

Respected and Beloved Committee 870,



I wish to send the responses of:

1. SANN Eab (សាន់ អ៊ាប), alias Khon (ខុន), at Commerce, Sector 103, based in Phnom Penh; and
2. Seuy (ស៊ីយ៉ូ), alias Phâng (ផង់), at Security, Sector 103 for the Committee's review and to serve as documents for researching embedded traitorous networks burrowing from within.

Best wishes for the Committee's good health.

17 April 1978

Zone 801

[Signature]

Sè (ស៊ែ)

[Annotation in the left hand margin of the page]

Already read

19 September 1978

Follow up

Responses of SANN Eab, alias Khon, formerly a member of (Sangkom Thmei-សង្គមថ្មី)

district and currently Sector 103 Commerce member stationed in Phnom Penh

I am SANN Eab, alias Khon, 36 years of age, of Khmer nationality, born in Samlanh (សំឡាញ់) village, Tbaeng (ត្បែង) commune, Sangkom Thmei district, Preah Vihear sector.

My wife's name is Seun (ស៊ីន). I have two children, both of them are sons. I currently live in my home village. My father is RIEM Sann (រៀម សាន់) (deceased) and my mother KHÂM Dom (ខាំ ដុម) (deceased), formerly earning their living as farmers in my home village.

I have nine siblings (four brothers and five sisters):

- SANN Saon (សាន់ សោន), elder brother; married; currently lives in Samlanh village, Tbaeng commune
- SANN Eab, alias Khon (myself); under *Angkar*'s arrest
- SANN Oeu (សាន់ អឿ), younger brother; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Rieng (សាន់ រៀង), younger sister; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Sèn (សាន់ សែន), younger brother; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Yim (សាន់ យីម), younger sister; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Yoap (សាន់ យ៉ាប់), younger sister; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Yan (សាន់ យ៉ាន), younger sister; married; currently lives in my home village
- SANN Yiem (សាន់ យៀម), younger sister; single; currently lives in my home village

Before the coup

I was in my home village, earning a living as a farmer with my parents. When I turned 19 years old in 1961, I went to live at Samlanh pagoda, where I entered the monkhood for five years before leaving it and labouring for wages at a bean plantation. After quitting my job at the bean plantation, I returned to my home village and had since then earned a living as a farmer.

After the coup

In 1971, I joined the militia in Samlanh village, after which Sruoch (ស្រួច) from Sangkom Thmei district assigned me to join the Kampuchean Communist Youth League. Sruoch inducted me into it, seconded by Phin (ផិន). Sruoch assigned me to join the Sangkom Thmei district military until 1972. Only in May 1972 did he assign me to serve as a member of the district. I had been in the position for four months from May to September 1972. Then in 1973 Hàng (ហង់), secretary of Preah Vihear sector, assigned me to Commerce, Sector 103. In 1977, Hàng assigned me to the Sector 103 Commerce based in Phnom Penh until *Angkar* arrested and put me in detention at the present time.

In 1972, I got involved in traitorous plans, as initiated by Hàng. Then, Sruoch and Buor (បួរ) entered the sector office of Anlong Svay (អង្គរស្វាយ). The clique who entered the Workers Party then consisted of three members including Duong (ឌួង), Thi (ទី) and Khon (myself). After gathering together, my three-member clique was called to join the Party, where we were first instructed to read our biographies and pledge allegiance to the flag. At that time, I saw the flag of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). After having read our biographies and pledging allegiance to the Party flag, my three-member clique made our resolutions before the Party flag, declaring that we resolved to respect the Party, stay honest with the Party, and serve the Party and people's class to our heart's content and unconditionally unto death.

Sruoch then said, “We have entered this new party, the Kampuchean Workers Party, which opposes the CPK.”

“Therefore, we all must absolutely respect the Party, follow the Workers Party, and refrain from believing anyone other than our Party. Our Workers Party and the CPK are life and death enemies; therefore, it is imperative to believe the Worker Party’s leadership in Indochina.”

“For example, in Preah Vihear, we already have Hâng, Chhean (ហង់), Phaen (ផែន) and Sun (ស៊ុន-female) as our representatives, but they have not yet been inducted into opposing the CPK immediately. If we attack the CPK, it will be in two parts: 1. The imperialists and their traitorous lackeys; and 2. The CPK. And this will even benefit the enemy. As such, we have to cooperate with the CPK at first and wait until a later date. When we achieve victory over the imperialists and their traitorous lackeys, we will attack the CPK because the Party is a small newly-founded party, which we can therefore attack anytime.” That was all what he said, and then we dispersed.

Tasks involving people were as follows:

- In 1972, Sruoch assigned me to be the district’s military chairman.
- In 1972, Sruoch also assigned me to serve as a member of Sangkom Thmei district.
- In 1973, Hâng assigned me to Commerce, Sector 103.
- In February 1977, Hâng of the Preah Vihear Sector Committee assigned me to Sector 103 Commerce based in Phnom Penh until *Angkar* arrested me.

I request to report the revolutionary stance and ideology I held before partaking in traitorous plans. At the time of the inception of the Revolution including energetic activities in my village, I had a lot of hopes, but I was not yet able to grasp the national state of affairs. By then, the revolutionary state power had also arrived. I strove to perform tasks for the Revolution to my heart’s content in order to gain a high profile and ranking.

