

S-21 Confession of SEUA Vasi alias CHHOEUR Doeun

6. In March 1963 “Sda” introduced Ou to a place for CIA communication in Phnom Penh

Sda told Ou that he would go to Phnom Penh in 1963. He said that “Brother, when you are free for four or five days, please pay a visit to Phnom Penh to get to know some of our friends there and we will do some sightseeing in the city of Phnom Penh”. “I will be free only during the New Year Days”, Ou said. Sda agreed to that, and Ou selected a specific date and time to meet with Sda. To keep their plan secret, they acted as if they were not coming from Kampong Cham on the same trip. At their arrival at Chroy Chângva bridge, Ou took a taxi and left while Sda was heading to Russei Keo village then entered into a rather old and large concrete house in which two families of people were living. Sda introduced by saying that they are our friends and please feel free to contact them for any help<sup>1</sup>. Then Sda asked if Ou can spend one day to go for a walk before returning to his place. Comrade Ou agreed to the invitation. When they returned to their place, they have also brought along certain things for Thuch. They provided Thuch with those things. The communication between Sda and Ou has been no problem. Thuch would advise them that they should be vigilant and refrain from acting anything openly as it may hinder their long term activities.

[Left margin note: Ou told me upon return.]

7. Communication between the Soviet treacherous forces and CIA agents in Phnom Penh

(Information via Sda’s CIA network to Ou)

Political situation in 1964 was in an extreme chaos. Several networks of resistance forces have emerged. They all claimed that they were revolutionary!

12.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(6)



Khmer original: ERN 00011478

<sup>1</sup> Ou told me upon his return.

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...in order to hold a meeting with CIA agents. The meeting venue was in a nice concrete house situated in the area southeast of Langka pagoda. That house was taken care by a family of people. It was rented by the CIA as an office and their meeting venue. Thuch met with contemptible Hang Thun Hak and American "Sda" and he worked there for two days and he later returned to his place because they were in rush to have their 1965 work plan disseminated.

[Left margin annotation: Ou reported.]

6. Meeting on enforcement of Thuch's 1965 treacherous plan

Thuch has chaired a meeting for two days at Prey Chhor district to disseminate the plan he received from CIA. The meeting attendees are as follows:

1. Thuch;
2. Doeun;
3. Sreng;
4. Leng Bun Song;
5. Tek Kim On;
6. Sat and
7. Chhum.

The meeting was mainly focused on the rapid construction of the bases, as many as possible and in particular it has decided to move important forces from the city and redeploy them into the rural areas. At the same time, Thuch said that the revolutionary forces in Phnom Penh were completely destroyed. And now there are new progressive forces who openly act against the corrupt society. These forces were fully supported by the CIA. Therefore, the genuine revolutionary forces are being in great difficulties.

12.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(9)

Khmer original: ERN 00011481

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8. Communication with the Soviet agents

Thuch has instructed for a formation of a new and separate messenger network for communication with Soviet treacherous network. Thuch said: "I have already asked Sda to introduce our people to communication network when we make them ready for that."<sup>2</sup> If we have another Soviet network we will become more mastery in grasping our small and large businesses. Thuch asked comrade Leng Bun Song to take this assignment and Ou was assigned to immediately bring them there<sup>3</sup> when everything is ready. This network had assigned Lao Nam to receive them because he has often visited to Phnom Penh. After a series of introduction, the campaign has approached SOK Lay, the editor of Yuvamit (Youth Comrade) newspaper. SOK Lay was happy with the deal and agreeing that in the future we can meet him at any time. In addition, he said that the resistance movement in the city is in good progress with new forces and were actively appreciated and welcomed by the population. However, its representative has so far yet to be selected and most of them have even struggled for their roles in an offensive manner among themselves and both comrade Soviet friends and Americans (who provided a significant support) have not yet satisfied with these new forces as they were afraid that their incapacity in leadership and management skills may turn the movement into a failure. In certain areas, Americans made an effort to oppose the movement while in some other places the Soviets made a propaganda supporting those who are capable of doing the job. This is comrade SOK Lay's opinion. Based on his observation so far a mobilization of forces is not possible at the moment. He said such efforts should be put into practice for the movement for years into the future.

