

24. April - 2001

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I. THE LAST JOINT PLAN

A. Introduction

1. Summary of answer by Chhuk ( *ស៊ុក* ), secretary of sector 24 on 23 September 1976 and of the 19th answer by the same person personally written on 23 September 1976. This summary constitutes the basis.
2. The answer by Isoup Ghanty ( *ឥស៊ូប ឡង់* ) of the ministry of foreign Affairs has some similarity regarding an assault from outside and a collusion between the Vietnamese, Soviets, Lao, Thais and the U.S. imperialists.

In brief, we should say:

B. Substance of the summary

1. The Soviets <sup>ARE</sup> ~~were~~ the head of the treasonous machination.\* The Vietnamese ~~are~~ were the executants (implementers).
2. The U.S. imperialists colluded with the Soviets by compelling the Thais ~~to~~ to provide supplies to the Khmer Serei in Thailand.
3. Inside the country, the CIA agents and particularly the Vietnamese expansionists cooperated to implement the same scheme in constant contact with outside.

EX.: Chhuk ( *ស៊ុក* ) was connected to Be Mab ( *ប៉េ ម៉ាប* ).

The group of Khuon ( *ខ្នុន* ) connected with the Vietnamese and particularly the Thais through Sot ( *សុត* ), secretary of sector 106 and through the group of Say ( *សាយ* ) in Northwest.

The group of Say ( *សាយ* ) related directly to the Thais.

The group of Hang ( *ហង់* ) were in touch with the Thais, the Vietnamese and also through the Lao.

\* the Lao would openly join hands with the Vietnamese in case of need.

4. Implementation of the scheme

1- secretly by murdering or abducting (អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រង) during festivities or during the trips, and so on.

If this succeeded, they would substitute (អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រង) by secret local appointments\*, thus avoiding turmoil both inside and outside the country.

2- If this first case <sup>was</sup> ~~not~~ not successful, they would resort to spreading rumors, ~~terrorism~~ sabotage, manifestation, banditry which would lead to partial insurrection.

EX.: spread rumor on existence of tiger as <sup>A</sup> superstition for insecurity in Kompong Som;

- Chakrei (ចក្រី) group exploded grenades behind the royal palace, fired on the national museum in early 1976;

- banditry of the groups of Nhem (ណេម) and Nhek (ណេក) in sector 37, western region, and of the group of Sreng (ស្រេង) in the central region;

- manifestation staged in muk kampoul district in November 1975.

3- If the <sup>CASE</sup> 2d still did not succeed, the ~~VN~~ VN troops and the traitorous forces outside the country would brutally invade kampuchea and install their administration on the way.

- swift attack followed by swift withdraw<sup>ALJ</sup>-as in Angola and the CSSR in order to avoid the criticism from the world opinion.

- If they did not completely succeed, the eastern side of the Mekong river would be chunked off and Svay Rieng town proclaimed as temporary city while continuing the total takeover.

- If the operation totally failed, the faction which was uncovered should go abroad while the other part, still intact, should continue to take cover in the CPK.

4. Their desire was to at least hamper, harrass and destroy the economy

and slow down the national construction of our revolution if they did not succ

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\* Legally, they used the trick of sending people to further study when arrest was needed, or they caused insurrection by a string of traitors at any one place , or they simply attacked, in accordance with the local realities.

II. Installation of the network and building of the CIA agents and VN annexationists

1. They used the legal means of placing their agents (the revolutionary power) in order to take over, to occupy ranks and functions in the party and administration, which enabled them to carry out activities to protect their men ~~which had ALREADY~~ ~~was~~ exposed.

Ex.: the groups of Chhuk (ឡុក) and Chakrei (ចាក្រៃ) operated that way in sector 24, and division 170.

The line of Koy Thuon (គុយ ថួន), former secretary of the northern region, also did the same.

2. According to past evidence, wherever the traitors had been in control long, they set up their network in clumps.

2. All forces--which had had some sort of conflict with the CPK both in the management, ~~and~~ the individual duty and so forth were rallied.

EX.: as contained in the answer by Veng Ky (វ៉េង គុយ) alias Net (នេត), worker in the rubber transportation in eastern region, on the statute of the Laborers' Party. (document dated 9 July 1977)

3. Mode of operation

- A. period before 18 mar 70: they managed to control the leading machinery so as to be able to dismiss revolutionary cadres or organize various treacherous activities. Among other things, they cooperated with the ruling class by tipping off information that led to the arrest of revolutionary cadres or by recurring to assassination.

EX.: Sophan (សុផាន) said that Chhuk (ឡុក) ordered the imprisonment of Rat (រ៉ាត) in order to facilitate the management of the affairs in sector 24. After 17 April 75, Rat came to the foreign ministry.

EX.: the groups of ~~Keo Meas~~ Keo Meas (គុយ ម៉េស) and Ya (យ៉ា) competed for the control of the Pracheachon group (ក្រុមប្រឹក្សា) and sent Vinh In (វីង ឺន) to control Kampujbotr lycee (កម្ពុជបត្រ ល្យែស)

EX.: Sreng (ស្រេង) was in touch with Prey Chor district governor S. Hok (ស. ហុក) in order to carry out suppression drive against revolutionary localities and rally demoralized elements to build up anti-revolutionary forces.

EX.: In their propaganda, they showed the enemy's superiority and that the revolution was in difficulties that would never end. They said

that one should walk with its two feet and look to the winning party.  
This was the CIA propaganda.

In their part, the VN agents called for foreign support. For instance they said that before long those who were trained in ~~USA~~ Vietnam will return--who were skillful in various techniques--that the VN army was great and strong, that we should wait until the VN army fought for us, and that we could not fight as we had nothing.

B. the 5-year period of national liberation

1. Their main strategy was to control the army.

EX.: the groups of Koy Thuon, Chhuk and Tum ( <sup>0</sup> ) planned that way.

