is just a strategy. One day the Party will definitely remove them and send them out of the city because these workers are not clear about the revolution.

-So, any secret decision related to [the recruitment] of these former workers must be carefully examined and agreed upon first because dealing with these workers is risky.

-For the CIA hiding among the workers, they were arrested by Angkar shortly after they had arrived to work in the factories. The arrests took place first at the milk factory, and then at the flashlight battery factory and paper factory subsequently etc... Those arrested persons were the leaders of their old strings.

-In mid-1976, Angkar instructed us to start reducing the number of these former workers step by step at every factory except those who were involved in the technical skills.

[Annotation: The despicable Ân]

I would like to express my respect to the respected Party.

- I would like to make an additional report to my 1<sup>st</sup> report to the Party.  
 -About one week after the meeting in February 1978, Kâ (កាំ) called comrade Prang (ប្រាង), comrade Rít (រិត) and me to meet with him at the Economics Office. The meeting took place for the whole morning in which he asked about the status of our respective works at the different units. After that, Kâ told us we had to better prepare ourselves for the upcoming dry season plan, and he also said the following units will be also ready.

1-Kâ said that the following forces will be ready for the dry season:

- The East Zone has 3 full divisions.
- The West Zone has 1 full division.
- The Northwest Zone has 3 full divisions.
- The North Zone has 1 full division.

-Besides these forces, there will be some other supportive forces at various centers and ministries and in the Zones. So, based on these numbers, these forces will be able to carry out the missions at every proposed target well. In this upcoming dry season, most forces under the direct command of the Centre will be deployed at the borders. In the rear there are just a small number of forces left, so there will not be enough forces to deal with us as long as we can organize our [forces] properly and secretly. There will be no troops staying in Phnom Penh except some in Po Chen Tong, but they are not well organized.

2- Kâ told us about the plan how forces will be deployed and the number of forces for each target as follows:

1-One division of troops will have to enter the city; that would include 2 regiments of East Zonetroops and 1 regiment of West Zone troops.

2-One regiment of West Zone troops and 3 divisions of Northwest Zone troops will have to deal with the Southwest Zone troops in Po Chen Tong areas. The Northwest Zone should command just one division and leaves the rest of their troops under the command of the West Zone.

3-The two East Zonedivisions will have to deal with the Centre troops stationed along the National Road 1 in the Neāk Loeung (នាក់ល្បើង) area and to deploy along both sides of the Mekong (មេគង្គ) River.

4-One division of the North Zone will go down to Tunle Bet (ទន្លេបិទ) district in Kampong Cham (កំពង់ចាម) where they will join with another division of the rubber plantation troops to combat Angkar's troops in that area to prevent those troops from fleeing. At the same time they have to occupy the areas of the upper Mekong up to Kratie (ក្រចេះ) province, and push forward step by step if possible.

-The Central Zone does not have many forces, so there will be no problem for us. Even it has some forces, it will not have the courage to deal with us.

5-One division of the East Zone will go down to the areas south of Phnom Penh in Sector 25.

-As for those in charge of the targets to enter Phnom Penh, they will have to push forward to occupy the two radio stations and then push on to arrest the two brothers. If they are not able to arrest both of them, either one of them will be good; and after that, it will be already a victory for us for Phnom Penh. After we occupy the radio stations, we can use them to broadcast our victory immediately based on the current practical situation.

-So, if we have the brothers, we occupy the radio stations and announce the victory, the people and most of the frontline troops will be divided up as some of them will come to our side. As for the people, there will be no problem for us because they will take side with whoever is grasping the power.

-Regarding comrade Pork (ពក), when comrade Sè comes down to see him, he will definitely join Sè. At the same time, he will have some troops who he can send to join with comrade Phuong's troops to defend his place.

-The process of this big change will last only about a half month to 20 days.

-So, in conclusion, if we reexamine the plan how these forces will be used, we can see that the chance that this plan will fail, more or less, is small. But if we can prepare them well like what we have proposed in the plan, we will be able to succeed it. This means we can totally depend on our forces. Although the East Zone has so many forces, we cannot take many troops from them for this plan because they have to join with Angkar's troops to fight against the Yuon to defend the [border].

-As for the other Zones, there will be no problem for them to respond to these needs. Some of them can do even more; for example, the Northwest Zone can provide even 3 or 4 divisions.

-In case of an emergency, all Zones will be able to respond immediately if each target needs more help from them. So, the expansion is always possible.

-There is only one problem facing us which is how we can organize these forces thoroughly and secretly as planned.

-Another weak point is about the long distance between us and some Zones such as the Northwest and North Zones. Because they are far away, in order to move their troops, they have to prepare the trains in advance so that they will be ready when they are needed. For the North and Central Zones, we have trucks for them. Other than these troops, there is no problem for them because they are locally based.

-In our meeting with Kâ for the entire morning, Kâ did not talk about any other things except this specific plan. He said that he wanted us to push our respective works as fast as possible.

3- Kâ told us about the contact plan with the Yuon.

- He suggested that the two following things are the important things to be communicated to the Yuon.

1-After we have completed organizing the domestic forces for this coming dry season and have picked a clear date and time, we have to contact them [Yuon] and let them know about that in advance so that they can prepare their military in case we, while fighting inside, need their outside intervention for any important targets.

2-If we cannot find enough forces for the plan but we still want to go ahead with it, we have to contact the Yuon to tell them about our situation in advance so that they can figure out a way to send some of their forces inside to help us execute the plan on a timely manner.

At the same time, we have to follow the suggestion number one which is about asking for outside help from them. In order to master the situation better, we have to execute the plan on time and let the East Zone to take care of the task of communication with the Yuon.

-He said, "But these are just some issues I want to tell comrades now. There are still many more difficulties concerning politics and methods. So, we have to think about them seriously together because we at the upper level are still not yet totally united."

Just some months after that general meeting in February 1978, the situation in the Zones was changed because the betrayal plan against the Party, from the low level to the top, was discovered. The Party was able to use different measures to deal with the traitors from the bottom to the top in the East Zone successfully. The exposure of the traitors in the East Zone prompted Angkar to pay more attention to the internal hidden enemy burrowing within. The exposure of the hidden enemy networks from the bottom to the top in the East Zone led to the discovery of more networks in the other Zones included the Northwest and West Zones, and in various ministries and centers subsequently. That prompted every unit to pay more attention to the hidden enemy burrowing within, and consequently, more and more traitors were exposed.

-So, since after the betrayal plan against Angkar had been exposed subsequently, Kâ stopped his activity because he was afraid that he would be also exposed. He did not hold either the general meeting or the private meeting anymore, especially the general meeting. But he sometimes still held a small meeting with two to three persons.

-Furthermore, the Party had removed other cadres such as comrade Krin (គ្រីន) and comrade Hok (ហុក), who were the remaining betrayal forces, from their positions.

- Kâ did not call people to the general meeting anymore. He only called two to three persons at a time to meet with him privately where he instructed them to do their regular work at their respective unit as usual. He stopped talking about the plan for the upcoming dry season because the bases' forces were not in place anymore and the remaining ones were exposed subsequently at every important place.

-So, the plan for the upcoming dry season, which had been announced by Kâ in February 1978, was failed subsequently at every main base.

For example: In the East Zone, the Northwest Zone, and the West Zone, they were not able to stay pass mid 1978 because they had been exposed and were smashed by the Party at every place subsequently.

-Because of that, Kâ stopped talking about this plan anymore when he held the meeting to give instruction about work at different units. He did not mention about it in every meeting except in the one in February 1978. So, like other comrades in the city, I could not grasp the details of the plan for the dry season from Kâ. And as I have already reported to the Party, the internal situation was changed quickly at every place. And each of those places could not master their task as planned.

2-I would like to tell the Party about the insider places/forces.

-As I have already reported to the Party, the insider forces were those working in various units. After the meeting in February, there was nothing yet being prepared because Kâ had specified that [the preparation] was not his priority. His important task then was the political works at the base. On the other hand, although no clear instruction was given, there was still enough time.

-So, the insider forces at the Commerce were not yet organized.