Later on *Angkar* assigned me to successive positions even that of a district member, but I did not see that my profile and rank was of any significance. I then developed a feeling, “Compared to the old regime, the status as a district member like me would not be so insignificant. It would be better anyway.” This has been my stance all along.

Contact with leaders betraying the Revolution

In 1972 there was a meeting in Anglong Svay, Rovieng (រវៀង) district, to which Hàng summoned Sruoch and Pheap (ភ័ក្ត្រ). Hàng commented, “Regardless of any obstacle, we all have to do our best to keep our entry into the Workers Party confidential because we are in the CPK framework. As Comrades are already in the CPK, it is very good. We have to do our best to infiltrate deeper and wait to receive plans from the Party, at which point we will have measures. This is our future direction.”

“When we have infiltrated deep into the Kampuchean state power, we can build up forces. This direction is what we will do in the long term. And it is a way of waging an undeclared war using unmasked and embedded forces. However, at the present time we cannot do it. It is imperative to comply with the law. It is imperative to think of how to embed deep. For this reason, we must strive to work harder and actively. Don’t forget about our Party’s ultimate victory. In addition, it is imperative to keep our entire Workers Party a secret.”

“Therefore, under no circumstances is it imperative to absolutely believe our Workers Party under the leadership of Vietnam, our Elder Brother, and we have to sustain the struggle to successfully lead people to view the Revolution badly.”

I clarify that as for the meeting in Anlong Svay, Rovieng district, I did not go there. Only Sruoch and Pheap, who were secretary and deputy secretary respectively, went there.

When they both returned to their place, they called Kaen (កែន), Smăt (ស្មាត់) and Khon (myself) to attend a meeting, telling about the following plans:

1. Our future work direction, like the current one, is to follow the CPK's law, but contextually to serve the interest of our Workers Party. If anyone causes exposure to our Workers Party, we have to remove him from the Party's framework and smash him.
2. If it is possible to gather up forces and get them to infiltrate deep into the [CPK] Party's framework, we have to do so but in a lawful way to prevent our own Party being exposed. When in doubt, don't persuade them. Be careful to avoid exposure. Therefore, we pin hopes on our Party that it can achieve its plans.

After that, the trio resolved, before Sruoch and Pheap, to stay absolutely loyal to the Workers Party, and to strive to implement activities lawfully in order to embed deep within the CPK's revolutionary ranks. We then dispersed.

Upon my return, I implemented activities exaggerating the Party's line, including noisy wine drinking and internal arguments in order to enlighten people or the CPK or enable the people to see such a situation so that they would lose trust in the Revolution and be viewed as good enough among others. Besides, my clique and I created games of traditional dance/flirty dance (វាំងក្រី) during an anniversary or small or big meetings in order to win people's hearts and enable them to see pleasure with their own eyes. This would be easy to entice them away to side with our Workers Party because our Party was so happy and in the future there would be everything including the reintroduction of money, unlike the CPK, which left people without food, and in the future the CPK would not proceed in such a way. In the wake of the above

mentioned plans, I implemented the planned activities in reality. For example, during an anniversary or a meeting, I always led people to drink wine or dance and sing revolutionary songs, but they danced flirtingly, apparently like the old society. These were how to attack the CPK by lawfully exaggerating the Party line in a way that would allow people to view the Revolutionary Party as bad, indecent and vulgar. These activities were implemented in order to confuse and obsess young men and women as well as people with instant pleasure and stylishness and make them forget about the nation and classes. Young men and women as well as people were allowed to see nothing other than pleasure, in which case it would be easy to entice those forces away to become traitors in the near future and in the future. In 1973, Hàng reshuffled me from the district secretary to Commerce in Sector 103 in order to maintain secrecy to accomplish his clique's plans. In 1973, in the first period, Hàng educated me by saying "We have removed you, Khon, from the district membership with a view of connecting our clique's networks at Commerce. As such, Khon, don't be hopeless, but pin your absolute faith on the Party and maintain our networks so that it will be easy to entice forces and involve them in our plans. Therefore, Khon, you must strive to implement this plan successfully and successively. As long as we do it, we will definitely achieve it.

In the 2nd period—when I had moved to Commerce, I contacted Rīt (រិត), Haur (ហ្វួរ) and Sou (ស៊ូ), and we said that we would contact each other in the event of any matters because we all belonged to the Workers Party. I report what happened during my time with Rīt. He educated me by saying, "Your assignment here is very important to serve our plan to move forward. Therefore, Khon, try to work—it will not be wrong. In the future there will be only our clique as successors of the Workers [Party's] Revolution in Indochina under the leadership of Elder Brother Vietnam. If we talk about the work of the Kampuchean Revolution, it has been doing the revolution in the past several years without achieving any results. People have no food. Their livelihood cannot be resolved. They cannot become prosperous. And the ability of the national leadership cannot create progress for the reason that this party is newly founded and small, with even poor classes always rising to state power. In view of this, it will not defeat the imperialists,