13.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(11)

Khmer original: ERN 00011483

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<sup>2</sup> Since Sda's network has been in place.

<sup>3</sup> Ou should bring to Russei Keo residence office.

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*From the first reading, (I) found that the response was false.*

*1. Where is Hok Cheang Ou?*

*2. Why is he talking about this?*

My (Doeun's) communication with the American CIA named Sda at Kampong Cham High School

In 1962, America sent a number of CIA agents to Kampong Cham High School. They were labeled as expert consultants to provide technical assistance for students and professors for free of charge. They started classes and taught English language, typing courses, music classes and boxing training courses. English language and typing courses were the favorite classes for the students. During my first academic year, I have also attending these typing classes. Typewriters were donated to Kampong Cham High School by the Americans. Contemptible Sda was one of the expert consultants and he was teaching students on both theory and practical skills. Contemptible Sda tried his best to build good relationship with students through his supervision during the typing classes to make sure that the classes were properly in compliance with the theory. He would immediately correct students with his humble voice of advice. During the breaks from typing class he introduced students to politics by distribution of candy and thereby advised them to work hard to acquire skills as quick as possible for their careers.

When he was free on Saturdays and Sundays, he would invite students and teachers for a picnic at the rice paddy fields and the bank of the lakes. He also organized and served meals for them. The group photos and video footage were shot during the picnic. This kind of his behavior was to show students that he was a nice, humble and friendly person and being an intimate friend.

12.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(1)

*Based on comrade Pon's conclusion, his motive was to speak pointlessly to mislead us.*

Khmer original: ERN 00011493

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NOTE: Khmer original of ERN 00011498 is the same as ERN 00011478.

Khmer original of ERN 00011501 is the same as ERN 00011481.

Khmer original of ERN 00011503 is the same as ERN 00011483.

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*Return this to its author for  
review and rewriting it.*

*Signed: Duch*

My (Doeun's) treacherous plan to infiltrate the treacherous forces  
into Angkar's offices

1. Internal armed conflict period from 1969 to 1970

During this period, [the party] authorized Zone 304 cadres to select a number of male and female youths of petty bourgeoisie to attend the political and technical sessions and later sent them back for dissemination purpose in their Zone. During that period, Thuch was busy with his work with Angkar. Thus, I was responsible for mobilization of forces and managed to send them as determined by [Angkar]. They were in the treacherous forces. Prior to my travel, I held a meeting and advised them to follow the substantive gist to work hard, maintain confidentiality and never reveal the secrets. Then, as instructed by Angkar, I provided them with hammock, clothing and scarf. The transfer was subsequently made and I have transferred the following persons:

- Male youths
  1. Comrade Roeun, (arrested);
  2. Comrade Sem, (arrested);
  3. Comrade Khân, who has not been seen/returned;
  4. Comrade Âm, who is working in the North-west Zone;
  5. Comrade Khon, who is with comrade Pong at the Logistics Section.
  
- Female youths
  6. Female comrade Yun, wife of Thuch;

18.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(1)

Khmer original: ERN 00011546

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7. Comrade Téng, who is now at 103 (in charge of Social Affairs);
  8. Comrade Kheng, (deceased);
  9. Comrade Sou, who is at Social Affairs Department in Phnom Penh;
  10. Comrade Sang, wife of comrade Sreng from Zone 303;
- Teachers in petty bourgeoisie class
    11. Comrade Yém, who is currently an Ambassador to Korea;
    12. Comrade Koeut, cleaner;
    13. Comrade Phâl, cleaner;
    14. Comrade Chham, parliament member (arrested);

Under my plan, the purpose of sending was to assign each individual to learn the skills they really need and I requested that Angkar enroll the following three persons for military training sessions:

1. Comrade Oeun;
2. Comrade Sém; and
3. Comrade Khân.

I have requested Angkar to provide training for the following five persons as political cadres:

1. Comrade Yèm;
2. Comrade Koeut;
3. Comrade Chham;
4. Female comrade Yun; and
5. Female comrade Sou.

I have requested Angkar to enroll the following persons in the medic class:

1. Female comrade Sang.
- 18.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(2)

Khmer original: ERN 00011547

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Initially, we offered Angkar help with public works. However, we were advised by Angkar to assign him/her to work with comrade Mân. Despite the fact that he/she has a conflict with comrade Mân, Angkar authorized me to put him/her with the Commerce Department for a temporary period.