-Another point was that it was not long after the meeting in February 1978 that the situation in the East Zone was changed. And it happened there before it did in any other places. So, people in every place then just paid attention to the situation in the East Zone.

-Because no meeting was held to give them the instruction during that time, those of the [insider forces] could not yet be organized.

At every base, people kept working as usual.

-The weak point of various units in the city was that starting from February 1978, at each factory and unit, more and more people [traitors] were exposed. There were measures to deal with those betrayed cadres and people subsequently. A large number of them were removed and sent to work at different worksites such as that of the train unit.

-So, this affected some important forces in all units, especially those cadres and people whom we had developed in the past. But, as I already reported to the Party previously, not all the leadership forces in every unit were affected. This is to speak about those at the bases in the city only.

-Another weak point of the city was that after the plot was discovered subsequently at various bases, the workers in the city became depressed and desperate. They saw their work was gloomy. They were inactive and withdrawal. They turned their attention only to the Party's work, hoping that this action would help to shield their secret work.

-In the past, Kâ called two or three persons to meet with him and urged them to carry out the sabotage activities, but there was still no unit able to do it.

-So, these forces at every unit were not yet organized. As I already told the Party above, that was because the situation was abruptly changed.

3-The leadership committee for the upcoming dry season plan was composed of:

- 1-'A' Phim, the secretary of the East Zone.
- 2-'A' Nhim, the secretary of the Northwest Zone.
- 3-'A' Sy, the secretary of the West Zone.
- 4-'A' Kâ, city.
- 5-'A' Phuong, rubber plantation.
- 6-'A' Sè, the secretary of the New North Zone.

-About this leadership committee, I already reported to the Party once in the past. But this is to reconfirm it to the Party again. These men were all in the Party's Central Committee in the past.

-So, when they held the open meeting, it was legitimate because they were all in the upper echelon. They did not need to hold a secret meeting even for their own work. Each time they came to meet with Angkar, they came together. So, their meeting was legitimate even they held it for doing their betrayal work.

-Furthermore, each Zone had its betrayal leadership committee locally which could do its work legitimately. For example, in the East Zone, Phim (already smashed) was the Zone secretary and Chann (not yet arrested) was the deputy secretary. In the west Zone, Sy was the secretary and Ta Päl was the deputy (these two are not yet arrested). In the Northwest Zone, Nhim (arrested) was the secretary, and Keu (arrested) was the deputy. In the New North Zone, Sè (arrested) was the secretary, and Hâng (arrested) was the deputy.

-Meanwhile, for the current Sector secretaries, if they have were appointed by these above men, they were originally from these men's circle; and so were the district secretaries. To say it conclusively, all the leadership cadres who were appointed by them were from their circle. For example, in the East Zone, cadres from the top level down to the commune level were all from their circle.

- In the city, for example, if the chairperson of Economics had joined the traitor group and when he appointed the people for any chairperson positions,...

...he appointed only cadres from his old and new strings to take those positions which were under the Ministry of Economics.

-It was the same at the other ministries, when the chairperson of any ministry had become a traitor, most of chairpersons of different units under it were also became the traitors.

About the network of the insider forces.

- The communication networks were set up in the past between each Zone and between the Zones and the city so that they could communicate with each other secretly and legitimately.

-So, they used their commerce center locating in the city as their contact point.

-So, in the past, for all Zones, each had its own commerce center locating in Phnom Penh.

-So, it was this Zone's commerce center which was used as the place for their meeting and for the Zones to make the legitimate or secret contact with each other.

-So, basically, communications between the Zones were made through these Zone's commerce centers which located in Phnom Penh. A Zone was able to make contact with another easily through these centers because they were all locating near each other. At the same time, each Zone's commerce center was a convenient place to work because the water and electricity were always available there.

-This was the basic communication network inside the country which I would like to report to the Party.

-In the city if there was anything Kâ wanted to communicate with the bases, he would contact them through these centers. When any Zone's commerce center wanted to do something with the city network, Kâ would instruct them to come to his economy office to meet with Sao (ស៊ៅ) who was staying there regularly. Sao was the office chairperson in charge of both sections [commerce and economy].

-I would like to specify further about forces organization in that place.

-For one thing, there was no clear instruction about how forces should be organized.

-For another thing, because forces of each factory were directly grasped by their chairperson, we could not organize them if there was no instruction to do so. If we decided to organize these forces by ourselves, our secret plan could be exposed; but if those forces were organized into units, our secret plan would be better protected.

-That was why forces at every unit in the city were not yet organized.

#### 4-About the contact with the Yuon outside network.

The task of communication with the Yuon was assigned to Phim and Phuong of the East Zone rubber plantation because these two men maintained their contact with the Yuon regularly since during the period of the 5 year-war. Before the Party's troops were sent to the border in the East Zone, they [Phim and Phuong] made contact with the Yuon forth and back directly through their messengers. But after the Party's troops had been deployed along border, they [Phim and Phuong] were able to make contact with the Yuon only through radio and telegram. They could not cross the border to see each other in person because Angkar's troops were stationing in every important point, especially at the border crossing points.

-So, in the East Zone, Phuong set up his contact network with the Yuon by his own way while Phim did it by his own. They will use their networks for carrying out the plan in this coming dry season.

5-12-1978

Ân

**[Translator note: ERN 00013284-00013292, is a duplication of pages ERN 00013275-00013283]**

I would like to report about the history of my betrayal activities as follows:

-First, I would like to express my respect to the respectful brothers who are in the highest leadership organization.

-I would like to honestly report about the history of my betrayal activities to brothers-Angkar as follows:

1-When I was a worker at a printing house called the Youva Pea Nech (យុវ៉ាព័ណ៌ជ័) Printing House, Bun Mân (ប៊ុន ម៉ន) and Kim Yiem (គឹម យ៉ឹម) were my educators. That was since 1959. At that time that Printing House located near the former headquarters of

the Secret Police Department [of the former regime]. These two men educated me regularly about the CIA activities of the imperialists, especially about the arrival in our country of the American imperialists. They said that one day American imperialists would organize the CIA forces to launch the coup d'état to overthrow Sihanouk. The American imperialists would then help to develop Cambodia to become a prosperous country. This was the first substance in their education. After being educated subsequently by them, I believed in their education. When they saw that I was convinced by their education, one day in late 1959, Bun Mân and Kim Yiem called me to Kim Yiem's house locating in Beung Kēng Kâng (បឹងកេងកង) area. I do not recall the clear date of that time. When I arrived in Kim Yiem's house, I saw a man named Keo Thân (កែវ ថន) alias Say (សាយ) (already arrested by Angkar), who was from the Northwest Zone, was sitting at a small square table and there were oranges...

...and a bunch of ripe banana on it. Bun Mân and Kim Yiem then spoke to Say a lot about me. After that, Say educated me further about the CIA's activities of the American imperialist. The substance of his education was similar to that of Bun Mân and Kim Yiem.

-After that, these two men enrolled me in the CAI while Say was the person who acknowledged it.

-After that, Say instructed me about my task, and as a CIA, what kind of activities I had to carry out.

-After joining the CIA, my tasks were as follows:

1-Must find an opportunity to make propaganda among the workers at the workplace and at any other places by telling them not to believe in or not read the newspaper of the progressive group. During that time the progressive newspaper was very popular and published in a large quantity. The progressive newspaper attacked American imperialist vigorously, so we had to do whatever we could to convince people not to read it.

2-Regarding to forces building task, we must strive to contact and recruit people among the workers in the Printing House and at any other places.

3-We must keep this assignment strictly confidential, and be very cautious wherever we went to work.

Date: 3/11/78 Ân
------------------------

4-Must find a way to get and hide in various organizations...

...in order to carry out the task that had been assigned to us; especially to hide in the revolutionary organization by disguising ourselves as the progressive persons who were working against American imperialist and Sihanouk group.

-In that Printing House, after I had propagandized and established sentimental friendship with the workers, I was able to build [recruit] 4 persons to join me successfully. They were:

Mao Pân (ម៉ៅ ប៉ាន) alias Chann (ចាន់), Nhoen (ញ៉ែន), Sann (សាន់) and Neang (នាង).