but we have to keep this a secret to prevent the Kampuchean communists knowing that we belong to the Workers Party. This will make it easy for all of us to embed deep within the CPK. In addition, we leave them to assist [illegible]. In the future we will gain victory, and all of our clique members, do not forget our plan to work with the Front of Kampuchea (រណសិរ្សកម្ពុជា) clique and later reverse a little only to attack and defeat the Front because we are already in the Front. Therefore, our entire clique, don't believe the Front. The path we have to walk is the Kampuchean Workers Party to be integrated into Indochina as a whole, comprised of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, under Vietnam's control. As all Comrades have already seen, nowadays, the forces of Vietnam, our Elder Brother, has come to our help in the attack without fear of death because they want to liberate us from the oppression of the traitorous LON Nol clique and from the contempt of the American imperialists. As such, we, as members of the Workers Party, have no reason to fear in the struggle against the Kampuchean Front clique. It is crystal clearer that in the struggle we also have to be resolute with them in order to gain achievements per the request of our party under Vietnam's leadership. Currently, the Kampuchean Front is not recognized in the world, so we all have to use our youthful strength as strong combat forces conducive to achieving the Vietnamese-Kampuchean plan in order to contribute to achieving the Indochina Federation in the near future. It will be possible or not subject to whether we are strong or weak. Moving forward, the Indochina Federation will definitely be achieved, and our party will be very strong because our party has an extensive experience in warfare and quite understand the shallows, the depth and flexibility in the state of warfare. In view of this, our party is strong, as is Vietnam, our Elder Brother. If we see the strength, and in Kampuchea, we will even join the Vietnamese, it shows that our forces will be bigger and even able to defeat the imperialists. If compared to the Front of Kampuchea, we see that their struggle began empty-handed and does not have a variety of weapons, thus being unable to defeat the imperialists." Following Rīt's education, our entire clique and I had full trust and confidence in the plans we had implemented in the past because we understood that our forces were already big, mature and very strong in cooperation with Vietnam. In this regard, we would definitely gain victory over the American imperialists and their traitorous lackeys including LON Nol—we would absolutely win. [Illegible]

[Illegible]...because our Workers Party was ubiquitous across the country, and always received major tasks to do. For instance, in Preah Vihear Sector here, we had *Bang Hàng* as the secretary from the Workers Party and many others hierarchically at ministerial and office levels in our sector. Therefore, when we reversed only a little, we would win. At that time, our clique felt very comfortable with our future plans and struggled more vehemently to achieve our plans as well as strived to maintain secrecy in the absolute service of the Workers Party. Under no circumstances must we struggle. During the second period of 1973, Hàng, Workers Party secretary in Preah Vihear, summoned district secretaries to a meeting—Tbaeng District Secretary Rîn (រិន), Sereika(ស៊េរីកា) District Secretary Sîn (ស៊ីន), Chea in the Kulen District Committee, Sruoch in the Sangkom Thmei District Committee, Rovieng District Secretary San (សាន), Ti (ទី) in Riveak Pheap(រីវ៉េកភាព) District Committee. These were in Part 12. On the ministerial part, Rît, Fa (ហ្វា) and Khon of Sector 103 Commerce came to the meeting in Anglong Svay, the sector office in Rovieng district. When all of his clique members had gathered up, Hàng affirmed, “I have called all Comrades to come here because I want to clarify that in today’s study session we have three issues: 1. About the Indochinese situation in the global arena; 2. About the Workers Party and the CPK; and 3. About our plans to move forward in the future.”

I report what Hàng mentioned concerning Indochina. Hàng said, “As for Indochina’s state of affairs, there have been changes nowadays. Therefore, all Comrades, it is imperative to know that per our Workers Party’s request, in Indochina, we have to negotiate for now to stop fighting in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Without negotiation for now, the American imperialists will use aircraft from Southeast Asia to bombard Indochina destructively. In view of such a situation, our Workers Party in Indochina has to compromise in order to prevent people from moving forward, otherwise causing many deaths. In short, [illegible]

[“...] do not agree to negotiate, so Kampuchea is waging the war alone and will not be able to defeat the imperialists because Kampuchea is a small country of a small population and the Party is new. If it dares go ahead, all the people will definitely die.” However, Kampuchea did not then agree to negotiate, making our goal unattainable. Hàng continued to clarify that the world had also levelled strong condemnation against Kampuchea, and at that time the world failed to recognize Kampuchea because the latter did not agree to listen to world opinions, thus showing that our party in Indochina had gain much global recognition and received full support in the war against the imperialists. In the future there would be no bloodshed if we negotiated. I clarify that the negotiation was not materialised because the Front of Kampuchea did not agree to negotiate, and Indochina was not materialised.

2. About the Workers Party and the CPK

Hàng said that if the CPK did not agree to negotiate, our Party would still do nothing. Therefore, our Workers Party remained inactive—we had to embed within them at first in order for them to help attack the imperialists and traitors, and we strived to continue working with them to wait for a specific time per our Party’s plans. Moreover, our Party in Indochina said that the CPK was unable to fight the American imperialists and could not decide its national fate, but we had to wait and see the state of affairs—how it would be.