2. Using various pretexts, they used their rights to dismiss revolutionary cadres at will, sent them to death or had them assassinated on the battlefield. This occurred in the areas where the traitors were in complete control. Then they replaced them with bad elements such as former bandits, security workers, soldiers, and hooligans in the army and the localities.

EX.: They made all necessary preparations to take power after Lon Nol was overthrown.

C. period of national defense

1. Anytime the Ankar ( <sup>០</sup> ) asked for cadres, they took the opportunity to send in their agents.

EX.: the group of Cha'rei sent ~~his~~ his men into the air force and artillery. The group of Khuon ( <sup>០</sup> ) took control of the trade ministry.

2. rank, honor and class differentiation were ~~maintained~~ VAUNTED.

EX.: they said that after waging a long revolutionary struggle you will remain combatants; they frightened those who had relatives in the composition (? of <sup>០</sup> ); they did not undertake orientation course for the combatants, etc but turn them into traitors.

4. Summing up: percentage of the traitors

A. counter-revolutionary bases before 12 Mar 70

1. the Pracheachon group: Keo Meas, Ya and Norn Sun ( <sup>០</sup> ) were the chieftains. They rallied a number of the former Khmer Issarak executive such as Chhuk, secretary of sector 24; Hang, secretary of sector 103; Nhek, secretary of sector 37; Sok Boutchamroeun ( <sup>០</sup> ), sector 25. Keo Meas (generally called as bang-Achar) was very influential. He was a VN lackey--to him, anything Vietnamese smelled good.

2. the group of former combatants trained in Hanoi: the chieftains were Son Ngoc Minh (សុំណុក ឈីន), Mey Pho (ម៉េ ផូ) alias Yat (យ៉ាត) and Ke Mouny (កេ ម៉ូន). They became 100 percent Vietnamese and had nothing left as Khmers. They were subservient lackeys of the Vietnamese.
3. the Khmer Serei or the People's Movement \*: this group was dispersed everywhere but was constantly organized by the CIA.
1. a faction lived in south VN and in Thailand, headed by Son Ngoc Thanh
  2. another faction was inside the country and led by Hang Thun Hak (ហង់ ថុន ហាក់). It was subdivided into two sections:
    - one, already exposed, was composed of Hang Thun Hak in the administration, and Khieu Chum (ក្ស៊ែ ចុំ) and Pang Khat (ប៉ាង កាត) among the monks; they lived under the Sihanouk's administration.
    - a second section, still remained underground, took cover in the revolutionary ranks at the secret arrangement of Hang Thun Hak, through the network of Tiv Ol (ទីវ ឺល)--which included Koy Thuon former secretary of sector 304 and new men such as Ke Kim Huot (កេ គីម ហួត), Khek Pen (កេក ប៉េន), Chen Huon (ចេន ហួន), San (សាន) and Hoeng (ហ្វេង) in Northwest, and Saing Rin (សាំង រិន) in sector 33 for example.

The network of Khieu Chum included achar Ven (អាចារ្យ វ៉េន) of monastery Kamsan (កាមសាន), achar Hay El (អាចារ្យ ហៃ ឺល)--a man of Chakrei--of monastery Stoeng Slot (ស្តេង ស្លុត).
  3. The Vinh Kinh (វីង គីង) faction--based at the onnalom monastery--was in close and constant contact with the Vietnamese. this faction was the oldest of all. Vinh Kinh was, as Son Ngoc Thanh, one of the main Khmer Serei leaders. It was made mainly of people from Kampuchea Kraon and was also subdivided into three sections:
    - one section stayed with the Viet Cong such as Vinh Kinh;
    - another section, led by Ya, took cover in the CPK and included Ly Phen (លី ផេន) and achar Kang (អាចារ្យ កាង) in Southwest, and Sopha (សុផា) in (?sector) 170.
    - still another ~~was~~ section infiltrated the hanoi-trained group and included Son Sary (សុំសារី) alias Prev (ប្រេវ), and Son Sovat (សុំសុវ៉ាត)

\* This group gathered its strength through propaganda based on the liberation of Kampuchea Kraon. In general, they used the revolutionary methods of propaganda particularly when they had been uncovered.

4. Another faction of Son Ngoc Thanh group was in France and was also mixed with the group trained in Hanoi. It included Roat Samoeun (រត សម្ដេច) alias Ros (រស់) and Haing Narin (អាំង នារីន) alias Rat (រត).

Stand of the Hanoi-trained group and Keo Meas group toward Khmer Serei or the People's Movement\*

According to the answers given by Son Sary alias Prev and by Chhuk, secretary of sector 24, since before the Geneva Conference, former resistance groups had always accounted that Son Ngoc Thanh group was a nationalist one. They had always purported to rally them. They had always been impregnated with this thinking.

EX.: Son Sary, introduced by Vinh Kinh, wrote about his relation with Haing Narin that they had had relation with Son Ngoc Thanh. Through this contact Haing Narin also grasped the depth of the matter.

EX.: Chhuk's group cooperated with the Khmer Serei in Thailand. Vinh Kinh, on behalf of the VN, rallied Son Ngoc Thanh men to use them against the CPK after 17 Apr 75.

EX.: for his survival, Norn Suon agreed to join the CIA while in the jail-- according to his answer.

4. The intellectuals: this group coexisted with the Sihanouk's administration. Some who had been formerly progressive did this for fear of death. Others, the CIA agents, pretended to be progressive and infiltrated in the revolution to gather information.

They included Toch Phoeun (តូច ផ្លែឆ្មារ), Uch Ven (ឌុច វេន), Wey Phat (វ៉េ ផាត), Hou Yun (ហ៊ូ យុន), Hou Nim (ហ៊ូ និម), Ham (ហាំ) former secretary of sector 15, Tum (តុម) secretary of sector 20, Sok Krong (សុក ក្រុង), Som (សុំ) at the general staff. The party found this out since May 1977. They were CIA agents.

