

[ERN 00028307-00028315]

**The confession of Sè, the Secretary of the New North Zone**

25 October 1978

I would like to report about the coup planned for the dry season of 1978 following the failed coup by 'A' Phim (ភីម) on ...of June 1978. Toward the end of the month, probably on 28 or 29

(I do not recall when it was exactly), comrade Vorn (វ៉ន) convened a secret meeting in Phnom Penh. The meeting took place in a house located about 4 to 5 houses south of the Ministry of Industry.

There was no one living in that house. First I saw comrade Vorn walking into that house before anyone else. Next was comrade Keu (កើ), and I and other comrades followed them. We all went to meet inside that house. The meeting was illuminated by only candle light. The meeting took place during the night. We arrived in the house at 7:20 p.m. and the meeting started at 7:30 p.m. The meeting lasted for one and a half hours, starting at 7:30 p.m. and ending at 9:30 p.m. About 10 minutes after we met, at 7:30 p.m., comrade Vorn started the meeting.

First, comrade Vorn explained that the reason we come to attend this meeting was to organize a new committee in order to continue our resistance further. We needed to develop a new plan for the 1978 dry season. After that, comrade Vorn presented the agenda of the meeting, which contained the following items:

- Announcing the formation of the new committee.
- The current situation and future plans.
- Miscellaneous.

All of us in the meeting agreed to the agenda introduced by comrade Vorn. After that, comrade Vorn announced the formation of the new committee in order to continue our resistance further after the failed coup by 'A' Phim (ភីម).

This new committee was composed of the following persons:

1-Comrade Vorn, committee chairman.

2-Comrade Keu (កើ), committee deputy chairman.

3-Comrade Sè, committee member.

4-Comrade Chann (ចាន់), committee member.

5-Comrade Prang (ប្រាំង), committee member.

6-Comrade Vy (វី), committee member.

7-Comrade Soeung (ស៊ែង), committee member.

8-Comrade Ân (អ័ន), committee member.

9-Comrade Rân (រ៉ាន), committee member.

10-Comrade Rin (រ៉ន), committee member.

Comrade Vorn announced to the meeting that three comrades including Prang, Ân and Vy were busy and unable to attend the meeting. After the committee has been formed, comrade Vorn asked if anyone in the meeting had any opinion to add. Everyone in the meeting agreed, so he ended the discussion about the 1<sup>st</sup> item in the agenda. He then moved on to item 2 which is about the current situation, and the future plan for the 1978 dry season as follow:

- On the current situation: Our plot has been defeated subsequently in string. We are being swept clean by the Party in mass. Almost our entire forces at the bases, offices, and various ministries have been destroyed. Even some of our troops at various places have been destroyed. The situation is deteriorating, especially after the plot led by Phim was defeated. So, should we struggle to salvage the situation or should we give up? The current situation for us, whether we want it or not want it, has become that of materialism. Regardless of whether we want to struggle or not, the situation will force us to do it. So, if we want to continue our struggle, we must have plans in place including current and the long term plans.

As for the current plan which will be used to support the long term one, especially, the plan for building up forces at the base and in the military, we have to have it in place now so that we can be ready for this upcoming 1978 dry season activity. How has each comrade done in terms of force building? What is the plan for future force building? Will we be able to do it successfully? Please report to the committee chairman so that he can give further instruction on time. At the same time, after the chairman has grasped the situation of our forces, he will be able to compare our strength with that of the other side, and then develop the plan accordingly for the upcoming dry season. After that, comrade Vorn asked each of us in the meeting to report about the forces each had built so far at the base and in the military, and what were the possibilities for future force building? Will we be able to use our forces for this dry season plan, especially, those forces under our comrades in the areas around Phnom Penh and in the Zones such as the West Zone under comrade Soeung, the Takeo Sector under comrade Rân, and the East Zone under comrade Chann.

These are the important forces we have to pay more attention to build. Other than these, the forces in Phnom Penh are under the responsibility of comrade Vorn, me, and comrade Prang.

These forces are at various offices and ministries, the railroad unit, and the factories. We must pay attention to the building of these forces so that we will have enough of them for use in the future as needed. The other forces besides these are the secondary forces. These include those of comrades Keu and Rin of the Northwest Zone, of comrade Vy of the Northeast Zone, and of comrade Sè of the New North Zone. The most important forces are those around and in Phnom Penh because they are the ones who will rise up first. The other places will not be able to rise up unless these forces start it first. After that, our comrades in the meeting made their reports

about the forces each had built so far, the possibility for building the future forces, and the forces available for the dry season plan. At that time, Comrade Chann reported that the military forces he had built in the area under his control including those in Sector 24 and the East Zone were not yet ready to join others countrywide. Unfortunately, 70% of these forces have been destroyed, and the remaining 30% have lost contact with each other. There is a possibility for us to regroup these forces, but the most we can do now may be to regroup just 20% of them. But we will keep on gathering up more forces from now until the dry season. Even if we can do that, we will not be able to get enough forces as needed for the dry season plan. “This is the real situation that I want comrade chairman to know about,” said comrade Chann.

After this, comrade Soeung reported, “After comrade Sy (ស៊ី) was arrested, our forces were badly smashed. So far, just small forces have been built at the base and in the military, but I do not recall the exact number of them. I will report in the next meeting about the number of forces recruited previously and the number to be recruited.” Comrade Soeung also said, “Regarding the dry season plan, I do not have any idea because I cannot grasp the number of forces countrywide. I would ask the chairman to conclude each topic and then tell it to each section so that each of us can give some ideas whether or not the dry season plan can be executed.”

Comrade Rân made comment, “Following comrade Sy’s instruction (before Sy’s arrest), I had also built some forces at the bases and in the military in Kampong Chhnang (កំពង់ឆ្នាំង) Sector. But I do not know the exact number of those forces because I have been transferred to Takeo now, which is a new place for me. At this new place I have not yet built any forces, but it is possible that I can do so. So, after this meeting,

when I return, I will do my best to start building forces in both places, at the base and in the military, so that we can be ready during the upcoming dry season.”

Comrade Keu said that he had built some forces within the leadership of the Sector military, where each company unit includes one of our forces. As for the lower level, he could not give the exact number because he had not recruited them personally. He also built some forces at the base, but he did not remember the exact number. However, he said his forces are ready to join others nationwide to execute this dry season plan, but he could do so in the Sector under his control only and could not grasp the situation in the other Sectors.

Comrade Rin said he has just been transferred from Sector Kampong Speu (កំពង់ស្ពឺ) of the Southwest Zone to this Sector 5 of the Northwest Zone in early 1978. So, he could not yet recruit any forces there because he had not grasped the cadres and people well yet in this Sector. But based on his examination, it was possible that he would be able to recruit forces in the Sector since it was under his control. However, he could not guarantee that his new recruits would be able to join the others to execute the dry season plan perfectly.

Comrade Sè reported about the forces he has recruited so far. His recruitment plan in the Zone military division was just completed on 3-1-78. In 1978, in each company unit there will be one or two of our forces at the leading apparatus.

As for building forces at the base, in a big cooperative of 300 families, there had to be one or two of our people working at the management level. But he had not yet received clear data from the Sector and the Zone military unit. If we examine these forces, we can see that they are new recruits. So, these could not guarantee that they would be able to execute this dry season plan perfectly. But this was speaking about when these forces are doing it alone. If they joined with others nationwide, there was a good possibility that they will be able to execute this upcoming dry season plan successfully.

After every comrade had reported about their respective work, comrade Vorn spoke about the forces recruited in Phnom Penh, and the possibility to achieve the plan in this dry season. Based on his examination, the forces have been recruited so far are not yet enough, but after this meeting, he will press on recruiting more vigorously so that we will have enough forces to execute the plan successfully countrywide.

In conclusion, comrade Vorn wanted to encourage us to recruit forces around and in Phnom Penh city more vigorously. Although based on our comrade's report we still do not yet have enough forces, there is still a possibility that we can recruit more forces in every place under our control. So, there will be enough time for us after this meeting to recruit them more so that we can execute our plan successfully. Our objective is that if we cannot complete the plan in this 1978, we will have to continue it in 1979. And if we still cannot complete it in 1979, we will keep on doing it until we complete it.

So, building forces is an ongoing task for us to do so that we can have the capital ready for our plan and to ensure that our forces will not be used up. As for our plan in this dry season, it will be led by the committee under comrade Vorn's leadership.

We have decided that we will take up an armed uprising in the areas around Phnom Penh and in the city. The forces to be used for this uprising will be from the West Zone led by comrade Soeung, from Sector Takeo led by comrade Rân, and from the East Zone led by comrade Chann.

The forces inside Phnom Penh will attack outward while those forces are fighting inward from outside. These forces will operate jointly. As for the forces in the Zones far away from the city such as those of the Northwest Zone, the North Zone, and the Northeast, they are the independent forces. They will join in the operation indirectly, and they cannot start the arm uprising unless there is an order from the committee chairman.

Taking armed uprising in the wrong situation will cause a disaster to our forces. So, in order to protect our forces, we have to proceed as planned carefully. Forces in Phnom Penh and in the surrounding areas are the forces to start the arm uprising first. If these forces are defeated, there must be the backup forces. The backup forces must be taken from the East Zone, included those who have been built in the bases. The bases for the backup forces must be along the border with the Yuon [Vietnam], where they can be protected and used for future uprising. At the end comrade Vorn spoke about the connection with the outside forces included the Yuon and Thai. These are the backup and reinforcement forces. They can help us in terms of troops and materials.

-Comrade has assigned the following persons to contact with the Yuon and Thai:

1-Comrade Chann of the East Zone is responsible for making contact with the Yuon directly. In the East Zone we have been already in contact with the Yuon, but comrade Vorn did not tell the name or comrade who is our contact person.

2-Also, we have been already in contact with the Thai. Comrade Keu of the Norwest Zone is responsible for appointing one of our comrades as the contact person with the Thais. But comrade Vorn did not tell the name of that contact person either.

-In the New North Zone, I, (Comrade Sè) am responsible for appointing one comrade to make contact with the Thais directly. At that time I appoint comrade Soeun, who is working along the Thai border, to be the contact person with the Thai.

After that, comrade Vorn specified that any unnecessary contact with the Yuon and Thai should not be made, so that our plan will not be exposed. Any contact to be made must be preapproved by comrade secretary of each Zone, whose task is to initiate contact.

Made on 25 October, 1978

Sè



[ERN 00028324 ]

CHANN Sâm alias Sè

The confession of ‘A’ Sè  
of the New North Zone

He speaks about

1-His contact with the enemy in 1972 ..... page 1

2-His contact with ‘A’ Sann (ស៊ាន់) (defected to join the enemy in 1965), a bandit at Ta Koch  
Mountain (តាកុច)..... page 3

3-The people rebelled and fled into the jungle in November 1975.....page4

4-Reduction of people’s food ration in Kampong Trach (កំពង់ត្រាច)  
and Touk Meas (ទួកមាស) districts ..... page 6

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[00028371-00028379]; [00028424-00028459]

5-When he is transferred to the North Zone (illegible) ..... page 7

09-10-1978

[ERN 00028348-00028352]

About Sè joining the CIA

My birth name is Chann Sâm. My revolutionary names are Chap and Sè. I am 55 years old.