I built relationship with these persons in the form of the revolution, but later on, little by little, I changed the course, leading them to attack the revolution and the progressive newspaper so that they would not be influenced by them. I told them that that newspaper did not speak the truth because it spoke mostly against American imperialist. I had educated these 4 persons continuously, making them as the core forces in that Printing House, but I did not yet enroll them in the CIA. However, I sent their names to Bun Mân and Kim Yiem. I kept on educating these 4 persons continuously as I had been tasked and educated by Mân, Yiem and Say to do so. As for what had happened to these 4 persons, I heard that Chann might be arrested by Angkar in 1977; Neang lost contact with me since 1964; Nhoen also lost contact with me since 1964; Sann, as it was heard, died in 1966.

-In about February 1964, all of us, using the form of progressive people, were looking for a way to connect ourselves with the revolution.

Date: 3/11/78 Ân
------------------------

At that time Say and Mân told me that they had found the revolution string known as the Khmer Rouge. But these two men told me that the CIA task in the meantime was in the stage of propagandizing and building up forces only. We did not yet need to storm the attack. We had to keep a low profile so that we would not be exposed. We had to make ourselves looked like the real progressive people so that we could hide in the Khmer Rouge ranks. Our mission would take a long road. At that time I just followed the instruction of these two men until I was sent to hide in the revolution ranks as a Khmer Rouge. After I was put in the rank, I adjusted myself accordingly. After I had worked in the rank for a period of time, Angkar sent me out to work at the bases in the Southwest Zone.

-Note: During the time I was in the rank, I met with brother Khieu (ខៀវ) and brother Vann (វ៉ាន់), brother Vorn (វ៉ន), 'A' Tum (តុំ), brother Keu, and 'A' Tiv Ol (ទីវ អុល). Later on, I met with comrade Teanh (ទាញ) and Yim (យឹម) at the Train Unit. I also met with comrade Sēng (សេង), who was a messenger taking information forth and back between brothers, and 'A' Hâm (ហាំ) (already arrested by Angkar) who was the secretary of the Old Sector 15 then. During that time, I did not make any [counterrevolution] activity.

-When I was sent by Angkar to stay in the Southwest Zone in 1964, I did not dare to make any activity because I was there alone. I was disconnected from Mân, Say and Yiem.

Date: 3/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-Until the time of the weapon explosion in 1968 I saw Kim Yiem also arriving in the Southwest Zone. I reconnected with Kim Yiem then and we discussed about our current activities.

Yiem at that time said, "We have reunited now but there are only two of us here. We cannot yet grasp the situation, so we should continue hiding until we see how the real situation will be".

-In that year of 1968, Yiem stayed at the rear line only. I was assigned by Angkar to operate in Phnom Sruoch (ភ្នំស្រួច) district [Kamong Speu province] where I was making a guerilla campaign in the southern part of the district. As Yiem and I had agreed, I did not make any [counterrevolutionary] activities.

-In 1969, Angkar sent me to the North where I expanded my operation sector up to the Oral (ខ្ទីរ៉ាល់) Mountain. There, I met with comrades from the Northwest, and through

them I found out that Say was staying in the Northwest Zone. I sent a small letter to Say through comrades from the Northwest, asking him about his wellbeing and telling him that I had reunited with Yiem and we all were well.

-After the 1970 coup d'état, the Zone Angkar reassigned me to the southern part of National Road 4 in Phnom Sruoch district. I met with Yiem again and we discussed and agreed that the time was good for us because American had just launched a coup to overthrow Sihanouk successfully. About 3 to 4 months after the coup—I could not recall clearly—the Yuon arrived in Phong (ផ្សង) [commune] in Phnom Sruoch district.

-Note: In 1968, 'A' Say, the commerce committee, also went to the Southwest Zone. 'A' Onn (អុំន), comrade Krin (គ្រីន), and comrade Hok (ហុក) also went to the Southwest Zone. At that time I did not pay any attention to these men because I had never met them when I was in Phnom Penh, except comrade Hok who I met only once for a short time.

Date: 3/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-In late June, after the attack on Kampong Speu town had been launched, Angkar sent me to station along the road to Trâpeäng Lvea (ត្រពាំងល្វា) Mountain and Trâpeäng Thnoat (ត្រពាំងត្នោត). Going with me then were 'A' Kun (គុំន), 'A' Loen (លៀន), and 'A' Sarân (សារ៉ាន).

'A' Sarân had been the chairman of Factory T-4 (តី-៤) but was already transferred to K-7 (កី-៧), while 'A' Loen and 'A' Kun were arrested by Angkar.

-At that time, in June, when I moved to the north part, there were 30 youths from Chhouk (ឈ្នួក) district going with us. In total, there were 34 of us, plus about 60 Yuon troops. We arrived at Peäng Lvea Mountain in July 1970.

-There, I met with Yiem again. He said to me, "It is now a good time for us because since after the coup d'état, American has taken control of the country. The bad thing is that the Yuon is now joining the revolution to fight against Lon Nol (លុន ណុល) who is the new ruler". Chiem continued, "However, American imperialist is so big and strong, even

the Yuon has fought against them for a long time, they still cannot defeat the [American backed] Thieu (ធីវី) government”.

-“So, comrade, you must not give up hope. Now, you are at the front line, you must be very active. You are having forces in your hands. We have to carry out our task, and at the same time do the revolutionary task so that our secret plan will not be exposed.”

-When we arrived at the Peang Lvea (ពាំងល្វា) Mountain and Thmat Pomg (ត្នាតពង), we had a conflict with the Yuon because they had attacked the Lon Nol’s troops without my approval. I was angry with them about that. Among the 30 youths coming with us, I was able to educate 3 youths namely Lay (ឡាយ), Khun (គុន), and Sâm (សំ). These three youths were the group chiefs in the unit. As for Kun, Loeun, and Sarân who had come from Phnom Penh to stay with me, I did not yet dare to tell them about my activities because we had known each other just for a short time. I did not want them to know about my activities because I never met these men in the past and they just came directly from Phnom Penh to Peang Lvea Mountain.

Date:  
3/11/78  
Ân

-Note: Lay and Khun were killed in the Trâpeang Thnoat battleground while Kun was already arrested by Angkar.

-At the same time, I incited and made the other youths nervous about going in the battlefield by telling them that there were too many [Lon Nol] troops and militias there. Some youths were reluctant to go to the front line because they were afraid of the [Lon Nol] soldiers and militias.

-Even in October and November, the problem with the Yuon still had not been solved, so, Angkar decided to separate me from the Yuon group. Those 60 Yuon troops had stayed at that place until January 1971, but after that event, they moved some of their troops to Kampong Speu and kept just about 20 troops there.

-In October and November, I worked to expand the local base and persuaded the local people to join me so that they could provide information to me about the people with the unclean background who were living in the area. In January 1971, I grasped the background of some unclean people namely Choun (ជួន) who had been a wild gambler, womanizer, and former secret police. Choun lived in Chhouk Soam (ឈ្នួកសោម) village.

2-I also made contact with Soeun (សៀន) who was then living in Srè Kraing Khnor (ស្រែក្រាំងខ្មែរ) village. Soeun was a former secret police working at the Băt Deung (បាត់ដឹង) district headquarters. These were the first two men I was in contact with. I had

educated these two men until they decided to leave home to join me working in the rank of the revolution. I told them about the secret work of the CIA. I told them that because they used to be the secret police of the previous regime, they could be smashed by Angkar at any time if Angkar found out about their background. These two men were nervous after I had told them about that, so they decided to join me in my activities against the revolution. After joining me, I assigned these two men to persuade other former secret police in the area to join our activities. Soeun then was able to make contact with Chhann (ឆាន់), who was the chairman of Chann Ta Sèn (ច័ន្ទតាសែន) commune and a former secret police; Prach (ប្រាជ្ញ), a former secret police who was then living in Veal Pong (វាលពង្រ) commune, and Leng (ឡេង), also a former secret police who was then living in Sâm-nāk Smanh (សំណាក់ស្មាញ) village.