[Left margin annotation: Propose having him rewrite this page with no corrections/markouts.]

In the female section, we have removed the following cadres from the Zone and transferred them to Phnom Penh:

1. Female comrade Nuon, wife of comrade Yém;
2. Female comrade Keo, wife of Han;
3. Comrade Yun was removed from Zone 303 and reassigned to work with Angkar;
4. Comrade Roeun, my wife (arrested), Angkar ordered the Zone cadre to send her to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

I have gathered and made the cadres available for certain goals as follows:

- I. The cadres proposed for appointment by Angkar as chiefs in the future ministries:
  1. Comrade Mân, Water Transport Department;
  2. Comrade Lon;
  3. Comrade Seng (arrested);
  4. Comrade Kun (arrested);
  5. Comrade Hak; and
  6. (...)<sup>4</sup>.

My future plan is to propose the six cadres above for appointment by Angkar as ministers of respective ministries because they have sufficient qualification and seniority and so far, I have urged them to work hard for that purpose.

- II. The cadres proposed for appointment by Angkar as ambassadors to various countries:
  1. Comrade São, Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

18.4.77

*Signed: Doeun*

(11)

Khmer original: ERN 00011557

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<sup>4</sup> Comrade Say from the Department of Industry.



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1. [You] must write a clear statement about your chief who was the key person in the treacherous movement. Contemptible KEO Meas had no influence in the movement. [You] have to write about the facts happening from the late 1960s onwards.
2. This text is too short. The description of each event is unclear regarding the place, date, and category of meeting and members' ability to meet etc. are virtually vague. Other stories are also unclear. For instance, [you] wrote only about the revealed traitors.

25.4.77

Signed: Pon

Khmer original: ERN 00011607

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The meeting at Ta Mak Pagoda, Prey Chhor district, Sector 41 of the North Zone in April 1976

The enemies launched their activities and created certain disturbance in some of our sectors during the dry season of 1976. They grabbed weapons from the militia and the messengers while they were on the road, at the guard posts of the villages, offices or rubber plantation etc.

In response, Angkar has closely monitored the situation and introduced a measure within the Zone framework requiring further vigilance and preventing the enemies from launching their activity.

At that time, Angkar advised me (Doeun) to report all Angkar's suggestions to comrade Pauk. For confidentiality reason, I was neither authorized by Angkar to write a letter nor transmit a telegram to him.

Consequently, I had to go and see comrades Pauk and Sreng in person at Kampong Cham province as recommended by Angkar.

I have informed Sreng to come and wait for a meeting at Sector 41 Office (Ta Mak pagoda). Sreng was an officer in charge of the Zone. Comrade Pauk was absent. He would pay a field visit to the bases. Comrade Sreng came and met with me as planned. At the meeting, I told him that Angkar sent me to see and provide you and comrade Pauk with a verbal report on certain situations as a matter of urgency. So far, I have not met with comrade Pauk because he is on business mission, and therefore, I can work with you and other comrades instead. When we finished our tasks I will try to see him and inform him of these situations later.

Signed: Doeun

*[Annotation on the left margin:*

*Mr. Doeun,*

*Based on my slim understating from this text, I think that you are a cat hiding its claws [a hypocrite] or in another word, you are a cat burying your shit. In fact, I don't know whether my thought is right. Excuse me for this. If you can do me a favor, kindly take sometime out of your dreams to revisit this text and write a narrative of true fact based on the contextual aspect of the issues in question.*

*Signed: Duch*

*30.4.77]*

Khmer original: ERN 00011608

Original KH: 00011473-00011672

10 / 14

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Monsieur Doeun,

I would like to give you the following reminders:

1. In summary, the texts you wrote and those that you are writing now are all about other persons' stories. Anyhow, you did not reveal any factual event of your story that describes your direct involvement in the movement.