My father's name is Chann, and my mother's name is Sèt (សែត). My wife's name is Phau (ផ្លូ), she is from Âng Prasat (អង្គប្រសាត) village, Ream Ândoeuk (រាមអណ្តើក) commune, Kirivong (គីរីវង្ស) district, Takeo province.

At age 8, I went to stay in Wât Chuos (វត្ត ជួស) Pagoda, Chi-kmar (ដីក្រា) commune, Prey Sândèk (ព្រៃសំណែក) district, Takeo province. I attended school for 5 years. I can write and read and compute. I had served as a monk in that Pagoda one year before I left the monkhood. At age 14, I returned to do farming with my parent. When I was 17, my father took me to the Ream Ândoeuk commune office in Kirivong district to ask the commune chief, named Chen (ចិន), to train me to become a commune clerk. The commune chief accepted and said I could be the assistant clerk only because there was already a regular clerk working there. I was an assistant clerk for 3 years. When I was 20 years old, I returned home and worked in the farm again because the commune chief and the old clerk had exploited me.

After working in the farm for 3 years, at age 24, I joined the revolution. At that time we revolved against the French. Before joining the revolution, I committed bad acts by having love

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affairs with 3 girls, namely Miss Nai (ណៃ), Miss La (ឡា), and Miss Yoeun (យ៉ែន). I had the affairs with them until the day I left to join the revolution.

It was in 1948, when I was 24, I went to join the revolution. I first went to join with the revolutionaries at the Slèng (ស្លែង) Mountain in Kirivong district. I was very happy then. I worked hard because I wanted to be promoted and earn a good salary so that I could have a happy life.

Later on I was transferred to Voal (វ៉ាល) Mountain in Kampong Trach district. My function was not changed. My task was to protect and help with the office work. During that time my stance was that I joined the revolution for personal interest only because I just followed other people who had joined the movement earlier.

In 1949 I was transferred to stay at a mountain in Chhouk (ច្បូក) district and still held the same function then.

In mid 1949, I was transferred to stay in western Kampot district. At that time I became a propaganda cadre. I was very happy with this position. I worked more vigorously there, hoping that I would be promoted to a higher position soon. At that time I met with CHEY Suon (ជ័យ សួន), the district chairman, and his deputy, CHEY Sâmrit (ជ័យ សំរិត). These two men took care of me very well because I was the newcomer.

In 1950, I was still working in Kampot district, but I became the deputy chairman of the district military unit. At that time, CHEY Suon was transferred to take charge of the Southwest Zone, so only CHEY Sâmrit and I were left to stay in that place. I did not hold only that function, I even became a member of the Indochina Communist Party. With this new role and function, I became overexcited and proud. Since that day on, I had had a secret love affair with two girls in Kdat (ក្តាត) village.

In 1951, I went to stay in Prey Nup (ព្រៃនប់) district, and my role and function remained the same. After I arrived there, I started to build contact with the district governor named Horl (ហ័រល). On the one hand, I wanted to earn money and get luxurious things for my life style and to enjoy drinking and shopping; on the other hand, I had our troops cooperate with the enemy troops, meaning that we would not attack each other. This cooperation was done secretly. 'A' Horl, the district governor, at that time sent me 3,000 to 4,000 Riels each month along with other luxurious materials and foods. I gave him back some cows and buffaloes and hogs, and

sometimes sent 5 to 6 persons to serve in his military. At the same time, I spied on the Yuon military communication with governor Horl. We also sold rice to him. In total, I received tens of thousands of Riels and many materials from the district governor. During that time, I sent people to serve in his military about three times.

During the war I never met Horl in person. We communicated with each other through letter only. I ended my contact with that governor, Horl, after the truce. Later on I met him twice at the district office, but we did not speak about what we had done in the past because there were many people around. I thought that I would talk with him later and ask him for some money, but it was the election time then, so he was transferred to Phnom Penh. I did not yet get to know the new governor who was Horl's successor. Then, there was turmoil between the People's Group and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (សង្គមរាស្ត្រនិយម) group of Sihanouk when the latter sent his civil servants to round up people. I fled that place because I saw Sihanouk agents arresting some former resistance people. At that time if Horl had still been in Prey Nup, I would not have escaped because I could have contacted him to help me to stay on in that district, and I would not be arrested by the government agents. They arrested many people after the truce.

In 1952, I still held the same rank. In that year, I got married. My wedding followed the revolutionary tradition and people tradition. Even after becoming a married man, I was still wild, going to dance in the party in different villages and pagodas. I gathered male and female youths who liked dancing to dance with me in the parties in different pagodas.

In 1953-54, I was still in charge of Prey Nup district. The truce was announced by an international committee. During that time there were two Yuon, who were in the resistance group and used to live in this district previously, who went there to see me and asked to talk about some matters. These two persons, Khvy (ក្ស័យ) and Chhauy (ច្បាយ), had come to talk with me and 'A' Hong (ហ៊ុង). Khvy and Chhauy said that they worked in this area previously, but they had to return to Phnom Penh now, so they wanted to talk with me about the followings:

1-On political matters: To build up and organize forces for the continuation of our struggling against the ruling class of Sihanouk.

2-To organize the leadership committee in the district, which was composed of comrade Uong (អ្នក), Mou (ម៉ូ), and Khem (ខឹម). This committee had to contact Siv Heng (ស៊ីវ ហេង), who at that time had not yet betrayed us, in Phnom Penh.

This Yuon, Chhauy, was the military-political commissar of the West Zone. Another Yuon, Khvy, was an advisor to Prey Nup district previously. These people returned to Phnom Penh to live near Hong's house near Tuol Tumpoung (ទួលទំព្រង) market. These two Yuon told me and Hong that when there is an arm uprising again in Kampuchea in the future, they will return to help the Kampuchean people like they had done during the resistance against the French.

As for my stance, I did not like the truce because as a consequence I had to flee my birth place.

From 1954 to 1957, I went to live in Prâsat (ប្រសាត់) village in Svay Daun Keo (ស្វាយដួនកែវ) commune, Bakan (បាកាន) district, Pursat (ពោធិ៍សាត់) province. There, I was a farmer. I followed my relatives who were moving to find work at that place.

But I moved from Pursat province back to Phnom Penh later. The reason was that at that time there were people rising up to demand their rice paddies back and ask for the Svay Daun Keo commune chief to resign. The Svay Daun Keo commune chief was searching for the person behind that uprising, and I was the target in that search.

In Phnom Penh I did not know anyone except CHEY Suon. When I first arrived in town, I went to look for CHEY Suon at the newspaper printing house. CHEY Suon then took me to his house. At the same time, I asked CHEY Suon to help me with some matters:

- 1-To help to find me a job.
- 2-To reconnect with the Party's network, so that I could rejoin them.

CHEY Suon was able to help me with these problems. At that time the Party assigned me to take charge of the Unity Newspaper. In Phnom Penh, at the beginning, I did not have a place to stay, so I stayed with CHEY Suon in his house. CHEY Suon and I were very close with one another. Our relationship could not be tainted, and through it, CHEY Suon could educate me about the CIA organization subsequently. He even made me to believe in it more profoundly.

He propagandized that we had to have two bases as our backers so in case one fell, we could depend on the other. Our faces will be shown when either the Party or the CIA wins. We will have dual benefits. On the Party side, here we are; and so are we on the CIA side. If the communists win, here we are; and so here we are if the CIA wins. I then decided to join the CIA organization. After joining them, CHEY Suon told me to keep on carrying out the tasks assigned by the Communist Party as usual. For example, publishing the newspaper: if we stopped doing this, we will not have a base for gathering up forces. We would not be able to gather up forces unless we are on the Communist Party side. There are many forces now following this [communist] path, so in order to gather them up, we have to wait along this path and intercept them; we cannot do otherwise.

After we gather and educate them, these forces will become our core forces who will be sent to work at many different places.

As for the salary and wage which we used to lure them to work for us, we could get that anytime we needed. I could go to the upper rank (which was Ya (យ៉ា) then) to get it. This was what CHEY Suon told me then. As the person in charge of the Unity Newspaper, my salary was 2,000 Riels a month. The Friendship Newspaper was also bought out by the CIA. That Newspaper was led by comrade Sarin (សារិន) (Sarin contacted Ya directly). Sarin is currently working at the factory in Battambang.

Publishing the newspaper during that time was the for my activities. Regardless whether or not the newspaper could generate any income, I still earned money from my backer, the CIA. So, joining the Party and publishing the newspaper were part of the work to cover up my betrayal so that no one could see it.

[ERN 00028371-00028379]

The confession of Chann Sâm alias Chap alias Sè

Secretary of the North Zone

*Already reported*

About  
The History of his Betrayal Activity  
Toward the Party from the Beginning  
Until 1969

Part I

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Personal biography

My respected Central Committee,

I would like to report about my personal biography as follow:

My birth name is Chann Sâm; my revolutionary names are Chap and Sè; I am 55 years-old. My father's name is Chann and my mother's name is Sèt. My wife's name is Phau; she is from Âng Prasat village, Ream Ândoeuk commune, Kirivong district, Takeo province. I have 4 children. They are:

1-Sâm Phan (សំ ផាន)

2-Sâm Phon (សំ ផុន)

3-Sâm Nann (សំ ណាន់)

4-Sâm Phea (សំ ភា)

My siblings are as follows:

1-Miss Poal (ពាល់ សំ)

2-Myself, Sâm

3-Sorn (ស័ន)

4-Miss Khut (ហុត)

5-Miss Khèm (ខែម)

6-Miss Khorn (ហ័ន)

7-Miss Sei (សី)



At age 8, I went to stay in Wât Chuos (វត្ត ជួស) Pagoda, Chi-kmar (ដីក្រា) commune, Prey Sândèk (ព្រៃសណ្តែក) district, Takeo province. I studied literature for 5 years. I can write and read and do mathematics. I had served as a monk in that Pagoda for one year before I left the monkhood. At age 14, I returned to do farming with my parents. When I was 17, my father took me to the Ream Ândoeuk commune headquarter in Kirivong district to ask the commune chief, named Chen (ចិន), to train me to become a commune clerk. The commune chief accepted me and said I could be the assistant clerk only because there was already a regular clerk working there.

The reason I wanted to become the commune clerk was because I wanted to have a rank in the future, earn the salary, and become a rich family with a happy life style. On the contrary, my goal was not attained because the more I did the less profit I received. The old clerk and the commune chief had always exploited me, so I returned home to do farming work. I had been the assistant clerk for 3 years until I was 20 years-old, I returned home to do rice farming again.

After working in the rice paddy for 3 years, at age 24, I joined the revolution. At that time we were resisting against the French. Before joining the revolution, I committed bad acts by having the love affair with 3 girls namely Miss Nai, Miss La, and Miss Yoeun. We could commit the bad acts then because we were working on the paddy near each other every day. We had had the love affairs until the day I left to join the revolution.