-Choun then made contact with Iem (អៀម) at Road 26. Iem was a former secret police and the chairman of the Snoa (ស្នោ) commune. He also contacted Sây (សយ), the chairman of Sâmroang Leu (សំរោងលើ) commune, and Chhây (ឆយ) and Y (អ៊ី), both of whom were living near Phnom Prâ-set (ភ្នំបាសិត) village. These last two men were the former secret police in the Phnom Prâ-set Fort.

-And another person was Ta Tonh (តា តុញ) in Trâpeäng Thnoat, the chairman of Mkăk (ម្កាក់) commune, and also a former secret police. He now lives in Phnom Penh because I have called him to come to work in the sawmill where he is assigned to make wooden doors.

These men, whom I had recruited, were all former secret police in [the previous regime]. They joined me in making the activities to prevent the revolution from moving toward a victory.

-After they had been recruited, I educated them and often mentioned their past activities with the enemy to scare them. They were afraid of being smashed by the revolution, so they asked me to find a solution for them. I showed them the way out by telling them, "It is not a problem now, comrades, as long as you listen to me. I am a CIA hiding in the revolution rank, so I will hide you in the CIA as long as you keep this strictly confidential. You all have to make a campaign among the people not to believe in the revolution, and you should continue trying to reconnect with the former secret police".

Date: 3/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-By the end of the year, the influence of the revolution organization was expanding. At that time I was able to recruit 50 local youths to join me. At the same time the Zone also sent me a platoon unit, composed of 50 youths, whose chairman was comrade Rèn (រ៉ែន), deputy was comrade Maut (ម៉ូត), and member was comrade Sonn (ស័ន) (currently is in Rattanakiri (រតនៈគិរី)) who was also a chief of a platoon unit.

After receiving these youths, I made a request to the Zone to form a Sector's military unit. The Zone had approved that. I then appointed Soeun to be the commander of the company unit of 100 troops, and Rèn to be his deputy. I appointed comrade Maut to be a platoon chief, comrade Sonn to be another platoon chief, and comrade Lay also to be a platoon chief. I had instructed Soeun that it was important that he had to educate these 3 platoon chiefs to join our side. Soeun had educated these 4 men namely Rèn, Maut, Sonn and Lay successfully and reported to me about his achievement. I then called those comrades to see me and educated them not to believe in the victory of...

...the revolution because American imperialist was very strong. Those comrades were then afraid of being killed in the battlefield. They started to see that 'A' [Lon] Nol was so strong. They really believed in what I had told them. I then said to them, "All of you should join the CIA now if you want to live on. Because in the future, if 'A' [Lon] Nol cannot fight us, American will come to help him". After that, I instructed Soeun and Choun to introduce these 4 comrades to the CIA. This event took place in January 1972.

-I then educated these men about their new tasks as follows:

-Their company unit had to attack Lon Nol troops as often as possible. I had instructed them to do that in order to have more our troops killed in the battleground. And when the local youths in the villages saw many of our soldiers had been killed, they would be nervous to join the revolution military. During that time, our company units attacked Băt Deung, Phnom Pagoda, and Trăpeăng Thnoat, and as a result, many of our soldiers were killed on those battlegrounds. After the local people saw many soldiers had been killed, they were reluctant to send their children to join our military.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-Starting from 1972 onward, the revolutionary movement became very strong at every place. The local people sent their children to join our military continuously. I again made a request to the Zone to form a battalion unit called Battalion 1 for the Sector and appointed Soeun to be the battalion commander and Rèn to be the deputy, and the current platoon chiefs were all promoted to be the company commanders in that Battalion.

-Since its forming, this Battalion had never defeated any enemy's position, but it had lost so many troops in the combats.

-About in mid-1972, another battalion was formed. Y became the commander of this 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion and Choun became the deputy. The activity of this 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion was the same as that of the 1<sup>st</sup> one because all of these men had been appointed by me.

-In late 1972 another battalion was formed.

After [this new battalion] had been formed, Angkar sent Chorn (ជ័ន) from Srè Knong (ស្រែក្នុង) to be its commander, and Mao from Phnom Penh to be the deputy.

-In 1972, when one regiment unit was formed, Soeun was appointed to be its commander, Y became the 1<sup>st</sup> deputy, and Rèn became the 2<sup>nd</sup> deputy.

-In 1973, more and more youths joined [our military], so more battalion units had to be formed as a consequence; and then, the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment unit was formed. At that time Rèn was appointed to be the commander of this new regiment and Mot became the deputy.

-Although the military had been expanded, we never defeated any enemy positions because there were hiding forces doing their [counterrevolution] activities within every battalion. That was why many combatants were killed in Băt Deung, Trâpeăng Thnoat, and Phnom Pagoda. About in 1973, Rit (is currently at the Commerce Ministry) was sent to take charge of the entire military unit of the new Special Zone after it had been organized.

-I was transferred to take charge of the Sector working at the bases, so, I had a chance to do many activities at that time. I had taken Choun (ជ័ន) from the Zone military with me and assigned him to form a battalion unit for the Sector. Choun then became the commander of the newly formed battalion and Lây (ឡាយ) became the deputy in charge of politics. Lây had a weak point. He was chicken of going to the battlefield. When I and Choun saw Lây's weak point, I took a chance to educate him by telling him that 'A' [Lon] Nol's forces were strong and their aircrafts and big and small guns were powerful. That made Lây lost his spirit.

When I and Choun saw that, we asked him, "Are you nervous?". Lây answered, "I am very nervous. The enemy forces are very strong. I am asking you to spare me from [battlefield]". I and Choun then told him that if he joined the CIA with us and took on the CIA task, he would be spared. Choun and Soeun then introduced Lây to the CIA, and I was the person to accept him. Presently Lây is at the Train Unit.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-I regularly reported to Yiem, who was staying at the Zone Office locating then in the area of Trâpeăng Kraenh (ត្រពាំងក្រើញ) and Âm Leăng (អមលាំង), about the activities at the frontline; especially, about the recruitment of more traitor forces to hide in the Zone's and Sector's military as well as in the bases. I regularly educated those comrades that we should propagandize and build up forces for the CIA because the CIA of the American imperialist had never been defeated by any country. If they [American] had lost to any one, it was just for a temporary, because sooner or later the CIA would launch the coup d'état from inside to recapture back the power.

-During 1973, brother Vorn moved the Zone Office to Sector 25. At that time, because he took Rit (currently is at the Commerce Ministry) to go there with him, I had to take charge of both the Zone military and the bases.

-In late 1973, brother Khieu (ខៀវ) came to take charge of the military of the northern region and the bases in that area. I was in the committee for the northern region with him.

-In 1974 Angkar launched a big military operation to attack Phnom Penh, starting from the northwest part of the city. At that time I held a secret meeting with the hiding forces in every military unit to instruct them that they had to plan the attack openly so that the enemy could be alerted; and whenever any target was being counterattacked by the enemy, they had to retreat.

-This operation code name was the Northwest Battlefield or the 990 Battlefield. It began from the northwest part of Phnom Penh. But that operation was defeated by the enemy. All of our troops retreated after many combatants had been killed.

-After that operation, the other operations such as the Road 4 and Road 5 Operations were also defeated.

-In mid-1974, Angkar lost confidence on me, so Angkar removed me from the military role and sent me to the bases.

-After I had arrived at the bases, I was still able to influence my forces as usual, including my forces in the military. I was able to maintain regular contact with Rèn, Maut, Sonn, and Y. Some of my forces besides these men were dead in the battlefield.

-In early 1975, Angkar gathered up all forces to launch the attack again and until we finally won a total victory on 17 April. One week after the liberation, brother Vorn had called me into Phnom Penh and appointed me to be the deputy chairman of the Industry Ministry. About 1 month later, he also called his brother-in-law named Say (សាយ) from the North Zone to the Industry Ministry.

-I would like to specify that at the beginning, at the Industry Ministry, brother Vorn was the chairman, I was the deputy and Khmao was the member.