If you continue to maintain this position, it is required under the adopted decision of the Ministry of Sântebal that your ankle tendons be pierced.

Do believe that I will dare turn this warning into real practice instantly in front of your eyes if you are still obstinate.

2. You said in your statement that "Brother Phim was drunk and released the 'triple-hook' letter and Kèm has also seen that." Was this point in your statement a true fact? Dare you commit to replace your eye balls with this if, through an inquiry, Kèm says that he has not seen it?

Mr. Doeun, to put your ankle tendons and eye balls at risk is not an ordinary deal. It will become a real ordeal if you continue to be headstrong, hypocritical, Facist...etc.

3. It is requested that you write a page or two to illustrate this as clearly as possible.

11 May 1977

Signed: Pon

Khmer original: ERN 00011629

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Beloved Brother Duch,

I am writing you, the representative the Ministry of Santebal (national police), this letter to inform you that:

-this is my final letter of confession revealing the truth with all perfect grounds so that the ministry can use it as a living document for its review, consideration and as a basis for its correct resolution to the matter;

-this is a genuine document for the ministry and the Party to make an analysis of my character and to take a correct measure against me as well as the matters that related to me;

-only on this basis can the Party make a correct judgment as to whether I am a traitor or a revolutionary under the Party's line; and

-the matter will be resolved when my truth (innocence) is ascertained.

May I have your indulgence, and please do not consider this letter as an advice for you or as a better knowledge than that of the ministry and the Party. However, it serves as a small piece of document for your analysis and consideration. It is my sincere intent to share these with you.

Faithfully yours;

Signed: Doeun

5.5.77

Khmer original: ERN 00011670

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Beloved Brother Duch,

I could not find any words to describe [the condition] of my detention from the beginning until today. All kinds of punishment and torture were inflicted against me. Was it right or wrong to do so? I have never betrayed the Party. I am not a CIA agent. To the best of my knowledge, I am a genuine revolutionary. In addition, I have subsequently given my confessions to the Ministry of Santebal.

During each incident of torture, I would ask myself why a genuine revolutionary like me has been exposed to this torture. A revolutionary is tortured by another revolutionary. How can the Party and Ministry of Santebal be informed of the fact that I am a revolutionary? I have to wait and see what will happen at the end of the day?

It is always in my belief, when I was shackled by the ankle, that I never betrayed the Party and unfortunately, I am ending up under shackle and being convicted for my honesty. When will the truth be found by the Party?

This is what I anticipated at the beginning of my arrival: that I will be killed like "DAM Pheng". As I was quite sure that I had done nothing wrong, and nevertheless the Party brought me to the Ministry of Santebal, and therefore, I felt that I was destined for execution like DAM Pheng.

I hereby beg the respectful CPK and the Ministry of Santebal for a pardon and a release from detention and torture, and kindly send me to live in any unit or a production entity of the Angkar or Santebal. The Party may keep me as Party member or as an ordinary person of the masses at its discretion.

I hereby implore the Party to give me a job and an ordinary membership at any branch of the Party so that I can receive further training and self-building sessions.

I want nothing but to continue to join the Party and the masses in the making of Socialist Revolution and the construction of the Socialism. I have always maintained my brightly red 16-year revolutionary life and I believe that I did not do anything in betrayal to the Party nor have I joined another party, and in fact, I have grown up only with the CPK.

I hereby implore Brother Duch to examine and find that I am a genuine revolutionary as so far I have no other words to tell you more than these. These are not my excuses, but they are the true and substantive nature of my revolutionary life. Brother, I am very sad and at the same time I do not know what to do.

I have no idea whether to stay silent or report the truth to Angkar. If I do report, will Angkar be convinced by the truth? In fact, Angkar has already had this experience. At the same time, I just insist to inform Angkar that I am a revolutionary. In any case, Angkar will find that I

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am a revolutionary! This is the law of veracity and it will never be diminished! I do not betray Party and one day, my truth will be definitely found by the Party!

I hereby implore Brother Duch for a review of my case and kindly take my suggestions as additional information.

With best revolutionary fraternity;

8.5.77

Signed: Doeun

Khmer original: ERN 00011671-00011672