It was in 1948, when I was 24, I went to join the revolution. I first went to join with the revolutionaries at the Slèng Mountain in Kirivong district. The person in charge of the revolution at that place accepted me into the revolution. I was very happy then. I worked hard because I wanted to be promoted and earning a good salary so that I could have a happy life. Moreover, I wanted to become a senior ranking cadre.

Later on, I was transferred to Vor Mountain in Kampong Trach district. My function was not changed. My task was to protect and help with the works of the center. During that time my stance was that I joined the revolution for personal interest only because I just followed other people who had joined the movement earlier.

In 1949, I was transferred to stay in a mountain in Chhouk district, where I still held the same function then. I worked attentively to fulfilled my daily tasks, hoping that I would have a good rank and function for my family in the future.

In mid 1949, I was transferred to stay in the west Kampot district. At that time I became a cadre of the propaganda group. That was a promotion for me. I was very happy with this position. I worked much harder, hoping that I would be promoted to the higher position soon. At that time I met with CHEY Suon who was the district chairman of that district, and CHEY Sâmret who was his deputy. These two men took care of me very well because I was the new comer.

In 1950, I was still working in Kampot district, but I became the deputy chairman in charge of the district military unit. At that time CHEY Suon was transferred to take charge of the Southwest Zone, so only CHEY Sâmret and I were left to stay in the same place. I did not hold only that function, I even became a member of the Indochina Communist Party. With this new role and function, I became overexcited and proud. Since that day on, I had the secret love affair with two girls in Kdat village. This act was clearly the violation of the morale codes on sexual misconduct. This was the consequence of my stance as I betrayed the nation and the revolution.

In 1951, I went to stay in Prey Nup district, and my role and function was still the same. After I arrived there, I started to have contact with the district governor named Horl. On the one hand I wanted to earn money and get luxurious things for my life style and to enjoy drinking and shopping. On the other hand, I had our troops cooperated with the enemy troops, meaning that we would not attack each other. They should just stay in their fort, and we stayed in the liberated zone. This cooperation was done secretly because the Yuon did not approve it. 'A' Horl, the district governor, at that time sent me 3,000 to 4,000 Riels each month along with other luxurious materials and foods.

I gave him back some cows and buffaloes and hogs, and sometimes sent 5 to 6 persons to serve in his military. At the same time I spied on the Yuon military activity for governor Horl. We also sold rice to him. In total, I received tens of thousands Riels and many materials, though I have forgot what they were, from the district governor Horl. During that time, I sent people about three times to serve in his military.

During the war I never met Horl. We communicated with each other through letter only. While I was covering up my relation with Horl from the Yuon, I was also worried that it would be exposed some days. This was my stance then which was an endlessly greedy stance, and it was a counter-revolutionary stance.

I just ended my contact with that governor, Horl, after the truce was reached. Later I met him twice at the district headquarter, but we did not speak about what we had done in the past because there were many people around. I thought that I would talk with him later and ask him for some money, but when it was the election time, he was transferred to Phnom Penh. I did not yet get to know the new governor who was Horl successor. Then, there was turmoil between the People's Group and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum rroup of Sihanouk when the latter sent his civil servants to round up people. I fled that place because I saw Sihanouk agents arresting some former resistant people. At that time if Horl had still been in Prey Nup, I would not have fled because I could have contacted him to help me to stay on in that district, and I would not be arrested by the government agents. They arrested many people after the truce.

In 1952, I still held the same rank. In that year I got married. My wedding followed both the revolutionary tradition and the Khmer tradition. In the wedding there were district committee, Zone committee, and ordinary people coming to celebrate and eat meal.

Regarding my stance, after becoming a married man, I was still wild, going to dance at parties in different villages and pagodas during festival times. I gathered male and female youths who liked dancing to dance with me at the parties in different pagodas.

In 1953-54, in these two years, I was still in charge of Prey Nup district. The truce then was announced by an international committee. During that time there were two Yuon, who were in the resistant group and used to live in this district previously, coming here to see me and asked to talk with me about some matters. These two persons, namely Kvy and Chhauy, were coming to talk with me and 'A' Hong. Khvy and Chhauy said that they had worked in this area previously, but they had to return to Phnom Penh now. So, they wanted to talk with me about the followings:

1-On the political matter: To build up and organize forces for the continuation of our struggling against the ruling class of Sihanouk.

2-To organize the leadership committee in the district which was composed of comrade Uong, Mou, and Khem. This committee had to make contact with Siv Heng, who at that time had not yet betrayed us, in Phnom Penh.

This Yuon person, Chhauy, was the military political commissar of the West Zone. Another Yuon, Khvy, was an advisor to Prey Nup district previously. These people returned to Phnom Penh to live near Hong's house near Tuol Tumpoung market. These two Yuon told me and Hong that when there is an armed uprising again in Kampuchea in the future, they will return to help the Kampuchean people like they had done during the resistance against the French.

As for my stance, I did not like the truce because as a consequence, I lost my rank. And not just that, I even had to flee my birth place.

From 1954 to 1957, I went to live in Prâsat village in Svay Daun Keo commune, Bakan district, Pursat province. There, I was a farmer. I followed my relatives who were moving to find work at that place. But I do not recall the names of those relatives because it is too long ago.

The reason I moved from Pursat province back to Phnom Penh at that time was that there were people rising up to demand their paddy back and ask for the Svay Daun Keo commune chief to resign. That uprising was failed. Later the Svay Daun Keo commune chief was searching for the person behind that uprising, and I was targeted. The commune chief alleged that I was behind it because the people living with me had told him about that. I fled immediately after I heard that I was a suspect. First, I fled the village alone going to look for a place to live before taking my wife and children to live with. In Phnom Penh I did not know anyone except CHEY Suon. When I first arrived in town, I went to look for CHEY Suon at the newspaper printing house because I did not know where his house was. I met CHEY Suon at the newspaper printing house. CHEY Suon then took me to his house. At the same time I asked CHEY Suon to help me with some matters:

- 1-To help me to find a job.
- 2-To reconnect with the Party's network so that I could rejoin them.

CHEY Suon was able to help me with these problems. At that time the Party assigned me to take charge of the Unity Newspaper. I was very happy with that job. In Phnom Penh, at the beginning, I did not have a place to stay, so I stayed with CHEY Suon in his house. I and CHEY Suon were very close with each other. Our relationship could not be tainted. This close relation influenced and expanded our sentiment stronger and stronger. That was how CHEY Suon could educate me about the CIA organization subsequently, and made me believed in it more profoundly. Subsequently my relationship with CHEY Suon became closer and closer. Because of this personal friendship, he was able to convince me about the CIA organization.

He propagandized that we had to have two bases as our backers, so in case if one fell, we could depend the other. Our faces will be shown when either the Party or the CIA wins. I asked CHEY Suon, "What does this mean when we join the Communist Party and the CIA at the same time?" CHEY Suon answered, "We will profit regardless of which side wins." If the communistd win, here we are; and so here are we if the CIA wins. I then decided to join the CIA organization.

After joining them, CHEY Suon told me to keep on carrying out the tasks assigned by the Communist Party as usual. For example, if we stopped publishing the newspaper, we would not have a base for gathering forces. We will not be able to gather forces unless we are on the Communist Party side. There are forces now following this [communist] path, so in order to gather them up, we have to wait along this path and intercept them; we cannot do otherwise because the people would not leave their house to attend. And if they did not leave their house, how could we know which path they would take. And then how could we gather them up. After we gather and educate them, these forces will become our core forces who will be sent to work at many different places.

As for the salary and wage which we used to lure them to work for us, we could get it anytime we needed. I could go to the upper rank (which was Ya (យ៉ា) then) to get it. This was what CHEY Suon told me then. Later on I am informed about the salary for staff at my work place, the Newspaper printing house. As the person in charge of the Unity Newspaper, my salary was 2,000 Riels a month. At that time even the Friendship Newspaper was also bought out by the CIA. That Newspaper was led by comrade Sarin (Sarin was in contact with Ya directly). Sarin is currently at the factory in Battambang.

As for my stance, publishing the newspaper during that time was just to cover up my activity. Whether or not the newspaper could generate any income, I still earned enough money from my backer, the CIA. So, joining the Party and publishing the newspaper were just part of the work to cover up my betrayal so that no one could see it.

In that same year 1957, I do not recall the exact date, when I met with CHEY Suon, he told me about those who had also joined the CIA. I did not ask him about the date on which they joined, but those were:

- 1-Bun Thann (ប្រាំន័), arrested.
- 2-Comrade Vy (វី), currently is in the Northeast Zone.
- 3-Comrade Chamroeun (ចំរើន), arrested.
- 4-Comrade Achar Kob (អាចារ្យ កុប), a former journalist, current where about is not known.
- 5-Comrade Kim (គីម), a former journalist, current where about is not known.
- 6-Comrade Hâng (ហង់), a former journalist, presently arrested.
- 7-Comrade Vet (វេត), a former journalist, presently arrested.
- 8-Comrade Sy (ស៊ី), a former journalist, presently arrested.
- 9-Comrade Chim (ជីម), a former mechanic, presently arrested.

In 1957, I recruited one person in Svay Rolum (ស្វាយរលំ) village, Sector 25, to join the CIA. He was a former journalist of the Unity Newspaper. How I was able to recruit him was first, I indoctrinated him with the individualism principle. I lured him to drink and womanize until he believed that life with the CIA organization is a happy one. Anyone wants to be happy has to join the CIA. I did this to him until he did not see any other party, especially the Communist Party of Kampuchea, could be better. At the same time I made him see the value of the CIA organization, which was well organized in the world. This organization had a strong base and was backed by America. Any person of any nationality and class background could join this organization. The only problem was that when we first joined the CIA organization, we fall.....

[ERN 00028424-00028459]

The confession of Chann Sâm alias Sè

Secretary of the New North Zone or Zone 801

The history of Sè's betrayal activities  
from late 1973 until 15-08-1978, the  
day he was arrested.  
This text is transcribed from audio  
cassettes

Part II "last part"

Made on 10 September, 1978

Original KH: 00028306-00028459  
Translated: [00028307-00028315]; [00028324]; [00028348-00028352];  
[00028371-00028379]; [00028424-00028459]



In late 1973, I met with comrade Chong (ចុង) when we went to attend a Zone meeting. Chong and I spoke about recruiting a messenger. After our discussion, Chong, Sy and I agreed to appoint Chim as the messenger for making the direct contact with Brother "A" [Kâ (កា អ័ក្ស ក័រ)] and CHEY Suon. The reason we appointed Chim was because Chim was an old string of CHEY Suon in the city since before 1956.