-After 'A' Say had arrived, he [Vorn] appointed me to be the chairman, Khmao to be the deputy and Say to be the member. At that time, I and Say did not yet know each other well. After we had worked together for about one month and got to know each other better, Say one day asked me "Comrade, during the time you were working at the Youvak Pea-nech [Printing House] in Phnom Penh, who were your closest colleagues?" I told him the truth that I was very close with Yiem, Mân and Say [different person]. He asked me further that in Phnom Penh after I had joined the revolution, which brother I was close with. I told him the truth that I was very close with brother Vorn, and even later on, after we moved to stay at the bases, I met with him regularly. After that I went to stay with him [Vorn] in the Special Zone. And even now we are together at the Industry Ministry. At that time Say told me that brother [Vorn] was the leader of the CIA in Phnom Penh. I told him that I was in the string with Yiem, Mân and Say [a different Say] of the Northwest Zone, and I am now looking to reconnect with my string.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-One week later brother Vorn called me to see him and said to me "Why did you never pay any attention with me in the past?" I told him that I felt something about his activities but I did not dare to ask about it. He continued, "Now you are clear. There is no more doubt. At the same time, I want to tell you, comrade, about the CIA forces [who are hiding] at every place so that you can get to know them and prepare yourself to join them to launch the coup d'état to overthrow the revolution". He then continued as follows:

"1/-In the military there are Division 11 under the command of comrade Teanh (ទាញ) and Soam (សោម) and Division 12 under comrade Nat (ណាត) and comrade Pin (ពីន) command. These four commanders of these two Divisions have been my forces and I have grasped them for a long time. There are still more of my forces who are rank and file cadres in these Divisions.

But there is no need for you to know them now, comrade. I am the direct commander of these Divisions and comrade Rit is my deputy”.

2/-“There are forces of the North Zone under the command of comrade Thuch (ធុច). As you have already known that, these forces are organized into many units and they are very big.

-For your part, you are now in the Industry Ministry, so you have many forces at the factories.

3/-There are also many hiding forces under comrade Hâm (ហាំ), comrade Saing (សាំង) and comrade Roeung (រ៉េង).”

As for ‘A’ Hâm and ‘A’ Saing, they had built up some forces at the bases in Dângkoa (ដងកោ) district since they were staying there together, and those forces have already moved to hide in Phnom Penh.

4/-I told him that during the time I was in the northern region, I was working at the frontline while Yiem was in the rear. During that time I had recruited many forces to join the CIA at the bases, but some of whom were later exposed and smashed by Angkar subsequently.

-In the military I also had many forces, but some of whom were killed [in combat] in early 1975. There have been so far the units of comrades Mot, Rèn and Sonn left. However, after the liberation, the units of these men were merged together by Angkar.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-He said that there should be no problem for that, but I should make contact regularly with those whom I knew in the past who are now in Phnom Penh so that they can be ready for launching the coup.

-For the other forces, we would try to find them later.

-He [Vorn] then said, “I will tell you more later on about the coup plot. For now, you should join with comrade Khmao and comrade Say to do your regular work. Your main tasks are as follows:

1-All of you have to reorganize the factories, but do it slowly and then try to find a legitimate way to destroy the equipment.

2-You must strive to build the secret forces in the factories, and to especially appoint as many cadres as possible to be the factory chairmen. Comrade, please do this based on the practical situation”.

I then appointed comrades Nây, Maut, Reun and Sên and other comrades to take the following positions:

Nây is now still the Chairman of D-6 (ដ-៦); Maut is at the wine factory in Kampong Som; comrade Reun is the chairman of the car tire factory in Ta Khmao (តាខ្មៅ); comrade Sên is the chairman of D-7(ដ-៧); comrades Hiek, a former chairman of factory T-2 (ត-២), is now at the Industry Ministry Warehouse; and comrade Keat, although he is old and slow, he is still helpful for the core forces at various factories. These cadres were educated and already registered in the CIA forces by me.

I have kept comrade Kun at the Train Unit where she joins with comrades Saing, Prang (ព្រាំង), Lây and Chann. Comrade Kun is comrade Nat's wife. Another cadre who has been with me all along is comrade Tiet (ទៀត). He was a former student who was educated by me a long time ago since we were living in Phnom Penh together. Comrade Tiet left the city for the jungle with me when I left.

-He [Vorn] assigned the core forces to work at various factories. At the same time, he appointed miss-comrade Vun, who was the wife of comrade Chorn of the Electricity II Unit, to be the chairperson of Factory T-5. She was also a core force. These were the secret and main forces hiding [in the revolution ranks].

-In August 1975, he called me to see him and told me that the coup would be launched during the upcoming anniversary ceremony of the Party, so I had to prepare forces so that they would be ready to join the military when the coup started.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-I then prepared those forces I had recruited at different factories.

- The coup could not be launched during the anniversary ceremony because our forces were not well coordinated and at that time the place was heavily guarded by Angkar. That plot was failed. Comrades Nat's and Teanh's and Thuch's forces could not come.

-Communication between brother Vorn and Thuch through...

-Comrade Rît was sent to the Commerce Ministry to work with Thuch and serve as the contact person while Thuch also sent Say to work at the Industry Ministry. This would make their communication easier.

-After the coup plot was failed, comrade Rīt called me and Say to meet with Thuch at Thuch's house. When we arrived, I saw Thuch, Oeun, and Suong were already there. In total there were 6 persons including me, Say, Rīt, Thuch, Oeun and Suong. Shortly after we met, Thuch said to us, "Let's not talk about work now. Let's drink and eat first and speak about work afterward". Comrade Rīt was very happy about having a chance to drink, but at the same time he warned Thuch, "Brother, you should be careful because your drinking and womanizing habits are exposed. This can be criticized by the mass people". The drinking party continued until Thuch, Rīt and Oeun became heavily drunk. It started at 2pm and ended at 5pm. At that time we were not able to talk about anything because these 3 persons were too drunk, so I and Say left and returned to the Industry Ministry. That night brother Vorn called me and Say to see him and asked us why comrade Rīt had called us to meet at Thuch's house. He asked if we had any important plan from that meeting. I told brother Vorn that we could not talk about anything because Thuch, Rīt and Oeun had become too drunk, so I left his house.

-In that night after he was informed that we had not done any important thing in the meeting with Thuch, brother Vorn instructed me to keep on working with comrade Khmao and comrade Say to prepare as many forces as possible at every factory. And it would be easier if we could sort out the factories in different groups based on their function and category and then assigned each of us to take charge of each group. For example, I took charge of one group of factories while comrade Khmao took charge of all steel ,and comrade Say took charge of all weaving factories. After I returned, I called a meeting to execute that plan.

-At that time I already had some core forces in different places included comrade Reun at the car tire factory in Ta Khmao; comrade Thonn, chairman of the air [oxygen] factory; comrade Chēng, chairman of the paper factory; comrade Lēng (ឡេង) at the auto mechanic garage called Y-2 (យ-២); comrade Nin at Y-1(យ-១); comrade Min (មីន), who was previously at K-2 (ក-២)...

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

...was appointed to be the chairman of both the Korean factory and the sawmill in Srè Âmbel (ស្រែអំបែល); comrade Mot at Kampong Som factory; and comrade Phai and Hâm who are still at the sawmill in Chak Âng-rè (ចាក់អង្រែ) presently.

Also, the following handicapped persons, who were at the handicap center, have been brought to stay with me after the liberation. These include:

I/- 1-Comrade Thonn (ថ្នុង), currently is the chairman of the air [oxygen] factory.

2-Comrade Min, currently is at the salt field.

3-Comrade Lēng at the auto mechanic garage called Y-2. He is in the string of comrade Phān's (ផ្លែ) of the Electricity II.

4-Comrade Reun (រ៉ែន), who is brother Vorn's force, is now at the car tire factory in Ta Khmao.

5-Comrade Mot, who is brother Vorn's force, is now in Kampong Som.

6-Comrade Nin, who is brother [Vorn's] force, is now the chairman of Y-1.

7-Comrade Sānh (សាំង) is now the deputy chairman of the car tire factory. Sānh also stays with Reun and Mot.

8-Comrade Sǎo (សៅ) is the chairman of the Milk Factory. Sǎo has been brought here from the handicapped office by me.

9-Comrade Rēm (រ៉ែម) is the chairman of the cigarette factory. Rēm has been brought here from the handicapped office by me.

10-Comrade Prēn (ប្រែន) is the chairman of fishing lot number 6. Prēn has been brought here from the handicap center by me.