3. About our Party’s plan to move forward in the future

As for this matter, the request was made to seek an agreement that it was imperative to strengthen our stance even with or without negotiation. We had to strengthen our stance to work with the CPK at first. It was imperative to do anything whatsoever to keep a secret from the CPK’s knowledge and to prevent any noteworthy incidents because at that time we were busy attacking both the imperialists and the traitors in the country [illegible].

[...] regardless of any class, we had to marshal up as many people as possible, especially young men and women because these forces were very important for us to marshal up in the

future, but we had to do so in accordance with the CPK's law. We would do what we were instructed to do, but would not forget about our Party's plans. This was all what he said, and then the meeting ended. However, before his clique returned to their places, Hàng told all of them to strive to strengthen their stance and continue building up our forces, not to dart around or speak something unbeneficial to our Party, or to bring any exposure to the CPK; therefore, it was imperative to maintain our Party's absolute stance. After the meeting and Hàng's admonition, the entire clique had full trust and confidence in him and concluded that their clique's plans would definitely be achieved in the future under the leadership of Vietnam, our Elder Brother in Indochina. The entire clique dispersed afterwards. Upon returning to my place, I did not yet dare to implement any substantial activities for fear of exposure and in the wait for plans from the upper echelon. I was just strengthening my clique's stance as a member of the Workers Party.

About my activities after Hàng educated me

After Hàng educated me, I acted to contact a force of six persons, Kaen (កែន), Smăt, Loeun (លៀន), Cheat (ជាតិ), Choeun (ចៀន) and Chuon (ជួន). I educated them all in a revolutionary form, but contextually in the service of the Workers Party in Kampuchea, Indochina, and they all fully trusted me and resolved to partake in the plans. I clarify that the forces were built up in 1972 and 1973 and inducted into the Workers Party in Kampuchea, Indochina. In 1974, Commerce Secretary Rît summoned Ĩn (អ៊ិន), Kuy (គុយ), Yuth (យុត្ត) and Khon (myself) to a meeting at Commerce. He spoke of the situation of 1973 and 1974, saying "We have seized successive victories in the framework of our cooperation with the Front of Kampuchea to attack the imperialists and traitors, the ruling and exploiting class. We have seized successive greater victories, and in the near future, the traitors will turn to be stooges at which point we have to "twist." [Illegible]

“In this situation, we have to pay attention especially in recent times as they [the Front of Kampuchea] are our elder brother. As we compete for power from them, they attack the Indochina Party and negotiate peacefully with our Party as they intend to prevent our Elder Brother [Vietnam] seizing power from them.”

“Therefore, don’t be confused. It is imperative to analyse clearly in the coming days, that’s to twist to keep abreast of the state of affairs. Don’t be defeated by the clique of the newly-founded Front, a fledgling party. Although our Elder Brother’s forces have been expelled from our country, don’t brood about this. We have to continue encouraging our existing forces and strengthening them to move toward marshalling up new forces. In short, although they are an elder brother, we must not feel frightened. Strive to fight further and resolve this. Furthermore, it is imperative that we resolve to hearten ourselves in order to raise high the flag of our Workers Party so that we will join our Elder Brother in the future to materialize the Indochina Federation. Moreover, we have to see that contradictions between our Party and the CPK have been so constant during any period that there is no mutual compromise— life and death contradictions. However, for now, our Party is doing the revolution with them at first. In this regard, the current state of affairs is simple, not complex. If we take a close look at the current state of affairs, it is objectively very complex, but in the future, we will feel relieved because our Party currently delves into resolving this issue. Our Party is in the cage of the CPK. Therefore, we will be released when the whole country has been liberated, then our Party will definitely come to gather up together, if not in 1975, in 1976 or 1977 or the following years. We will still go ahead without any reason to compromise, and in an absolute manner. If one person is lost, another one will carry on. This is our Workers Party’s future plans. We will liberate and take state power from the CPK shortly afterwards.” Then in 1975, the whole country was liberated while we were waiting to seize state power from the CPK but to no avail; however, our Party did not remain silent. Our Party was marshalling up all forces to seize power. Our Party was marshalling up outside forces with Vietnam as our Elder Brother. We were marshalling up these forces to attack from outside, and our internal forces gradually attacked the economy and military to lay siege to the CPK’s Centre Committee, as well as base and zone echelons. It is needless to look at any further places. For instance, in our entire Preah Vihear sector, Hàng served as secretary for the Workers Party;

in addition, Chhean served as deputy secretary, Phaen as a member and Sun (female) at Social Affairs, and there were also many others forces at district, ministry and office levels. This was what Rīt educated me directly, and I fully believed my Workers Party's plans. And it was decided that in the future the CPK's leadership apparatus would definitely be attacked. Moreover, it was imperative to maintain our Workers Party's stance and keep its plans strictly confidential.

I report what happened during my time at a meeting at Rovieng district's Sector Commerce in 1976.