I would like to specify that in July 1973 we held a meeting in comrade Onn's (អ័ន) camp near Kât Phluk (កាត់ផ្លុក) River. Those who attended were:

- 1-Brother "A"
- 2-CHEY Suon
- 3-Comrade Sy
- 4-Comrade Chong
- 5-Comrade On
- 6-Myself

The meeting was presided over by Brother "A" and taking place during the night from 7 pm to 10pm. Brother "A" came at my request through Chim in the previous day. The meeting discussed how to organize the traitor string in the Southwest Zone. We held the meeting in order to also admit comrade On in the organization. He was with Brother "A" previously and was just transferred to the Southwest Zone recently. Comrade Chong was appointed as the chairman, comrade Sy as the deputy, comrade On and I as the members. This committee had to make contact with the upper echelon who was Brother "A". After the committee had been organized, Brother "A" spoke about the past work. Regarding the Koh Kong plan, he said that although he had not attended the meeting, he knew about it through comrade Chong's report.

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Brother "A" urged us to keep on our struggling through a legal means to take over the Koh Kong territory and turn it into the autonomous Sector which would have the direct contact with the Center. Brother "A", out of fear that he would be exposed, would not intervene in comrade Chong's work, but he urged us to struggle further on the Koh Kong plan. He also instructed us to strengthen forces recruited previously as well as the new recruits so that they could become our burrowing-within forces in the Party and the base.

In the process of building up forces, we have to make sure that the forces will not decrease and be destroyed. And here are the measures for the future:

1. Forces must be organized to ensure that in the future when we need to launch any attack, we will have enough troops in our hands.
2. At the same time we must also build up cadre and people forces in the bases so that we will be secured in the future. In the building process, we should know which class should be led first and which should be next. Do not do it randomly. If we cannot grasp this, it will cause us a disaster.

Then, we can make the activity against the Communist Party of Kampuchea subsequently. There is a way we can do this legally and openly, which is to exaggerate the Party's line. For example, when the Communist Party of Kampuchea instructs us to use class classification of the Party as the guideline for selecting poor peasants and lower middle-class peasants into certain positions, I sometimes pick the middle-class peasants and upper middle-class peasants instead.

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And if any persons of the poor class are picked, those persons are the wild and unruly ones. On the organization work, I always did it against the organizational line of the Communist Party of

Kampuchea with an attempt to cause a confusing stance and line and destabilize the Party. The Party needs a firm class stance, without which it will fall into the CIA trap. I in the past used this activity and method against the Party continuously. Consequently, the good persons fall off the Party but the bad ones stay. After the meeting, Brother "A" and CHEY Suon went back to Sector 25. On stayed in that place while comrades Sy and Chong returned to the Zone, and I went back to Kampot.

Later on those in this string were able to connect with each other from the low rank up to the upper echelon. After comrade Chong had been arrested, Sy went to meet with Brother "A" personally. I knew about their meeting through Sy when he came to see me in Kraing Leav (ក្រាំងលាវ) in Kampot province. Comrade Sy told me about this in April or May of 1974 while he was in the State Salt Field unit and traveling from the Zone to Kampot. At that time I was in Kraing Leav along the road to Sy's salt field. At that time comrade Sy was traveling with his messenger, whose name I forget, on the motorcycle.

Sy told me he is going to see Brother "A" in Sector 25 in order to connect himself with the upper echelon. Previously Chong was the person who usually met with Brother "A". But after Chong had been arrested, Sy replaced him as the chairman, so he had to contact Brother "A" directly. Brother "A" had known about Chong arrest in advance. He went to see the upper echelon one day before the arrest took Place. When he returned, he said that we needed to keep making contact with each other, but he did not give any specific instruction.

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He said that the Koh Kong plan had failed, so we had to organize the supportive bases. Comrades Sy, Nhek (ញឹក), and Chhan (ឆាន) were responsible for organizing the supportive

bases. Brother Vorn had already agreed to the plan when Sy went to meet with him after Chong arrest.

The secret supportive bases will be used if our struggling has been exposed. The bases will be in Kampong Seila (កំពង់សីលា) in the forest near the sea. At the upper echelon, Brother “A” will connect with brother Phim (ភីម) of the Laborer Party through Chakrey (ចក្រី) and Chhouk (ឈ្នួក). As for organizing in the military, I have organized them in the upper level like the regiment and battalion only, but not yet the ordinary combatants at the rank and file level. There are only two regiment units, and those at the leadership level are:

1-Keo Chey (កែវ ជ័យ)

2-Chên (ចិន)

3-Lân (ឡាន)

4-Chân (ចាន)

5-San (សាន)

6-Ăm (អាំ)

Lân left me a long time ago to stay at the Zone. I introduced him to Keo Chey in Kampot. At the battalion level, I am able to recruit Lân and Sok only because they are staying in the same district. These two men worked in the factory previously. Keo Chey was a painter who painted the walls for the pagoda. I took the advantage of our close relationship to persuade them. When they were having an affair with a girl, they worried, so I took the opportunity to persuade them. I also assigned people to track down their mistake and at the same time persuade them into my forces.

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In the military Keo Chey and Chên were assigned to track this down. At the beginning, we used the name of the revolution to educate them by telling them that if they are not good, they cannot follow the revolution. The persons responsible for those at the centers and offices in Kampot

were Ām, the chairman and Phēn, the deputy. Comrade Sēng (សែង) was the responsible person at the hospital and Phēn (ផែន) was at the commerce section. At the mechanic section there was comrade Phān while at the offices and textiles comrade Ām was responsible. If anyone violates the moral codes by drinking liqueur and womanizing, we discipline them, for if it is known, we will all be held responsible. I myself had some love affairs with girls because I had to travel here and there but it took place in quiet houses not known by others.

In February 1974, I met with Teu Kam (ទី កាម) in Chong's house in Āmleāng (អមលាំង). Chong had a secret house there on the bank of a river. In the meeting there were comrades Chong, Sy and me. We spoke about the plan to prolong the war. The meeting took place in early 1974. We spoke about how to prolong the war so that we would not get the victory before the Yuon. We should let the Yuon win the war before us. If we let that to happen, their forces will have time to attack Kampuchea. That was the only thing we spoke about in that meeting.

I went there at that time in 1974 to attend the Zone meeting. The Zone held two meetings a year, one at the beginning and another at the end of the year. I returned to my base after that meeting. Chong then went to report to Brother "A" in Peam (ពាម) village. They spoke about the plan after LON Nol (លន់ នល) and American have been defeated. They said if Kampuchea wins the war before the Yuon, our CIA network will be defeated; but if the Yuon wins first, our CIA will also win because we can depend on the Yuon for help. As for me, I said, I would be able able to make some delay. In late 1974, Ta Mok ordered me to surround Kampot and prevent the enemy troops from expanding their operation outside the town. If any enemy gets out of town, I have to take the responsibility in front of the Party.

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We have to surround the enemy so that they cannot not attack any of our positions. He said that we have to be accountable for it if the enemy attacks any position. At that time, I left the sea way open for the enemy to navigate their ships through. The enemy then navigated their ships into Kampot town to pick up about 200 of their troops to reinforce their operation in Sector 25. They needed troops to reinforce their operation there. Because they could not enter by land, they entered through the sea.

At that time, I ordered comrade Chàn to withdraw our troops from the sea to let the enemy vessels get through. After that event, brother Mok called me to see him and scolded me about that. I justified to him that because the enemy's artillery shelled our other positions very heavily, I had to withdraw troops from the sea to reinforce them. Taking the opportunity of that situation, the enemy sent the vessels to pick up their troops in Kampot town. Also, during that time, through a commune chief's son in Kampot town named Pèt (ប៉ែត), I had a connection with a [LON Nol army] captain named Nut (នុត). The son of the commune chief had joined our military earlier. Pèt later worked with Sy in our commerce unit of the Southwest Zone. As for captain Nut and the commune chief, they were swept clean after the evacuation of the town. In 1974, I created a bandit group in Takèn (តាកែន) and assigned Kèm (កែម) in that commune to supervise them. Those in the bandit group were the former commune chief and the soldiers who had been defeated and captured when we attacked Takèn in 1970. They rebelled but were subdued by our troops. It took us a half month with one company of our troops and about one platoon of the district forces to arrest them. They had fled into the forest before their arrest. They then persuaded former soldiers and commune chief to join them. They could not persuade the people. As for the CIA group organized by On, it included comrades Khim (ឃឹម) and Sokh (សុខ).

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On told me about his group after he was appointed into the Sector committee. Miss Chim (ឃឹម), who was On's mistress, also told me about this. Saom (សោម) and teacher Kit (គិត), who is the current secretary of Sector 25, became the CIA agents since they worked as the school teachers. And teacher Chim (ឃឹម) at the rubber plantation was also in their group.

In this 1974, I was still the secretary of Sector Kampot. At that time I recruited the following persons into the CIA forces.

- 1-Bèn (បែន), the member of Totung (ទទុង) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 2-Sokh (សុខ), the member of Sâmroang (សំរោង) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 3-Lēng (ឡេង), the member of Baniev (បាឡេវ) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 4-Leung (ឡើង), the member of Chhouk (ឈូក) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 5-Long (ឡុង), the member of Mean Chey (មានជ័យ) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 6-Mân (ម៉ន), the deputy secretary of Kampot district, present where about is unknown.
- 7-Mão (ម៉ៅ), my bodyguard, presently is the chairman of the fishing lot of the North Zone.

I did not recruit all of these men by myself directly. I recruited only Long, who then propagandized to recruit others to join us.

In 1975, I was in the command committee at the frontline. I made many activities to betray the Party, and recruited the following persons into the CIA forces. I assigned comrade Nhip (ញីប) to propagandize, persuade and educate the following persons to join us:

- 1-Nhep, former Issarak group and the member of Koh Sla (កោះស្លា) district, present where about is unknown.
- 2-Siv (ស៊ីវ), drinker and dancer and the member of Takèn commune, present where about is unknown.
- 3-Mei (ម៉ី), a monk and the member of La-boeuk (លាប៉ូក) commune, present where about is unknown.
- 4-Kão (កៅ), a peasant and the member of Chhouk commune, present where about is unknown.
- 5-Tieng (ទៀង), a peasant and the member of Touk Meas commune, present where about is unknown.

Furthermore, my activities against the Party are described below. 1975 was the year in which the entire country was liberated. I knew in advance that the enemy countrywide would be totally collapsed. Out of a concern if my face would be shown in the revolution after the victor, I decided that I had to launch the attack also.

On 17 April, 1975 Phnom Penh was liberated. At that time the enemy heard about the victory through the radio, and so did I. But I still let the enemy enter Kampot town. I did not take care of the booty well. I did not manage them well. I let everyone to take home whatever they

wanted, causing some damage to the Party's booty, especially car tires. I let the no-good people cut the tires to make sandals for themselves.

I subsequently took possession of power and authority. I was greedy for materials and actively womanizing. I secretly raped eight women. When some of them became pregnant, I had them married with the other men, for example like in the case of Miss Roeun (រឿន). The following women were those I had the affair with:

- 1-Miss Roeun, Kampot garment unit.
- 2-Miss Yuth (យុត្ត), gone to Central Zone.
- 3-Miss Chhy (ឈី), Kampot Salt Field.
- 4-Miss Neāk (នាក់), garment unit.
- 5-Miss Kan (កាន), garment unit.
- 6-Miss Kèm (កែម), garment unit.
- 7-Miss Lay (ឡាយ), garment unit.
- 8-Miss Phean (ផាន), garment unit.