\*In his answer, Bun Sary (ប៊ុន សារី) talked about this view expressed by Wey Pho, Son Ngoc Minh, Keo Mouay and others.

\*\* When the revolution was in power, these people rushed in to compete for title and function.

5. The officers--CIA agents--who were trained in the United States and <sup>(through the repatriation)</sup> then ordered to return in order to spy on the Kampuchean revolution following the liberation on 17 Apr 75. They included Phuong Phanh ( ផ្សាង ផាង ), colonel; Sim Silena ( ស៊ីម ស៊ីលេនា ) and Ung Veng Huor ( អូង វ៉េង ហួរ ).

Their mission was to establish contact with Koy Thuon, Norn Suon, Phok Chhay and Cheng Sayumborn ( ចេង សាយុំប៊ុន ). (as we can recall it, they were also bang Lin ( លីន ) and Li Phen ( លី ហ្វេន )).

6. The capitalists such as Chong, former deputy secretary of southwestern region, ~~who~~ <sup>WERE</sup> CIA agents infiltrated since before 1954. He was a Thai national living in Koh Kong province and was uncovered in 1974.
7. The pro-soviet overseas students: agents of the KGB, they returned home in order to join hands with the Vietnamese.

In 1965, they had established a Khmer Communist Party with Hak Sieng Lay Ni ( ហាក់ ស៊ីង ឡាយ នី ) as the secretary but failed.

They were from various countries such as Hak Sieng Lay Ni and his group from the Soviet Union, Toch Kham Doeun ( តូច កាម ដួន ) and his men from France, Aing Chou Bi ( អាំង ចូ ប៊ី ) <sup>(from the ruling class)</sup> from the CSSR. Some of them under strong pressure become CIA agents such as Ieng Seiha ( យ៉េង ស៊ីហា ) and Aing Chou Bi. The party exposed them in 1977.

8. Apart from this, there were also agents from other countries: Sien An ( ស៊ីន អាន ) SDECE France; Boun Sany ( ប៉ុន សាន់ )--a former resistance man and an agent of the French rubber plantation; Chhong Phean ( ចុង ហ្វេន ) FDGB East Germany.
9. The Chinese residents: originated from the KUO MINH TANG ( ក្លូ មីន តាំង ), they came as expatriates from China. Their origin went back to before 1944. KMT men controlled, managed and established all chinese associations, schools and hospitals.

Before 1956--that was before <sup>THE WAS</sup> established ~~with~~ with China--they operated in the open. After Sihanouk's forbidence in 1956, they went underground and conducted seemingly revolutionary activities.



They had, in the main, close association with the VN revisionists while pretending to have contact with the Chinese embassy for the sake of their business. Main instructions were passed from Taiwan through Hong Kong.

Later, the majority of the KMT members turned into CIA agents. This was first discovered by the party in Feb-Mar 1978 while they were plotting to overthrow the party on 17 Apr 78 together with the VN assault from outside.

Their principal bases in Phnom Penh were Tuan Hua (១៩៧៧) and Chin Hua (២៩៧០) schools, the Chinese hospital, and others. Beside these, they also had bases in Battambang, Kompong Cham, Kampot, and other provinces. But most important of all was Tuan Hua school--which was the largest school and was connected to all other bases in Phnom Penh and the provinces. Teachers were all sent from Saigon.

B. The last counter-revolutionary bases established by the traitorous networks

1. the line of Chong (ឆុង), deputy secretary of western region
  - a. sector 11 liquidated in 1974
  - b. sector 37, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Nhek (នេក), cleaned up in early 1977: 100 percent of the district committee
2. the network of Saing Rin (សាំងរិន), secretary of sector 33, Southwestern region eliminated in early 1975
3. the string of ~~XXXXXX~~ Suon <sup>noun / (ស៊ុន ឆ័ន) /</sup> alias Chey (ឆៃ), secretary of sector 25, southwest region, wiped out in late 1975. Also included Leat (លេត), San (សាន), Soeun (ស៊ុន) of division 703; Chamroeun (ចាំរ៉េន), Huot Se (ហ្វុត សេ) and Sok (សុក) in sector 25.
4. the network of Ham (ហាំ)-Keo (កៀវ)-Neou (នេវ), committee of sector 15, Western region, liquidated in early 1976
5. the line Kap (កាប់)-Kandor (កង់តូរ)-Yim (យឹម) of achar Ven (វេន), sector 31, Western region, eliminated in early 1976
6. the network of Chhuk-Chakrei, sector 24, division 170, cleaned up in April 1976 and in August 1976. In addition, there were the group of Ly Phen of the general staff, and Me Pho (ម៉េ ផូ), subsector 21.
7. the network of Koy Thuon, former secretary of Northern region, eliminated on 17 Feb 77.
  - a. division (កៀវ/ន) 310, 450 and 920 (100 percent of the battalion level, so of the company level), tank unit (តង់កយ៉ាត)
  - b. region 304, division 117 (100 percent of the district members and colonel <sup>upward</sup>)
  - c. sector 106, division 335 (100 percent of communal and colonel level upward)
  - d. the former trade ministry
  - e. sector 505, Ap Kang (អាប់កង), deputy secretary of the sector
  - f. sector 105, Mey (ម៉ៃ) and Khamphoun (កាមផុង), sector committee ~~members~~
8. the network of Say (សាយ), member of the northwestern region (Ros Mau alias