11-Comrade Hai (ហៃ) is currently the chairman of the factory in Bèk Chan (ប៉ែកចាន). Hai has been brought here from the handicap center by me.

11-Comrade Kung (គង់) is the chairman of plastic factory. Kung was a combatant from the south who has been brought here by comrade Rīt.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

**[Note: number '11' here is duplicated].**

12-Comrade Khân (ខ័ន) is the chairman of the glass factory. Khân has been brought here from the handicap center.

13-Comrade Doak (ដាក់) is the chairman of the plywood factory. Doak has been brought here from the handicap center by me.

These comrades were called to Phnom Penh by me; and after they arrived, I, Say and Khmao appointed them to take the chairmanship positions. After they took these positions, we were able to carry out our activities easier together.

During that time, I educated them regularly about the CIA tasks, which included how to delay the resembling of the factory and how to destroy materials and machines as much as possible. Also, they should do whatever they could to slow down the factory productivity.

II- The Steel Factories under Khmao's supervision:

1-At Factory D-1 [steel factory number 1] there is Heanh (ហ៊ែង), a combatant brought from the North Zone by Say.

2-At Factory D-2 there is Sâng (សាំង), a combatant brought from the North Zone by Say.

3-At factory D-3 there are Phâl (ផាល), the deputy chairman, and Yom (យ៉ុំ). These men were brought here from the handicap center in Sector 15 by me.

4-At Factory D-4 there is Nhel (ញ៉េល) who was brought here from the handicap center by me. But he has been reassigned to K-7 by Angkar after Khmao and Say were arrested.

5-At Factory D-5 there is Chey (ជឿ) who was brought here from the handicap center by me. But he has been reassigned to K-7.

6-At Factory D-6 there is Nây (ណាយ) who is brother Vorn's force and is also his son-in-law.

7-At Factory D-7 there is Sân (សាន) who is brother Vorn's force. He is currently at that Factory.

8-At Factory D-8 there is Saroeun (សារឿន) who is from the East Zone but he was arrested by Angkar.

9-At K-11 there is [name missing] who was brought from the North Zone by Say.

10-At Factory D-9 there is Taim (តាំ) who was brought here from the handicapped office by me. At present he is the chairman of Factory D-9.

These were the main forces brought to Phnom Penh from outside. After their arrival they were assigned to take different tasks. After that I went to educate them on site regularly. In December 1976, Khmoa called 3 of them to see him and to enroll them in the CIA. At that time I, Say and Khmao were the persons who were introducing them to the CIA.

III- The weaving factories or Factory Ts under [Say] supervision:

1-At Factory T-1 there is Hean (ហ៊ែង), but he has been reassigned to K-7 by Angkar. Hean is the City String and a friend of Phân of the Electricity II.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

2-At Factory T-2 there is Ros (រ៉ូស), but he has been reassigned to K-7 by Angkar. Ros was brought here from Sector 15 by me. Removed.

3-At Factory T-3 there is Chann (ចាន់), but he has been reassigned to K-7 by Angkar. Chann was brought here from the handicap center by me. Removed.

4-At Factory T-4 there is Sarân (សារ៉ាន់). He was the former City String. He has been removed by Angkar.

5-At Factory T-5 there is Ms Kun who is comrade Nat's wife. She was the former City String referred by brother Vorn.

6-At Factory T-6 there is Kloeng (គ្លែង), who was brought from the handicap center by me and sent to work at the fertilizer factory in Touk Meas (ទ្វីកមាស) in [Kampot (កំពត) province].

7-At Factory T-7 there is Ms Thy (ធី) from the rubber plantation.

8-At Factory T-11 or blanket factory there is Ms Chhay (ឆាយ). She was in the City String with Phôn of the Electricity II. Chhay is the wife of comrade Min at the Srè Âmbel (ស្រែអំបិល). She is now at the Factory T-11. These 11 persons are educated and grasped by Say personally. They were put in the CIA in early 1976. Ms Kun, Ms Chhay, Hean and Sarân were in the same string.

IV- Those at the Industry Ministry under Say are:

1-Nai (ណៃ), the City String, was removed and sent to K-7 by Angkar.

2-Siv (ស៊ីវ), the City String, was removed and sent to K-7 by Angkar.

3-Phâl (ផាល់), an unruly combatant from Sector 25, was brought here by comrade Rit. (Rit of the Ministry of Commerce).

4-Thân (ថង់), who was brother Vorn's bodyguard when he was in Sector 25.

5-Sier (ស៊ើ), my combatant whom I took from Sector 15. He works at the office and stays at my home with me. ~~As for these 3 persons, they are at the office.~~

6-Sum (ស៊ុំ) is at the Tuol Kork Technical School and the string of Kâ.

7-Yân (យ៉ាន), I took him from the handicap center to work at the office. Say regularly educates him at the office. His task at the office is to slow down the work at the office and delay the distribution of materials to various ministries and bases. These are the CIA forces at the Industry Ministry.

-I would like to report about the main activities as follows:

-After the anniversary day coup plot was failed, 'A' Thuch and his group were all arrested by Angkar; but comrades Nat's, Pin's and Teanh's units remained. These units were dissolved and then merged with Division 502.

-Most of the former City String's forces were disappeared subsequently, and only a small number was left.

-The forces of Chakrey (ចក្រី) in Chbar Âmpov (ច្បារអំពៅ) had been exposed and arrested by Angkar. Those forces were close with comrades Nat and Pin.

-Later on, it might be in October 1977, brother Vorn called for a big working meeting on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor in the Industry Ministry.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-He spoke about the past activities and works and the new plan for the future. It was the secret meeting which started at 7 o'clock in the morning. In the meeting there were: 1-me, 2-Teanh, 3-Hok, 4-Rit, 5-Prang, 6-Phân, 7-Savat, 8-'A' Khmao, 9-Roeung Khleäng, 10-Ms Choeun (comrade Savat's wife), and 11-comrade Krin from the Port.

-In that meeting he reported about, 1<sup>st</sup>, the plan in the past, and 2<sup>nd</sup>, the new plan for the future.

-He briefed us that our past works had been partly successful. These included the building up forces and the destruction of all kinds of materials at various ministries/units included the Train Unit, the Industry Ministry and the warehouse under comrade Roeung. At the Ministry of Agriculture, many tractors and their spare parts had been destroyed. Train was crashed and derailed while transporting oil. The locomotive was crashed against the wagons causing heavy damages to many of them. When the new railroad was being built, many sections of it were not measured correctly. Many concrete pipes and bridges were not built correctly causing heavy damages to many tons of steel and cement. And those damaged bridges were beyond repairable. The transportations of cement and other materials from Kampong Som Port to the bases were not coordinated smoothly, causing constant conflict with the bases.

-At the State Warehouse many materials were also damaged. Materials transported by train were unloaded and left disorganized on the ground. The materials of the Commerce Ministry and those of the China aids were mixed up together. Even after they had been brought in the Warehouse, those materials were not sorted out properly; they were mixed together and left under the sun and rain, causing damage to their quality.

-The failure was that no important plan was executed successfully in the past, and a big part of our important forces was destroyed. So, these were the big obstacles of our activities.

-Now, we have to prepare the new plan for our ongoing activities. We have to test our remaining forces, especially those who are hiding at various ministries, and build up more forces.

Date: 4/11/78 Ân
------------------------

-About the new plan for late 1977 and for 1978.

1-Plan to actively build up more CIA forces at various ministries.

2-To smash the leadership machine at the top and the next levels in the city or in the Zones.

3-Plan to destroy materials at various ministries/units, ...

...especially at the Industry Ministry, Train Unit, State Warehouse, and Electricity Unit. These 4 places are the most important places. Other places such as Agriculture, Port and Commerce are also important and possible. For example, at the Commerce, comrades Rit and Sok have fulfilled their tasks well. Their destructive activities include delaying the purchasing of materials, overbuying materials, and buying the wrong and useless materials. These things often happened at the Ministry of Commerce. They have spent a lot of dollars to buy things that are not needed. It has been for 3 years so far and they are still not able to buy the important and necessary things such as chemistry, car tire, factory spare parts, and Fibro roof sheet. At the Port, comrade Krin is able to destroy a number of things. He broke the crane cable, causing the trucks and machinery containers to fall and

break down continuously, especially those of the Chinese aid. So, the destructive plan has been already in place for many places.