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Immediately after the liberation, I prepared the evacuation of the people from the town and sent them to live in the villages and communes. Some evacuees were sent to live in the forest where a number of them were dead from malaria later. Some of the people were sent to live near the border and then fled into Yuon [Vietnam].

As for the senior civil servants and the high ranking officials of the previous regime, they were rounded up and put in the security office. As for the soldiers and the low-ranking civil servants who had already gone to stay in the cooperatives, they were later sorted out and decided by the



security, for example, who were to be swept clean, who were to be kept, and who were to be hidden. But, later on since we could not guaranty the safety of the hidden persons anymore, we swept them all clean.

Among the evacuees, there were also some Yuon; however, we sent them back into Yuon. The sending back was coordinated by the military of both sides. Our troops handed them over to the Yuon troops following agreements between the Sectors of both sides. My subsequent connection with the Yuon after this event was through Teu Kam. I met with comrade Sy to discuss about how to keep on the connection with the Yuon. We agreed that we should keep it going on as long as possible, but to do it in a confidential manner.

I also instructed comrade Sy to hand over Vinh En (វិញ អ៊ិន), who was Teu Kam's man, to Teu Kam. At that time Vinh En was evacuated from Phnom Penh to the West Zone of comrade Sy. At that time comrade Sy instructed Vinh En to hide himself among the Yuon evacuees so that he could cross the border into [Vietnam] with them when the Party ordered the Yuon people to be sent back to [Vietnam]. No Khmer was allowed to go with the Yuon. Vinh En then hid among the Yuon evacuees in the truck and crossed the border into [Vietnam]. Vinh En later made direct and indirect contacts with comrade Sy. A house, located at the border along the 10 kilometer bay of Veal Rinh (វាលរឹង), was used as their meeting point. That house belonged to the fishermen and was used by Teu Kam as his meeting place. Comrade Sy was in charge of scheduling and arranging for the meeting in advance of my arrival.

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I did not know what month comrade Sy held the meeting with Teu Kam previously. But I had an opportunity to meet with Teu Kam until after the liberation. At that time Teu Kam told me that he had tried unsuccessfully to meet with comrade Sy earlier. I met with Teu Kam when I went to receive our troops, who had been captured earlier by the Yuon from the different islands, back from him. That meeting took place in June 1975. He wanted to send his regard to comrade Sy at that time because Sy was not with me. I later told comrade Sy that Teu Kam wanted to see him whenever there was an opportunity. Later when we wanted to make contact with him, we had comrade Chhan do it via the fishing boat. If in Kampot, we had Phên (ផែន) as our contact person, and he was under comrade Sy supervision.

A half month after the whole country had been liberated, comrade Chey traveled by car to Sector 25 via Prey Nup on the Kampot road. Comrade Chey stopped by to eat lunch and took a short rest at my place. At that time he spoke about the fate of the former resistance members, saying that their future is not clear. I responded to him that many of us former resistance members are still alive, so, if anything happens, it will affect all of us. Comrade Chey continued, "I am saying this now because I worry that we might have the same fate as those from Hanoi." That was what we spoke about at lunch time. After lunch, he continued his trip with his mother-in-law to Sector 25.

Later on I asked my wife to take my letter to give to Chey Suon personally, asking him to ask brother Vorn whether our country is yet totally independent. And what is the future activity of our CIA? I used to ask comrade Sy the same question once in the past, but he did not answer me. At that time brother Chey informed me that brother Vorn had already moved to stay in Phnom Penh, but he would contact him to ask about that and inform me when he got the answer. Later comrade Chey also moved to Phnom Penh to take charge of the bank.

In July 1975, I met Brother "A" during a break when I went to attend the meeting of the Central.

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The meeting at that time was held in the Preah Keo Temple (វិហារព្រះកែវ). I spoke with him about the forces for the future plan. I told him about the status of the military forces and the people forces in the village and commune. These forces are burying within the military and the bases and will become the CIA forces in the future. They are now the forces of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, but they will convert in the future. Brother "A" instructed me to strengthen and expand our forces further. At that time we had a little time to talk because it was just a short break. Besides that, I met with comrade Sy often to talk about how to organize more new forces. When we met, comrade Sy often asked me about this issue.

Comrade Sy came to visit me two or three times after the independence. Each time he came, he brought me some fish sauce. He often came with a few of his messengers. When we first met, he

spoke about organizing forces and how to communicate with Teu Kam. He said that he will tell Teu Kam later when and what we will need from him. But meanwhile it is important to have our forces in the military. As for the forces at the bases, we can organize them step by step, but forces in the military must be organized first. He does not yet have any instruction about the attack plan.

When the train unit needed more workers, comrade Prang sent his people to recruit them in my place. I did not know comrade Prang well before. I met Prang once through Brother "A" when he introduced him to me in his house in Teuk La-âk in 1960. Comrade Prang was a train worker at that time.

I then sent comrade Long (ឡុង) to work at the train unit. Later on when I met comrade Prang, he told [thanked] me for that. I met him maybe in August 1975 in Kampot when comrade Prang came to repair the rail-bridge in the Kampot market east. At that time I told comrade Prang that Long is the undercover CIA string.

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At the end of 1975, the Party arrested the string of 'A' Sokh and comrade Chamroeun in Sector 25. At that time I did not know about that arrest, but I found out about it later through Brother "A" and Chey Suon. They said that they lamented the arrest and wanted to prevent it from happening, but they also thought they could be exposed if they tried to defend them. They did not dare to defend them because if they did, it could make the situation confusing and then all of us would be arrested. I met Brother "A" on National Road 3 while he was on his way to the Chakrei Ting (ចក្រីទីង) cement factory in Kampot. At that time I was riding in the car to Phnom Penh for the Zone meeting and met brother Mok in Bèk Chan (បែកចាន).

In early 1976 there was a plan the irrigation system construction. The 1976 plan focused on the work of the rear line only. In 1976 there was also a meeting to organize a committee to stage a coup d'état. I did not attend that meeting, but comrade Sy reported to me about that later.

At that time comrade Sy gave me instructions directly. He came with his messengers to see me in Kampot. He instructed me about how to stage the coup d'état in 1976, and said that the whole country already had the plan in place. He wanted me and my Sector to join. The committee for the countrywide plan had been already organized, it was composed of:

- 1-Ya as the chairman and
- 2-Thuch (ធុច) as the vice chairman

Other than these, there were Chey Suon, Chhouk, comrade Sy and Chakrei. The coup would start by Chakrei's and Oeun's troops, who would launch the attack from inside Phnom Penh. As for the reinforcement forces from outside, there were troops of Sector 25 led by comrade Sdaeng (ស្រីង), and those of Sector 24 led by Chhouk. Besides these forces, there were also forces of Sector 22 and Sector 15, but I did not know who would lead them. That was the plan for countrywide. In my Sector, we should just riot to capture power when the coup in Phnom Penh is erupting.

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As for the outside forces, we should not start it until the Phnom Penh forces did it first. If Phnom Penh did not do it, we would not start. Sy told me that the role of the Sector was just like that. Ya, Sy and Thuch were in charge of the entire country. This was what I knew about then. This first plan was failed after the Party had arrested Chhouk, Chakrei and Ya.

I would like to specify about Rĭn (រិន) who is the chairman of the Kampot Security Center. Rĭn was in the resistant group previously. The enemy arrested him when he was trying to flee into the jungle [before the 1970 coup]. After that coup d'état, he was released, so I went to take him back to join in the traitor string. After his release, I appointed comrade Rĭn to be the chairman of the Security of the Sector. Later, after he was transferred to Takeo, I did not know what his role there was.

After his appointment, I instructed comrade Rĭn to make the following activities at the Sector Security Center including examining the biography of the security personnel and

recruiting them into our string in order to continue our activities. Here were the security activities in Kampot. When the district sent people to the Zone, we would examine them whether or not they could be used as the traitorous forces. If those people could be used for that, we would not sweep clean them but keep them. If they had been already exposed and could not be protected anymore, we swept clean them. As for the former, we would send them back to the cooperative. For those who had the traitorous character and whose backgrounds were the wild persons, robbers, womanizer, and cross border smuggler, they would be kept and used as the traitorous forces. Regardless of their background, even we knew who they were, if they could be useful for us, we would keep them in the traitorous forces.

One time when I met brother Chey, he told me that comrade Savat (សាវត៌) was also in the CIA string. But I did not ask whose string he was in previously.

In preparation for the future coup d'état, a new committee was organized.

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I did not join in this preparation meeting personally. Comrade Sy came to see me and told me about it at my place after his attendance. He told me about the coup again plotted for 1977. I did not go to attend the meeting not because I was busy, but because comrade Sy told me too many people in the meeting would draw people's attention. We had to do it secretly. If the meeting was exposed, only those attended would be exposed, so, the rests of us could continue to lead the forces. Brother "A" rarely attended any meetings. Like me, he wanted to keep himself in a low profile.

According to comrade Sy, the 1977 coup would be launched in the dry season, but he did not say the exact date. The structure of the newly organized committee was as follow. Brother Phim was the chairman; brother Nhim (ញឹម) was the vice chairman; comrade Sy and comrade Phuong (ផ្លុង) were the members of the committee. While the preparation was on its way, the coup was again failed. At that time there were the following events causing the coup to be failed. Thuch and his string were arrested. Tum and Doeun, who worked at Angkar's office, were also arrested. That was why the coup plot was failed.

During the trip to Siem Reap in March 1977, after I left Kampot, I first stopped for a rest in Phnom Penh. Along the way I stopped to rest again in Kampong Cham. There, I met with brother Pork (ព័ក) before continuing the trip with other cadres who were traveling to work in Siem Reap. There, we prepared our work until April and May 1977 when Angkar ordered us to arrest 'A' Sot's (សុត) and 'A' Sean's (ស៊ាន) strings and send them to Angkar subsequently. After the sweeping clean in May 1977, I recruited people to replace them in the new traitor string. Since May 1977, I usually consulted with comrades Sokh, Soeun and Khim if I wanted to include any persons in the traitor string we had built earlier.

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Those attended the meeting at the Sector Siem Reap center were:

- 1-Myself
- 2-Sokh, secretary of the Siem Reap Sector
- 3-Khim, secretary of the Preah Vihear Sector
- 4-Soeun, military division commander of the New North Zone

We decided in the meeting that we had to include our string which we had built earlier into the traitor string. First, in Krâlănh (ក្រគ្គាញ់) district, we appointed comrade Chen (ចិន) as the district secretary. We then put our old string to take charge of the other districts. For example, in Sâmroang (សំរោង) district, we appointed comrade Sarik (សារិក), who was Chen's man, to be the secretary, and another comrade who was Leap's man to be the deputy. In Siem Reap district, comrade Hon (ហុន) was the district secretary, and comrade Sokh was the member. Besides these, the newly educated persons in the traitor string included:

- 1-Comrade Sân (ស័ន), the secretary of Varin (វារិន) district.

2-Comrade Soeun, the secretary of Svay Leu (ស្វាយលើ) district.