- Say <sup>11</sup> ~~11~~ ), eliminated in June 1977
- a. division of the Northwestern region: San (សាន), Neou (នេវ), Khheng (ខេង) (Norng Sarim alias San), committee "Kor" (ករ)
  - b. sector 1: Chea Huon (ចេវ ហួន), Vanh (វង) secretary
  - c. sector 5: Men Chun (ម៉េន ចួន), Hoeng (អេង), secretary
  - d. Ke Kim Huot alias Sot alias Man (កេ គីម ហួត), secretary of sector 7
  - e. sector 4: Khek Pen (ខេក ប៉េន) alias Sou (សូ), deputy (?secretary) of sector
  - f. sector 6: Oum ChhOeun alias Me (អូម ចេវ អូន), sector member
9. the network of Tum (តុំ), secretary of sector 22, liquidated in ~~1977~~ Apr 77
    - a. sector 22: 100 percent of the sector and district committees
    - b. regiment 152 of ( ១៥២ ): 100 percent of the regimental, battalion and company level
  10. the line of Ya
  11. the line of Hang, secretary of sector 103, wiped out in Jan 78
  12. various ministries of the angkar:
    - Toch Phoeun alias Phin ( តូច ផ្លែ ), secretary of the Public Work Ministry, liquidated on 17 Feb 77
    - Hou Nim alias Phoas ( ហូ ណិម ), secretary of the information, eliminated on 10 Apr 77
    - Sin Dara alias Sok ( ស៊ីន ដារ៉ា ), former secretary of the city, former secretary of the electricity, liquidated on 7 Mar 77
  13. the network of the Chinese residents, wiped out in Feb 78
    - Nget alias Hong ( នេត អុង ), chief of the Chinese community
    - Ko Min ( កូ មីន ), in Kratie, Chinese from Saigon, combatant during Son Ngoc Minh time
    - So Chea alias Sar ( សូ ចេវ ), trade ministry  
Khmau ( ខ្មែរ ), ~~xx~~ industry committee
- The KMT bigshots in Phnom Penh were:

### 3. for the KMT group

Before 1944, only the KMT party existed. After the Japanese defeat in 1944, Chiang Kai Shek group founded <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>(ស្រុក/កម្ពុជា)</sup> three-principle youth organization, similar to the Communist Youth of Kampuchea.

In Cambodia, before 1956, they existed in the open. Later when Sihanouk established relations with China, they operated under the VN revolutionary brand. In 1958, they wore the kampuchean revolutionary tag.

In China, men from Taiwan infiltrated since after 1949 when the CCP took over the mainland.

Summary regarding the planning will be presented in section IV.

### III. Infiltration in and deviation from the line of the CPK

#### A. Long-standing infiltration

##### 1. Origin of the infiltration plan

- a. From the answer given by Son Sary alias Prev--which we summarized on 16 May 76--we noted that between 1952 and 1954, Vinh Kinh travelled to Dangrek range to meet Son Ngoc Thanh personally or through messenger. First, Vinh Kinh obeyed Son Ngoc Thanh very much. Later, he opposed him and designated Son Sary and Son Soveth to infiltrate the Vietminh in 1954 entrusting them with keeping contact with Roat Samoeun (រត សម្ដេច) and Haing Narin, former students from France and also Son Ngoc Thanh men.

Through this connection, it <sup>was</sup> clear that the CIA had this plan since Roat Samoeun and Haing Narin joined the Vietminh in 1954 or even before.

- b. concerning the Vietnamese: after the Geneva Conference, some former resistance men went to Hanoi while commander Sim Sat (ស៊ីម សត) was assigned as a messenger between the VN at the border and Keo Meas in Phnom Penh. He carried both messages and gold. In 1957, Sim Sat brought in two Vietnamese\*.

As far as we can recall, referring to answers given by Chhut and Ya in Oct 76 on bang Phim's treason: "following the Geneva Conference, bang Phim undertook a training in Hanoi as the other fellows. After a while, the VN party sent him back to take control of the party in Kampuchea because the VN did not trust ta Tou Samut (តូ សមុត) who was in close and permanent contact with the brothers who had returned from France (particularly bang I). Ban Phim then returned with Poun Sany (ប៉ូន សាន់)--who did not say so--in 1956.

We do not conclude on the truth of this answer as it was beyond our understanding. But we note that the VN might have a plan for infiltrating their elements in the CPK in the aftermath of the Geneva Conference.

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\* to Phnom Penh, who persuaded Sim Sat to join the Pracheachon group. Achar Kan (អចារ កង) also declared that they were constantly in touch with Ti Kam (តិ កង) in Phnom Penh. Chhan (ចង) said that while in jail his father introduced the VN to him.

S/  
Slogan for the infiltration strategy:

- the way the weevils bore the wood, or
- the way oil ~~is~~ permeates.

2.

2. true nature of the infiltration plan

According to the enemy's successive answers, those who talked more clearly about this plan were the Khmer Serei or CIA agents such as Chakrei, Sophan, Li Phen, Son Sary alias Prev and Koy Thuon. The name of the VN network still evaded us as we had no document to certify it. Bot documents on the VN henchmen showed the founding of another party--summary of which will be given in section V.

3. the CIA strategic line (indefinite period)

The group of Sophan, subdivision 170, admitted this strategic slogan: "the buffaloes hide themselves to sharpen their horns and will come out when the water submerges the reed," meaning that they were hiding and building up their strength to introduce it in the CPK. When Kampuchea will become prosperous, revolutionaries will get excited and increasingly do away with their proletarian position. Then the inside men will rise up and crush the revolution from within.

This goal--based on the answer by Son Sary alias Prev--was to infiltrate all conflicting parties, to create scuffle to split each of them, to rally the strength for CIA, to incite quarrels between various factions in order to weaken them all, and finally, their men who were hiding inside joined hands to smash all sides thus winning the power forever, particularly definitely abolishing communism.



EX.: the strategy drawn up by Vinh Koeung (Vinh Koeung) when he infiltrated the Vietminh in 1954 was to hide in the Vietminh, in the Sihanouk administration and in Saigon. Whenever the opportunity arises they should simultaneously rise up to gain the power absolutely for the Khmer Serei.

W.: according to the plan drawn up by Li Phen and passed on to Son Sary in 1974, elements should hide in both the CPK and the VN newly-founded party, and rally forces to launch an assault in conformity with the aforementioned slogan of injecting poisonous substance <sup>IN</sup> to all <sup>THE</sup> nervous system.