-The 2<sup>nd</sup> plan is to kill the Angkar's leadership, especially Brother Number 1, Brother Number 2, other brothers, and other senior leaders by using handgun and hand grenade, driving the car and train over them, and making the train cars to roll over so that they will be killed by that. This plan must be in place at all ministries and targets. It is not just the task of a specific ministry. The meeting ended at 11am.

Date:  
5/11/78  
Ân

-There was no announcement about any new organization/appointment in that meeting. After we returned, we carried out our activity at our target respectively. I then called the meeting with Khmao and Say at the Industry Ministry to prepare the plan for our 3 targets respectively.

-At that time Kâ told the meeting that a big portion of our real forces were already arrested by Angkar. But we still had some outsider forces to join our insider forces. He said, "But I will be in charge of contacting them. For you, comrades, these are the only things you should know about for now. You must absolutely keep these things confidential".

-About one week later, Kâ called me, comrades Phân, Prang, Rît, Khmao, Teanh, and Hok to see him and told us about the outsider forces. The main forces were those of the East Zone, the supportive forces were those of the West Zone under Sy's command. He said that he would be in charge of contacting with and informing them about what was going to happen.

-Comrade Rít had to go down to comrade Roeung's place more often. I was tasked to go to other ministries as usual.

~~-Khmao told me about a secret thing that the contact person in the West Zone is Ta Hong (តាអុង). He said that was what Ta Hong told him.~~

Date: 5/11/78 Ân
------------------------

- The meeting to give the instruction ended.

-Later on, Khmao told me secretly that the contact with the West Zone was made by Ta Hong directly to Kâ.....

-To go down to our respective target and tell people there about those 3 tasks, and soon after that the destructive activities were carried out at every target. At the Commerce Ministry, Phán at the Electricity II was instructed not to make the electricity transformer run as smoothly as it should so that the motors at the factories are burned up subsequently.

-At other ministries and units, the activities were similar. When they met, they asked each other [about their activities]. For example, at the Train Unit, State Warehouse and Agriculture, they liked to use only things made in America and Japan because those from China were all broken down easily.

-The plan to kill Angkar could not be executed since. However, at the Train Unit, comrades Prang and Saing were able to prepare cadres of the Southwest Zone to drive the train to Battambang where they crashed it with an earth transporting truck, causing serious injury to 3 passengers and light injury to 1 passenger. At the same time, transportations of materials were often delayed and not coordinated smoothly.

-For the Industry Ministry, after Angkar had arrested Khmao, Say, and all leaders of the steel factories and weaving factories, the destructive activities became less and less because [the people there] were nervous.

Ân

-Based on Say's account, Krin, Say and Rit of Commerce were in the same old string. In the past, before Say was arrested by Angkar, whenever Krin came to Phnom Penh, he always went to stay overnight with Say.

~~-Forces in the north part of the Special Zone are:~~

~~1-The committee of Âng Snuol (អង្គស្នួល) district named...~~

Please note: Forces in the northern part of the Special Zone were as follows:

1-In Punhea Leu (ព្រៃរាជ) district there were:

1/ Kèo (កើវ៉), the district secretary, already arrested by Angkar.

2/ Set (សិត), from the city, the district member, already arrested by Angkar.

3/ Prach (ប្រាច), the district deputy, already arrested by Angkar.

4/ Rôm (រ៉ាម), the chairman of Preah Srè (ព្រះស្រែ) commune, arrested by Angkar a long time ago.

2-In Âng Snuol (អង្គស្នួល) district there were:

1/ Ta Neou (តា នៅ), the district secretary, already arrested by Angkar.

2/ Chhann (ឆាន់), the deputy secretary of the district, deserted the rank to join [General] Chann Reäng Sei (ច័ន្ទរង្សី) [of Lon Nol] after he had an affair with his female maid. His where about after the liberation is unknown.

3/ Ta Chey (តា ជឿ) who was the chairman of Peäng Lovea (ពាំងល្វា) commune and also the member of the district. His current where about is unknown.

-----

1-Hâm (ហាំ), who was the former chairman of Mkăk (ម្កាក់) commune but later transferred to the Sector, already arrested by Angkar.

2-Sây (សាយ) who was the chairman of Sâmroang Leu (សំរោងលើ) commune. His current where about is unknown.

3-Iem (អៀម), who was the chairman of Beung Prei (បឹងប្រីយ) commune, arrested by Angkar a long time ago.

3-In Kandal Steung (កណ្តាលស្ទឹង) district South there were:

- Kun who at the beginning was the secretary of the district. But after Kun had the conflict with the soldiers, he was removed to work at the Special Zone's center.

-An (អាន) had been taken from Veal Pong commune to be the district secretary.

~~At that time Soeung became the deputy secretary of the district, but he was later arrested by Angkar.~~

-Comrade An was transferred by Angkar to Sector 41 in the Special Zone where he is now still the secretary of the Sector.

-I did not grasp the names of the other commune chiefs in that district.

4-In Dângkao (ដង្កោ) district there were:

1-Hâm, the district secretary, arrested by Angkar.

2-Saing, deputy, currently is at the Train Unit.

3-Pin, member, currently is in the East Zone.

4-Roeung, a former commune chairman but I do not recall the commune's name, currently is at the State Warehouse.

4-[This should be 5]-Saroeun, from the city, already arrested by Angkar.

-Before forming the military unit for the southern part of the Sector, these persons were cadres at the bases. After the Sector military unit had been formed, Hâm assigned comrades Pin and Roeung (presently is at the State Warehouse) to take charge of the Sector military.

These were forces of the bases in former Sector 15.

I-Note: About the girls:

For the 50 girls taken from the rice-bran-sugar production place near Trâyâng Pong (ត្រយ៉ាងពង) village and 50 others from Lâ Peang (ឡាពោង) village in Veal Pong commune, they were all assigned to work in the weaving factory, but they were not recruited into the secret forces.

II-About the medics of the former Sector 15:

-Two male and two female medics were brought to work at the Hospital 75. But one female was transferred by the Chinese to work at K-7 and another has been now used by the Chinese as their interpreter. For the two male medics, one of whom was sent to work at the Korean factory in Srè Âmbel, and another is still at the Hospital 75.

III-About Hospital 75:

-One entire unit of about 100 persons of the military hospital was brought to work at the Hospital 75. There are now over 200 persons working at the Hospital. That is because more new staffs have been recruited after many workers have become sick.

- Vïn (វីន), who is Kâ's wife, is in charge of the Hospital.

-Chheun (ឈឿន) is the chairperson of the Hospital's technical unit.

-This group of medics was under direct supervision of Rît (Commerce) during the time they were staying in the battlefield south of Phnom Penh.

IV- Note: About the female cooks:

-When I came to Phnom Penh, I was taking 4 women with me. They were:

1/ Yeay Moeun (យាយ ម៉ឿន), later sent to raise pig at the car tire factory, but was sick and might be dead now.

2/ Ratt (រ៉ាត់) and Pheap (ភាព), assigned to be the cooks for comrade Chinese at the glass factory a long time ago.

3/ Thy (ធី), sent to work at the factory construction site in Prek Sâmroang.

V- Regarding to Suk (ស៊ុក) the dentist: Hâng, who was the old string of Kâ, sent him out through Keo of the Punhea Leu district.

VI- Note: About Khâ (ខ័): When staying in Phnom Penh, Khâ met with brother Khiev (ខៀវ), brother Vann (វ៉ាន់), and Kâ. Their meetings took place in 1961 and early 1962 sometimes in the house of KHIEU Komar (ខៀវ កុម៉ា) who was a then Sisowatt High School student, and sometimes in 'A' Tiv Ol's house in O Russey (អូរុស្ស៊ី) area. Their meeting was about the revolution works only. During that time they met sometimes at comrade Sonn's (សុន) house in Teuk La-âk (ទឹកល្អក់) area. But I did not know that they were also the CIA because in early 1964, I had already left the city [Phnom Penh] for the Southwest Zone.