3-Comrade Leap, the chairman of the fishing lot of Siem Reap Sector.

Leap was my former messenger. He was later removed and sent to work in the food production unit in Sautr Nikum (ស្នួរនិគម) district. He was replaced by comrade Mao (ម៉ៅ) who was in my old string and also my former messenger. These 3-4 persons were my long time string.

The newly recruited forces included:

1-Comrade Son (សុន), the secretary of Puok (ព្រុក) district.

2-Comrade Nĭn (នីន), the secretary of Siem Reap district.

3-Comrade Say (សាយ), the secretary of Sautr Nikum district.

4-Comrade Vĭn (វីន), the secretary of Chom Ksan (ជាំក្សាន) district.

5-Comrade Say, who was Pon's string from the State Salt Field, the mobile military unit of the Zone in Krĭlĭnh district.

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As for the new security forces, the person who was appointed in May 1977 was comrade Run (រុន). From early 1977 to 1978, I instructed comrade Soeun to follow my instruction when he made a move against the Party. That was when he let more than one hundreds of our troops with some arms defect to the In Tăm (អ៊ិន តាំ) forces. But not all of them defected at one time. Each time he let only three or four or five or ten soldiers to defect. He did that in order not to draw the Party's attention. Those defectors would become our future forces who would be ready to attack the revolution when there was an opportunity to do so.

In May 1977, I instructed Soeun to educate the Thai revolutionaries, but made sure to do it legally. I instructed him not to do anything other than what the Party had instructed us to do because these Thais come to see Brother number I and Brother number II very often; so, if we instruct them differently, our plan would be exposed. The instruction for them was that the Thai people should lead the front with a broad idea. We should let them dance, sing, play volley ball, kick badminton, and play ping pong as usual. We should not ban them from playing these.

In July 1977, I called comrade Soeun to see me at my place and had him contact comrade Chim, who was in the CIA string and the chairman of the rubber plantation in Kampong Cham, to recruit people at the plantation into our forces. But so far I have not yet met with Chim personally to hear from him how the forces have been recruited there. Comrade Soeun made contact with comrade Chim at the rubber plantation, and comrade Chim even gave one car to comrade Soeun after their meeting.

At that time comrade Soeun attacked comrade Bít (ប៊ិត) in his report to me, saying that comrade Bít used to have a mistress when he was a division commander. His mistress even gave birth to a child. That woman was a younger sister of a traitor, who was hiding and working in Southwest Zone military unit with comrade Bít at that time. But I have forgotten that traitor's name.

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After that, I contacted comrade Chhum (the secretary of Stông district, Sector 43 of the Central Zone) and his deputy, whose name I have forgotten, and my younger brother Sorn (ស័ន) who was the secretary of Sântuk (ស័ន្ទុក) district also of Sector 43, to instruct them to make the activities against the Party whenever there was a chance. In order to cover up our activities, we had to start first with the small thing to the big one and at low level to the high level. Do not start with the big activity at once.

Comrade Soeun then also reported to me that comrade Chim had a conflict with comrade Pork. It was the personal matter relating to competition, showing off, and rank. When comrade Pork appointed him [Chim] to be the chairman of the rubber plantation, he refused. That caused the conflict between the two. Later comrade Soeun reported to me that comrade Chim saw brother Pork keeping the women in a house near the plantation where he often visited. I was not sure whether this story was true or not. It might be just the malicious act to break up the unity within the Party. However, that was one activity which I had suggested them to do although I was not sure yet whether they did it as planned or it was the real act. I will find out about this when I meet them in person.



In July 1977 at the time Sector Preah Vihear was merged into the New North Zone, comrade Soeun provided more than 50 guns and some ammunitions to Hâng (ហាំង). I did not know why comrade Soeun had done that. He did it on his own decision. Previously I used to tell comrade Soeun that comrade Hâng was a long time CIA. When the new Zone was organized, Angkar advised me that I should keep watching out on Hâng. At that time I did not yet realize that the Party was monitoring Hâng. When Hâng was arrested, comrade Soeun was scared and worried that Hâng might implicate him.

Comrade Soeun came to tell me that he had given more than 50 guns to Hâng, and was worried now that Hâng might implicate him as one of his accomplices.

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I told Soeun that there would be no problem even Hâng had implicated him in this case. Our mistake was only that we missed to inform the upper echelon in advance before giving those guns to Hâng. Had we made the report then, there would not be anything to worry about.

When I reported about this gun giving event to Angkar while I was accompanying him to Sector 5, Brother was in silent. I told him about that in brother Nhim's house. I did that because I was also afraid that Hâng might implicate me in this case.

Hâng gave those guns to the bandits in the forest near the Dângrèk (ដងរ៉ែក) Mountain. Those bandits were under the supervision of "B-31 (ប៊ី-៣១)" which was the work camp of Sector Preah Vihear, but I forget the name of the chairman of that work camp. Later on I ordered the removal of "B-31" from that site because it was locating in front of the military line. According to Angkar's order the camp like that should be located 10 to 15 km away from the border. Comrade Hâng used to tell me that "B-31" was set up there as just a pretext. In fact, those people in this camp were the bandits and the food supplier for the bandits.

I said to him that according to Angkar's instruction, we must remove that camp from that site. If we do not remove it, we will be exposed. If we think that it is necessary to have those

people in that location, it will be better to merge them with In Tăm forces on the Dângrèk Mountain so that we will not be exposed.

When the camp was removed, comrade Hâng took the guns away from those people and gave them to the bandits. He even scared some of our people to defect to join with the In Tăm group. Not all the guns were taken away. Some were kept with us. Angkar found out about this after I had reported to Angkar. I had done that in order to show that I was not involved in that activity. There were more than 100 guns in that place at that time, some of which belonged to Soeun and others belonged to Hâng.

In February 1978 I went to see brother Nhim at his house in Sector 5. I introduced comrade Rĩn to him. Rĩn was in Kampot with me previously. He was my deputy when I was the secretary of Sector Kampot.

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He was transferred to [the Northwest Zone] at that time. He was in an old traitor string. I introduced Rĩn to brother Nhim so that he could accept him into the traitor string and take him to work with from that time on. After that I returned to my Zone.

In March 1978, after the Party had swept clean Hâng's string from the Sector down to the district and office level, I reorganized the new persons into the traitor string. At that time I also discussed with comrades Sokh and Khim about how to reorganize the traitor string in Sector Preah Vihear. I met with comrade Sokh at his house near the Sector Siem Reap center in Sautr Nikum district. The North Zone was composed of 2 Sectors namely Sector Preah Vihear where comrade Khim, a native of Kampong Speu, was the secretary; and Sector Siem Reap whose secretary was comrade Sokh.

First, I discussed it with comrade Sokh and then with Khim about reorganizing the old traitor string in the districts and Sector Preah Vihear. Khim was the secretary of Sector Preah Vihear. Khim had been educated by Onn before he became comrade Roeun's deputy. And Roeun had been educated by Soeun who was in the old traitor string. The newly educated and recruited persons in the traitor string were comrade Vãn who was appointed to be the secretary of Choam Ksan district; comrade Phâl, the secretary of Tbèng Mean Chey district; and comrade Tao (តៅ),

the secretary of Otumpor (ឧត្តុង្គ) district. These persons were newly recruited by me into the new string. As in the other districts like Thâla (ថ្នលា) district, Sereika (ស៊ែរីកា) district, and Rovieng (រវៀង) district, I assigned comrades Khim and Roeun to recruit people continuously. But later on, I did not know who worked in what district exactly. At the office and ministry, we recruited the people locally because Angkar did not allow us to bring people from outside to work in the city.

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Comrades Khim and Roeun were assigned to recruit people at the districts and Zone because I did not know who worked at which center exactly.

As for my contact person while I was in Sector Siem Reap and New North Zone, I contacted Brother "A" directly. No messenger was used. I met with him personally when I came to attend the meeting of the Central. Our meeting was not long because it took place during the break. It lasted from 10 to 15 minutes each time. In our meeting we spoke about recruiting people to join the traitor forces in the Sector, district and cooperative. That was his instruction. No messenger was used for my communication with Brother "A" because his house was located near Brother Number 2's house, and no messenger was allowed to get close to these houses.

When communicating with other persons in the traitor string, I did not use the messenger either. My messenger, Măão, had been assigned to be the chairman of the fishing lot. Brother Nhim also sent one of his messengers, whose name was unknown, to be the chairman of the Northwest Zone fishing lot. The messenger was used to carry the letter from the North Zone to Phnom Penh when we transported fishes and other goods to the city by boat or engine-boat.

I also had the connection with Moeun (ម៉ៃន) who was in the string since 1971. In 1971, when we came to the Zone, I once told comrade Roeun to contact Moeun in Sector 25. Comrade

Roeun then contacted him for some rice and asked him who else were in our string at the time. This contact took place in about June of 1977, I did not recall the exact date. But they told us that there was a string in Sector 25, the string of comrades Sdaeng and Prāk. After that I lost contact with them.

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Comrade Sokh and comrade Khim were assigned to take charge of Sector Siem Reap and Sector Preah Vihear respectively. I would like to specify that the center and security center were set up in May 1977. At the beginning, I used Sot's and Sean's men. Those were comrade Cheat (ជាតិ) who was assigned to be the chairman of the entire center; comrade Chhēt (ឆេត) was in charge of the commerce; comrade Kǎo (កៅ) was also in the commerce; comrade Muon (មួន) was in charge of public work; and comrade Nhang (ញ៉ាង) was in charge of transportation.

In June 1977, after being implicated in Sot and Sean confessions, they all were arrested. In June 1977, after the arrests of those men, I reorganized those centers using the people taken from Sector Kampot and the combatants working with me at the time. These persons were as follows:

1-The chairman of the center was comrade Khum (ក្នុង). He was in charge of managing works of the center and supervising the weaving factory, the soap production factory, the rice mill, and the commerce unit as well.

2-Comrades Run, Mǎo, Daung (ដូង), and Pronh (ប្រុង) were in charge of the security section.

3-Comrades Nong (ណុង) and Sēng were in charge of Public Works.

4-Comrade Thea (ធា) was in charge of the military, defending Siem Reap town and guarding the military warehouse

5-Comrade Leap, chairman of the fishing lot of the New North Zone.

These above comrades were recruited from the military and from my bodyguard unit. Among them, comrades Leap, Mao and Run were in the old CIA string.

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The new recruits in the string were comrades Khum, Nong, Sēng and Thea.

In late April 1978, comrade Leap had been removed from the Zone fishing lot and sent to work in the food production in Sautr Nikum district. The motive behind this removal was that his traitorous activity had been exposed. At the fishing lot where he was working, he was very rude to the workers. His intention was to break the people away from the revolution, making them to lose confidence in the revolution. He even beat up the people at work.

After comrade Leap had been removed from the fishing lot of the New North Zone, comrade Mao was appointed to replace him as the chairman, a position he has held until today. But I have not yet instructed him to do any activities against the Party because I was afraid that as the new recruit, he might be easily exposed. I only instructed those in the old string working in the security section that any ones betraying the Party in string and being exposed must be swept clean. But for any betrayers who are not yet being exposed, we should keep them for use as our traitorous forces if possible. For these people, we should release them and send them to work at the Phnom Kroam (ភ្នំក្រាម) work camp or in different districts. At that time a small number of them were sent to work in the different cooperatives.