4. Substance of the infiltration plan

- a. while the Kampuchean revolution had no power, a number of their elements worked as commune headmen in order to first protect their groups and also cooperate with the ruling class to persecute, disperse and then get rid of genuine revolutionaries thus leaving room for apparently-revolutionary men.

EX.: Chhuk denounced Roat

EX.: in 1967, bang Phuong (  ) persuaded Chhaom Savat (  ) to become a village headman to protect bang Phuong's men and get rid of other componen (based on answer by Chhaom Savat, secretary of Chhlong district, sector 21)

- b. at the same time, they fomented economic sabotage against Sihanouk's ~~admin~~ administration thus causing budget crisis (such as the import of non utilitarian commodities) and compelling Sihanouk to ask for U.S. aid. In this way, they would advance toward taking over from Sihanouk--according to Toch Phoeun's answer.
  - c. if the Kampuchean revolution failed, they would unite to search and smash all revolutionaries for good as was achieved in the aftermath of the Geneva Conference (Koy Th oeun's answer)
  - d. if they failed, they would turn to their own strategy
5. long-term plan
- to oppose communism from one generation to the next, continue to do it in successive generations, If it does not succeed in one generation, do it in another generation.

#### B. Deviation from the CPK line

In general, the CIA enemy talked about the deviation from the party's line to the left or to the right in order to create trouble to or hamper its implementation thus preventing the progress by great leap forward. Their slogan was to learn from the revolution and strike it back.

Their strategic aspirations were:

1. overthrow the CPK and install in lieu a free regime.
2. if this did not succeed, distort the CPK line and deviate it into revisionism like that of the VN and the Soviets.

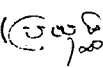
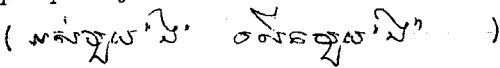


These were the CIA ~~was~~ <sup>subject</sup> goals.

Apart from this, they also followed many less important slogans such as: grow rice both in the dry season and in the rainy season, obtain the rice from the Angkar and the seed from the people.

~~In summary, the VN and CIA used the same deviationist strategy. According to~~

\*Details of the tactics will be presented in section IV.

In summary, the VN and CIA used the same deviationist strategy. According to the answers given by Koy Thuon, Chakrei and Tum, we had the following periods:

1. before 18 Mar 70: the group of Koy Thuon engaged in the struggle using noisy means in order to alert the enemy thus giving it the opportunity to destroy the revolutionary movement. Apparently very revolutionary, these means actually led to the suppression of the revolution by the enemy. According to the answers provided by Chhuk, Chhaom, Savet and Tum, the traitors' network in the eastern region strived to build up their ~~bases~~ bases by using revolutionary means. Their true action was to cooperate with the ruling class through replacing village and commune headmen previously discarded by various methods.
2. the 5-year period of national liberation: the group of Koy Thuon in sector 304 created an atmosphere of pacifism, luxury and excitement entertained by art, girls, reception and festivities; fostered house alignment and planting of banana trees along the streets; stimulate prestige, ranks and relation with the enemy. It gathered tens of thousands of people to dig a canal down from phnum Kulen, to clear the bush for planting banana trees while giving no thought to the battlefield. The traitors' <sup>network</sup> ~~line~~ in the eastern region deviated from the line and used the slogan of burning to calcination and pulling back raw. EX.: Chakrei ordered Prayuth (  ) to launch the unit against the enemy's bullets during an attack and retreated without considering properly the conditions which resulted in great losses. He said: (  ) The group of Tum in sector 22 first established a cooperative at the village level and then collectivized all goods without educating the people. When told to relax, they stopped working.
3. period of national defense: at the Ankar directive to launch offensive in rice production, the groups of Oeun (  ) and Suong (  ) slowed the provision of rice to the combatants, and carried the sick to work the land; mixed seeds; improperly transplanted; etc. Chakrei's group said: "transplant in the dry season and in the rainy season.. etc.



- 1962 Siv Heng (ស៊ី ហេង) (ស/ហ) Say and ta Ches killed ta Tou Samut.
- 1955 The Soviet party publicized the resolution adopted at the 20th congress. The CPK opposed it. Toch Phoeun, Chi Kim An (ឌី គីម អាន) Keo Meas, Ya, Sien An, Chey Suon (ឌី ឡូ សួន) and others fully supported it as they believed that the Soviet party was older and thus was more experienced. Class division in the Kampuchean society ~~did not exist~~ <sup>WAS NONEXISTENT</sup>. The Kampuchean people need peace and should not be led to war. Sihanouk was a progressive king with whom we should continue to unite. They conferred disorderly to pick up one of them to be the secretary of the party.
- 1964-65 Hou Nim, Hou Yun, Phok Chhay, Vann Tippoan at the trade youth (ហ៊ូ នីម) (ហ៊ូ យុន) (ផុក ចាយ) (វ៉ាន តិប្បោន) founded a new party.

#### 4. the KMT plan

- 1949 Chiang Kai Shek fled to Taiwan. One year later, he prepared a strategy to reconquer China with the assistance from the United States, Japan and the Philippines--~~and~~ countries around Taiwan. They attempted to close sea lines in the China Sea with the U.S. 7th Fleet. They caused trouble in Korea to create more difficulties to China, particularly in solving the people's livelihood. This was aimed at sapping the people's confidence with the CPC and <sup>US</sup> ~~the~~ creating opposition to ~~it~~ it. They would launch attack from outside while the Taiwan remnants fought from inside. But this design failed.
- 1972 Nixon and China issued the Shanghai joint communique in an attempt to establish diplomatic tie. Taiwan then announced relation with the Soviet Union in preparation for the American withdrawal. The Soviets agreed with this strategy of surrounding China. Taiwan has long understood that itself and the revisionists could coexist and together with them would win the power back.
- After 17 Apr 75: Kampuchea was liberated. Taiwan was again interested in Kampuchea because of its importance. If Kampuchea collapsed, the revolution in Southeast Asia will lean toward the VN. For this reason, Taiwan cooperated with VN against Kampuchea.
- This KMT plan was uncovered <sup>C</sup> in March 1978, which set 17 Apr 75 as the day for attacking the party. This plan was exactly similar to that of the CIA and the VN.