Hàng summoned all leaders to the meeting. Hàng was the top leader, followed by Chhean and others from ministry and office echelons. From district committees were Sīn and Pon (ប៉ុន) of the Kunleān District Committee, Sīth (សិទ្ធិ) and Smāt (សម្បត្តិ) of the Sangkom Thmei District Committee, Muon (មួន) and Sat(សាត) of the Rovieng District committee, Sot(សុត) of the Sereika District Committee, Yoeun (យ៉ឺន) of the Thala Barivat (ថាឡាបរិវាត់) District Committee, Mām(មាំ) of the Preah Neangkoal (ព្រះនង្គ័ល) District Committee, Choeun and Phaen of the Chey Saen District Committee, Pheap of the Tbaeng Mean Chey District Committee, Yāt (យ៉ាត) of the Choam Khsant District Committee, Khon of the Doun Tun (ដូនតុន) District Committee, Thāng (ថាង) of the Otumpor (ឧតុម្ពរ) District Committee, and many others whom names I do not know.

At the military were Lān, Yān, Phon (ផ្អែន), Phāk (ផាក់) and Tī.

At Commerce were Rīt, Sou, Fa and Khon (myself) of the Sector Office.

At Agriculture were Chea, Sēt (សេត) and Chīn(ជិន).

At Social Affairs were Kēng (កែង) and Doeun (ជួន). At Culture was Roeun (រ៉េន) (female).

I report the contents of the meeting held in October 1976. Overall, Hàng raised two contextual points:

1. The state of affairs of 1975-1976 in the socialist revolution
2. Directions to be implemented in 1976-1977

1. The state of affairs of 1975-1976: Hàng said, “I summoned all Comrades here to tell you about a plan that we have to implement as follows: As for our plan to seize state power from the CPK, we have not yet achieved it. For one reason, our Party in Indochina has not yet met in our country and our forces have not yet been stable. On the other hand, we have not stopped attacking. In the state of affairs from 1975 to 1977, we continue to attack—continue to build up and strengthen our forces. At the present time, the CPK is doing the socialist revolution. What do we have to do in order to continue living with them? Our Party instructs that we all follow the CPK’ law to make it easy for us to embed within the CPK, and we strive to maintain confidentiality by giving no disclosure to anyone other than our Party. If anyone causes exposure, he must be brave to assume high responsibility in his stance by refusing to confess to the enemy; he must be willing to kill himself to avoid affecting our force collection or foiling our Party’s plan as our Party has requested to achieve victory in 1977. Future directions to be implemented in districts are to distort and exaggerate the CPK’s line in a way that people will hate the Revolution and the collective regime and have no food. They will contradict the Revolution and hate the collective regime and move toward privatism so that we will find it easy to entice them away to side with our Party.”

“For example, as for the CKP’s line of a one-hectare paddy producing three tonnes to six tonnes, we have to be hard on them. Don’t allow them to sleep both day and night. Enable them to see the hardship and suffering of life with the Kampuchean Revolution. Instruct late rice to be grown on high-land areas and early rice on low-land areas. If any people complain of the rice instructions, it is imperative to follow some of them to distract their particular attention to us. On

the other hand, we have to be resolute and follow the [CPK] Party's request because the Party's line states that if anyone fails to follow, it means opposing the line or betraying the revolutionary line. As such, the people dare not oppose us. In addition, as for houses and pigsties, we will not resolve them under the pretext that we are busy building the nation. Therefore, do not think about houses; just try to work. Do anything to make people endure hardship and impoverishment. Do not resolve livelihood matters either. Do not assign people to grow vegetables. Just set up a collective house and a collective dining hall. When people come to eat rice and see no soup or any food, we instruct them to take the cooked rice to eat at home, and we educate them by saying that doing the socialist revolution is like that. As for Social Affairs—materials delivered by *Angkar* for the people's collective need in case of illness and other issues, including medicines, milk and sugar, we will distribute them in accordance with the revolutionary *Angkar*'s instructions, but will distribute fewer, to distract their attention to us that we have hidden *Angkar* medicines and other stuff, and we will cherry-pick a large number of good medicines and keep them to supply for our own Party."

"Besides, if any people fall sick, do not give them so many medicines, just few medicines, in order to leave their disease to worsen, or even if he is mildly ill, we will still send him to hospital in Phnom Penh. Doing this is to prevent the flow of crop production work and spoil *Angkar*'s medicines."

"As for milk and sugar, do not distribute so many to people. Reserve them for our Party clique in case of illness because our Party is more important. At Commerce, ministries and offices, for example, if *Angkar* provides materials such as cloth, skirts, clothes, wine, oil, salt, *Prahok* fish paste, fish and meat to distribute to people, we will follow it, but we have to distribute few only, and we will not distribute wine. A large number of materials will be kept for our ministry and offices. Therefore, it is imperative to implement this strictly. As for husked and unhusked rice, we do not have to farm much rice because it is not our core task, say that we will request rice from people and then have enough to eat. All areas have to act in accordance with the communists' law to distract their attention to our clique. But before returning, Comrades, [remember that] you have to implement the above instructions strictly, and also keep it a secret

because we are in the CPK's framework." The entire clique then had full confidence in Hàng and each area resolved to implement the planned activities strictly.

About the activities of me and my clique at Commerce

In particular as for my clique at Commerce, upon our return, we, including Rít, Sou, Fa and Khon (myself) implemented activities successively, wasting materials there. We just kept on causing damages.