In April 1978, I went to discuss with comrade Khim at the Sector Preah Vihear's center about reorganizing the office and section after the arrest of comrade Hàng. Almost all the people working in those office/section were implicated in Hàng's confession and targeted to be arrested.

But because we lacked of manpower at that time, I decided to arrest only the outstanding persons first, and asked comrade Khim to fill in the arrested persons' posts with the new recruits. However, because we just started this activity, I do not know how comrade Khim has organized the offices/centers in Sector Preah Vihear so far.

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The security unit in Preah Vihear has not yet been reorganized because we do not have any one who is able to do it yet. The persons who were implicated by Hâng and his clan were all arrested and already sent to the Siem Reap Security Center.

Later, in March 1978, a new committee was reorganized. The chairman of this new committee was responsible for launching the attack from outside and deciding on when the inside attack should start in [Phnom Penh]. This was the plan of this committee. The forces to launch the attack from outside will be supported by the Yuon. Their plan will be first to capture the East Zone first. The meeting to reorganize this new committee was held in the East Zone in the Tunlê Bet (ទន្លេប៊ែត) area. The meeting was held in March 1978. Those attended were:

- 1-Phim, East Zone secretary
- 2-Nhim, Northwest Zone secretary
- 3-Brother Chann, East Zone deputy secretary
- 4-Comrade Kân, Northwest Zone deputy secretary
- 5-Comrade Rîn, Sector 5 secretary
- 6-Comrade Soeung, military commander of the West Zone
- 7-Comrade Rân, Sector 13 secretary
- 8-Brother Vy, Northeast Zone secretary
- 9-Myself
- 10-Comrade Phuong, chairman of the State Rubber Plantation
- 11-Comrade Say, Commerce

12-Comrade Pàng, chairman of S-71  
13-Comrade Sy, West Zone secretary

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14-Comrade Yi, Sector 505 secretary  
15-Comrade Lin, East Zone member  
16-Comrade Ân (អ័ន), chairman of the State Industry

This meeting is held to form the committee for launching the coup d'état, of which brother Phim is the chairman, brother Nhim is the deputy, and comrades Sy and Phuong are the members. As for Brother "A", he was hiding his face at that time, thinking that if all of us showed up in the meeting, we would be exposed.

The plan for the outside attack is to first capture the north part of the East Zone, and then move to Kampong Cham where it will be used as the midpoint base before advancing to Phnom Penh. As for the East Zone forces, they should secretly join with the Yuon forces to attack the East Zone until they can occupy it entirely. After that they can openly move on to attack the Central Zone. At that time the inside forces at the centers and ministries inside [Phnom Penh] can launch the attack openly from the inside. At the centers and ministries, they will assassinate, arrest, and poison important leaders. However, this plan was revealed and the Party arrested those involved before they could even start. The outside forces could not attack, and so could not the inside ones. Because the plan was uncovered subsequently, Phim fled and shot himself dead during his flee.

In late April or May 1978, Sao Trocung (សោ ត្រូង), accompanied by the chairman of the Northwest Zone's fishing lot, was coming to see me. I did not know the name of this fishing chairman, but I used to see his face previously. He had a light complexion. He was first taking

Troeung by an engine-boat to see Leap who was then the chairman of the North Zone's fishing lot. He said that brother Nhim asked me for help to hide Sao Troeung. It was in April or early May of 1978, I do not recall the exact time, when I ordered Leap to take Sao Troeung to hide in the lower part of Kampong Khleäng (កំពង់ឃ្នាំង) in Sautr Nikum district.

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Troeung was in hiding near a canal not far from Leap's place. The communication with him was done through fishing work. As for foods, he did not need my help with his food supply. He had his own rice. I did not know why and for what brother Nhim sent him [Troeung] to this place. Brother Nhim was arrested by Angkar later. What else happened after that I could not grasp.

After brother Nhim arrest, I contacted comrade Rin and told him to inform comrade Keu (កើ) about it. I did not meet comrade Keu personally. I wanted to contact him in order to find out what our future plan will be after all of these have happened. But we should just wait for Brother "A" to call a meeting and tell us how to prepare.

After this plan failed, Brother "A" again called up a meeting in June 1978. The meeting was held during the night in Phnom Penh, in an abandoned house south of the Ministry of Industry. Those attended the meeting were:

1-"A"

2-M self

3-Comrade Chann, East Zone deputy secretary

4-Comrade Kân or Keu, Northwest Zone deputy secretary

5-Comrade Rin, Sector 5 secretary



6-Comrade Rân, Sector Takeo or Sector 13 secretary

7-Comrade Soeung, military commander of the West Zone

8-Brother Vy, the Northeast Zone secretary

“A” instructed that we had failed in the past, so, if we do not join together now to do something, definitely we will all be dead one day.

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We all could be exposed, but there is a possibility that the does not yet totally believe that we are betraying them. I could be exposed because of the arrests of Say and Sean of Sector 106 and of Chey Suon.

The above meeting was held to reorganize forces so that we can pursue our activities against the Party further. That meeting was held about 10 days after the Central meeting. That meeting was held in a hasty manner because we were worrying that someone would see it. It lasted about an hour, from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m. or 9:30 p.m. In that meeting we discussed the problem which prevented us from launching the attack immediately. That was because our forces had been rooted out earlier. The meeting then talked about reorganizing new forces for the future.

We would do it if there were forces available, otherwise, we would not. That was the only discussion in the meeting. There was no specific month picked for launching the attack. But because the 1978 plan failed, we will try it again in the dry season of 1979. But we have not yet decided whether or not we will have to launch the attack. We will organize forces and assess their strength first.

As for making the communication with the Yuon, we let the East Zone do it because they are near each other. Comrade Chann will be in charge for doing it. They can help us with some forces and weapons, but the inside forces will be our main forces. The forces will be organized at the base in the village and commune. As for the domestic troops, they will launch the guerrilla style attack to surround Phnom Penh. After the arrest of Sy and Sdaeng, comrade Rân is in charge for reorganizing forces in the Southwest Zone; comrade Soeung is in the West Zone; comrade Vy is in the Northeast Zone; comrade Keu is in the Northwest Zone; comrade Chann is in the East Zone; and comrades Ân and Prang are in charge of Phnom Penh. This

preparation is decided by “A” during the meeting in Phnom Penh in late June 1978 after the Central [Committee] meeting.

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As for the current leadership of the Laborer Party, “A” is the chairman, and comrade Chann and me are the members. There are only three of us. There is no deputy chairman. I and comrade Chann are in the same rank.

I saw that the plan has failed continuously, and knew that the plot could not be covered up anymore. When it is exposed, more people will be arrested. Even though I saw that, I still kept on working in order to survive. I do not know what to do because I have already been involved in it. I cannot stop because there are more works to do. If I want to escape, I cannot do it either because based on the past experience, those had escaped were facing with food shortage. I cannot escape to Thailand because it is also the liberated zone. Escaping into the forest will face with famine. Escaping to the plain field, it is the liberated zone. Before Hâng’s arrest, I asked him to establish contact with the Laotians, asking for a place to stay, but he was not successful. Nevertheless, I still had some hope that not the whole plot had been exposed, so I decided not to escape yet. Then, on 15-08-1978 I was arrested by Angkar. After I arrived at Angkar’s Office, I saw “A”, once. At that time we were eating meal together, but because there were many people around, we did not say anything to each other.

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Made on 10 September 1978

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Translated: [00028307-00028315]; [00028324]; [00028348-00028352];  
[00028371-00028379]; [00028424-00028459]

Signed and thumb printed

Chann Sâm alias Sè

[Annotation on the bottom left edge of the page]

**10-9-78**

***Interrogator***

***Ponn***

Names of the traitors implicated by Sè  
in his confessions part I and II

- 1-CHEY, Suon, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, and current chairman of the State Agriculture Ministry, arrested.
- 2- Sy, West Zone secretary, arrested.
- 3- Bun Thann, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, arrested.
- 4- Ta Hâm, former house construction worker, present where about unknown.
- 5- But Châmroeun, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, currently in Sector 25, arrested.
- 6- Comrade Vy, Northeast Zone secretary.
- 7- Comrade Achar Kob, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, present where about unknown.
- 8- Comrade Kim, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, present where about unknown.
- 9- Comrade Hâng, former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, arrested.
- 10- Comrade Vêt, former journalist of the People's Party Newspaper, arrested.
- 11- Comrade Chim, former house construction worker in Phnom Penh, arrested.

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Translated: [00028307-00028315]; [00028324]; [00028348-00028352];  
[00028371-00028379]; [00028424-00028459]

- 12- Comrade Ton, in Svay Rolum village of Sector 25.
- 13- Comrade Sakhân, in Svay Rolum village of Sector 25.
- 14- Oeun, in Chbar Âmpov (ច្បារអំពៅ) village.
- 15- Comrade PEUNG Sây (ពីង ស៊ីង), former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, present where about unknown.
- 16- Comrade MEY Mann (ម៉ី ម៉ាន់), former journalist of the People Party Newspaper, present where about unknown.
- 17- Brother “A”.
- 18- Comrade Ya, Northeast Zone secretary, arrested.
- 19- Comrade Keu, Northwest Zone deputy secretary.
- 20- Comrade Chàk (ចាក់), former journalist of the Friendship Newspaper, dead.
- 21- Comrade San, former journalist of the Unity Newspaper, current ambassador to Lao.
- 22- Comrade Chhun Hèm alias Srâs alias Khmăo, former Châmroeun Vichea High School, arrested.
- 23- Comrade Ky (គី), Ta Chen’s son in Battambang, present where about unknown.
- 24- Mao Say
- 25- Brother Phim, East Zone secretary.
- 26- KEO Meas (កែវ ម៉ាស), Kampuchea Laborer Party secretary, arrested.
- 27- HOU Yun (ហ៊ូ យ៉ុង), Kampuchea Laborer Party member, arrested.
- 28- Chann Samân (ចាន់ សាម៉ាន), in East Zone, dead.
- 29- Kim Yiem alias Yin ( ), in West Zone, arrested.
- 30- Ms Ly (លី), Sy’s wife, arrested.
- 31- Chen Hong (ចិន ហុង), State Commerce, arrested.
- 32- Chen Khmăo (ចិន ខ្មៅ), Deputy of Commerce, arrested.
- 33- Chen Kao (ចិន កាវ), present where about unknown.
- 34- Chen Chhea (ចិន ឈា), present where about unknown.