VII-About the meeting with 'A' Sy (ស៊ី):

In 1964 I went to the Southwest Zone, and with granduncle Mok (ម៉ុក), we went to Srè Khlong (ស្រែខ្ពង់) where I met with 'A' Sy and 'A' Phann (ផាន់) who were farming there. Granduncle Mok opened the educational session of the Zone in that place. I was tasked to serve them meals. After the end of the session, Sy and Phann left for Takeo and Kampot provinces in the south. I stayed alone farming in that place. That farm site was a secret base used occasionally as the place for educational session by granduncle Mok. When I met Sy and Phann there,

...it was interesting because those in their group were mostly from the Prâcheachon (ប្រជាជន) circle. They were strongly and openly against the American imperialist. I was working hard to adjust myself to the laborious work and to adapt the words they were using in their daily conversations.

-In 1968, when the weapon explosion started, I was in the southern part of Phnom Sruoch district. At that time Yiem left Phnom Penh for the Southwest Zone and met with me there.

**[Translator note: ERN 00013319-00013343 KH is a duplication of pages 00013293-00013318 ]**

-I would like to express my respect to the respected Party.

I would like to report to the Party about the plan ~~for the dry season~~ prepared for the upcoming dry season in late 1978 to early 1979 in addition to my previous report as follows:

-In February 1978—I do not recall the exact day—Kâ called a number of persons included 1-me, 2-comrade Prang, 3-comrade Rît, 4-comrade Phôn, 5-comrade Savat, and 6-comrade Roeung to a meeting in the Economics Office. There were 7 persons including 6 of us plus Kâ in that meeting.

The agenda included:

1-About the preparation for the upcoming dry season.

2-About the ongoing activities in each section.

3-About the forming of a leadership committee to lead works in the city and in various important units.

4-Miscellaneous.

I -- Kâ reported to the meeting about some works, especially the works of the military and the bases. He said, "As you all have already known, we have failed our military plan subsequently. In the past I did not report to you in detail about this. But there were not many things changing at the bases, in the city and Kampong Som. Various units at those places did their respective work as usual. This section had some shortages, but it was not a big problem. And you all have already known about that. Besides this, we were still able to work as usual."

[Kâ continued],

"So, every unit of you, comrade, must strengthen and continue your activities further.

In the past, the activities of every unit were carried out well, including the work on building up forces and destroying materials. For example, at the State Warehouse, many materials were carelessly transported, mixed up together and left under the rain. Consequently, the quality of those materials was damaged”.

-This also happened at the Commerce. Over there, comrade Rīt and comrade Sokh had purchased many unneeded materials and did not keep proper inventories of them. Purchasing wrong materials affected the productivity of the chemistry, car tire, and rice-bran-oil factories. For example, the necessary materials such as spare parts of the Fibro cement factory were not purchased on time etc...

-This also happened at the Industry and Electricity units. Every unit at the Industry was able to build up forces to destroy machinery in the factories as planned. Many electrical accessories were broken down and burned up continuously. These events interrupted the factories productivity as planned.”

-The Electricity Unit did not work to transform the electrical current smoothly, causing the motors in various factories to be burned and damaged continuously.

-At the Port, comrade Krin did not sort out materials properly. When transporting materials by train, he mixed up the aids of the Chinese friend and the commercial materials together. When the materials were being unloaded from the ship, he dropped them and broke them down continuously. And many aids from the Chinese friend for different unit were lost in the process. For example, many parts for the factory to process raw rubber from the Chinese friend were lost.

- The [destructive] activities at the Train Unit were carried out well. They delayed the delivery of the materials to the bases as planned in order to cause constant conflict with the bases. They let the materials to fall off the train. They derailed the train in order to cause damage to many cars full of oil. They crashed the locomotive against the wagons causing damage to many of them.

-These were the activities of various units in the past in general. At the Agriculture, many kinds of machineries included the newly bought and the old ones were damaged.

Most of the machines from China broke down easily, so, they complained that those machines were not good. But, in fact, they were damaged by their activities.

-In conclusion, these were the past activities of every unit, and from now on all units had to continue these activities.

II-The plan being prepared for this upcoming dry season includes:

A/- Cadres who are in charge of units inside and outside of the city have to do their works as usual, but they have to stick to their important tasks and activities that have been assigned to them. These include:

1-The plan to kill the senior leadership of Angkar, especially brother number 1 and brother number 2 by using all possible forms and methods such as assigning [persons] to toss hand grenade or use hand gun [to kill them] etc...

2-The plan to expand as many forces as possible in each unit in order to grasp the mass people in own unit firmly.

3-The plan to destroy various materials is still the same as that in the past. This plan is the regular plan for all units. There is no need to assign a specific task in the plan to a specific unit. For all units, each is in charge of executing this task. This is because every unit is able to execute this task well.

The important task number 2 is during this upcoming dry season, every unit has to grasp their own forces firmly and connect them with the mass people so that at the time of the weapon explosion, we can have a firm control politically and militarily. It is not only the military that is important. There are many workers in here. This political task is the 2<sup>nd</sup> important task for all units. In Phnom Penh, if it is possible we can arm some of the workers when it is necessary. As for how to get the weapons, [Kâ said], "I, comrades Teanh and Mot will provide them because we are now in charge of them".

-As for various units outside [of Phnom Penh], for example, the Port, Srè Âmbel, cement factory and the railroad, they will have to deal with the political issue.

B/- About the military forces.

[Kâ said] "I can tell you, comrades, in general about this. The forces of the East Zone and the West Zone are the main forces. But this is the task which I and other comrades are in charge of. At the same time there are other big forces, but these forces are far away from [the city]. And then there are many difficulties that we have to solve continuously in the future".

"We must pay attention to these issues seriously and keep them strictly confidential, especially on the remaining forces and the newly recruited ones for the future.

-In the past, forces had been badly affected and damaged because we were too loose and open. For example, that was what had happened to 'A' Thuch's forces of the old North Zone. This experience should be a big lesson for us now and in the future.

-Cadres must be careful. If some cadres are exposed, the other cadres will be affected and then the combatants will also be affected subsequently. And when the combatants are exposed, it will be a chaos.

-So, we must be very careful from now on.

-So, for the base people, they should know only about issues in their own base. As for the military, it is a separate issue.

-This is only what I can tell you about for now. We should continue to keep on trying.

-It is the same for the bases, especially those of the old North Zone.

-From now on each unit must be very careful and thorough".

“Since there is still much time left, I will tell you more later on step by step about the plan for this upcoming dry season. For today, I just tell you, comrades, in general about this dry season plan”.

III- About the forming of the leadership committee.

“In the past, if I needed to work with you I had to call every unit to come to see me or I had to personally go to instruct you on site. This caused many difficulties and delay for any agreement to be reached, and it could not catch up with the practical situation. So, in order to carry out the task easily, a joint leadership committee must be formed to oversee all issues and an individual unit must form its own leadership committee also.

The committee of the city is composed of:

1-Kâ, overall economy.

2-I, also known as Kor (អ៊), Industry.

3-Prang, Train Unit.

4-Rit, Commerce.

5-Savat, Agriculture.

6-Phân, Electricity II.

7-Roeung, State Warehouse.

“So, there are 7 persons in this committee to function when there is something happening.

-Other than this, comrade Rit should go down to help comrade Roeung as often as possible since that unit was yours previously.

-At the Kampong Som, there are the Port and Fishing Unit.

-I also went to work with and organize them personally. They are;

-Comrade Krin

-Comrade Hok

-Comrade Launh (ឡង)

-At Srè Âmbel, there is comrade Choeun working in cooperation with comrade Chēng of the cement factory.

-As for comrade Chhum, I sent him to work with comrade Kân at the laboratory a long time ago.”

-I would like to express my respect to the respected Party.

-I would like to report to the Party in addition to my 1<sup>st</sup> report on the plan being prepared for the dry season. End of the 1<sup>st</sup> report.

-Respectfully submitted.

1/12/1978

Ân  
Signed

[ERN 00013352 is a duplicate of 00013294]