For example, with wine, we led a clique of four persons to eat, drink and be merry every day, including flirty dance, free movement, stylishness and arrogance displayed to people to show that their clique were better. In addition, this was to lose the people's trust in the Revolution. As for guns entrusted by *Angkar*, I used them to shoot animals for fun almost every day in order to destroy the Revolution and not let it progress. There were many other activities. These actual activities were done by my clique at Commerce on a successive basis as already reported. Then in February 1977, Hàng assigned me (Khon) to Phnom Penh through Sat, commerce chairman of Sector 103, and transferred Rít to farm rice. Before I was instructed to go to Phnom Penh, Sat educated me by saying, "Now, Khon, I have been instructed by Hàng to tell you about your assignment to Phnom Penh to connect links from Sector 103 to Phnom Penh, especially links with KHĂM Mi, military chairman to Phnom Penh."

"So, KHĂM Mi's military forces stationed in Phnom Penh will launch an attack from inside, and from outside, Vietnam, our Elder Brother, will fight along the border and advance to join hands with KHĂM Mi's troops. And internally, we will also strive to contact and seek forces more actively than before to achieve the plans in 1977 because the Kampuchean Revolution's current state of affairs is favourable enough for us to achieve so, but we have to be vigilant in contacting forces at the ministry, offices and military only where possible. As such, Khon, you go and contact Penh, Pruonh and Tēng because they are already on duty in Phnom Penh. We will be in contact with KHĂM Mi. If you have any issues, contact these four persons because they all belong to our Workers Party." I then resolved, before him, to strive to act strictly with regard to comrades as inducted above in order to contribute to achieving our Workers Party's plans.

Then I separated from Sat and walked up to take a car heading for Phnom Penh city. During my travel in the car, I always thought every thought about how to achieve my plans to be implemented. My minds swirled around until I came up with an idea that my plans would really be achieved because my forces had embedded deep within the CPK, and it did not know about this and guessed that we were all loyal to it while we were just waiting for the day to topple the communists. I also hoped that my forces, which had Vietnam as our Elder Brother, would come to help us in the planned attack, and in Phnom Penh there were also our soldiers led by KHĂM Mi, already stationed there. Therefore, I felt incomparably excited and happy, sincerely hoping that my Workers Party's plans would definitely prevail over the CPK at one time. Then, I arrived in Phnom Penh.

I request to report what happened during my time in Phnom Penh

And there were contacts with traitors in February 1977.

During the first period of my time in Phnom Penh, I went to contact Penh, Pruonh and Tēng. I kept on directly discussing with them how to achieve our Workers Party's current and future plans.

A meeting on the state of affairs proceeded as follows:

The discussion involved four persons, Penh, Pruonh, Tēng and Khon (myself). Penh commented, "Now that we all have gathered up, we are discussing how the situation on your part is, Khon. How is it?" I then replied, "On my part, I am a newcomer from Preah Vihear sector. The situation there is that we have not yet dared do any substantial activities. As for forces there, our clique keeps on marshalling and arranging them covertly, still in the stage of testing their hearts and minds. We have enough persons to build up forces through the sector echelon onward enlisting their names, and we have not yet decided when to act; we are waiting for the plan from the upper echelon. And links from Sector 103 to Phnom Penh have not yet been connected. It's unknown how the situation there is. That's why Hàng assigned me to establish links with Penh, Pruonh and Tēng in order to connect links from Sector 103 to Phnom Penh.

The most important thing is to contact KHĀM Mi of Phnom Penh's military. This is how the situation on my part in Sector 103 has been." After that, Pruonh and Tēng commented that Phnom Penh's situation was a bit difficult, and that it had become "too narrow" because the CPK was taking measures to systematically track our clique, and there were constant contacts with our old links including Tank Commander Loeng (ឡេង). I report that Pruonh and Tēng went to contact Loeng, about which they told me. They went to seek zinc panels at Loeng's place, and then they met him as expected. The trio had the following discussion: Pruonh asked Loeng, "How is the current state of affairs?" Loeng replied, "Currently, it is very difficult. It is not easy to live. I want to seek *Angkar*'s request for me to return home. The reason why it is not easy is that in the past, they say, I have never worked right, but always wrong. They have often re-educated me for this, saying that I am walking the wrong path off the CPK's line."

In May 1977, Pruonh affirmed to Loeng, "Now, don't go anywhere. You know, as to the Indochina status, today especially in Kampuchea, Our Party wants to attack and topple the CPK completely in 1977 or 1978, with Vietnam, our Elder Brother, also coming to assist in our attack. This is our Workers Party's direction to be achieved very soon to liberate our motherland from the hands of the CPK clique."

Pruonh then asked, "What do you think about that?" Loeng replied, "If so, I will wait and see the situation, and I am very satisfied if this will occur in 1977. It is alright with this issue. I will lead my troops to cooperate with our Party, especially Vietnam, our Elder Brother. With small or large forces, we will stage a coup to attack the CPK." This was all what Pruonh told me.