- 35- Chen Lav (ចិន ឡាវ), present where about unknown.
- 36- Chhân ( ឆន), former worker of the enemy's Public Work Ministry, present where about unknown.
- 37- Khmaut (ខ្មត), former city committee, present where about unknown.
- 38- Comrade Ân, former city committee, present where about unknown.
- 39- Comrade Chong, Southwest Zone deputy secretary, arrested.
- 40- Comrade Sang, State Salt Field, arrested.
- 41- Comrade On, Sector 33 secretary, arrested.
- 42- Comrade Krin (គ្រិន), Kampong Som Port.
- 43- Comrade Mân alias Kè Kim Huot (មន ហៅ កែ គីម ហ្គត), Sector 7 secretary, arrested.
- 44- Comrade Say, State Industry, arrested.
- 45- Comrade Achar Kâng (អាចារ្យ កង), Southwest Zone Hospital chairman, arrested.
- 46- Comrade Kît (គិត), Sector 25 secretary.
- 47- Comrade Chim, chairman of the North Zone rubber plantation.
- 48- Comrade Soam, Sector 13 secretary, present where about unknown.
- 49- Comrade Soeun, military division commander of the North Zone.
- 50- Miss Bau (បូ), Sector 25.
- 51- Comrade Nhek (ញឹក), Sector 37 secretary, arrested.
- 52- Comrade Chhan, committee member of Division 164, arrested.
- 53- Comrade Rîn, Sector 5 secretary, Northwest Zone.
- 54- Comrade Chap Nheung or Yoeung (ចាប់ ញើង ឬ យើង), chairman of Chhouk district hospital, arrested.
- 55- Comrade Dân (ដន), committee member of Sector Koh Kong, arrested.
- 56- Comrade Nuon (នួន), committee member of Sector Koh Kong, arrested.
- 57- Comrade Soeung, military commander of the West Zone.
- 58- Comrade Rân, Sector 13 secretary.
- 59- Comrade Yuth, Chamkar Leu district secretary, Central Zone.
- 60- Comrade Chhum, Staung district secretary, arrested.

- 61- Comrade Sên, Steung Trâng district secretary, Central Zone.
- 62- Comrade Phên (ផ្សំ), Chhouk district secretary, arrested.
- 63- Comrade Sien (សៀន), Sector 25 deputy secretary, arrested.
- 64- Comrade Pon, chairman of the State Salt Field, arrested.
- 65- Comrade Roen, commander of the tank division in Phnom Penh.
- 66- , comrade deputy secretary of Staung district.
- 67- Comrade Vai Reap (វ៉ៃ រ៉ាប), deputy commander of Division 502, Phnom Penh.
- 68- Comrade Prim (ព្រីម), in Thkov village, Chi-kma commune, Prey Sândèk district, Takeo.
- 69- Comrade Ngèt (ង៉េត), resistance veteran in Sântuk (ស័ន្តុក) district, Kampong Thom.
- 70- Comrade Chhèm (ឃែម), committee member of the saw mill of Sector Kampot.
- 71- Comrade Chhân (ឆន), committee member of the Sector 35 Security Unit,  
present where about unknown.
- 72- Comrade Phên (ផ្សំ), chairman of Sector 35 Commerce, arrested.
- 73- Comrade Keo Chey (កែវ ជ័យ), chairman of Sector 35 Logistic.
- 74- Comrade Chiev (ជៀវ), deputy chairman of Sector 35 Commerce, arrested.
- 75- Comrade Chên, regiment commander of Sector 35
- 76- Comrade San, chairman of Touk Meas district center.
- 77- Comrade Chên (ឆន), regiment commander of Sector 35.
- 78- Comrade Ăm (អាំ), regiment commander of Sector 35, arrested.
- 79- Comrade Moeun (ម៉ឺន), Sector 505 secretary.
- 80- Comrade Tauch Phoeun (តួច ហ្វឺន), chairman of the Ministry Publics Works, arrested.
- 81- Comrade Sat, regiment commander of Sector 35, present where about unknown.
- 82- Comrade Moeung (ម៉ឺង), member of Ka Pear (កាពារ) commune, Koh Sla district.

- 83- Comrade Kot (កុត), committee member of Chhouk district.
- 84- Comrade Soep (ស៊ីប), chairman of saw mill of Sector 35.
- 85- Comrade Sim (ស៊ីម), committee member of Chhouk district.
- 86- Comrade Khin (ឃីន), cooperative chairman of Srè Knong (ស្រែក្នុង) commune.
- 87- Comrade Chim, military commander of Koh Sla district.
- 88- Comrade Doeun (ដៀន), committee member of Kampot district, dead.
- 89- Comrade Diep (ឌៀប), chairman of economy of Sector 35 military unit, present where about unknown.
- 90- Comrade Vy, committee member of Touk Meas district.
- 91- Comrade Nhep (ញីប), committee member of Koh Sla district.
- 92- Comrade Hēng (ហេង), committee member of Rong Veng (រងវង់) commune, Kampong Trach district.
- 93- Comrade Hor (ហ៊ី), committee member of Rong Veng commune, Kampong Trach district.
- 94- Comrade Săo (សៅ), committee member of Snâ Rong (ស្នារង) commune, Touk Meas district.
- 95- Comrade Mak (ម៉ាក), committee member of Taken commune, Koh Sla district.
- 96- Comrade Teh (តិ), battalion commander of Sector 35, arrested.
- 97- Comrade Suos (ស្លូស), committee member of Kampong Trach district.
- 98- Comrade Phon (ផុន), committee member of Kampong Trach district, dead.
- 99- Comrade Sun (ស៊ុន), chairman of economy of Sector military unit, present where about unknown.
- 100- Miss Comrade Mēng (ម៉េង), committee member of the weaving factory of Sector 35, arrested.
- 101- Miss Comrade Mom (ម៉ុម), in charge of women of Touk Meas district.
- 102- Comrade Lon (ឡូន), battalion committee member of Sector 35.
- 103- Comrade Lân, battalion committee member of Sector 35.
- 104- Comrade Leap, chairman of the fishing lot of the North Zone.
- 105- Comrade Sorn (ស៊ុន), cadre of Sâmroang commune, Touk Meas district.

- 106- Comrade Sēng, chairman of Sector 35 hospital.  
 107- Comrade Phān, chairman of Sector 35 workshop.  
 108-Com. Kēm (កែម), Takēn commune chairman, arrested.  
 109-Teu Kam, Yuon contact committee for the Southwest Zone.  
 110-Nut, captain of former regime in Kampot town, already swept clean.  
 111-Pēt (ប៉ែត), former Southwest Zone commerce, present where about unknown.  
 112-Comrade Khim, Sector Preah Vihear secretary.  
 113-Comrade Sok, Siem Reap Sector secretary.  
 114-Miss Comrade Chim, chairwoman of Sector 33 women, present where about unknown.  
 115-Comrade Mèn (ម៉ែន), committee member of Totung (ទូតុង) commune, present where about unknown.
- 116-Comrade Sokh, committee member of Sâmroang commune, present where about unknown.  
 117- Comrade Lēng, committee member of Baneav (បាណៀវ) commune, present where about unknown.  
 118-Comrade Leum (ឡើម), committee member of Chhouk commune, present where about unknown.  
 119- Comrade Long, committee member of Mean Chey (មាណជ័យ) commune, present where about unknown.  
 120-Comrade Mân, deputy secretary of Kampot district.  
 121-Comrade Mãão, chairman of the fishing lot of the North Zone.  
 122- Comrade Siv (ស៊ីវ), committee member of Takēn commune, Koh Sla district.  
 123- Comrade Mei (មី), committee member of Lboeuk (ល្បើក) commune.  
 124- Comrade Kao, committee member of Chhouk commune, Chhouk district.  
 125- Comrade. Tieng (ទៀង), committee member of Touk Meas commune, Touk Meas district.  
 126- Comrade Long, presently at the train unit.  
 127-Vinh En, Yuon, Teu Kam's messenger.  
 128- Comrade Prang, chairman of the train unit.  
 129- Comrade Sok, Sector 25, arrested.  
 130- Comrade Thuch (ធុច), chairman of State Ministry of Commerce, arrested.  
 131- Comrade Chhouk, Sector 24 secretary, arrested.  
 132- Comrade Chakrey (ចក្រី), commander of Division 170, arrested.



- 133- Comrade Oeun (អឿន), commander of Division 310, arrested.
- 134- Comrade Rin, current chairman of Security of Sector 35 in Takeo.
- 135- Comrade Savat (សាវត), chairman of the State Agriculture Ministry.
- 136- Comrade Nhim, secretary of the Northwest Zone, arrested.
- 137- Comrade Phuong, chairman of the East Zone rubber plantation, arrested.
- 138- Comrade Tum (តូម), General Staff.
- 139- Comrade Doeun, Angkar's Office, arrested.
- 140- Comrade Chen, secretary of Krâlănh district.
- 141- Comrade Sarik, secretary of Sâmroang district.
- 142- Comrade deputy secretary of Sâmroang district.
- 143- Comrade Honn (ហុន), secretary of Siem Reap district, arrested.
- 144- Comrade Sok, ommittee member of Siem Reap district, arrested.
- 145- Comrade Sân, secretary of Varin (វ៉ារិន) district.
- 146- Comrade Soeun, secretary of Svay Leu district.
- 147- Comrade Sun, secretary of Puok district.
- 148- Comrade Nin, secretary of Siem Reap district.
- 149- Comrade Say, secretary of Sautr Nikum district.
- 150- Comrade Vorn, secretary of Choam Ksan district.
- 151- Comrade Run, chairman of the security of Sector Siem Reap.
- 152- Comrade Sorn, secretary of Sântuk district, Sector 43.
- 153- Comrade Hâng, secretary of Sector Preah Vihear, arrested.
- 154- Comrade Roeun, deputy secretary of Sector Preah Vihear.
- 155- Comrade Phâl, secretary of Tbêng Mean Chey (ត្បែងមានជ័យ) district.
- 156- Comrade Tao, secretary of Otumpor district.
- 157- Comrade Cheat (ជាតិ), chairman of the center of Sector Siem Reap, arrested.
- 158- Comrade Chhēt (ឆេត), chairman of the commerce of Sector Siem Reap, arrested.
- 159- Comrade Kao, committee member of the commerce of Sector Siem Reap, arrested.
- 160- Comrade Nheang (ញ៉ាង), transportation of Sector Siem Reap, arrested.
- 161- Comrade Khum, chairman of the center of Sector Siem Reap.

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Translated: [00028307-00028315]; [00028324]; [00028348-00028352];  
[00028371-00028379]; [00028424-00028459]

- 162- Comrade Daung (ដួង), committee member of the security of Sector Siem Reap.
- 163- Comrade Pronh (ប្រុង), committee member of the security of Sector Siem Reap.
- 164- Comrade Nong (ណុង), chairman of the public work of Sector Siem Reap.
- 165- Comrade Sēng (សែង), deputy of the public work of Sector Siem Reap.
- 166- Comrade Thea (ផា), commander of the defense unit of Siem Reap town.
- 167- Comrade Chann, deputy secretary of the East Zone.
- 168- Comrade Pàng, chairman of S-71, arrested.
- 169- Comrade Yi (យី), secretary of Sector 505, arrested.
- 170- Comrade Lin, chairman of the East Zone Office, arrested.
- 171- Săo Troeung (សៅ ត្រឿង), was in Northwest Zone fishing lot, currently at the New North Zone fishing lot.

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