IV. The CIA and VN plans at different stages of our revolution  
(based on Koy Thuon's answers)

In all stages, each traitors network attempted to assassinate our brothers who were the standing members of the CPK central committee, particularly brother I and brother II.

A. before 18 Mar 70

1. the CIA plan

- Before Koy Thuon moved to Kompong Cham, Hang Thun Hak asked him to report on the brothers' names and their meeting places. At that time, the infiltration plan had this goal only.
- In 1960, immediately after joining the party, Hang thun Hak and Phoc Kly (ហ៊ុន សែន) asked Koy Thuon to establish a people's revolutionary base in Kompong Cham. The task was to struggle hard, infiltrate deep in the leadership and seek means to destroy the revolutionary strength.
- ~~in 1964~~  
- in 1964, the meeting of the party's central committee decided on the readiness to counter any eventual coup mounted by the Americans. Koy Thuon's men then intensified their activities against the revolution to help the coup.
- one month before the coup was carried out, Hang thun Hak summoned Koy Thoeun, Doeun and Sreng to a meeting with Siruthy (ស៊ុន ស៊ុន) -- a CIA agent in Phnom Penh -- in order to prepare for motivating the masses to support the coup, to arrange for wiping out the revolutionary forces by persuasion and by force, and to drive the Vietcong troops out of Kampuchea. Thu also admitted receiving directives from Hang Lin on this question.

2. the VN plan

Answers given by the trainees from Hanoi served as a basis. In his answer, Koy Thuon also mentioned about this plan. But we had no proper documents, because compiling documents and interrogations conducted at that time were not designed ~~for~~ for the future but only to serve the present. The VN group, just as the CIA, planned to hinder our revolutionary movement. They said that they will help us after liberating South Vietnam. In this way, it will swallow up Kampuchea by giving power to the Hanoi-trained people in cooperation with the VN army, just as during the time of struggle against the French.

The inside-men also conducted activities to undermine the revolution, build their bases and made propagandas ~~xxx~~ on an attitude of waiting for the guys from Hanoi and waiting for the help of the VN troops, and to despair from the line of independence promoted by the CPK.

The chief-executants of the VN plan were Son Ngoc Minh and Keo Meas--the latter moved to hanoi in about 1968.

### 3. The Soviet plan

Answers given by the students from the USSR---KGB agents--provided the basis

- The Soviets planned to control the students sent there during Sihanouk's time through the Marx-Lenin club.

- in 1965, the KGB founded a Khmer CP\* with Hak Sieng Lay Ny as secretary.

They sent some of their elements\* to fight Sihanouk, who were instead closely watched by his administration. therefore, their activities consisted only to rally the students in various countries, including

Toch Phoeun in France and Aing Chou Pi in the CSSR. They also

approached Thiourn Munn (ស៊ីស ម៉ុន).

### B. the 5-year war of national liberation

#### 1. the CIA plan

- following the coup d'etat on 18 Mar 70, the anti-coup demonstrations were tumultuous. Men of Koy Thuon and Tum could not check this<sup>9</sup> movement and let it go as they were afraid of being exposed. Koy Thuon and Preap (ប្រេង) met

Hang Thun Hak and were given the following plan:

- expand the lon nol's sphere of influence; cooperate with the governors of Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, Siem Reap provinces.
- establish the traitors cells in the VN army and the Kampuchean revolution and establish a new traitor state power.
- organize spying networks in the liberated zones, snipe at cadres, lob grenades into significant installations.
- ~~stimulate~~ <sup>cause</sup> the conflicts between the people and the VN army, between the revolutionary forces and the VN army, and take control of the revolution army.

\* such as Ieng Seiha (ស៊ីហៃ ឌីន)

- establish relation with Ba Nge (7<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>), chairman of the VN public relations of region 304--a veteran CIA agent in the VCP central committee.
- in the United States, CIA sent Huot Sambat to penetrate the GRUNK in Beijing.
- EX.: Koy Thuon was uncovered, dismissed and replaced by another traitor.
- Therefore, the traitors were continuously dismissed and replaced.
- EX.: in 1971, during the CPK central committee meeting, Tum talked bang Phim (? to become VN satellite because of the directives from bang Pie to oppose the VN, etc.

-in early 1974, Koy Thuon worked with Hang Thun Hak who asked him on the relation with Keo Meas, Ya and Chong--presented as CIA agents in 1964. He then presented a plan for the founding of a new party in lieu of the present CPK. Through this new party, CIA will introduce the VN-type revisionism and the United States will provide support. Koy Thuon was told to work with Keo Meas Ya or Ba Nge.

Another plan was to expand the enemy's control.

- in June 1974, the battlefield situation changed. Hang Thun Hak was freighted. He ordered Koy Thuon to counter it vigorously, to report on the military installations, on the number of divisions <sup>and on the residence of our brothers</sup> ~~present~~ <sup>delayed</sup>. Koy Thuon gave incoherent report which ~~presented~~ <sup>delayed</sup> the end of the traitorous clique. He made some impediments and launched some attacks. as the battle on other fronts was raging, he launched his men in the assault ~~in~~ in early April 1975, as he was afraid of being exposed.

- plan in the case of a defeat

According to the answers given by technicians, public servants and soldiers in Phnom Penh, they were prepared to use the (?third force) in particular to us while our army was entering Phnom Penh. But this plan failed because wherever we reached we immediately evacuated the population thus dispersing their forces among the populace.