I request to clarify that Pruonh and Tēng ostensibly were going to seek zinc panels, but the real purpose was to meet Loeng to discuss the Workers Party's situation in its life and death opposition against the CPK. Pruonh and Tēng simply used the pretext of seeking zinc panels, but their real purpose was what I have reported above. They intended to know of the situation. Pruonh admonished Loeng, "Therefore, Loeng, you strive to contact and seek more forces especially in the ranks of your soldiers in order to contribute to achieving the plans with our

Party and our Elder Brother absolutely in 1977 or 1978, and if there are any matters in the future, we will meet again.” This was all what Pruonh and Tēng told me.

Then in June 1976, Hàng recalled Pruonh and Tēng to Sector 103, and their contacts with Loeng were cut off when they both returned to the sector. I knew nothing because I was then being hospitalized.

In July 1977, Penh and Khon (myself) rode a motorbike to move around for fun. For our Party’s affairs, we then went to meet KHĂM Mi, north of the Chroy Changva bridge. When we met KHĂM Mi, he and I stopped our motorbikes near a tamarind about 50 kilometres from the rice mill. Then, Penh and I asked KHĂM Mi, “How is the situation today?” He replied, “The situation in Phnom Penh is very chaotic today. I have not yet been able to seek forces and contact them because today’s situation is not favourable for us. We all have to suspend our contacts in order to avoid exposure causing damage to our clique. In particular at offices, the ministry and the military, *Angkar* applies very strict disciplines, disrupting our work. So, we have to pursue contacts with those in charge of materials instead. To prevent the CPK knowing about our clique, we have to adapt ourselves at our ministry and offices in order for us to infiltrate deeper and wait and see the situation. Where there are loopholes or weak points, we will continue with our plans.” We dispersed afterwards.

After that, I contacted KHĂM Mi once again. On the phone, he said, “Now our situation is not alright, and our clique may not be able to meet again. Our contacts have also been cut off because the situation is not favourable. The reason why it is not favourable is that the CPK becomes suspicious of us and our clique.” This was all what he said.

In August 1977, Hàng went to Phnom Penh. He had called Penh, Pruonh, Tēng and Khon (myself) to hear his instructions. Per his comments and instructions, the Sector 103 Committee instructed my clique to suspend contacting and seeking forces and to walk other different ways. It meant that only official contacts concerning materials were possible, especially including a request for materials of all sorts from the state. For anything as long as it was available, the

request would be made. Such a request was intended for us to implement activities in this area in order to prevent industrial progress. These were about Hàng's comments and instructions. Then, we dispersed. Hàng afterwards drove to attend a congress in Phnom Penh. Upon his return from the congress, and before his return to Preah Vihear, he called Penh, Pruonh, Tēng and Khon (myself) to tell them, "Therefore, Comrades, you continue to do activities especially concerning requests for materials because this issue is alright. However, excessive activities are strictly prohibited concerning the issue of contacting forces. It is imperative to suspend them. Therefore, it is imperative to strive to work well." Hàng admonished us of this, and then returned to Sector 103.

After Hàng's education, my entire clique had full confidence in him and we each resolved to hearten ourselves and increase activities especially pertaining to requests for materials from the state, and implement successive activities destructive to materials at our Commerce Office.

About My Activities at Phnom Penh Commerce

Penh, Pruonh, Tēng and Khon (myself) acted successively to damage materials supplied by *Angkar*. For example, we kept on leaving kerosene and diesel spilled in a non-economical manner. We also wasted motorbike gasoline. We kept on driving motorbikes to move around until their gasoline ran off. As for water and electricity, we left the water flowing out and the fans switched on day and night. Quite old clothes were left disused or used to clean cars and motorbikes. A request for new clothes would then be made. Even husked rice, fish, meat, *prahok* fish paste and salt were dumped into the water under the pretext that they could not be consumed.

The way of life embraced all sorts of stylishness. At that time my clique committed various acts such as secretly keeping wine for our purpose of “eat, drink and be merry” every day, all forms of revisionism and daily destructive activities.

Another activity concerned medicine. My clique cherry-picked good medicine for our own use and hid a large amount of medicine until they got spoiled and discarded. In addition, good car tyres were sliced to make shoes successively.

Batteries, sugar and milk in large quantities were kept secretly for my clique. They were not distributed to people. Moreover, there were many other sorts of things under our destruction. These were what we destroyed in many areas as reported above.

In September 1977 the zone came to grasp Sector 103 Commerce based in Phnom Penh. Since then, I had not dared implement any activities any longer, fearing that the zone would know.

In other words, Hàng instructed me to keep track of the situation to see how it was and if we should keep silent or not and reported to him accordingly. I was also instructed to track the distribution of materials delivered by the zone to see if it catered to few or many people. I was therefore requested to do these tasks well.

After Hàng's admonishment, Penh and I strived to examine and track the enemy's state of affairs, finding that they stood firm ranging from guarding-guards were always on high vigilance. Furthermore, I examined the distribution of materials and found that it was of collective character. The examination of these two points did not find anything irregular, so I laid low and continued to work without reporting to Hàng. Only until December 1977 did *Angkar* know of Hàng's traitorous plan and arrested and put him in detention, followed by Penh's arrest. Seeing such a situation, I dared not do anything carelessly, meaning I strived to adapt my hearts and minds and accommodate myself to work with *Angkar*. Only until October 1978 did *Angkar* arrest and put me in detention until today.