2. Plan of the VN party\*

- a. before returning home, the men trained in Hanoi were told by the VN party
  - make effort to control the army and the localities; three VN divisions will back them; plan the action as during the time of struggle against the French
  - not to forget the party outside the country (namely Son Ngoc Minh and Meas)
  - establish with former resistance men such as bang Phim, bang Phim, Ya and Chong, but first meet Ya. These are summarized from the inc.

))))

more answers will be added in section V.

answers given by Son Sary alias Prev on 13 May 76.

b. During the coup d'etat, Koy Thuon worked with the Angkar. Later, Ya gave him two introductory messages to contact Sau Hoeung (សៅ អ៊ូង) and Ba Nge. Khuon provided the party's documents to the VN steadily. In 1973, Ya told Koy Thuon that the VN helped found a new party with Keo Meas as the president. On 5 Apr 74, Ya told Khuon that the Hanoi's men such as Mey Pho, achar Vorng (ម៉េច វ៉ូន), Chhan (ចាន), Yos (យ៉ុន), San (សាន), Phim (ផឹម) and Vi (វិ) held a meeting with Ya to oppose the CPK. Son Sary alias Prev also admitted that in Jun 74 and Aug 74, Haing Marin met Mey Pho in Kompong Thom to discuss the founding of a new party.

c. In mid-1974, the party's central committee met to formulate a plan for the final assault in early 1975. Following the meeting, bang Phim met Tum and told him that (according to the recorded answer by Seat Chhe (សៅ ចេ) alias Tum on 3 Nov 77 at end of pp. 26 and 27)):

- the CPK was short of ammunition; chance for the liberation was slim and it was not possible to completely liberate the country by the 1975 dry season. In this case, the traitors networks should absolutely protect the liberated zones in order to maintain their influence in preparation for the complete liberation. Attacks should be so arranged as to delay the liberation until 1976 when the VN party will join in. The VN troops will launch their assault as in 1970.

If the revolutionary army could liberate the country in the short term, then the traitors should accommodate themselves and continue their hiding.

- On this plan, Tum should report to Khuon.

d. scheme to take power from the CPK immediately after its <sup>VICTORY</sup> victory

Basis: answer from the group of Sok, sector 25. As we recall it, during interrogations, the network in the North and the group of Chakrei also mentioned this.

They would take advantage of the army's relaxation to foster a demonstration from sector 25 into Phnom Penh, supported by the traitors hidden in sector 25 and in division 703, to be ready to abduct our brothers in Phnom Penh and proclaim the power of their group. This will be carried out with the cooperation of sectors 24, 15 and others.

The men from sector 25 talked and gave no ground for analysis.

### 3. The Soviet plan

Immediately after the 13 Mar 70 coup, the Soviets would send Hak Sieng I

to join the FUNK. They introduced him to Ney Saran (នេយ សារ៉ាន) alias Ya and to the Hanoi-trained men. Reports to the KGB should be transmitted through the VN, Cuban and other embassies.

C. The period of national defense

We have earlier summarized the enemy's last plan on pages 1 and 2. Now we gave the details of what we have grasped.

1. The outside front

- CIA: they sent Lon Nol's officers--who were trained in the United States-- back to Kampuchea through the 'repatriation of patriotists' label. These officers included Phuong Phan (ផ្សាង ផាន់), Ung Veng Huor (ឃ្លាង វេង ហួរ), Sim Silena (ស៊ីម ស៊ីលេនា) and Kim Phoeuc Toeung (គីម ផ្លែង តួឯង), who should contact the CIA network inside the country--composed of Koy Thuon, Norn Su Phok Chhay, Cheng Sayumborn, Li Phen and so on. First it was to infiltrate and then to collect ~~and pass~~ information ~~and~~ and pass it on to outside. Thailand also sent men steadily through various ways.

- The VN did the same thing.

EX.: they sent back Li Bun Chheang (លី ប៊ុន ចេង) --who had fled Kampuchea in Apr 75--on 9 Sept 76 through the refugee repatriation. Li Bun Chheang was a CIA agent and a soldier. Nguyen Yang Lay (នាយ យ៉ាង ឈៃ) sent Li Bun Chheang with the mission of carrying the plan ~~for~~ of a VN aggressive and other directives to the men inside to be ready for making propaganda in support of the VN troops during their invasion. These inside men included (Toch Phoeun: Phin តុច ផ្លែង: ផ៊ិន), minister of the public work.

According to the aggressive plan, the VN used the CIA men in VN and Thailand to first cause trouble and, once they got deeper, the VN would assault and control Kampuchea as the savior.

2. Inside the country

All traitors' networks were ready to plot against the CPK.

a. after the liberation, while the party asked for manpower to establish various ministries, Koy Thuon and Chakrei took the advantage to send their men, thus placing them everywhere, at various extents, around the party's leading machine in Phnom Penh.

In addition, they rallied agents--who were formerly evacuated from Phnom Penh. Men such as Soeu Vasi alias Dœun (ស៊ីវ វ៉ាស៊ី) did the job.

b. At various sectors and regions under their control, they did the same

In Northwest, Khek Pen alias Sou and Men Chun alias Hoeng (អ៊ុន ជួន ហៀង) noticeably gathered the evacuees, all CIA agents, to run various technical services, control mobile units, etc. (?according to the investigation committee on the CIA network).

In so doing, they tried to establish a treacherous state administration within the revolutionary state power or to create a state within a state, according to Chhuk's words.

- c. At each place, special force was created to carry out assassination or subversion. Banditry, vices, pacifism, rumor spreading and frightening were boosted so as to create a feeling of insecurity among the people.
- d. in implementing their scheme, they resorted to intensive, hasty, all-time activities using every means in line with their saying: if we cannot do much do a little and act according to the abilities.

### 3. Observations on the plan

1. As to the extent of the cooperation between the Soviets, the VN and the CIA we are not yet able to grasp it for lack of evidence. But based on the information provided by the enemy's answers such as:

- that of Son Sary alias Prev, infiltration was made both in the CPK and a new VN-established party in order to strike down both organizations.
- that of Koy Thuon: he did not like the VN, but he must cooperate with the to found a new party because their interests met.
- that of Leng Sim Hak alias Sei (ស៊ី អ៊ុន ហាក់) who said that lately the United States used the VN with the Soviet agreement because the United States had no troops to fight in Kampuchea.
- that of Li Bun Chheang saying: the VN planned to use the remnant CIA for in Thailand and VN to launch the first attack, and then they launched their assault in line with the thought: let the others dry up the water and the VN pick up fish or dry fish still spawn.

All these answers proved that the Soviets, the VN and the US were cooperating and tried to play up against each other through various pressure against each other but not through negotiations at all. A victory scored by any side will benefit all according to their contribution.

2. The situation was not such that the VN were going to grossly invade the country. Thus their last scheme became obsolescent. We have no light yet regarding this new plan.

(?) the problems of the indochina federation and the CP of Indochina.

D. The leaders of the coup d'etat

1975: they were Liev Sutsophontha (លីវ ស៊ុតសុផុនថា), Norn Suon and Sok, sector 25

1976: they were Chhuk and Li Phen.

proxy leader: Ya

in Apr 76, Chakrei was uncovered

on 28 Aug 76, Chhuk was uncovered

on 20 Sep 76, Ya was exposed.

Apr 77: the leaders were Khuon, Doeun, Sreng, Toch Phoeun, Say from Northwest

on 30 Sep 77: they were Tum,

proxy: bang Lin and Bang Si

Apr 78: leaders were bang Si, Bang Lin. The clan included Hang, Chan, Chea, Yi,

Hong, Chen and Say from the industry (?ministry).

[Direct executants were Chakrei, Sophan of division 170



V. On the other party founded  
by the VN and CIA  
--o--

A. The name: the enemies admitted many names such as the New CP, the CP of Revolutionary Kampuchea, the Workers' Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Party and the Laborers' Party. The majority said it was the Laborers' Party of Kampuchea.

B. The founding date

1. In November 1961, Keo Meas asked Um Neng (អូម ណេង) to convene Norn Suon to a meeting at the residence of Nchar Sieng alias Ya. Present were:

a. Keo Meas

b. Norn Suon (who admitted to be the secretary for agriculture)

c. Ya

d. Um Neng alias bang Vi, now in the Northeast.

At the meeting, Keo Meas declared that the [group] Pracheachon will be reorganized into the Pracheachon Party with himself as secretary, Norn Suon as deputy secretary, Ya as a member of the standing committee, and bang Si and bang Yi as members. Bang Si was not present but had explicitly advised him beforehand.

Keo Meas set 1951 as the founding year.

2. The groups of Son Ngoc Minh cared for by the VN and of Nhat Sieng Lay under the soviet auspices, were staying outside the country, and had no contact with the people. They entered the country with the assistance provided by the traitors inside the country and Ya as the contact.

3. But according to the situation in 1974 and from the answer given by Koy Thuon, Son Sary alias Prev and Tum (see pp 17 and 18 of our summary) the new party was only about to be founded.

4. The intellectuals such as Toch Phoeun, Hou Yun, Hou Nia, Phok Chhay and Vann Tippoan (វ៉ាន់ តិប៉ោ) also organized a grouping in 1964-6. But after 18 Mar 70, the CPK was very strong. The people rushed to the party, also did the intellectuals who then worked in the party's

In Sopheat's words: they were acting in the CPK gloves. We noted that the establishment of so many groups was due to the

submission of various <sup>PERSONS</sup> people who actually did not enjoy the people's support, and thus failed.

C. The line of the treacherous party  
 In general, they claimed that the party followed the revisionist line of the VN, ~~the party~~ listened to them and followed them as their professor. On 9 July 77, Veng Ky alias Net (វ៉េង គុយ ណេត), responsible for the river transport of the rubber plantation in the Eastern region, said about the statute of the party as follows:

1. those who ~~actively~~ actively opposed the CPK will be given the membership of the Laborers' Party of Kampuchea;
2. the soldiers, commando members, CIA agents who actively opposed the CPK will also be taken as the party's members.

D. The leaders of the treacherous party

1. Until now, we have no document on the matter.
2. High-ranking leaders of this party--arrested or dead-- were:
  - a. Son Ngoc Minh, dead in VN in 1973
  - b. Keo Meas, arrested on 25 Sep 76
  - c. Ya, former secretary of the northeastern region, arrested on bang Vi  
 bang Chea  
 bang Se
  - d. Koy Thuon alias Khuon, former secretary of region 304, arrested on Jan 77
  - e. Norn Suen alias Chey, former secretary of sector 25, arrested on 1 Nov 76
  - f. Suos Neou alias Chhuk (ស៊ុន ណេវ), former secretary of sector 201, arrested in 1974
  - g. Prasith alias Chong (ប្រាសិដ ចុង), former deputy secretary of sector 201, arrested in 1974
  - h. Soeu Va Si (ស៊េ វ៉ា សិ) alias Doeun, former member, arrested on 16 Feb 77
  - i. Chor Chhan alias Sreng (ច័រ ច័ង ឥរេង), former deputy secretary of central region, arrested on 17 Feb 77
  - j. Bou Phat (ប៊ូ ផាត) alias Hang, former secretary, arrested in Jan 78
  - k. Seat Chhe alias Tum (ស៊េត ច័យ តុម), former secretary, arrested on 30 Apr 77

27

1. Pa Phal (ພໍ່ສວຍ) alias Sot (ສອດ), former secretary, sector 106,  
arrested on 21 Feb 77.

In addition, they also incriminated incoherently such persons as:

- a. bang Phim
- b. bang Nhim
- c. bang Si.