About major anti-revolutionary traitor leaders

1. Hàng, Secretary, Preah Vihear Sector (already arrested)
2. Chhean, Deputy, Preah Vihear Sector. *Angkar* has transferred him to Phnom Penh (not yet arrested)
3. Phaen, Sector Member (not yet arrested)
4. Ǻn (អ័ណ្ឌ), Sector Assistant (already arrested)
5. Ya (យ៉ា), Tomneab (ទំនាប) Office (already arrested)
6. Pân (ប៉ាន), Tomneab Office (already arrested)
7. Sun (ស៊ុន)(female), Social Affairs (not yet arrested)
8. Muon (មួន), Secretary, Rovieng District (already arrested)
9. Sruoch, Secretary, Sangkom Thmei District; Committed moral misconduct; Deceased
10. Pheap, Deputy, Sangkom Thmei District; Committed moral misconduct; Deceased
11. Sot, Secretary, Sereikar District (already arrested)
12. Sîn, Secretary, Serikar District; At Sector 103 Hospital (not yet arrested)
13. Sîn (ស៊ីន), Secretary, Kuleaen District (already arrested)
14. Chea, Secretary, Kuleaen District (already arrested)
15. Thâng, Secretary, Otumpor District (already arrested)
16. Yăt, Secretary, Choam Khsant District (already arrested)
17. Then (ធីន), Secretary, Choam Khsant District
18. Pheap, Secretary, Tbaeng District (already arrested)
19. Rîn, Secretary, Tbaeng District; Currently in Rovieng (not yet arrested)
20. Yoeun (យ៉ៃន), Secretary, Thala Barivat (already arrested)

21. Thoeun (ថ្លែង), Secretary, Chey Saen District (already arrested)
22. Hâm (ហាំ), Secretary, Preah Neang Koal District (already arrested)
23. Sēt (សេត), Secretary, Siem Bouk District (already arrested)
24. Sīth (សិទ្ធិ), Secretary, Sangkom Thmei District (already arrested)
25. Pon (ប៉ុន), Deputy, Kunleae District; Current residence unknown (not yet arrested)
26. Lut (ឡូត), Deputy, Sereikar District; At Rovieng Commerce Office (not yet arrested)
27. Sat (សាត), Deputy, Rovieng District; Committed moral misconduct; Deceased
28. Khon (ខុន), formerly in the Kuleaen District Committee; Current residence unknown (not yet arrested)
29. Ti (ទី) in the Vireak Pheap District Committee; Committed moral misconduct; Deceased.

In addition, he served as a member and deputy secretary of many unknown districts in charge of politics.
30. Lân (ឡាន), Military Commander; Currently at the foot of the Preah Vihear Mountain (not yet arrested)
31. Yân (យ៉ាន), Commander (already arrested)
32. Phāk (ផាក), Military Commander; Currently in Tomneab (not yet arrested)
33. Phi (ភី), Military Commander; Currently at Preah Vihear border (not yet arrested)
34. Phon (ផុន), Military Commander (already arrested)

35. Mi (មី), formerly a sector member; Currently at the border military (not yet arrested)

At the Sector Commerce

36. Rīt (រីត), Commerce Secretary, Sector 103 (already arrested)

37. Sou (ស៊ូ), Commerce Member, Sector 103 (not yet arrested)

38. Fa (ហ្វា), Commerce Deputy, Sector 103 (already arrested)

39. Sat, Commerce Chairman, Sector 103 (already arrested)

40. Roeun (female); Current residence unknown (not yet arrested)

41. Kēng (កេង) (female); Currently at Sector 103 Hospital (not yet arrested)

42. Doeun (ឌៀន) (female); Currently at Sector 10 Hospital (not yet arrested)

About the clique I directly educated during my time in Sector 103

43. Kaen (កែន), Currently Member of Sangkom Thmei District (not yet arrested)

44. Smăt (ស្មាត់), Currently Deputy of Sangkom Thmei District (not yet arrested)

45. Choeun (ជៀន) of the Military; Deceased

46. Chuon (ជួន) of the Military; Deceased

47. Locun (លៀន), formerly a platoon chairman of Sangkom Thmei district's military;

Current residence unknown (not yet arrested)

48. Cheat (ជាតិ) of the Military; Deceased

About the traitorous clique in Phnom Penh

49. KHĂM Mi in Phnom Penh (not yet arrested)
50. Loeng in Phnom Penh (not yet arrested)
51. Pruonh, Commerce, Preah Vihear Sector (already arrested)
52. Tēng, Commerce, Preah Vihear Sector; Currently at Tomneab Office (not yet arrested)
53. Penh, Commerce Chairman (already arrested)
54. Srân (ស្រីន), formerly Secretary of Thala Barivat District and currently at Public Works
(not yet arrested)
55. Nhanh (ញ៉ាញ), alias Chi(ឌី), formerly at Commerce, Sector 103; Currently at Public
Works, Sector 103
56. Thi (ធី), formerly at a coal kiln in Rovieng district; Currently at Phnom Dek, Sector 103
(not yet arrested)
57. Khon (myself); Currently under arrest

The end of responses of SANN Eab, alias Khon